Richard Preston

Captain Charles Edward Mangles (1798-1873): Southampton MP that was not to be

Captain Charles Mangles is an influential although now largely forgotten figure in the 19th century development of Southampton. He was, as our subtitle implies, three times unsuccessful as a parliamentary candidate for the borough. An attempt is here made to give a brief biography of the man and to place him in the context of an extraordinary family. The narrative begins in North Shields with Charles's great uncle and grandfather – Timothy and Robert Mangles – who were baptized in the parish church of Tynemouth on 3 December 1729 and (?) 8 March 1732 respectively. They both moved to London where they were married within 27 days of each other - Robert on 4 January 1758 to Ann Pilgrim, Timothy on 31 January 1758 to Mary Mainwaring - in the recently-built church of St George-in-the-East. Designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor, it served a neighbourhood of respectable squares developing north of Wapping.

Robert Mangles appears in land tax returns for Wapping in 1754, occupying property adjacent to the great sugar house owned by William Camden and Co. A ship chandler, oilman and manufacturer of soap, candles and glue, operating from 272 Wapping New Stairs, he was at the heart of the major centre for victualing ships on the River Thames. He later purchased the Oak Hall estate in Wanstead, Essex and property in Aisthorpe, Lincolnshire. The latter included the advowson of the rectory, to which his fourth son Timothy was presented in 1795. Great Uncle Timothy was in his early days a sea captain, trading with South Carolina and owner in the 1760s of the Genoa Galley (200 tons, 16 guns) which plied between London and Naples. He left the maritime service to become a merchant with offices at Haydon Square in the Minories and Tom's Coffee House in Cornhill. He was connected to the global trading enterprise of Camden, Calvert and King. Social and professional status followed: founder member – later governor – of the Marine Society on its incorporation by Act of Parliament in 1782 and elder brother of Trinity House. He is in a select group of elder brethren painted by Gainsborough Dupont in 1794. Timothy was also proprietor, between 1782 and 1793, of the Nova Scotia shipyard in Ipswich. An article in Mariner's Mirror in 1954 (A G E Jones, The whaling trade of Ipswich, 1786-1793, pp 297-303, and addendum by H W Moffat in MM, 1955, p 62) traces his unsuccessful attempt to revive the town's traditional Greenland whale fishery. He purchased a London town house in Suffolk Lane (Thomas Dodd, author and printseller, was a footman here for three years: Oxford dictionary of national biography) and a country estate at Leytonstone in Essex. He died here c.1796. His marriage was dynastically important. Mary Mainwaring (1733-87) was daughter to Boulton Mainwaring, architect and surveyor, responsible inter alia for the London Hospital in Whitechapel Road. A younger brother – William Mainwaring (1735-1821), then a student at Lincoln's Inn – was to become chairman of the Middlesex and Westminster quarter sessions, 1781-1816, director of the Equitable Assurance Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, partner in the Cornhill banking house of Mainwaring, Son, Charteris and Company, and MP for Middlesex, 1784-1802 (R G Thomas, The House of Commons 1790-1820, volume 4, 1986, pp 524-5). William was one of Timothy's executors.

The eldest of the surviving sons of Robert Mangles – John, born 12 September 1759, and James, born 26 August 1762 – inherited the Wapping business on their father's death in November 1788. Both were baptized in St John's church, Wapping, newly-built to designs partially inspired by Boulton Mainwaring. A small, flexible family partnership such as this (which at times drew in a younger brother, Robert) was ideally positioned to capitalize on the rich trading possibilities of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The core business was extended across the River Thames to Rotherhithe with the purchase in 1802 of the King's flour mill, an important source of biscuits for the Royal Navy. By 1817 James and John are listed as shipwrights in Rotherhithe and, by 1820, as wharfingers (History of Parliament trust online: entry on James Mangles). They were part of the West India lobby that petitioned George III for a new dock on the Thames (the West India Dock built 1802). Their trading interests increasingly became worldwide. John and James were part owners of the Rio Nova, a slaving vessel operating in 1791 and 1792 between Cape Coast Castle in west Africa and Jamaica. They were owners (trading as Mangles and Co) of the whaler Ann Delicia, listed in the Samuel Enderby book of South Whalers, 1775-90. They were privateers in the American war of 1812. Their main interests, however, lay in India and Australia. Singly or jointly they were principal managing owners of nine East India ships between 1784 and 1827: Good Hope, Raymond, Travers, Friendship, Essex, Alexander, Guildford, Vansittart and the eponymous Mangles (Charles Hardy, A register of ships employed in the service of the Honourable the United East India Company from the year 1760 to 1810, published 1811; and Catalogue of the East India Company's ships' journals and logs 1600-1834, edited by Anthony Farrington, published 1999). These made epic transoceanic voyages, schedules variously including Madras, Bengal, Bombay, China, Rio de Janeiro, St Helena, the Cape of Good Hope and Madeira. The Mangles, constructed for John and James at Calcutta in 1803, was captured by the French privateer Robert Surcouf in 1807 whilst engaged in the Bengal rice trade to China. There was a natural symbiosis between the East India trade and the convict trade to New South Wales and Tasmania. Mangles and Company was the second-largest convict contractor to the British government. Friendship, Guildford (both East Indiamen) and Surry [Surrey] transported generations to a new life in Australia. The equally-prolific Mangles had passed out of the family's hands by the time that she began her convict career in 1820 (Charles Bateson, The convict ships 1787-1868, published 1959).

The younger of the brothers - James Mangles – was father of Charles. He married Mary Hughes (1773-1850) at St Mary, Worplesdon, Surrey on 22 July 1791. She was the youngest daughter of John Hughes, Esq (c.1732-1822) of Guildford. The father-in-law is an enigma – apart from the unhelpful comment of James Paterson (*History of the county of Ayr*, volume 1, 1847) that his ancestors had large possessions in Wales – but he had impeccable naval and military connections. Admiral Sir Edward Hughes (c.1720-94), appointed commander in chief of Royal Naval forces in the East Indies in 1778, was related. Lt General John Hughes (1763-1832) was a son, and hence uncle to Charles. He had seen service in the East Indies (1780-7) and, at the time of his retirement from the army in 1801, was lieutenant colonel in the 60^{th} Foot: a regiment in which George Mangles, a younger brother of James, was serving as a captain at his death on passage from the West Indies in 1805. General Hughes brought a Scottish dimension to the family through purchase in the 1820s of the Balkissock estate in

Ayrshire. He lived at Mount Charles House. Dying without issue, the property passed to a niece, Caroline Onslow (*nee* Mangles), eldest sister of Charles. The Hughes connection helped James to set himself up as a country gentleman in Surrey, with a seat at Woodbridge near Guildford. He was appointed sheriff of the county in 1808 and was a promoter – later chairman – of the Wey-Arun Junction Canal Company. He was a director of Mangles' Bank, established in Guildford in 1811, and – although through another source of patronage – was Liberal MP for Guildford between 1831 and 1837. James died on 25 September 1838 possessed of a personal estate valued at 'under £25,000' and extensive freehold and copyhold estates in Surrey at Worplesdon, Ash and Wanborough.

James and Mary Mangles had six sons and six daughters. Listed chronologically below they form a formidable web of influence.

Caroline Mangles (1792-1860)

We have already met Caroline as inheritor of her uncle's Scottish estates. In June 1815 she married the Reverend Arthur Onslow, vicar of Chevening, rector of Crayford (both in Kent) and rector of Merrow (in Surrey, now a suburb of Guildford). This brought her father under the influence of a family with an established electoral interest in Guildford. It was through this patronage that he was elected, as a pro-Reform Whig, MP for Guildford in 1831.

Frederick Mangles (1794-1869)

Frederick, as the eldest son, was heir to the family's shipchandlery and whale oil business in Wapping and Rotherhithe. These he developed in the 1830s and 1840s through a series of partnerships with – amongst others – John Fulham Turner, Edwin Abbott, William Price and Henry Talbot Moore. They diversified as pitch and tar traders and as dealers in guns, shot and Kentledge [pig iron used as permanent ballast]. Frederick became a director of the East and West India Dock Company, and later joined Charles in a series of commercial adventures in India and Australia. Frederick later lived at Down Farm near Guildford, and became a captain in the Guildford and Godalming Troop of Surrey Yeomanry Cavalry.

Pilgrim Mangles (1795-1828)

This was a life cut tragically short. Educated at Eton, Lincoln's Inn and Trinity College, Cambridge, Pilgrim was appointed at an early age to be one of four barristers attached to the Marshalsea Court and the Court of the King's Palace at Westminster. In the direct gift of the Royal Household, it was a much-prized first step in a potentially lucrative career. Frederick Thesiger, later attorney general in Peel's second administration, was a fellow barrister. Political aspirations are hinted at by publication in 1823 of *A letter to the freeholders of the county of Surrey upon the causes and the remedies of the present agricultural distress.* Pilgrim died, after a long illness, on 11 October 1828, aged 33 years.

Jane Alicia Mangles (1796-1801)

Charles Edward Mangles (1798-1873)

Charles was sent to sea, appointed in 1811, aged 13, a midshipman on the East Indiaman *Marquis of Huntly*. His first voyage, 14 months in duration, was figuratively and literally a

rite of passage, taking him to Jakarta in the Dutch East Indies, the Canton River in China and St Helena. Charles rose speedily through the ranks of the East India maritime service: 6th mate on the Henry Addington (1813/14); 5th mate on the Marquis of Huntly (1815/16); 4th mate (1817/18), 3rd mate (1819/20), 2nd mate (1821/2) and captain (1823/4, 1825/6 and 1827/8) on the Marchioness of Ely (A biographical index of East India Company maritime service officers, edited by Anthony Farrington, 1999). The bulk of his service was under the patronage of the Wigram family. At the time of his first engagement the Marchioness of Ely was owned by Sir Robert Wigram, proprietor of 21 East India ships, chairman of the East India Dock Company and with a fortune estimated in 1809 to exceed £500,000 (Oxford dictionary of national biography). Ownership passed in 1823 to his son Octavius Wigram. The Marchioness of Ely was his first ship and Mangles was his first captain. Octavius (1794-1878) was a member of Lloyds, a director of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company and one of a family generation that included two directors of the Bank of England (Robert and Money Wigram) and a director of the East India Company (William Wigram, director 1809-54 and chairman 1823-4). Joseph Cotton Wigram (another brother), then assistant curate of St James's, Westminster, was rector of St Mary's in Southampton between 1850 and 1860. Charles's third tour of command ended on 4 July 1829 when the Marchioness of Ely returned to London. It was to be his final sea-going commission. The directors of the East India Company declined to re-contract the ship, which, although less than 17 years old, was broken up in October. Never to go to sea again, Charles continued for the rest of his life to be known as Captain Mangles: one of six Captain Mangles we shall meet in this essay.

Emily Mangles (1799-1828)

Emily married the Reverend Henry Withy, late of Merton College, Oxford, on 27 August 1825. He had a few months earlier been ordained a priest in the diocese of Oxford. Emily died at Claverton parsonage near Bath on 8 February 1828, three days after the birth of their first child. A subsequent train of events – the child's death in infancy, Henry's remarriage in 1829 and early death (now incumbent of Trinity church, Huddersfield) in 1837 and the death of Emily's father in September 1838 – led to a legal dispute of Dickensian complexity over the terms of a £10,000 prenuptial agreement. The settlement was claimed by Henry's second wife (Christian Dottin Withy). James's executors – his sons Frederick, Charles and Albert - rejected the claim, a decision confirmed both by the Court of Chancery (1839-41) and, after appeal, by the House of Lords (1843). It was a considerable boost to the family's treasury.

Ross Donnelly Mangles (1807-77)

Educated at Eton and the East India College at Haileybury, Ross was appointed a writer [clerk] in the East India Company's service in Bengal in April 1819. His rise through the civil administration, mainly involved in revenue work, was unremitting: assistant to the secretary of the Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces (1821), acting collector of government customs and town duties of Furruckabad (1822), assistant to the secretary to the Board of Revenue in the Lower Provinces and acting commissioner of the Sunderbunds (1823), secretary to the commissioner of Pegu and Ava (1825) and deputy secretary in the judicial and territorial departments (1826). "So rapid an advancement is rare even amongst the ablest servants of the Company" (*Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*,

new series, volume 11, number 10, 1844). On leave of absence between 1828 and 1831, Ross was an insider witness before the House of Lords Select Committee set up in 1830 to inquire into the Company's trade with the East Indies and China. Three years later the company was stripped of its monopoly of trade to the East.

Jane Mangles (1803-24)

Henry John Mangles (1805-07)

Ellen Mangles (1807-74)

Ellen was married, on her sixteenth birthday (3 September 1823), to Captain James Stirling (1791-1868), a half-pay officer in the Royal Navy. The newly-weds moved in with Ellen's parents at Woodbridge. An apparently unremarkable marriage was transformed when Captain Stirling was recommissioned in January 1826 – after eight years without a command – as captain of HMS Success and sent to northern Australia to establish a settlement in the Torres Strait, in part to protect the increasingly vulnerable regional trading interests of the East India Company. It is possible that the appointment owed something to the leverage of his new family within the East India Company, not only as shipowners but as sizeable stockholders. James, his brothers Robert and Frederick, his son Pilgrim and brother-in-law John Hughes each held stock valued at between £1,000 and £2,000, the qualifying standard for a vote at elections for directors. Greater horizons were opened when in October 1828 Captain Stirling was given command of an expedition to found a new colony on the Swan River. It was in some respects a family enterprise. The first intending colonists on the Parmelia included his wife Ellen, their 3-year old son Andrew (a second son Frederick Henry was born at sea, christened at the Cape of Good Hope), his nephew William Stirling and a young cousin of Ellen's, George Mangles, appointed stock superintendent but who left the fledgling colony in February 1830. They took with them as much of the Surrey lifestyle as could be recreated in such an alien environment. Their new house was named Woodbridge and the nearest market town was Guildford. Captain Stirling became the first governor of Western Australia (see Australian dictionary of biography). Ellen – accomplished, charming, fashionable and welleducated – was his constant companion in their new life. A portrait by Sir Thomas Phillips, made on the eve of her departure from England, is in the National Portrait Gallery in Canberra.

Albert Mangles (1811-75)

Albert was educated at Merton College, Oxford, taking his BA in 1829 and his MA in 1832. A studentship at Lincoln's Inn suggests a legal career, but in January 1840 he was appointed vicar of Horsell in Surrey. He stayed there until his death 35 years later. He wrote *A few practical remarks on Christian almsgiving*, 2nd edition 1849. Albert and his elder brother Frederick both married daughters of George Scott, developer of the Ravenscourt estate in Hammersmith: Frederick marrying Mary Anne Scott in 1832 and Albert marrying a younger sister, Georgina, in 1833.

Hamilla Mary Mangles (1812-71)

The youngest daughter reunites us with Western Australia. In October 1833 she married Captain William Preston, RN. A protégé of Captain Stirling, William had been 2nd lieutenant on HMS *Success* on its initial voyage to the Swan River in 1829 transporting the military attachment charged with defending the new colony. The Preston name is remembered in several geographical features in the colony. Most of their married life was spent in Surrey, where Captain Preston became a county JP.

We left Captain Mangles, 31 years of age and at a crisis in his life. He hoped to continue in the East India Company's maritime service but, "as I could not afford to remain idle", he entered into an informal partnership with his elder brother Frederick as freelance East India agents. "My entering into business was a temporary arrangement between my brother and myself, and undertaken more with a view of present employment, and as guarding against the contingency of the non-renewal of the Company's Charter, and not as a permanent employment" (letter 9 February 1835 to the East India Company directors put in evidence before the House of Commons Select Committee on East India maritime affairs in May 1839). The partnership – F and C E Mangles, trading from offices at 14 Suffolk Street off Pall Mall – was far from temporary and in 1831 extended its geographical coverage to the convict states of Australia. Advertisements of their agency – "upon a novel footing" – appeared in the *Hobart Town Courier*, 27 August, 3 and 10 September and the *Sydney Gazette*, 13, 20 and 27 October 1831:

"They intend to confine their transactions in Agency in the <u>strictest</u> sense of the term, and <u>pledge themselves</u> not to engage in any speculation or commercial pursuit upon their own account. Thus relieving the funds, which may be lodged in their hands by constituents, from any contingency of misappropriation and eventual loss; and at the same time rendering it impossible that their interests as Merchants should ever clash with the discharge of their duty on behalf of a Mercantile Correspondent.

And whilst Messrs F. and C.E. Mangles will gladly purchase and ship any merchandise on behalf of their correspondents, and receive and convert into money, to the best of their judgment and ability, any remittance in that shape with which they may be honoured, they beg that it may be clearly understood that it is their object to render themselves serviceable to those gentlemen who may think proper to employ their Agency, however trifling the value of the article may be, and whatever trouble may be involved in procurement. They are persuaded that there has long been a real and pressing demand for such a medium of communication between residents in the colonies and the open markets of London; and that many will gladly avail themselves of a channel through which they may procure the best articles that the Metropolis can procure, at a cost, including all charges, lower probably than the price they have been in the habit of paying for the sweepings and refuse of second-rate shops and warehouses for goods got up in the most inferior style, purposely for exportation."

Ancillary services included the procurement of horses, hounds, *etc* of the best description, the supply of wine of first-rate quality and the provision of banking facilities "for the families of any of their constituents who may be residing temporarily in England". Transactions were exclusively in ready money or bills. Commission was charged at 3%.

Abolition of the East India Company's trading monopoly in 1833 opened up the trade to India to independent shipowners. The Mangles brothers, trading as Mangles and Co from new offices at 27 Austin Friars, were amongst the first to enter into this volatile but potentially enriching trade. Buckinghamshire was purchased on 25 June 1834, twenty days after she had completed her final voyage as part of the East India Company's home fleet. At £10,500 it was a considerable investment. William Francis Hopkins, her new captain, had served under Charles Mangles on four voyages on the Marchioness of Ely between 1821/2 and 1827/8. Buckinghamshire was soon joined by at least three ex-contract East Indiamen, Herefordshire, Neptune and Boyne, typically commanded by former East India Company officers. A different kind of ship was required for the Western Australian trade which the Mangles brothers were soon to pioneer. The survival of the colony in its first fraught decade largely depended on fast-sailing vessels either owned by or contracted to the Mangles brothers: taking new colonists and essential supplies on the outward trip and returning with wool, mahogany and seal skins. Prominent amongst these were Hero, Shepherd (the first annual packet to Fremantle), Sir William Bentinck, Britomart and Success (built for Messrs Mangles in 1840 and later an exhibition ship for the Australian government immortalized by Rudyard Kipling as "the most romantic vessel in the seven seas"). It was an uncertain trade. Agricultural families, desperately needed in a labour-poor economy, were often taken out without the security of advance payment. Ships often left the colony not fully laden, returning via the Straits Settlements, India or Mauritius to top up their cargoes. The family's trading pre-eminence left them open to censure. To quote the disaffected Fremantle lawyer (and proprietor of the Swan River Guardian between 1836 and 1838) William Nairne Clark: "This independent settlement shall not be mangled by them, to suit their own selfish ends.... Are second hand Wapping merchants to make a monopoly of the Swan River? They never shall!" (quoted in Pamela Statham-Drew, James Stirling: admiral and founding governor of Western Australia, 2003, p 307).

Captain Mangles was far from a second-hand Wapping merchant. He was on the way to becoming a London merchant, capitalist and shipping magnate of the first order. The first decade was a time of beginnings and consolidation. He was a heavy investor in the infrastructure of the port of London: a director of the London and Blackwell Railway (connecting to the East India and West India Docks) and an initial shareholder in the Grand Collier Docks Company established in 1839 to construct wet docks on the south bank of the Thames between Rotherhithe and Deptford. The latter collapsed with a mere 34 subscribers, Mangles himself taken before the Vice-Chancellor's Court in February 1840 as the failing company tried unsuccessfully to make him honour his financial commitments. In August 1835 he was elected London chairman of the Western Australia Committee, the initial meeting of its immediate predecessor - the ponderously-named Committee for Receiving and Forwarding communications relative to the colony of Western Australia – being held at 27 Austin Friars. He was, along with Frederick Chidley Irwin (former officer-in-charge of the military detachment in the colony, author of The state and position of Western Australia published in 1835 and now on furlough in England), the public face of the embattled colony. A meeting of the corresponding committee in Perth in March 1837 extolled Mangles and Irwin "for their arduous and unremitting exertions in behalf of the colony; by removing from

the public mind erroneous impressions, founded upon many false and injurious reports as to its progress, the nature of its soil, climate and position, and the condition and character of its population; for their intercessions with the Home Government, and for awakening the public attention to its actual state, capabilities, and prospects" (*The Colonist*, 11 May 1837). The original impulse had been to counter rumours allegedly sanctioned by Lord Glenelg, Minister for the Colonies, that the colony was a failure.

Revocation of the East India Company charter in 1833 had political as well as economic consequences for Captain Mangles. Commanders and officers in actual service within five years of 28 August 1833 were due significant compensation for loss of livelihood. Officers in the freight (ie contract) branch of the service believed that the short time-span put them at a disadvantage compared to those in the home service of the company. Mangles, whose service had been solely in the contract service, was in the forefront of claimants for a more equitable payout. He moved one of the key resolutions at a meeting of rebellious ex-officers at the Jerusalem Coffee House, Cornhill in May 1834. He hinted at collusion between East India Company directors and the president of the government Board of Control. "The unfairness of the plan could only be measured by the secrecy with which it had been concocted" (Morning Post, 23 May 1834). He was a treasurer of the subsequent campaigning committee. Mangles himself applied to the Court of Directors for compensation in January 1835. It was a unique case for he was the only applicant then employed outside the service. The claim was originally rejected on (to quote James Cosmo Melville, secretary to the company) "the notoriety of the fact that he was an agent". Mangles appealed the decision, calling on testimonies from Octavius Wigram and brother Frederick to prove that he would have been re-engaged for a fourth voyage should a new contract have been awarded and that his agency was "more as an experiment than as a permanent measure". The appeal was initially rejected by the Court of Directors but later overturned on a ballot of directors. Mangles was awarded an annuity of £200 per annum backdated to 22 April 1834, confirmed eight days later by the newly-appointed secretary to the Board of Control, Robert Vernon Smith. It was a naivety he came to regret as a House of Commons debate (4 April 1837) on the compensation process specifically condemned the award to Mangles given, according to Joseph Hume, radical MP for Middlesex, "for losses by the extinction of a service he had voluntarily thrown up". Vernon Smith now characterized Mangles' settlement as "monstrous".

Politics came to play an increasing part in the life of Captain Mangles. He acted as his father's surrogate in Guildford during his absences through illness or parliamentary business. A dinner to celebrate James Mangles' victory in the 1835 general election gave a platform for his son's political principles: "He was a Reformer both in Church and State, more especially as he believed the people were the only source of power" (*Morning Chronicle*, 14 April 1835). He emphasised points of similarity with his father's views, notably support for the ballot and abolition of the right of bishops to sit in the House of Lords. Captain Mangles was also active in the wider county constituency as an articulate member of the West Surrey Reform Association. In 1830 he had been commissioned into the Royal Surrey Militia. Connections with the borough were strengthened in 1839 when he took up residence in Poyle Park, a large, square three-storeyed house, approached from the Hog's Back by a mile-long

drive, six miles from Guildford (Edward Wedlake Brayley, A topographical history of Surrey, volume 5, 1850, pp 301-2). The property had passed to his widowed mother in 1838 but Charles took advantage of a clause in his father's will allowing his sons a right of purchase during her lifetime. Here he lived in some style, the 1841 census recording, in addition to seven members of his own family and seven of his in-law's family, ten female and four male servants. The family's electoral influence in the borough, however, fell not to Charles but to Ross Donnelly Mangles, who had returned to England in 1839 following his father's death. The younger brother was patently the better candidate. His relentless rise through the Indian civil service culminated in appointment as secretary to the Government of Bengal in 1835. Two years later, in the absence up country of the governor-general, he effectively became chief administrator of the province (Oxford dictionary of national biography). "He does not leave his equal behind him in India" (Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany, new series, volume 11, number 10, 1844). Taking up the right to purchase in his father's will, Ross acquired the Woodbridge estate in 1839 and moved into the family residence. Ideally placed by talent, family and proximity, he became the successful Liberal candidate for Guildford at the general election of 1841. He represented the borough until 1858, sometimes ambiguously and erroneously referred to in the early years (in both Hansard and newspaper accounts) as Captain Mangles. In 1847 he became a director of the East India Company, serving as chairman between 1857 and 1858. In 1866 he was elected to the new Council of India. A son, Ross Lowis Mangles, also of the Bengal Civil Service, won the Victoria Cross during the 1857 Indian Rebellion.

Captain Mangles had a very different initiation into the constituency politics of Southampton. He was introduced by Thomas Leader Harman to a meeting of the Southampton Reform Association at the Blue Boar Inn on 3 May 1841. This is three months after his brother had been proposed as a Liberal candidate for Guildford. He had no connection – political, economic or family – with Southampton. And he clearly cut an exotic figure, parodied by John Wheeler in the *Hampshire Advertiser*, 8 May 1841 ('Introduction of the patent radical Mangles into Southampton'):

"According to our information, he is a gentleman on the unhappy side of forty, rather hard in his features but easy in his manners. The outward *caput* appears to have been a purchase and not a gift: - his whiskers to have been scientifically de-naturalized, and his dentals like an accommodation bill. In his speech he has slight lisp (just accounted for) but in what he does speak we are told there is much sound sense. He is easy and ready in his manner – manly in his carriage – but he does *not* know how to dress and this (of course) will of itself for ever close our borough against him. His dress may do among Skippers and Plebeians, but it can never do for Gentlemen and Patricians. Bright buttons are bad enough, though unfortunately fashionable just now; but fierce waistcoats, vulgar brooches, and showy chains are utterly at war with that quiet, unpretending dress (ever good but never gaudy) which is the characteristic of your well-bred Englishman".

Captain Mangles – 'Skipper Mangles' to his opponents – made much of his political pedigree. This was debunked by John Wheeler who, as a former parliamentary reporter on the *Morning Chronicle*, had an intimate knowledge his father, "that celebrated intellectual

character Mr Mangles, of Guildford, who always sat in the House of Commons, even when the Speaker was on his legs, with his hat on, and who never opened his mouth all the years he was a member". This is a slight exaggeration. Two speeches (excluding presentation of petitions) are recorded. He spoke in defence of the borough of Guildford, threatened with partial disfranchisement, in the committee on the Reform Bill, 29 July 1831, but was "quite inaudible in the gallery" (*Morning Post*, 30July 1831). His second intervention was on 6 July 1836 to interrupt Thomas Attwood, MP for Birmingham, during a speech in support of a petition complaining of the operation of the Poor Law Amendment Act. The exchange was reported in *Hansard*:

"Mr Mangles said, that in his part of the country the Poor-Law Act had worked most admirably, and that all the poor were employed and happy in its operation.

Mr Thomas Attwood was happy to hear the statement of the hon. Gentleman, but he believed he was under an error.

Mr Mangles. What I state is a matter of fact".

Captain Mangles' appeal to the Liberal leadership in Southampton may have owed more to religion than to politics or commerce. Thomas Leader Harman, his constituency sponsor, represented him as "a Commercial and a Christian Captain". These were sentiments which Mangles emphasized in the preface to his first election address in Southampton: "He approached these subjects with deep seriousness and deep solemnity, for he felt that his political opinions were, in some measure, mixed up with religious opinions. He would use the title of a pamphlet written by a brother of his – Christian reasons [of a member of the Church of England] for being a Reformer. He was not ashamed, as a Christian, to declare he believed the Bible to be liberal in its principles and strongly opposed to persecution for the sake of opinion" (Hampshire Independent, 8 May 1841). He came from a family of evangelical Anglicans. His father had been a vice president of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Ross Donnelly Mangles – author of the above-mentioned pamphlet – was a member of the Church Missionary Society and a passionate believer in the Christianization of India. He had promoted a seminary in Calcutta to train Indian clergymen. Charles himself, with Frederick Chidley Irwin, had helped to found the Western Australian Missionary Society in September 1835, following a vestry meeting in the Episcopal Chapel of St John's, Bedford Row, headquarters of fashionable evangelicalism in London. This evolved into the Australian Church Missionary Society, with James Mangles a vice president and Charles treasurer. The firm F and C E Mangles gave the Reverend William Mitchell, missionary to the resultant Swan River Mission, free passage out on the Shepherd in April 1838. In Southampton Mangles stood as "a strong Church Reformer", advocating the eradication of pluralities, the greater involvement of bishops within their diocese and the complete abolition of church rates. This was allied to an ultra-radical political agenda which incorporated the ballot, franchise reform, triennial parliaments and reduction in the size of constituencies in order to reduce corruption.

The election campaign was a disaster for the Liberals. They hoped to capitalize on the anticorn law sentiment of the time, but were endlessly side-tracked by the minutiae of how many ships Mangles owned. His supporters spoke of sixteen ships. His opponents effected to muster no more than three, and these only part-owned. The reality was somewhere in between, the firm of F and C E Mangles owning six ships totalling 4,408 tons, of which Charles personally owned 3,850 tons. His supporters held out the tantalising prospect that (to quote John Wheeler again) "these ships he would instantly bring to Southampton if King, Witt and Co would guarantee a freight for them". The Tories thought this unlikely, "for sure we are that the worthy and excellent Captain and all his race would not embark the value of his walking stick in a speculation that was not decidedly a safe one" (Hampshire Advertiser, 5 June 1841). Personal difficulties with the candidate alienated even his closest supporters. In January 1863 T L Harman, now resident in the United States of America, wrote to Edward Harrison, a Liberal solicitor in Southampton, commiserating on the defeat of Mangles in the general election the previous month: "Mrs Harman does not scruple to say that she is very glad. She has never forgotten his miserable conduct in 1841. I can easily imagine what trouble you had with him in the canvass, & in private I sincerely pity you" (Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, 4M92/G8/37). Mangles came bottom of the poll with 554 votes. The result was overturned on petition, alleging gross bribery and treating, but neither Mangles nor his running partner E J Hutchins was asked to stand in the re-run election of August 1842. He was fleetingly mentioned as a possible candidate in August 1846 on rumours of a dissolution of parliament but when the general election was called the following year the Liberals turned to Brodie McGhie Willcox, managing director of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, and Alexander Cockburn, a London barrister with an extensive practice. The partnership represented the borough until November 1856, when Cockburn resigned on his appointment as chief justice of the common pleas.

It was a resignation that allowed Captain Mangles to rise, phoenix-like, from the ashes of the 1841 debacle. He was no longer, as he had then been, an unknown parvenu. He was now one of the capitalist elite of the City of London with power to influence the economic development of Southampton. A list of directorships includes the Union Bank of Australia, the Australian, Colonial and General Life Assurance Society, the Marine, Life and Casualty Mutual Assurance Society, the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, the Northern and Eastern Railway Company, the Reading, Guildford and Reigate Railway Company, the London and South-Western Railway Company and the Southampton Dock Company. He had promoted the Victoria Docks in London and had speculated widely in the developing mineral assets of Australia: a founding director of the Chartered Australian Land, Mining, Importing and Refining Company, established in 1852 to exploit the newly-discovered gold fields but wound up acrimoniously two years later as "a regular concoction by one or two parties buying and selling land to each other" (*The Argus*, 20 October 1854), and an auditor of the Australian Coal Mining Company, established in 1853 to develop the Newcastle Coal Fields.

The connection between the [West India] Royal Mail Steam Packet Company and its home port of Southampton was at the heart of Mangles' political influence in the town. He was one of four directors elected at a special meeting of shareholders on 8 November 1842. Their qualifications were as practical men, "acknowledged to be intimately acquainted with the trade and localities in which the operations of the company are carried on" (Hampshire Advertiser, 12 November 1842). He soon became chairman of the managing committee and, between May 1856 and April 1873, was chairman of the company. The mail packet fleet relocated from Falmouth in 1844/5 following excavation of deep-water docks in Southampton. Many of the company's ships were repaired in the dry docks constructed in 1846 and 1847: RMS Forth initiated No.1 Dry Dock. Mangles was appointed a London director of the Southampton Dock Company in the expectation that this would encourage greater use of the graving docks (Hampshire Independent, 31 August 1850). Money Wigram, shipbuilder of Blackwall and brother of Octavius Wigram, established a shipyard at Northam in 1850 after he had secured a contract to build five steamships for the Royal Mail service to Brazil and Argentina. RMS Parana was the first ship to be launched (15 July 1851) from the new yard. Although criticized for an inevitably London-based focus, Mangles was a not infrequent visitor to Southampton, representing the company at public meetings, accompanying his engineering officers and Admiralty inspectors on sea trials in the Solent and sitting on courts of enquiry held in the town. Initiatives of mutual benefit to Southampton and the Royal Mail line frequently had Mangles' support. He was in July 1846 a provisional director – and a personal subscriber of shares worth $\pounds 3,000$ – of the abortive broad-gauge Manchester and Southampton Railway, promoted in part to supply cheap coal from south Wales to the fuel-hungry mail packets. He was in 1851 on the provisional committee of the proposed Southampton Chamber of Commerce. He was in April 1852 a founder of the Australian Pacific Mail Steam Packet Company, intended through a new trans-Pacific service to connect the west coast of Panama with Wellington and Sydney. It was to link up, via a land carriage across the Panama isthmus, with the existing Royal Mail service between Southampton and Chagres. The company was wound up in 1854 before any ships were delivered. In September 1853 he was a founding director of the Southampton Steam Shipping Company, to evolve within a few weeks into the Union Steam Collier Company, established to supply coal from south Wales to Southampton for bunkering. He resigned in September 1856 when the company set up in the Brazilian trade in competition with Royal Mail.

Thomas Leader Harman was by chance in London when the office of chief justice of the common pleas became vacant. Alexander Cockburn was the natural successor. Sensing the possibility of a by-election in Southampton, Harman that same day contacted Mangles and invited him to stand. Timothy Falvey, editor of the *Hampshire Independent*, immediately took steps to deter any opposition: "... we do not think there will be any vacancy at all [reflecting, somewhat disingenuously, the view that Cockburn would refuse to relinquish his lucrative legal work], and, even if there were, there is a true and well-known Reformer ready and willing to solicit the electors of Southampton to send him to the House of Commons as the man of their choice" (8 November 1856). Richard Andrews, recently-elected mayor of Southampton for the fourth time and arbiter of the Liberal party in the town, gave his blessing, urging "that in Southampton he [Mangles] would find a majority of well-intentioned and Liberal men to support him, and that they constituted such a majority as to be enabled to place him at the head of the poll" (quoted in *Hampshire Telegraph*, 20 December 1856). These were unimpeachable sponsors. But the timing was execrable. On 16 October 1856 a

packed town meeting had given unanimous approval to the Southampton, Bristol and South West Railway's scheme to connect Southampton and Salisbury, linking the town with the national broad-gauge network. "We have seldom seen a more influential assemblage of the merchants and tradesmen of our town" (*Hampshire Independent*, 18 October 1856). Mangles, as a director of the London and South-Western Railway Company from the early 1850s, was seen as the embodiment of a company determined to defend its near-monopoly of local rail services. On his initial canvass he met such a cascade of abuse, orchestrated by former political allies Alfred Pegler (said to have invested £500 in the new speculation) and Dr Francis Cooper (seconder of Mangles' nomination in 1841), that he immediately withdrew from the contest. His patron was appalled. "Poor Mangles! How unlucky Southampton has been to him, politically speaking. I cannot say I have much sympathy with him. Had he not been such a coward and so chary of his success, he might have got in without any difficulty when Cockburn retired" (Thomas Leader Harman to Edward Harrison, 1 January 1863: Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, 4M92/G8/37). It was the prelude to the disintegration of the Liberal party in Southampton.

Captain Mangles became MP for Newport (Isle of Wight) at the general election of March 1857. He came top of the poll with 305 votes, sharing the representation with fellow Liberal and first-time member Charles Buxton, a well-connected London brewer. Mangles was elected on those ultra-reform principles that had "guided him sixteen years ago at Southampton, and which he hoped to carry with him to the grave" (Hampshire Telegraph, 21 March 1857: speech at the Queen's Rooms, Newport). He was pro ballot. He advocated a degree of electoral reform that to many placed him outside the ranks of Palmerston's supporters. He was in favour of free trade. His religious platform included abolition of church rates, sweeping reform of the Irish Church and reduction in the political influence of the bench of bishops. He advocated the causes of non-sectarian education and Sabbatarianism, opposing the recent Sabbath Bill which permitted places of recreation to open on Sundays. Mangles was a one-term member. Neither he nor Charles Buxton contested the April 1859 election. They were victims of an internecine party battle so intense that agreement on the date of the celebratory dinner was not reached until October 1858. It was probably no great loss to the House of Commons. Mangles never spoke in debate and, in the barbed comment of The Standard, 17 November 1862, "when he disappeared no one, except perhaps the ministerial whipper-in, had the curiosity to inquire what became of him".

A final attempt to represent Southampton in the House of Commons was made in November 1862. The sudden death of Brodie McGhie Willcox on 6 November triggered an unexpected by election for which no party was adequately prepared. Captain Mangles was the first candidate in the field, publishing his election address the day after Willcox's death. He was opposed by Alderman William Anderson Rose, an oil, colour and grease merchant of London who had until recently been Lord Mayor of London. He had been Mangles' opponent at Newport. The election turned on Mangles' connection with three of the largest companies in Southampton: chairman of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, chairman (since 1859) of the London and South-Western Railway Company and director of the Southampton Dock Company. He was the personification of the London monopolist, a man who would put the

interests of his companies above those of the town, who (*Hampshire Advertiser*, 6 December 1862) simply "has too much unchecked and undue influence here". The broad-gauge issue still allied Mangles with a company whose high freight charges were blamed for compromising the economic development of the port, especially when compared with the success of Liverpool. The [West India] Royal Mail Company had an agenda which many saw inimical to the well-being of the town. Typical perhaps is an intervention made during a Conservative meeting in the Bedford Arms Hotel, reported in the *Hampshire Advertiser*, 22 November 1862:

"The meeting was about to break up, when Mr Tully came forward and said that the West India Company took advantage of the labour market by engaging men at low wages, and then sent them out to face "Yellow Jack" (laughter) for six weeks, and if they had the courage and constitution to come home they were sent for six weeks to the Poorhouse. That was the truth, and he challenged Captain Mangles to disprove it. The West India Company were the ruin of the town; they brought paupers to it, which helped to impoverish the people. They gave a fellow bad pay, bad "grub", and bad quarters.... The Peninsular and Oriental Company, all honour to them, paid their men well, kept them in sickness, and educated their children".

The Peninsular and Oriental Company attempted to recover its parliamentary influence in the town - compromised by the defeat of Thomas Weguelin (appointed a P&O director after his victory in the 1857 by election) in the election of May 1859 and forfeited through the death of Brodie Willcox in November 1862 – by a comprehensive endorsement of Alderman Rose. The two senior P&O officials in the town – the port superintendent Captain John Ralph Engledue and the superintendent engineer Andrew Lamb – were particularly active in the lists against Mangles. The two men were mirror opposites in their political views. Engledue was a life-long Conservative, candidate himself for the borough in 1859 (although not going to a poll) and 1874 while Lamb was a life-long Liberal, an evangelical Presbyterian and later chairman of the ultra-Liberal *Southampton Times*. They were joined by Charles Day, shipbuilder of Northam who had extensive P&O contracts and who was co-patentee with Lamb of several improvements to marine engines. It was a short but violent election, the poll restricted to one day. Mangles lost by 54 votes in a poll of 3,402, a humiliating defeat in an election many thought he should have won. He left the town before the official declaration of the result.

The final years of Mangles' life saw a continued growth in his business and commercial interests. He became a director (later deputy chairman) of the Atlantic Royal Mail Steam Navigation Company (the Galway Company) established in 1859 to carry mail between Britain and Boston and New York and a director (later chairman) of the Transatlantic Steamship Company founded in 1865 to establish a line of passenger and cargo steamships between Southampton and New York. He was Brazilian vice-consul in London, awarded the Order of the Rose by the Emperor of Brazil in 1870. His portfolio of railway directorships expanded to include the Exeter and Crediton Railway, the Tooting, Merton and Wimbledon Railway, the Bodmin and Wadebridge Railway and, overseas, the (failed) South-Eastern Railway of Portugal and the Great Southern of India (later the South India) Railway. He was a director of the English and Foreign Credit Company, the United Discount Corporation, the

Anglo-Portuguese (later London and Brazilian) Bank and the Alliance Bank of London and Liverpool, as well as a trustee of the London and South Australian Bank. He was also one of four directors of the English Joint-Stock Bank investigated by the Lord Mayor of London at the Mansion House in 1869 on charges of conspiracy to defraud shareholders of over £330,000. The failed bank had evolved from the Mangles-owned West Surrey Bank. The charges were dropped.

Captain Charles Mangles died on 28 October 1873 at Norwood in Surrey, aged 78 years. He was buried at St Paul's, Tongham on 2 November. His personal effects were valued for probate at 'under £7,000'. His widow Rose died on 24 August 1862, and is buried with her husband at St Paul's. Her personal estate was valued at £816.3s.1d. They had married by licence on 24 March 1831 in Trinity Church, St Marylebone. She was the youngest daughter of George Newcombe of the Audit Office and sister to Harriett Mangles (*nee* Newcombe), George's co-heir, who had married Ross Donnelly Mangles in February 1830. Charles is described in the parish registers as a bachelor. He already had a son (presumably illegitimate): Charles Edward Mangles, born 1 March 1826 and baptized 15 March at Christ Church, St Marylebone, parents Charles Edward, sea officer of 15 Park Terrace, and Elizabeth.

Charles and Rose Mangles had eleven children. Their legacy spread across two continents:

James Henry Mangles. Baptized 25 September 1832 in St John the Evangelist, Guildford. Student at Haileybury East India College, 1849-51, and on the editorial committee of the *Haileybury Observer*. Entered the Bengal Civil Service, becoming officiating joint magistrate of Baraset. Resigned from the Bengal Establishment on 24 May 1860. Returning to Surrey, he lived in Valewood near Haslemere. He became a lawyer, a director of the London and South-Western Railway (1875) and a pioneer rhododendron collector and hybridiser. Part of a close-knit circle of writers, he published a series of conservations between himself and Alfred Tennyson, a near neighbour, whilst walking on Blackdown: Earl A Knies (ed), *Tennyson at Aldworth: the diary of James Henry Mangles*, 1984. See W R Trotter, *The hilltop writers: a Victorian colony among the Surrey Hills*, 2003.

Henry (Harry) Albert Mangles. Baptized 8 September 1833 in St John the Baptist, Puttenham, Surrey. Served in the Bengal Civil Service between April 1854 and 1877, mainly employed in the financial departments: Civil Paymaster in Bombay, Accountant General of Bengal and (1864-5) a government director of the Bank of Bombay. He spent his retirement at Littleworth Cross in Surrey as a geologist, a collector of flint objects and a horticulturalist, sharing a passion for rhododendrons with his elder brother. Pioneer experiments in their hybridization were carried out in the Himalayan House at Littleworth. The young architect Edwin Lutyens designed a gardener's cottage at Littleworth for Harry. It was here that Lutyens met Gertrude Jekyll (Jane Brown, *Gardens of a golden afternoon: the story of a partnership between Edwin Lutyens and Gertrude Jekyll*, 1982; the *cottage* is illustrated on p 31). Henry died in February 1908 with personal effects of £35,667. Rose Mangles. Born 23 February 1835. Baptized 19 March 1835 in All Souls, Marylebone. Lived at Littleworth Cross and commemorated in the name of a splendid commercial rhododendron. She died 1901.

Hamilla Katherine Mangles. Born 25 September 1837. Died 13 April 1838 at Flexford near Guildford.

Frank Mangles. Baptized 23 June 1839 in St John the Baptist, Puttenham. Appointed a clerk in the Examiner's Office in the India Office in February 1858: his appointment signed by John Stuart Mill. Recorded as a junior clerk in 1862.

Harriet Mangles. Baptized 26 January 1841 in Stoke next Guildford. Died young.

Cecil Mangles. Baptized 1 May 1842 in St Lawrence, Seale, near Guildford. Appointed a cornet in the 2nd Bengal European Cavalry on 20 February 1861, transferring to the 20th Hussars on their formation in India in September 1862. Promoted lieutenant (October 1866), captain (January 1873), major (December 1879), lieutenant colonel (July 1881, succeeding to command of the regiment in April 1883) and major general (?1885). Appointed to the Order of the Bath (1885). Returned with the regiment to England in 1872 and later saw service in the Suakin (Sudan) expedition of 1885. Retired on half pay in September 1885. Died in 1906.

Harriet Newcombe Mangles. Baptized 1 May 1842 in St Lawrence, Seale. Died 25 March 1885 in West Sussex.

Emily Mangles. Baptized 28 July 1844 in St Lawrence, Seale.

Clara Mangles. Baptized 22 February 1846 in St Lawrence, Seale. Carried on the hybridization of rhododendrons in Surrey after Harry's death. She died in 1931. For further details of the family's horticultural interests see Alice M Coats, Forgotten gardeners, III: the Mangles family in *Garden History*, volume 3, number 1, Summer 1973, pp 42-6. Captain James Mangles, RN, FRS (1786-1867), son of John Mangles and cousin of Charles, was one of the great botanical missionaries of the mid-nineteenth century (*Oxford dictionary of national biography*). Charles had no obvious botanical interests but was, in 1831, elected a corresponding member of the Zoological Society.

Agnes Mangles. Baptized 6 January 1850 in St Lawrence, Seale. Married (1876) Arthur Wakefield Chapman (1849-1926), a partner in Pigott, Chapman and Company, jute merchants of Calcutta (1875-1902), chairman of Surrey County Council (1911-17), JP, Deputy Lieutenant, defeated Liberal candidate for the Guildford Division of Surrey in 1900, chairman of the County Council Association and knighted in 1915. Arthur Chapman was closely connected with the Lutyens family, and Agnes Chapman was a friend of Edwin's mother Mary Lutyens. Agnes was used as a model by the pioneer photographer Julia Margaret Cameron. In 1874, she appeared with Julia's husband Charles Hay Cameron in the tableaux 'Vivien and Merlin' to illustrate Tennyson's *Idylls of the King and other poems*. In 1875, she posed as 'Mariana' to illustrate Tennyson's poem of that name. Copies can be seen on, respectively, the websites of the National Portrait Gallery and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Agnes died in 1906.

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