

Saltburn-by-the-Sea 1860 - 1890 : A Vision Realised?

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ABSTRACT

Saltburn by the Sea was established by Quaker industrialists as a brand new seaside resort in north east England in 1860. This study examines what role Quakerism and class played in the development of Saltburn as a seaside resort. This is achieved by examining the type of housing and leisure amenities in the resort, how the town was received by visitors and residents and why Saltburn faltered in the 1880s.

The study uses contemporary guidebooks to assess how Saltburn was received by early visitors and also utilises newspaper reports, both local and national, to discover how the resort was reported in its infancy. The scandal which appeared in *The Lancet* in 1866 concerning Saltburn's water and drainage arrangements is fully investigated. An assessment of the town's leisure facilities is made and whether they appealed to the lower classes and temperance is also discussed as Saltburn was a dry resort with no public houses for over one hundred years. The stalling of the resort's development is discussed with reference to the Long Depression and competition from other elites.

The study concludes that the Perkins theory is correct and the dominant elite set the social tone of a resort. In Saltburn, the improvement committee was mostly made up of Quaker industrialists who made a conscious decision to create a resort aimed at the most sophisticated visitor. This was achieved by only offering leisure facilities which made a charge, limiting excursion trains, banning alcohol and the refusal to offer traditional working class recreations. This decision was to the resort's detriment as the masses chose other nearby seaside towns such as Redcar, therefore Saltburn's development had largely ceased towards the end of the nineteenth century.

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I declare that this dissertation is my own work and that I have not submitted it, or any part of it, for a degree at The Open University or at any other university or institution. Parts of this dissertation are built on work I submitted for assessment as part of A825.

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This study is dedicated to my two children Matthew and Rosie and to my father who supported me unfailingly in my education and sadly died during the writing of this dissertation.

1. Introduction

Walking on the cliffs near Marske, north east England in 1859, Henry Pease sat on the hillside and had a `sort of prophetic vision, on the cliff before him, a town arise, and the quiet, unfrequented glen, through which the brook made its way to the sea, turned into a lovely garden`.¹ This quote, taken from a biography written by his wife after his death, may well be apocryphal but Henry, a Quaker industrialist, was certainly the driving force behind the establishment of Saltburn by the Sea. Henry communicated his revelation to fellow industrialists and family members and a committee was formed with a view to make his vision a reality and build a brand new seaside resort on the north east coast. The committee was formed of Henry and fellow industrialists, Thomas Macnay, W.Cudworth Isaac Wilson and W. Hopkins.² They set out to create `a genteel resort rather than a day-tripper town` which would `cater to middle and upper class clientele conscious of the supposed benefits of spa resorts`.³ It is recorded that the design of Saltburn was inspired by the description of the Holy City in the Book of Revelations.⁴ Whilst this may seem a far reaching claim, the relevant bible passage describes a town made of many jewels and some of Saltburn's principal streets are all named after precious

¹ Mary Pease, *Henry Pease A Short Story Of His Life* (London and Ashford: Headley Brothers, 1897) p.90.

² Teesside Archives (TA), U/OME (2) 1/13, p.5.

³ J.K Harrison, and A Harrison, `Saltburn-by-the Sea The Early Years of a Stockton and Darlington Railway Company Venture`, *Industrial Archaeology Review*, 4 (1980), 135-159 (p.152); Maurice Kirby, *The Origins of Railway Enterprise: The Stockton and Darlington Railway, 1821-1863* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p.174.

⁴ Historic England: `Valley Gardens, Saltburn` <<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001429>> [accessed 28 December 2017].

stones.⁵ This, together with Pease's own strong religious beliefs, suggests an attempt to create a utopia on the north east coast.

This dissertation draws upon several of the themes studied in the first year of the Masters course, principally that of urban history and religion. The Pease family were railway and industrial pioneers and also Quakers, so the study will examine how Henry's Quakerism shaped the town. The theme of urban history will be discussed with particular reference to the types of leisure facilities and housing which were chosen as they both set the social tone and resulted in a rather refined seaside resort sitting in a very industrial part of the country.

Main and Supplementary Research Questions

The main research question will examine what role Quakerism and class played in the development of Saltburn as a seaside resort. A second supplementary question will determine how Saltburn's amenities compared to other resorts such as Redcar and Scarborough in terms of their social tone. Was Saltburn promoted as a refined and elite resort? A tertiary question will investigate how successful the resort was, particularly in the years following Henry's death and after the involvement of the Board of Health.

⁵ Bible Gateway: 'Revelation 21' <<https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Revelation+21>> [accessed 20 December 2017].

Rationale

The social tone of seaside resorts was examined by historian Harold Perkin in the 1970s, however his study concentrated on resorts in the north west of England such as Blackpool and Morecambe.⁶ Perkin argued that Victorian patterns of social class division also applied to seaside resorts. This, he concluded, was often the result of landowners' policies when selling or leasing land for development, as well as the beliefs of the dominant elite. Some years later M.Huggins tested whether Perkin's theory also applied to resorts in the north east of England.⁷ However his study concentrated largely on Redcar and Coatham, devoting just three of his eighteen pages to Saltburn. Therefore there is an unexplored opportunity for investigating both the social tone of early Saltburn and the motivations of Henry and his colleagues regarding its planning and provision of leisure amenities.

Primary Sources and Methodology

There is a good supply of primary sources about the development of Saltburn, of greatest interest is the collection held at Teesside Archives in Middlesbrough which holds a very detailed record of Saltburn Improvement Company documentation, including nine minute books covering 1860-1920, as well as agreements, maps and deeds.⁸ By checking land ownership, by way of studying the deeds held at the archive, I intend to test Perkin's theory that the land owners set the social tone of a resort. The minute books contain information about specific

⁶ Harold Perkin, 'The 'Social Tone' of Victorian Seaside Resorts in the North-West', *Northern History*, 11 (1976), 180-194.

⁷ Mike Huggins, 'Social Tone and Resort Development in North-East England: Victorian Seaside Resorts Around the Mouth of the Tees', *Northern History*, 20 (1984), 187-206.

⁸ Teesside Archives (TA), Saltburn Improvement Company Minute Books, 1861 -1882.

decisions made regarding leisure amenities, for example the decision to charge for certain attractions such as the Valley Gardens and the pier. There are also details of how the resort was planned and which resorts the committee were trying to emulate, for example Henry Pease visited Scarborough and admired their amenities, some of which were later replicated in Saltburn. Census returns are examined to ascertain the social structure of town of both residents and visitors. In addition, *Kelly's Directory* is examined to assess the type of refreshment amenities available given that there were no public houses in the resort.⁹ Since they reveal much about the cultural pretensions of a resort, contemporary guidebooks of the time are fully utilised. Those written by George Tweddell, William Stott Banks, W.M Rapp and John Farndale all detail how the town was being received as well as how it hoped to be perceived.¹⁰ Local newspapers, some of which are no longer in production such as the *Redcar Gazette*; *Middlesbrough Weekly News* and *Cleveland Advertiser*, are examined to reveal the emerging social tone of Saltburn and other nearby seaside towns through editorials; visitor accounts, letters to the editor and details of any VIP visitors. Visitor accounts from national newspapers such as *The Times* are also discussed. Finally, the scandal which played out in the pages of *The Lancet* concerning the water quality and drainage arrangements of the town will be discussed with reference to the planning committee's motivations and the town's reaction to the bad publicity.

⁹ *Kelly's Directory of the North and East Ridings Yorkshire* (London: Kelly and Co., 1893).

¹⁰ George Tweddell, *The Visitor's Handbook to Redcar, Coatham and Saltburn-by-the-Sea* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co, 1863); William Stott Banks, *Walks in Yorkshire, The North East, Comprising Redcar, Saltburn, Whitby, Scarborough and Filey* (London: J Russell Smith, 1866); W.M.Rapp, *Rapp's Guide To Saltburn-By-The-Sea and All Places of Interest in the Neighbourhood* (Saltburn: Rapp, 1870); John Farndale, *A Guide To Saltburn By The Sea and the Surrounding District With Remarks on Its Picturesque Scenery* (Darlington: Hird, 1864).

Secondary Sources

The history of alcohol consumption in the Victorian age is discussed (with particular reference to Quaker views on temperance) and how that belief may have contributed to Saltburn becoming a largely 'dry' resort using the work of Brian Harrison as a principal source.¹¹ Several Quaker studies are used including books by Anne Orde, Victoria Isichei and M.W Kirby who have all written extensively about Victorian Quaker business practices.¹² Journal articles already referred to by Perkin and Huggins are used to provide an overview about how one determines the social tone of seaside resorts, whilst the work of J.K and A. Harrison provides more general information about the establishment of Saltburn and its leisure facilities.

¹¹ Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971).

¹² Anne Orde, *Religion, Business and Society in North-East England: The Pease Family of Darlington in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2000); Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); Maurice Kirby, *The Origins Of Railway Enterprise: The Stockton and Darlington Railway 1821-1863* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

2. Birth of the Resort

This chapter will begin by discussing the concept of a town's `social tone` and how Saltburn's early design set the tone. It will then examine the different types of housing in the town making reference to pricing, stipulations regarding design and also the covenants set down by the Improvement Company. The resort's Valley Gardens, which were the first leisure facility to be established, will then be discussed, particularly with reference to the pricing structure and entrance policy. The chapter will end with an examination of Quaker principles regarding equality for all and how these beliefs were at odds with the eventual social tone of Saltburn, resulting in a resort that was aimed at certain sectors of society and excluded others. The establishment of a brand new resort gave the members of Saltburn Improvement Company a unique opportunity to provide housing and leisure facilities specifically for the residents and visitors they wished to attract. Tailoring a town's infrastructure to attract visitors in this way was nothing new. Peter Borsay describes how eighteenth century planners attempted to refine leisure towns like Bath by making physical improvements to the environment to attract the most sophisticated visitors. This included the construction of new streets and buildings, parks, public gardens, promenades and the introduction of street lighting in some areas. He describes this change, together with `economic revival and the spread of "polite" culture`, as characteristic of a general urban

renaissance.¹ Borsay further describes the English urban renaissance as 'a new wave of prosperity, the most striking sign of which was the cultural refinement and prestige it brought to those towns which were affected'.² This was certainly something that planners in Saltburn were hoping to achieve and the specific regulations around housing, width of streets and the type of leisure facilities all contributed to the cultural refinement and what social historian H.J Perkin described in his study as the 'social tone' of a town.³

Social tone and Perkin

Social tone was first described by Perkin in the 1970s when he argued that social zoning in the Victorian era, which was already present in schools, clubs and societies, was also evident in pleasure resorts. He noted that 'most of the English in that age took their pleasures separately, in the company of their social equals, and each resort had its own 'social tone', finely adjusted to the exact status of its clientele'.⁴ He ascertained that the urban and built environment all contributed to a resort's tone and could be determined by examining the prices charged for property or boarding houses; the types of buildings in the town; census returns detailing businesses present; occupations of residents; together with an assessment of 'the character and scale of public buildings, parks, gardens and the types of entertainment provided'.⁵ In Saltburn there was an opportunity to set the social tone from the beginning, drawing on other successful seaside resorts and

¹ Borsay cited in Jon Stobart, Leonard Schwarz, 'Leisure, Luxury and Urban Specialization in the Eighteenth Century', *Urban History*, 35 (2008), 216-236 (p.217).

² Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p.viii.

³ Harold Perkin, 'The 'Social Tone' of Victorian Seaside Resorts in the North-West', *Northern History*, 11 (1976), 180-194 (p.180).

⁴ Perkin, p.180.

⁵ Perkin, p.181.

spa towns. As many of Saltburn's early visitors may have already frequented spa towns such as Bath or Tunbridge Wells, a sense of familiarity would have been important when visiting this brand new resort. This would have been especially significant in the absence of existing feedback in the form of published visitor experiences or guidebooks. Historian Anthony Hern describes visitors as seeking 'reassurance in the form of spa customs' and also spa town recreational facilities and shops.⁶ It can still be seen now 150 years later, that early seaside towns were heavily influenced stylistically by the spas. Resorts like Brighton and Scarborough copied the classical early Georgian architecture of towns such as Bath and Tunbridge Wells, in addition to recreating the spa towns' leisure facilities such as libraries, assembly rooms, gardens and retailers. Where a seaside town had an older quarter, planners had to work with the buildings already in existence. In Margate for example, existing Tudor buildings were 'raised, rendered and under-built to create passable imitations of stylish Georgian townhouses'.⁷ To achieve the desired social tone in Saltburn, the committee were keen to emulate other seaside resorts already popular with the elite, most notably nearby Scarborough which Henry Pease visited in late November 1860.⁸ This trip was ostensibly to look at the town's arrangements for dealing with sewage, however when reporting back to the committee the minutes record his admiration for the resort's leisure amenities noting 'we visited Scarborough with a view to observations and enquiries which might be serviceable to Saltburn'.⁹ Henry observed that Scarborough's concert room was large and handsome, but seemed to not only admire the aesthetics of the amenities he found during his trip, he was also

⁶ Anthony Hern, *The Seaside Holiday, The History of the English Seaside Resort* (London: Cresset Press, 1967) p.15.

⁷ English Heritage, *Margate's Seaside Heritage* (London: English Heritage 2007) p.11.

⁸ Teesside Archives (TA), Saltburn Improvement Company Minute Book, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.5.

⁹ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.5.

mindful of potential profits. He described the town's Cliff Lift as a 'valuable property giving a dividend' and noted that the seventy foot high iron bridge showed 'the confidence they have in their undertaking'.¹⁰ He later copied the bridge which spanned the glen in Saltburn and became known as the Halfpenny Bridge due to its toll. Henry may have also desired this bridge to be a show of his confidence in Saltburn since it was twice as high as its Scarborough counterpart.¹¹ As well as this fact finding trip to Scarborough, the committee meeting minutes make reference to surveyor George Dickenson visiting 'principal watering places on the south coast' to get inspiration for the design of the urban infrastructure.¹² Sadly the full details of his report have not survived, but the incurrence of thirty shillings expenses for the trip suggests it was a comprehensive undertaking to assess the facilities of rival resorts.¹³ It is telling however that he only visited south coast resorts, choosing not to emulate successful northern towns such as Blackpool. These exploratory visits to existing seaside towns suggest that the committee were keen to provide a similar experience to other elite resorts. This shows a conscious decision to set a sophisticated social tone from the beginning and deter potential day trippers from visiting Saltburn by not offering traditional working class leisure facilities. The aim was more likely to attract Teesside's new management population who, with the advent of the railways, had several nearby choices for a seaside day trip or longer break. The working classes were instead spending their leisure time in nearby Redcar which catered to the more plebeian visitor. Perkin describes two types of resort; those like early Saltburn with 'large hotels and genteel amusements' and those more similar to Redcar with 'smaller

¹⁰ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.5.

¹¹ J.K Harrison, and A. Harrison, 'Saltburn-by-the Sea The Early Years of a Stockton and Darlington Railway Company Venture', *Industrial Archaeology Review*, 4 (1980), 135-159 (p.146).

¹² TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.6.

¹³ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.54.

cheaper boarding houses and a variety of catchpenny amusements`.¹⁴ Redcar had developed in a piecemeal fashion, growing from a fishing village that existed as far back as the fourteenth century, therefore there was little opportunity to plan a uniform infrastructure.¹⁵ This marked difference was noted by a visitor in 1869 who reported to *The Times* that `instead of presenting, like other watering places, a front of streets and terraces...Redcar presents a rear of small outhouses, stables, toolsheds, pig styes, dunghills and back-kitchens`.¹⁶ This however did not deter day trippers who were attracted to Redcar's racecourse and large open beach with attractions such as Punch and Judy and fairground rides.¹⁷

Housing and streets

In the present day those houses possessing a sea view would usually be considered prime coastal accommodation. However those areas were not considered as such when planning Saltburn, possibly because of the changeable climate on the North Sea coast. Indeed one sceptical committee member had commented on early development proposals for Saltburn that it was `a bad speculation....it's a nasty, bleak, cold place and the sand is horrid`.¹⁸ Instead, a social hierarchy of residential and holiday accommodation was planned, with the most prestigious sites considered to be those overlooking the glen and Valley Gardens, consequently building costs varied hugely.

¹⁴ Perkin, p.185.

¹⁵ Mike Huggins, 'Social Tone and Resort Development in North-East England: Victorian Seaside Resorts Around the Mouth of the Tees', *Northern History*, 20 (1984), 187-206 (p.189).

¹⁶ *The Times*, 11 October 1869, p.4.

¹⁷ Huggins, p.193.

¹⁸ Harrison and others, p.138.

IMAGE REDACTED

Map courtesy of Industrial Archaeology Review, (2) 1980, p.140

The railway effectively divides Saltburn in half, therefore those houses to the north of the line were further away from the choice amenities such as the Valley Gardens. In this area the cheaper `jewel streets` were built (so called because they were named after precious stones such as diamond, ruby and garnet) and eventually housed those in working and middle class occupations. The 1871 census for Coral Street for example recorded five ironstone miners, two joiners and other heads of households working as a decorators, plasterers, gardeners or

waiters.¹⁹ Houses just yards apart could differ hugely in their value. A developer proposed that the building of twelve cottage type houses in one of the jewel streets (Ruby Street) would cost £1,560 for the set, £130 each.²⁰ Contrast this with the more exclusive Britannia Terrace nearby which overlooked the Valley Gardens, where an architect estimated the building cost for four houses to be £1,100 *each*, almost ten times the cost of those just around the corner in Ruby Street.²¹ J.K Harrison describes these variations as a type of `social engineering of the new town` with the choicest housing overlooking the valley and its gardens.²² As a completely new development Saltburn planners also had the opportunity to stipulate rules and regulations which would give a uniform appearance and a perceived sense of order to the town. All building plans were to be submitted to the committee for approval and building work was to be completed within two years in order to prevent the area from looking unsightly and half-finished to visitors and prospective purchasers.²³ The committee were initially so stringent in this request that anyone not adhering to the rules would forfeit their purchase.²⁴ Roads were typically laid out in a Victorian grid-iron pattern, with right angles to main thoroughfares. Strict covenants were in place, such as the banning of fences and the requirement to use white bricks from a Pease owned factory in Crook. This approach was not unusual, F.B May describes how the cultural elite in Victorian Ilfracombe often sold building plots `with covenants...restricting use and appearance`.²⁵ The planned uniformity of the urban environment is also described in Borsay's *The English Urban Renaissance* where he notes that in the previous

¹⁹ *Census Return*, Coral Street, Saltburn, Marske, North Riding 1881, Public Record Office: RG11/4840.

²⁰ Harrison and others, p.141.

²¹ Harrison and others, p.139.

²² Harrison and others, p.141.

²³ Harrison and others, p.139.

²⁴ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.35.

²⁵ F.B May, `Victorian and Edwardian Ilfracombe`, John Walton and James Walvin, *Leisure in Britain 1780 - 1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983) p.192.

century a consistent appearance was often difficult to achieve with multiple landholders and developers. But in a new town, where one company controlled all building regulations, as was the case in Saltburn, it was possible to achieve a uniform approach. It certainly gave an impression of order and wealth which would convey a sense of familiarity to the elite visitors, some who had travelled from similarly designed areas such as London or Bath. As can be seen from the map the streets to the north of the railway line were largely laid down in a typical grid-iron pattern, however Regent Circus on the south side of the railway station was a nod to Georgian town planning and was intended to provide an attractive vista to visitors alighting from the train.

The Improvement Company minutes record proposed building costs as given below.²⁶

Street Name	Cost
Amber Street (part of cheaper Jewel Streets)	4s per square yard
Milton Street	6s per square yard if a whole block is taken 7s per square yard for a single dwelling 8s for a corner plot
Britannia Terrace	10s per square yard 12s per square yard for a corner plot

However these rates were open to negotiation, particularly if a developer had previously bought other plots. James Taylor of Middlesbrough was given a

²⁶ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.39.

discount of four shillings per square yard his house in Rokeby Villas.²⁷ It is not clear from the committee meeting minute books whether this discount was given as a favour or to encourage further sales. Similarly, John Anderson, who became one of the prime builders in Saltburn and was later involved in the cliff lift and pier construction, was given the same discount for Britannia Terrace and the minutes record that `the concession was made in consideration of his being the first purchaser of land in Britannia Terrace`.²⁸

Valley Gardens

Along with the planning of housing and main thoroughfares, the committee also considered it hugely important to establish leisure facilities in the town to attract visitors and purchasers. The first of which was the Valley Gardens which were completed in 1862. They were described at one committee meeting as the `chief attraction of this promising watering place` so they were heavily invested in by the developers, both in terms of time and money.²⁹ Eventually to spread over ten hectares, the gardens provided an opportunity for socialising and were a place to see and be seen.³⁰ However this opportunity for mixing with others was not intended for everyone. As Peter Borsay noted, in the previous century there was often an attempt to control access to open-air facilities, to keep out the lower orders.³¹ Huggins claimed that Saltburn charged for the Valley Gardens and subsequently the pier to discourage trippers and maintain `absolute freedom from

²⁷ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12 p.73.

²⁸ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.5.

²⁹ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.5.

³⁰ Historic England: `Valley Gardens, Saltburn` <<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001429>> [accessed 28 December 2017].

³¹ Borsay, p.292.

all rowdiness`.³² This approach was not unusual, most towns and cities charged a small fee for entry into their gardens. London's Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens for example charged one shilling entry during the seventeenth century and Ranelagh Gardens, also in London, was considered even more exclusive, so a two shilling and sixpence fee was imposed to deter pickpockets and prostitutes.³³ Walton notes that resort entertainment was provided `to suit the tastes of the best-paying or most desired-class of holidaymaker` so charging for those facilities was one way in which any less desirable visitors could be excluded.³⁴ Some resorts went further, Bridlington for instance applied to enclose a section of its promenade and charge a three penny admission fee in 1889. Their application stated `it is of the greatest importance to the town that the better class of visitors should have a secluded place where they can go away from the rough excursionists who come there in swarms during the season; and this is the only place where the better class of visitors can resort and get quiet`.³⁵ Saltburn's Valley Garden's facilities certainly suggest it was an attractive leisure amenity with a classical temple, bandstand, temple and croquet lawn.³⁶ For the first three years after opening, entry was free, possibly as they were still a work in progress. However, minute books from a committee meeting in April 1865 show a very comprehensive pricing structure was agreed which demonstrates how concerned the Improvement Company had become about the potential for lower classes sharing the public space with elite visitors and residents. Admission prices were given for individual or family entry, peak and off peak season and also by the day, week, fortnight,

³² Huggins, p.203.

³³ Museum of London < <https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/vauxhall-pleasure-gardens>>[accessed 17 September 2018].

³⁴ May, p.162.

³⁵ May, p.163.

³⁶ Redcar Council, *This Is Saltburn Conservation Area Appraisal 2007*, p.55.

month or even the whole season.³⁷ A family holidaying in Saltburn for a fortnight in peak season would have to pay an additional fourteen shillings to enter the gardens in 1865.³⁸ This equates to around forty one pounds in today's currency and at the time would have been the equivalent of three day's work for a skilled tradesmen.³⁹ And anyone wishing to visit Saltburn for the whole season would have to pay thirty-six shillings to enjoy the gardens, over one hundred pounds in today's money and nine day's work for a skilled tradesmen in 1865.⁴⁰ Whilst imposing a considerate charge may have been enough to deter any day-trippers, two further rules were laid down by the committee which indicate that there was a conscious attempt to control who used the Valley Gardens. Firstly, for families moving into Saltburn permanently and looking forward to using the gardens, the committee made a disappointing decision to impose a charge on residents. Many families had moved into the cheaper `jewel street` housing, some, such as the Bates family in Emerald Street had as many as seven children.⁴¹ A family ticket would therefore be a luxury such households could not afford with so many mouths to feed. Several individuals protested to the committee against the decision to charge residents, however the fee stood with the minutes stating that the committee `does not see any sufficient reason` to excuse residents from the charge.⁴² As an olive branch the committee members voted to offer half price admission for residents during its first season. The committee also decided to be quite particular about who benefited from a family ticket. The minutes state that a family ticket should only admit the `permanent members of the same family as per

³⁷ TA, U/OME, (2) 1/12, p.203.

³⁸ TA, U/OME, (2) 1/12, p.204.

³⁹ National Archives <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result>> [accessed 10 September 2018].

⁴⁰ National Archives <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result>> [accessed 10 September 2018].

⁴¹ *Census Return*, 39 Emerald Street, Saltburn, Marske, North Riding 1881, Public Record Office: RG11/4840.

⁴² TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.231.

the Register kept at the gates`, specifically entry could include `nurses in attendance on children, but not other servants`.⁴³ As the lowest paid member of a household with the least amount of leisure time this decision seems particularly harsh on the servant. Whilst the rationale for the pricing structure in general is not recorded, it can be inferred that the committee were not only following the long tradition of charging for the use of pleasure grounds and parks, but also, as a brand new town, they could not afford to have any undesirables upsetting visitors which in turn may have brought negative publicity to the resort. Conversely, the minutes record the committee making more generous decisions about admission to wealthier visitors, agreeing to give free entry to railway passengers if the Stockton and Darlington Railway paid an annual fee £200.⁴⁴ Again, the rationale remains unknown, it could be construed as Quaker generosity; good business sense in order to attract the well-to-do railway passenger or a typical Quaker in-house deal given that Henry Pease was related to those managing the railway. More bizarrely the minutes record a request from a Dr. Boddington (it is unclear if he was the town doctor or visiting from elsewhere) requesting free admission to the grounds. His request was refused by the committee but he was awarded £2,2,0 per annum for when he purchased a ticket.⁴⁵ This again shows a class consciousness on the part of the committee where some wealthier and more respected members of society were given preferential treatment compared to the perceived lower orders. So concerned were the committee with maintaining the entrance charge that by June 1868 they planned to `place a boy` at one of the smaller entrances after reports of visitors gaining free illicit entry.⁴⁶ The decision to charge residents and servants seems at odds with the general ethos of Quakerism

⁴³ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.204.

⁴⁴ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.94.

⁴⁵ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.230.

⁴⁶ TA, U/OME (2) 1/13, p.219.

which is that everyone is equal. Quakers are so committed to this belief that headstones in their burial grounds are all simple structures and must look exactly the same to highlight that no one individual is more important than another.⁴⁷ Early Quakers in the seventeenth century held almost revolutionary ideas for the time, with individuals such as George Winstanley preaching ideals such as `there shall be no buying nor selling, no fairs nor markets, but the whole earth shall be a common treasury`.⁴⁸ Much of this early socialism had been forgotten by the mid-nineteenth century when Quakers owned wealthy businesses such as Cadbury, Clarks and Barclays Bank. The Pease family owned some of the most exclusive and lavish property in the north east of England with individuals such as Henry's nephew, Joseph Whitwell Pease MP, owning estates totaling three thousand acres.⁴⁹ Henry himself owned the `showiest house and largest gardens` of all his family according to Anne Orde with his house *Pierremont* locally known as the `Buckingham Palace of Darlington`.⁵⁰ Even one of the Pease family themselves has recently commented that Joseph's wealth may have been to show `good standing` but `a more truly shocking display of ostentation quite contrary to "Quaker principles" was hard to conceive`.⁵¹ Criticisms of this nature were also noted in the nineteenth century with one anonymous essayist observing that Quakers `themselves remain the special object of their own concern`.⁵² Others noted the Quaker desire to be involved in the anti-slavery movement abroad whilst maintaining their position of privilege at home, often at the expense of the working

⁴⁷ Quakerspeak, <<http://quakerspeak.com/how-are-quaker-cemeteries-different/>> [accessed 20 December 2018].

⁴⁸ John R. Knott, *The Sword of the Spirit: Puritan Responses to the Bible* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) p.92.

⁴⁹ Joseph Gurney Pease, *A Wealth of Happiness and Many Bitter Trials: The Journals of Sir Alfred Edward Pease a Restless Man* (York: William Sessions, 1992) p.3.

⁵⁰ Anne Orde, *Religion, Business and Society in North-East England: The Pease Family of Darlington in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2000) p.95.

⁵¹ Pease, p.6.

⁵² Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) p.283.

class, with one essayist decrying 'the white slavery of Englishmen suits the Quakers; they continue to have houses built for them, and to enjoy all the bounties of Providence'.⁵³ Elizabeth Isichei identified a similar paradox with Quaker attitudes to women.⁵⁴ Although they were theoretically equal with men in Quaker meetings ministering gatherings as early as the seventeenth century, Isichei notes that women had very little say in Quaker organisation and decision making until the latter half of the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ Women were also excluded from the Quaker Meetings of Sufferings, and, once they were allowed entry in 1898, they were still made to feel unwelcome with one commenting 'it was made evident that the presence of women was not exactly welcomed by most of the other members'.⁵⁶ These two examples of Quakers displaying double standards concerning both the management of their wealth and their attitudes to women show that it is feasible how this type of hypocrisy could extend to the treatment of the working classes by excluding them from the pleasures of Saltburn.

Summary

The committee set out to create a refined resort by emulating other similar seaside towns which they had visited and admired. The way in which housing was planned and built with strict covenants suggests a real desire on the part of the committee to create a resort which was elite and unique. Charging for early leisure attractions such as the Valley Gardens was not unusual in the Victorian era but it deterred day trippers and lower classes who instead chose to visit resorts like Redcar. This

⁵³ *The Poor Man's Guardian*, cited in Isichei, p.284.

⁵⁴ Isichei, p.107.

⁵⁵ Isichei, p.108.

⁵⁶ Quakers in the World <<http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/54/Meeting-for-Sufferings>> [accessed 21 September 2018].

conscious decision to deter the working classes was contradictory to the general Quaker belief that all individuals are equal regardless of class, gender or race. The way in which residents and visitors experienced the resort will be discussed in the next chapter.

3. Reactions to the Resort

Introduction

This chapter will examine how Saltburn was experienced, both by visitors and residents. Firstly it will examine the type of leisure facilities that were established following the opening of the Valley Gardens. Were they traditional elite forms of entertainment and what was available to those with lower incomes? Since the type of accommodation available is important in revealing a town's social tone, The Zetland Hotel will be discussed and also the issue of temperance since a decision was made to establish Saltburn as a largely dry resort. The guidebooks printed at the time provide a good indication of how Saltburn was received by its first visitors so they will also be examined. Finally, the scandal that affected the resort in 1866 when several dozen residents and visitors reported poor infrastructure, drainage and fresh water supplies to *The Lancet* will be discussed.

Pier and Cliff Hoist

By the mid 1860s Saltburn had established its main hotel but it still only had one main attraction that of the Valley Gardens. The committee decided a new attraction was needed so the Saltburn Pier Company was formed and John Anderson was commissioned to design and build a pier.¹ By the time the pier opened in 1869 the experience of a `walk on the waves` had been popular for

¹ Martin Easdown, *Yorkshire's Seaside Piers* (Barnsley: Wharncliffe Books, 2008) p.35.

several decades. In common with pleasure gardens, a pier was a place to be seen and, in addition, a walk on the deck was thought to have restorative qualities.² However, just like the Valley Gardens, this opportunity was only for those who were willing and able to pay a charge. Whilst pier entrance charges for Saltburn Pier have not been recorded in the committee minutes, it can be surmised that they would be similar to that of Saltburn's near neighbour Coatham which was six miles north. A small village lying next door to Redcar, Coatham was perhaps Saltburn's closest rival for the sophisticated visitor and its pier, which opened in 1872, charged 3d for promenaders resulting in profits of over two hundred pounds by end of that year.³ In contrast Blackpool's North Pier, designed by Eugenius Birch and opened ten years earlier in 1863 charged slightly less at 2d for promenaders.⁴ This is surprising given that Blackpool's pier was situated in a bigger resort and the pier had a few additional facilities compared to Saltburn and Coatham such as a book and confectionary stall.⁵ In any case, the charge did not deter trippers so an additional pier was built in Blackpool, now named the Central Pier. So it can be seen how different pricing structures were used not only to generate income, but also to deter different groups of people, especially the unwanted day trippers. Saltburn Pier was heavily patronized, with fifty thousand visitors choosing to visit during its first six months of business which gave shareholders a very healthy 4.5 per cent dividend.⁶ Access to the pier during the first year of its operation was difficult since Saltburn is situated on a clifftop and the beach is some one hundred and twenty feet below. A steep bank was used by

² Easdown, p.3.

³ Easdown, p.59; Easdown, p.67.

⁴ The Blackpool Pier Company <<http://46.32.240.39/blackpoolpiers.co.uk/history-of-north-pier>>[accessed 3 December 2018].

⁵ The Blackpool Pier Company <<http://46.32.240.39/blackpoolpiers.co.uk/history-of-north-pier>>[accessed 3 December 2018].

⁶ Author unknown, 'Saltburn by the Sea', *The Northern Echo*, 31 March 1870, p.4.

visitors but it was clear that an alternative method of access was needed. A local reporter noted that a trip down to the beach involved `such a waste of muscular power` concluding that the resort was `a horribly tiring place`.⁷ To address these concerns, John Anderson who had designed and built the pier, installed a vertical cliff hoist operated by water which opened in July 1870, fourteen months after the pier.⁸ Up to twenty people at a time could pay a small fee to travel down to the foreshore in a small rickety cage.⁹

IMAGE REDACTED

Cliff Hoist 1870 Image courtesy East Cleveland Image Archive

⁷ J.K Harrison and others, `Saltburn-by-the Sea The Early Years of a Stockton and Darlington Railway Company Venture`, *Industrial Archaeology Review*, 4 (1980), 135-159 (p.150).

⁸ Easdown, p.5.

⁹ Harrison and others, p.150.

This invention made Saltburn unique compared to other resorts of the time as England's first traditional cliff lift would not open for another two years on the South Cliff at Scarborough.¹⁰ The hoist therefore would have contributed the elite and exclusive tone the directors of the improvement committee were hoping to achieve.

Zetland Hotel and temperance

To accommodate early visitors a large and impressive hotel was required and there can have been few more impressive structures on the north east coast than the resort's Zetland Hotel which was completed in 1863.¹¹

IMAGE REDACTED

Zetland Hotel 1865 photo courtesy of Hilton Thompson Collection

¹⁰ Easdown, p.18.

¹¹ Harrison and others, p.142.

Perkin argued that the prices charged by hotels and lodging houses in a resort indicated the social tone and this expensive and exclusive hotel would be the first major building any visitor would see when arriving by train.¹² Its appearance was therefore of great importance as it was a visible beacon that indicated the social pretensions of the town. Five storeys high, Italianate in style, the exclusive hotel was described in very generous terms in a contemporaneous visitor handbook, 'the fitting-up is all in a style of palatial dignity....nothing is left short which can add to the comfort of the guests'.¹³ Another guidebook by William Stott Banks stated the building costs to be between thirty and forty thousand pounds, which is between two and three million pounds in today's value.¹⁴ The same white firebricks which were used in the early housing of the resort were also used in the Zetland Hotel making it a distinctive building from both land and sea. An advert for the new hotel described its many luxurious amenities including one hundred and twenty bedrooms, reading rooms, coffee rooms for both sexes, billiard rooms, smoking rooms, and stables.¹⁵ Courts at the rear provided a chance for guests to play tennis, this sport was particularly attractive to the very groups most prominent in resorts because of 'its combination of gentle athleticism and opportunities for semi supervised social contact between the sexes'.¹⁶ It also possessed a highly unusual feature of the time, incoming trains terminated at the back door so

¹² Harold Perkin, 'The Social Tone of Victorian Seaside Resorts in the North-West', *Northern History*, 11 (1976), 180-194 (p.181).

¹³ George Tweddell, *The Visitor's Handbook to Redcar, Coatham and Saltburn-by-the-Sea* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co, 1863) p.120.

¹⁴ Moneysorter: 'UK Inflation Calculator'

<https://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator_inflation2.html#calculator> [accessed 30 December 2017]; William Stott Banks, *Walks in Yorkshire, The North East, Comprising Redcar, Saltburn, Whitby, Scarborough and Filey* (London: J Russell Smith, 1866) p.70.

¹⁵ Zetland Advertising Sheet <<http://www.saltburnbysea.com/html/zetland.html>> [accessed 30 December 2018].

¹⁶ A.J Durie and M.J Huggins, 'Sport, Social Tone and the Seaside Resorts of Great Britain 1850 – 1914', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15 (1998), 173-187 (p.177).

passengers could alight onto the hotel's own railway platform at the rear with a `glass covered promenade`, the prestigious hotel residents were then met by the waiting porters.¹⁷

IMAGE REDACTED

Zetland Hotel Railway Platform. Photo courtesy www.image-archive.org.uk

The private platforms are another example of social zoning within the resort, intending to protect the elite from mixing with any lower orders when alighting from the train and was easy to achieve given that the Pease family were so heavily involved in the local railway. This study intended to examine the social class of The Zetland Hotel's residents by examining the census returns for 1871 and 1881. Unfortunately the latter is not accessible online for The Zetland and while the former has some information, the census took place on 2 April 1871 so is too early in the season to give a full picture of the class of visitor.

¹⁷ Tweddell, p.120; J.K. Harrison and others, p.139.

Alcohol

As well as offering the very best accommodation in the town, The Zetland Hotel was also one of the few places within Saltburn where alcohol could be purchased. As a Quaker, Henry Pease believed in temperance and it was originally planned that no alcohol should be available in the town, even at the main hotel.¹⁸ However this was vetoed at an 1861 meeting concerning the Zetland and it was eventually given a limited license, however alcohol was not permitted to be consumed on the terraces.¹⁹ It seems this rule was taken very seriously since a fine was imposed when a resident drank alcohol outside the hotel in 1882.²⁰ Again, this reflects the social pretensions of the town's ruling elite demonstrating that any undesirable behaviour was to be kept private. There were only two places to drink alcohol in the resort, The Zetland and later the Alexandra Hotel; both were expensive and exclusive establishments and therefore less susceptible to drunken behaviour from 'gangs of reprobates'.²¹ A local businessman recognized this gap in the market stating that few 'had not such long purses as to enable them to stay at the Zetland or Alexandra'.²² Overcoming official opposition from the ruling elite, he was eventually permitted to build the only other licensed premises in the town, the more affordable Queen Hotel in 1877.²³ The reason for this change of heart by the town's forefathers may have been connected to a slump in the local production of ironstone production at the time and a more serious country-wide depression

¹⁸ J.K Harrison and others, p.142.

¹⁹ J.K Harrison and others, p.142.

²⁰ Saltburn By The Sea: 'The Zetland Hotel' <<http://www.saltburnbysea.com/html/zetland.html>> [accessed 2 January 2018].

²¹ *Middlesbrough Weekly News and Cleveland Advertiser*, cited in J.K Harrison and others, p.150.

²² *The Guisborough Exchange*, cited in J.K Harrison and others, p.150.

²³ J.K. Harrison and others, p.150.

between 1873 and 1879.²⁴ It was certainly a good investment to build a more affordable licensed hotel since for many of the working class, alcohol played a significant part in their leisure time. Professor John Burnett calculated that in the late Victorian age the average working class family spent between a third and half of their income on alcohol.²⁵ Even if this figure is an over-estimation, it can be surmised that alcohol played an important part of many working class families leisure time, so the idea of spending hard earned money to go to a `dry` resort must have been abhorrent to many, even if they could afford a holiday or get time off from their employer. The hotels provided a place to purchase alcohol for visitors, but what about opportunities to drink alcohol for the residents of the town, many of whom were working class. In the nineteenth century there were several types of drinking establishment. The inn and the tavern catered to the traveller and casual respectable drinker respectively; and the alehouse and the ginshop sold gin to general public.²⁶ The introduction of the Beer Act in 1830 created a fifth category `the beerhouse` which was exempt from magistrates control and relied on Excise officials to provide an operating license.²⁷ Because Saltburn was a `dry resort`, several of the town's residents applied for a Beerhouse Excise License to sell (or make) beer in their own property.²⁸ However, this was a direct contravention of the covenants on Saltburn properties which was presumably made clear to residents when they bought housing or took over a tenancy. On several occasions those individuals flouting the rules were discussed at the

²⁴ Mike Huggins, 'Social Tone and Resort Development in North-East England: Victorian Seaside Resorts Around the Mouth of the Tees', *Northern History*, 20 (1984), 187-206 (p.197).

²⁵ Cited in Anthony Hern, *The Seaside Holiday, The History of the English Seaside Resort* (London: The Cresset Press, 1967) p.73.

²⁶ Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971) p.45.

²⁷ Harrison and others, p.45.

²⁸ Teesside Archives (TA), Saltburn Improvement Company Minute Book, U/OME (2) 1/13, p.5.

improvement committee meetings. A Mr. George Coates of Ruby Street applied to the committee in January 1866 for permission to gain a license to sell beer but this was summarily refused as it was `contrary to the conditions and covenants upon which the land was sold by this company`.²⁹ At a meeting the following month it was noted that George Coates had obtained the license anyway. It was agreed therefore that the company solicitor would `take such steps to enforce the conditions of sale first communicated with Coates`.³⁰ Referring to the lower classes without a title was not unusual in the minute books, despite recent Quaker publications stating that early Quakers `refused to use words, titles or actions that recognized or reinforced social inequalities`.³¹ The Head Gardener was always referred to in minute books by either his job title or just `Everett`; whereas Lord Zetland was either given his full title or recorded as `His Lordship`.³² This shows a class consciousness which, although not uncommon in the Victorian era, demonstrates that the Quaker committee members were not subscribing to their religious belief in equality for all. The reluctance of the committee to allow public consumption of alcohol may not have been wholly due to deterring certain types of visitor. Ann Orde notes in her study of the Pease family that Henry supported temperance for `social reasons`.³³ Furthermore, a public house would also provide a meeting place for individuals to socialise and discuss ideas. As historian Brian Harrison notes, `by encouraging working people to retreat into domestic bliss, temperance reformers hindered them from articulating their grievances against

²⁹ TA, U/OME (2) 1/13, p.5.

³⁰ TA, U/OME (2) 1/13, p.28.

³¹ Graham Ralph, *Living Our Beliefs: An Exploration of the Faith and Practice of Quakers* (London: Quaker Books, 2016) p.39.

³² TA, U/OME (2) 1/13, p.137.

³³ Anne Orde, *Religion, Business and Society in North-East England: The Pease Family of Darlington in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2000) p.99.

social conditions`.³⁴ As many of the town's residents worked in the Pease-owned ironstone mine, such a concern may have been to avoid any space for this type of debate amongst workers. Whilst temperance reformers in the nineteenth century were attacking the traditional working class recreations of drinking, fairs, gambling and cruel sports, many were also promoting alternatives such as libraries, mechanics' institutes, and parks. Early parks in industrial areas were often funded partially or wholly by temperance campaigners such as Titus Salt in Bradford and John Guest in Rotherham.³⁵ As has been previously noted in Chapter Two, the public grounds in Saltburn charged a fee and there was no free library or mechanics institute, so the only free public space the working class could gather was the beach. For the price of a snack they could visit a teashop or similar in the town. A study of *Kelly's Directory* for 1893 (earlier editions for North and East Ridings are not available on line) reveals that Saltburn had two Refreshment Rooms in Amber Street and Ruby Street and a small dining room in Stanhope Street.³⁶ An independent pub did not open in Saltburn until over a century after the town's establishment.³⁷

Guidebooks and The Lancet scandal

The first visitors to Saltburn who wrote about their experiences certainly found a town which delighted them. A visitor in 1866 writing in *London Society* magazine

³⁴ Harrison and others, p.322.

³⁵ Harrison and others, p.323.

³⁶ *Kelly's Directory of the North and East Ridings Yorkshire* (London: Kelly and Co., 1893) p.100, p.198.

³⁷ Redcar Council, *This Is Saltburn Conservation Area Appraisal 2007*, p.58.

stayed for a whole month and described it as the `Broadstairs of the North`.³⁸ John Farndale wrote a small guidebook to the area in 1864 noting that Saltburn was but an `embryo`, but he complimented the Improvement Company, noting that they already made substantial progress as `already the hand of improvement has effected (sic) a revolution at this place`.³⁹ A letter to *The Times* in 1869 detailing a traveller's thoughts about his visit to both Redcar and Saltburn suggested there was huge gulf between the two towns and the visitor experience they each offered. He described Saltburn as 'a perfect little goddess of a town for beauty, elegance and grace', and noted the careful planning that Pease and his associates had given to the town pronouncing it as a `marvel for architectural symmetry and grace`.⁴⁰ The author also described the landscape in great detail, particularly the height of the cliffs and the flora and fauna. This obsession with the bucolic is common in Victorian times where there was often an emotional attachment to landscape.⁴¹ In contrast, the author noted that despite recommendations from local guidebooks, Redcar was full of washing lines and rubbish on the beach, and he declared it to be an `ugly watering place` and possibly the `ugliest seaside town...in Great Britain`.⁴²

However the guidebooks and reviews do not mention that all was not well in the first decade of Saltburn's existence and this came to the public's attention in a

³⁸ Author Unknown, `Our Seaside Resorts, Saltburn By The Sea` *London Society*, Issue 10 (London: Fleet Street, 1866) original page numbering not available.

³⁹ John Farndale, *A Guide To Saltburn By The Sea and the Surrounding District With Remarks on Its Picturesque Scenery* (Darlington: Hird, 1864) p.21.

⁴⁰ Alpha, `Redcar and Saltburn`, *The Times*, 11 October 1869, p.4.

⁴¹ Richard D. Altick, `The Nature Loving Victorians` *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, 54 (1978), 748-754 (p.748).

⁴² Alpha, `Redcar and Saltburn`, *The Times*, 11 October 1869, p.4.

series of articles published in *The Lancet* in the late Autumn of 1866. With delays in the postal system some of the exchanges are not printed in *The Lancet* in a logical and coherent manner, but the first, entitled 'Seaside Insalubrity', is an anonymous piece which detailed how 'the so-called "Improvement Company" had done their best to stultify the bounty of nature'.⁴³ The article noted 'it is melancholy to hear that houses are huddled together, with narrow streets and crowded back premises...and defective sewers'.⁴⁴ Even the grand Zetland Hotel did not escape criticism with an allegation of pigstyes being allowed which produced 'abominable stinks'.⁴⁵ All of these issues, together with a poor standard of drinking water, had led to an outbreak of typhoid fever according to the anonymous author.⁴⁶ This article did not go unnoticed by the Improvement Company and was described in the meeting following its publication as 'unjust and exaggerated', therefore it was decided that the secretary contact *The Lancet* to find out the name of the contributor.⁴⁷ However before that information was established, the anonymous allegations were further supported by a letter in the following edition of *The Lancet* which was signed by Saltburn residents Mr W. Rapp (bookseller) and Mr W. Taylor (chemist) and countersigned by seventy eight of the town's tradesmen and householders.⁴⁸ Although this is just one letter expressing disquiet, the seventy eight counter signatories reveals the tensions between residents and the committee. The correspondents requested that immediate steps should be taken to correct the drainage and water supply. Further, they believed it was 'highly important that some regard should be paid to the laying out of the place as

⁴³ *The Lancet*, 'Seaside Insalubrity', 29 September 1866, p.362.

⁴⁴ 'Seaside Insalubrity', p.362.

⁴⁵ 'Seaside Insalubrity', p.362.

⁴⁶ 'Seaside Insalubrity', p.362.

⁴⁷ TA, U/OME (2) 1/13, p.54.

⁴⁸ *The Lancet*, 'Saltburn By The Sea', 13 October 1866, p.421.

respects the area of space to each house`.⁴⁹ It was further alleged that visitors to the town expressed `astonishment and sorrow at the want of necessary sanitary measures`.⁵⁰ This letter was also submitted to the Improvement Company at the same time.⁵¹ Although not minuted, it appears there was vigorous discussion about the complaints at the following committee meeting since Mr. Rapp wrote to the *The Lancet* two weeks later to regret the apparent antagonism that now existed between residents and the Improvement Company.⁵² It appears he may have been requested by the committee to not publicly raise his concerns since his letter to *The Lancet* questioned whether `is it to be a condition of our residence in Saltburn that we must not speak? This cannot be`.⁵³ He further argued that `in proportion to their means, some of us have even a larger stake in the prosperity of the place than the Company`.⁵⁴ We can infer then that the residents felt that the committee was making questionable decisions about the town's water supply and drainage and that may have been due to committee members having less of a vested interest in the town since they did not live there. Should the town become less and less successful or even completely fail, the wealthy committee members had other investments to rely on, whereas many residents had committed everything to living and working in Saltburn. It might be surmised that such allegations, made by so many residents and appearing in a national journal, may have resulted in discussion at the next committee meeting; if there was, this is not recorded. However, the company secretary, Thomas MacNay, had his rejoinder printed in the following edition which suggests that the complaint had been

⁴⁹ `Saltburn By The Sea`, p.421.

⁵⁰ `Saltburn By The Sea`, p.421.

⁵¹ `Saltburn By The Sea`, p.421.

⁵² *The Lancet*, `The Sanitary Condition of Saltburn`, 3 November 1866, p.505.

⁵³ `The Sanitary Condition of Saltburn`, p.505.

⁵⁴ `The Sanitary Condition of Saltburn`, p.505.

considered by the committee as their proposals to resolve the problems were set out. The tone of his reply is not only very defensive but also highly critical of the original correspondents' methods of obtaining signatories, advising the *The Lancet's* editors 'if you could know as well as I do the origin of that document, and the pretexts of canvassing for signatures, you would attach very little value to it'.⁵⁵ He further states 'I might reasonably take objection to the publishing of these articles without name or without notice to those whom they are designed to injure'.⁵⁶ *The Lancet* appear to have taken issue with his tone since they printed their own rejoinder to *his* rejoinder, and crucially, their response appears above that of Mr. Macnay for more impact. *The Lancet* stated that in response to his accusation that the articles are "designed to injure", some persons, we presume he means his employers', perhaps an accusation by *The Lancet* of Mr Macnay acting obsequiously.⁵⁷ In his rejoinder Mr. Macnay responded to each of the complaints separately, firstly by reproducing a letter of recommendation concerning the town's drinking water from experts at Newcastle College of Medicine who described it as a an excellent drinking water.⁵⁸ However *The Lancet* seem to have made thorough investigations of their own and noted that the brook where the freshwater supply was taken from also received effluent from a kennel of the Cleveland hounds and the stables of the Huntsman's stud.⁵⁹ With reference to housing, Mr Macnay argued that 'the streets and drives are of widths varying from fifty to eight feet wide...and in every case the houses have a through back road of not less than twelve feet'.⁶⁰ *The Lancet's* response was that 'we cannot

⁵⁵ 'Saltburn By The Sea', p.479.

⁵⁶ 'Saltburn By The Sea', p.479.

⁵⁷ 'Saltburn By The Sea', p.480.

⁵⁸ 'Saltburn By The Sea', p.479.

⁵⁹ 'Saltburn By The Sea', p.479.

⁶⁰ 'Saltburn By The Sea', p.479.

but regret...long rows of houses are being built which have but twelve feet of back road intervening...many possess cellar-kitchens...where kitchens are on the level of the pavement`.⁶¹ New housing which included cellar kitchens was quite unusual due to the introduction of byelaws and it is telling that Mr Macnay made no reference to these kitchens in his letter, perhaps not wishing to attract further criticism by defending them. Finally, Mr Macnay endorsed Saltburn's sewer arrangements stating that the pipes' size are `greatly in excess of present requirements`.⁶² While *The Lancet* accepted this fact, they argued that the discharge of the effluent was the real issue, with `the sewer not carried below low water mark, but pours its contents into a little stream at the foot of the cliffs...the stench on hot days becomes intolerable`.⁶³ These problems contributed to the main concern of *The Lancet*, that of typhoid fever. Mr Macnay refuted the accusation that the fever had visited Saltburn, quoting the low death figures for the previous eighteen months, but *The Lancet* responded that there could still be a non-fatal epidemic which would not appear on official records.⁶⁴ *The Lancet's* editors stated in their final comment on the matter that they were reassured that the committee were `bestirring themselves to improve the outlet of their sewers` and the committee would change the water supply to one from Upleatham rather than the local burn.⁶⁵ They concluded their response by stating that `if...Saltburn will at once put its house in order, there need be no fear of lack of health and prosperity`.⁶⁶ The last word however was given to a visiting curate who had written to *The Lancet* to verify the complaints regarding water and drainage and he

⁶¹ `Saltburn By The Sea`, p.479.

⁶² `Saltburn By The Sea`, p.480.

⁶³ `Saltburn By The Sea`, p.479.

⁶⁴ `Saltburn By The Sea`, p.479.

⁶⁵ `Saltburn By The Sea`, p.479.

⁶⁶ `Saltburn By The Sea`, p.479.

offered the opinion that `the Improvement Company have done much to set visitors against the place...and are doing their best to ruin.....one of the most beautiful seaside places in England`.⁶⁷ A rather odd accusation as it would not have been in anyone's interest for the resort to fail.

It is very curious that these issues even existed in a brand new town. It appears that the cheaper 'jewel' street houses were built with cellar kitchens and insufficient space between streets and these problems will of course only affect the poorer residents of the town so probably would never have come to public attention. However, the insanitary drainage arrangements and water supplies affected all residents and visitors alike, so it is hard to understand why the committee got this so wrong, unless it was an exercise in cost-cutting. It is especially surprising given that Henry Pease had previously visited Scarborough to discuss and copy their sewage arrangements.⁶⁸ The drama that played out in 1866 was eventually resolved since the matter was not raised in *The Lancet* again. Mr. Rapp the bookseller presumably buried the hatchet with the committee since he went on to write a guidebook four years later which described Saltburn in glowing terms. This is perhaps unsurprising given that he was the bookseller for the town, as well as owning the private library which is advertised in his guidebook, so it was in his interests that the town received as many visitors as possible. He recorded his admiration for the town's facilities and complimented Saltburn's `excellent water` and `pure invigorating air` so it appears that the

⁶⁷ *The Lancet*, `Letter to the Editor`, 27 October 1866, p.480.

⁶⁸ TA, U/OME (2) 1/12, p.5.

committee did make improvements following the scandal in *The Lancet*.⁶⁹ Rapp also referred to the convalescent home opened by the Pease family in Garnet Street 1867 which meant `one hundred and sixty eight poor people had the advantage of the generosity of that charitable family`.⁷⁰ However, the generosity of Henry Pease is debatable given the fact that rather ungenerous decisions were made regarding the convalescent home residents. As discussed in the previous chapter, the committee were quite particular about who entered the Valley Gardens and the kindness Rapp described seems to conflict with information from the minute book when a request was refused to admit convalescent home patients to the Gardens. The committee stated that in `looking at the great space open to the public in this place, do not feel they would be justified in admitting the patients to the Valley Gardens`.⁷¹ Instead, they agreed to allow two men to enter via the gardener's entrance and collect spa water but this had to take place prior to 8am.⁷² This particular decision reveals much about the type of town they wanted to create. There was kudos in building a convalescent home since it reflected well on the town's forefathers as they were seen to be kindly and paternalistic. However, the notion of poorly convalescent home residents mixing with the elite visitors was undesirable to the improvement committee, so instead the alternative was for them to enter secretly, via the gardener's gate, at dawn before anyone else could see them.

⁶⁹ W.M.Rapp, *Rapp's Guide To Saltburn-By-The-Sea and All Places of Interest in the Neighbourhood* (Saltburn: Rapp, 1870) p.12 ; Rapp, p.3.

⁷⁰ Rapp, p.12.

⁷¹ TA, U/OME (2) 1/13, p.170.

⁷² TA, U/OME (2) 1/13, p.170.

Conclusion

This chapter examined how Saltburn was experienced, both by visitors and residents. Leisure amenities which were opened after the Valley Gardens also made a charge and there were no traditional working class amusements similar to those found at other seaside resorts of the time. The decision to ban alcohol, other than in the expensive hotels, was also designed to discourage day trippers. The scandal which played out in the pages of *The Lancet* reveal that whilst aiming to create a sophisticated elite resort, the planners may have cut corners on water supply and drainage. Although this was eventually resolved and improved, the town's fortunes began to falter and this will be discussed in the next chapter.

4. Decline of the Resort

This chapter will firstly discuss the increase in leisure opportunities for the working class in the mid to late nineteenth century, how those factors came about and whether they applied to Saltburn. The broader picture will also be discussed with reference to the depression in the worldwide economic situation in the mid to late 1870s. Finally the demise of the resort will be studied once the Improvement Company were disbanded and how the resort reacted to the change in its fortunes.

Recreation and the Working Class

By the time many of Saltburn's attractions had been established in the 1870s and 1880s, the seaside holiday had become a popular form of recreation, especially for the working classes. Historian John Walton argued there were five conditions that needed to be met in order for a resort to attract a working class presence.¹ Firstly, in common with the eighteenth century spa goers, the resort needed to be easily accessible to visitors.² With the advent of the railways there were miles and miles of track running through the United Kingdom by the middle of the nineteenth century linking major towns and leisure resorts. Brighton was linked to the network by 1841 and a day trip from London cost just over three shillings making it a tempting prospect for a day out from the capital.³ However this was still initially a

¹ John Walton, 'The Demand for Working Class Seaside Holidays in Nineteenth Century Britain', *Economic History Review*, 34 (1981), 249-265 (p.252).

² Walton, p.52.

³ Anthony Hern, *The Seaside Holiday, The History of the English Seaside Resort* (London: Cresset Press, 1967) p.53; Janice Anderson and Edmund Swinglehurst, *The Victorian and Edwardian Seaside* (London: Country Life Books, 1978) p.92.

leisure pursuit for the wealthier sectors of society. As Walvin points out, although the railways had brought the seaside within closer reach, 'the rigours of industrial life, with its long hours, low and often uncertain income and few holidays provided few opportunities...for visits to the coast'.⁴ Brighton was known as 'the lungs of the capital' due to amount of Londoners visiting with upwards of some 73,000 visiting in one week in the 1850s, this was a huge number, 'getting on for a twentieth of the population of London itself'.⁵ It certainly worried the elite of Brighton with The Brighton Improvement Society begging the railway companies to cut services and increase fares to deter the more raffish elements of society from visiting the town.⁶ In contrast to Brighton's popularity, Scarborough's relative isolation meant that even with the arrival of the railways it remained a regional resort which was not especially popular with the London fashionable set who instead frequented south coast resorts like Ramsgate and Margate. In addition to the difference in their outward appearance, the north east coastal resorts also offered different entertainments, particularly on public holidays. Saltburn was well placed at the end of the railway line just a few stops from Middlesbrough. In the early 1870s criticism was levelled at the railway company for limiting trains on bank holidays, the *Middlesbrough Weekly News* in 1874 suggested that the ruling elite (who owned the local railway service) were limiting cheap excursion services on Sundays and public holidays, and therefore reducing opportunities for the working classes to visit the area.⁷ Whilst this may have helped maintain the social tone of the resort, it was not ideal for local business owners. The local press suggested that 'the

⁴ James Walvin, *Beside The Seaside* (London: Allen Lane, 1978) p.51.

⁵ Hern, p.53; Walvin, p.39.

⁶ Hern, p.51.

⁷ *Middlesbrough Weekly News*, cited in Mike Huggins, 'Social Tone and Resort Development in North-East England: Victorian Seaside Resorts Around the Mouth of the Tees', *Northern History*, 20 (1984), 187-206 (p.199).

company runs the trains unwillingly` and this was to deter plebeian visitors.⁸ The report points out that as the service was patronized by a large number of users, `a more frequent service would, greatly benefit the numerous small shopkeepers, who have frequently much difficulty in obtaining a livelihood`.⁹ Improvements appear to have taken place as a report in the *Redcar and Saltburn-by-the-Sea Gazette* a few years later in 1878 described the success of Whitsuntide that year and detailed all of the different attractions on offer to day-trippers during that particular public holiday.¹⁰ Contrary to reports which had recounted a lack of extra trains on public holidays, the *Gazette* stated that thousands of visitors descended on the area by lieu of special trains running from as far away as Leeds and Newcastle.¹¹ In Redcar there were large crowds indulging in bathing and boating; pier visits (over two thousand that day) and dancing and sports. However, in nearby Saltburn `there was no special attraction offered` and apparently this was also the case in previous years.¹² Even the relative harmless and free activity of sea bathing seemed to be discouraged as the Improvement Company had instructed their solicitor to investigate reports of sea bathing and request the Zetland Hotel control sea bathing on the foreshore of land owned by the company.¹³ Those visitors who did arrive in Saltburn were entertained by the pier, cliff lift, walks along the promenade and through the Valley Gardens but it seems there was no real effort to draw in day-trippers with any special events, so many chose Redcar instead.¹⁴ A huge draw for Redcar was the opportunity to attend the races which had taken place on the wide flat sands from the early part of the

⁸ *Middlesbrough Weekly News*, cited in Huggins, p.199.

⁹ *Middlesbrough Weekly News*, cited in Huggins, p.199.

¹⁰ *Redcar and Saltburn By The Sea Gazette*, 14 June 1878, p.1.

¹¹ *Redcar and Saltburn By The Sea Gazette*, p.1.

¹² *Redcar and Saltburn By The Sea Gazette*, p.1.

¹³ Teesside Archives (TA), Saltburn Improvement Company Minute Book, U/OME (2) 1/14, p.29.

¹⁴ *Redcar and Saltburn By The Sea Gazette*, p.1.

eighteenth century.¹⁵ In June 1879 extra trains were laid on from Darlington and Bishop Auckland and one train alone from Leeds had one thousand people alight at Redcar on races day.¹⁶ As Borsay points out, the presence of a racecourse in a town did much to raise its cultural prestige and could also influence the `lodging, leisure and consumer facilities` a town could offer.¹⁷ So as Saltburn was promoting its valley gardens, walks, cliff lift and pier as its main attractions (most incurring a charge) and with no opportunity for the day-tripper to purchase alcohol, it was perhaps natural that `the local population preferred the brasher resort of Redcar further up the coast as a day-trip destination`.¹⁸ Saltburn would have to rely on its visitors from London and the south to be successful.¹⁹

Secondly, John Walton identified that it was necessary for the working class visitor to secure time off which ideally extended beyond a weekend so they had sufficient time to spend in a resort, including travel to and from home.²⁰ The now repealed Bank Holiday Act of 1871 laid down fixed public holidays at Christmas; Easter; Whitsun and the first Monday in August allowing families to get away for a long weekend during the Summer. It proved to be extremely popular with English people `taking to roads, rail and steamers in their millions` on the first holiday in 1871.²¹ Mills and factories in the north west staggered holidays for their workers over the summer period, known as Wakes Weeks so whole towns could depart for their holidays at the same time. However in the mining or heavy industry sector

¹⁵ Redcar Racecourse: `History of Racing on the Sands` <<http://www.redcarracing.co.uk/about/history>> [accessed 17 December 2017].

¹⁶ Author unknown, `Redcar and Saltburn`, *The Daily Gazette For Middlesbrough*, 3 June 1879, p.3.

¹⁷ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) p.195.

¹⁸ Maurice Kirby, *Men of Business and Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Quaker Pease Dynasty of North East England 1700-1943* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1984) p.176.

¹⁹ Huggins, p.202.

²⁰ Walton, p.252.

²¹ R.S Neale, *Bath 1680-1850* (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1981) pp.60-61.

some employers lagged behind their counterparts and still relied on strict working patterns. Oral testimony from an Edwardian miner confirms that holidays for the working classes were a rarity. `We had the day off at Easter and Whitsuntide and a day off here and there. There was no such thing in them days as going away to the seaside for a week. If you went for a day, you were lucky`.²² Even if they could secure time off, very few workers received holidays with pay, so the third condition identified by Walton was that their income needed to be sufficient for a little to be saved towards a long weekend or holiday.²³ The establishment of savings clubs and friendly societies helped with this condition with four and half million people saving by 1873 in Friendly Societies, savings banks and the newly established Post Office Savings Bank and Walvin surmises that around a third of those depositors were working class men.²⁴ This new opportunity for saving would provide a means for the working classes to budget and save for a break over the course of a year.

So in relation to Saltburn and surrounding areas, opportunities had increased significantly for working class families by the 1870s with an increase in rail links, the possibility of paid holidays and the opportunity to save in newly established saving schemes. However, Walton's fourth condition, that of good affordable conditions within the resort was not offered in Saltburn.²⁵ There were a few lodging houses in the cheaper jewel streets but by the early 1870s only two hotels were in existence and both were rather exclusive.²⁶ Walton identified that conditions within

²² Max Arthur, *Lost Voices of the Edwardians* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006) p.359.

²³ Walton, p.252.

²⁴ Walvin, p.56.

²⁵ Walton, p.252.

²⁶ J.K Harrison and A. Harrison, `Saltburn-by-the Sea The Early Years of a Stockton and Darlington Railway Company Venture`, *Industrial Archaeology Review*, 4 (1980), 135-159 (p.148).

the resort had to be of a good standard for the large amount of holidaymakers, providing plenty of affordable accommodation and sufficient entertainment.²⁷

Accommodation was often in lodging houses where families would provide their own food which was then prepared and cooked by the landlady. This was achievable because the railways had opened up the resorts to commerce and there was every opportunity to buy all sorts of foodstuffs from the local grocer which had arrived by train from various parts of the country.²⁸ As for entertainment, a town like Blackpool excelled in this area, providing three piers, a tower and winter gardens all of which were open by the late part of the nineteenth century. In Saltburn, as already discussed, the entertainment was aimed at the elite with a charge being made for the few attractions. In the case of inclement weather, which is quite common on the north east coast, there were hardly any indoor alternatives such as those available in Blackpool.

Finally, John Walton states that there had to be a desire to choose a seaside holiday, with all of its associated costs, over leisure pursuits closer to home.²⁹

Many seaside resorts provided child-friendly opportunities for pleasure such as donkey rides; boat trips and all the fun of playing on the beach and in the sea and, as Louise Allen notes, Victorian society had begun to take more notice of their children and their play, exercise and recreation.³⁰ There were the obvious health benefits to have a break in cleaner air to escape the unpleasant atmosphere which pervaded many industrial Victorian towns and cities at that time. None of these leisure opportunities were encouraged in Saltburn until the turn of the nineteenth

²⁷ Walton, p.252.

²⁸ Hern, p.122.

²⁹ Walton, p.252.

³⁰ Louise Allen, *The Georgian Seaside, The English Resorts Before The Railway Age* (London: louiseallenregency.com, 2016) p.34.

century. Bathing machines were available but as with other facilities in Saltburn their use was discouraged and a charge was imposed.³¹ Some resorts which initially catered for the working classes eventually regretted their decision and this may have influenced those in charge in Saltburn. In Southend for example, the influx of working class visitors had been initially welcomed and they were certainly catered for in terms of leisure pursuits with beach entertainments as diverse as fruit and oyster stalls, photographic studios and coconut shies covering the sands in the 1870s.³² However their presence began to attract criticism especially as the beach was so narrow, this resulted in the Local Board of Health being preoccupied with complaints about the matter into the next decade.³³ As the century progressed, and seaside towns became more popular, the health benefits became less important and they lost their character of substitute spas and become holiday places where the pursuit of pleasure was more important than the cultivation of good health.³⁴ Assembly rooms fell into disuse in some resorts and the more plebeian recreations of newer resorts were to indicate their new working class clientele such as donkey rides and Punch and Judy shows.³⁵ But it is important to remember that not all towns experienced the same fortunes. As Walton noted, when studying seaside resorts, we are dealing with a recognisable and distinctive kind of town, but with as many variations as hawkweed or a burnet-moth.³⁶ Saltburn's planners may have been concerned about the potential danger of plebeian trippers driving out the more refined middle and upper class clientele. In some towns this was resolved by an informal division such as in Brighton where

³¹ TA, U/OME (2) 1/14, p.36.

³² David Churchill, Living in a Leisure Town: Residential Reactions to the Growth of Popular Tourism in Southend 1870 -1890, *Urban History*, 41 (2014), 42-61 (p.50).

³³ Churchill, p.50.

³⁴ Janice Anderson and others, p.6.

³⁵ Walvin, p.21.

³⁶ John Walton, *The British Seaside Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) p.22.

`the more respectable people kept to the West Pier, leaving the Palace Pier to the more noisy day trippers` or Scarborough which kept the noisy entertainments to the south bay and the more quiet refined leisure to the north bay, a division which could be argued still exists today.³⁷ This sort of division would have been impossible in a resort as small as Saltburn. Alternatively, elites withdrew altogether for example to quieter resorts of Hove or Lytham St Annes from Brighton and Blackpool respectively and many more moved to more private forms of leisure such as entertaining at home.

Long Depression

The Long Depression lasted from 1873 to 1896 in the UK and Europe and resulted in thirty years of deflation. Falling prices gave the consumer more buying power even taking into account the stagnation or decline in wages.³⁸ J.K and A.Harrison pinpoint 1873 as the high point for development in Saltburn in their study, from then on the rate of building slowed as the Long Depression began to take effect.³⁹ Many moved away from the area seeking work elsewhere, so by 1878 171 houses out of 488 lay empty.⁴⁰ Leisure development also faltered, the planned assembly rooms for example which were to be situated next to the The Zetland Hotel fell victim to the poor economic forecast, as did a planned extension to The Alexandra Hotel which left a gap that still exists today.⁴¹ In fact much of the building work stalled towards the end of the nineteenth century with only piecemeal development over the next century. Surprisingly the final plot was not taken up on Marine

³⁷ Janice Anderson and others, p.6.

³⁸ Institute of Economic Affairs <<https://iea.org.uk/blog/lessons-from-the-%E2%80%98long-depression%E2%80%99>>[accessed 12 October 2018].

³⁹ Harrison and others, p.152.

⁴⁰ Huggins, p.202.

⁴¹ J.K Harrison and others, p.156.

Parade until 2002.⁴² At the same time as the beginning of the Long Depression another significant change took place which altered the resort's fortunes. Lord Zetland, who had originally sold the Improvement Company much of the land to develop Saltburn, sold twenty acres of land to a group of local developers calling themselves the Saltburn Extension Company (of which he was a member), they planned to develop land at the north end of the new town.⁴³ However because the original Improvement Company remained in control of the roads and drainage, they had an effective veto on further development. This did not prevent the rival development however and once they began to lay out their extension to the town house prices began to fall.⁴⁴ This confirms Perkin's argument that social tone was also the product of competing elites, especially those who leased the land.

Relaxation in building control and extension of leisure facilities

The combined pressures of the economic downturn and rival extension company resulted in the Saltburn Improvement Company relaxing their strict controls on new developments. The incomplete 'Regent Circus' is an example of this with only the Queens Hotel completed as planned, the rest of the circus was added to much later and in a different style and alignment.⁴⁵ The Pease white firebrick was used less and less and development became very conventional, indeed as J.K Harrison states, Saltburn looked like 'just another ordinary township'.⁴⁶ Several streets which were half finished by this time are now a combination of white fire brick and conventional redbrick, Eden Street for example is a narrow street of terrace

⁴² Redcar Council, *This Is Saltburn Conservation Area Appraisal 2007*, p.58.

⁴³ Redcar Council, *This Is Saltburn Conservation Area Appraisal 2007*, p.58.

⁴⁴ Huggins, p.202.

⁴⁵ Harrison and others, p.156.

⁴⁶ Harrison and others, p.156.

housing with redbrick housing on one side and white firebrick housing on the other. This lack of uniformity in brickwork and imbalance in the layout of the streets would have contributed to an erosion of the social tone. There was also a relaxation of the type of leisure amenities offered in the town with the committee agreeing the use of the Valley Gardens for a gala on Whit Monday in 1875, a Horticultural Meeting in 1877, and gatherings of Wesleyans, Methodists and Ancient Shepherds all in 1878.⁴⁷ This led to a change in the social tone as more and more visitors, who may not have previously been to Saltburn as it was so distinguished, came to the town as part of these gatherings. Perkin noted in his study of social tone that it was not fixed and static and could change over time as resorts agonised about how to 'keep or obtain the "better class of visitor"'.⁴⁸

Decline followed by partial recovery

This decline in the resort's growth is not commented on in the committee minute books, however Henry's wife notes in her biography of him that 'there was, perhaps, a shade of disappointment as years went on that Saltburn did not grow as rapidly as at first it seemed to promise to do'.⁴⁹ She noted though that Henry remained optimistic stating that 'there was much to gratify in its (Saltburn's) steady increase, and, as everything was well done, he could still indulge the hope that a prosperous future was in store for it'.⁵⁰ This seemed less and less likely with the impact of the economic decline followed by complaints submitted from the Local Board who had partially taken over the running of the town. A deputation were

⁴⁷ TA, U/ OME (2) 1/14, p.225, p.335; U/OME (2) 1/15, p.22, p.37.

⁴⁸ Harold Perkin, 'The 'Social Tone' of Victorian Seaside Resorts in the North-West', *Northern History*, 11 (1976), 180 -194 (p.181).

⁴⁹ Mary Pease, *Henry Pease A Short Story Of His Life* (London and Ashford: Headley Brothers,1897) p.91.

⁵⁰ Pease, p.91.

invited to the Improvement Company committee meeting with a long list of complaints including the state of the footpaths, unfinished building work and even clothes drying in public.⁵¹ The decline in the resort's fortunes did not go unnoticed by visitors to the resort either, with one in 1880 noting how the town presented itself, 'the fact is that Saltburn tries to be pretentious and aristocratic, whilst Redcar is content to cater for the people who have money to spend, and so Saltburn has to go to the wall'.⁵² Two years later the local newspaper the *Redcar Gazette* noted that 'the town wears a deserted and dispirited appearance telling of a want of prosperity and success'.⁵³ The death of Henry Pease in 1881, arguably Saltburn's founding father, had a huge impact since it resulted in the loss of the town's main driving force. The Saltburn Improvement Company was dissolved in 1882 and taken over by the Middlesbrough Board. Several improvements were made including development of the lower promenade, enlarging the pier, replacing the cliff hoist with a water balanced tramway and building the much needed assembly rooms.⁵⁴ Once again the social tone changed, this time for the better and reviews were positive. The *Cleveland News* ran an article entitled 'Saltburn As It Is' in July 1884 which gave a glowing review both of the town and its new owners stating that 'when they acquired the estate there were some four hundred empty houses in the town, whereas now it is difficult to find an unoccupied dwelling, while the population has increased to two thousand five hundred'.⁵⁵ VIPs began to visit once more, for example The Right Hon Sir Henry Holland MP and his wife Lady Holland were reported to have left for Saltburn with an intention to stay for ten days.⁵⁶ The positive reviews continued into the next decade, *The*

⁵¹ TA, U/OME (2) 1/11, p.87.

⁵² *Middlesbrough News and Cleveland Advertiser*, 14 August 1880, cited in Huggins, p.203.

⁵³ *Redcar Gazette*, 2 October 1882, cited in Huggins, p.203.

⁵⁴ Huggins, p.203.

⁵⁵ *Cleveland News*, 5 July 1884, p.4.

⁵⁶ Court and Fashion, *The Observer*, 18 September 1887.

Telegraph ran an article entitled 'In The Land of the Cliffs' in 1893 in which the author described the 'clean, well-built handsome town' as 'an intense surprise'.⁵⁷ Leisure attractions aimed at working class visitors were now available in the resort such as a Whitby troupe known as Mulvana's Minstrels who were extremely popular with visitors.⁵⁸ Gipsy style entertainers had stands on the beach and a fairground was installed on the east cliff.⁵⁹ However, despite this resurgence in Saltburn's fortunes Mary Pease was correct in her assertion that the town did not achieve the high status that Henry and his partners had envisaged.

Conclusion

This chapter examined those factors identified by John Walton as necessary for a resort to attract working class visitors and whether those factors applied to Saltburn. The resort was well placed on the brand new railway line from Middlesbrough, however there were accusations that the railway board (also largely made up of Quakers) were limiting excursion trains to deter the plebeian visitor. There was also a lack of attractions in the 1870s which the working classes would generally expect such as donkey rides, Punch and Judy and fairgrounds; the attractions which were present were more exclusive and made a charge. As a 'dry' resort the working classes could not enjoy an alcoholic drink on their day trip or holiday so many chose neighbouring Redcar instead. The poor worldwide economic situation in the mid to late 1870s caused a decline in Saltburn's fortunes from which it never fully recovered, however improvements were made by the new owners and reviews were more positive as the century drew to a close.

⁵⁷ *The Daily Telegraph*, 'In The Land of the Cliffs', 21 September 1893, p.6.

⁵⁸ Baz Kershaw, *The Cambridge History of British Theatre Volume Three Since 1895* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) p.101.

⁵⁹ Huggins, p.204.

5. Conclusion

Summary

This study set out to investigate what part Quakerism and class played in the development of Saltburn as a seaside resort; how its amenities compared to other resorts in terms of social tone; how successful the resort was during its first thirty years and how the town lost impetus in the years following the Long Depression, Henry Pease's death and the involvement of the Board of Health.

The establishment of Saltburn as a wholly new town was quite unusual in the Victorian era. The directors therefore had a unique opportunity to create a resort which appealed to visitors from other areas of the country, the elite families of the north east and also the burgeoning working class population, many of whom were employed in the ironstone industry or the railways, both largely owned by Quaker families. However the evidence suggests that Saltburn was not designed to be an egalitarian resort, rather one that only catered to the distinguished visitor. This is at odds with the stated Quaker value that all members of society are equal and should be treated in the same way.

Chapter one investigated how certain decisions made by the Improvement Company contributed to the social tone. Their exploratory visits to Scarborough and other watering places on the south coast suggests there was a plan to emulate other resorts but only the finer ones with the best class of visitor and

resident. The type of housing chosen for the town shows there was a plan to create a refined and elite resort with mostly expensive houses, some costing ten times more than their cheaper counterparts only a few feet away. Strict covenants controlling the type of brickwork and timescales for building completion were enforced. Streets were laid out in a traditional Victorian grid-iron fashion with wide roads to add to the sense of space. The Valley Gardens created an oasis in the resort where visitors could admire the wild nature and also the manicured areas. This was not meant for everyone and a charge was enforced to deter day trippers and less wealthy residents. This demonstrates a certain amount of hypocrisy on the part of the committee especially as most of its members were Quakers who declared themselves aligned to liberal values.

Chapter two examined how Saltburn was experienced both by those visiting and its residents. The type of leisure facilities established in the town following the opening of the Valley Gardens was firstly discussed. The decision to impose a charge was not unusual in the Victorian era however the committee's intransigence in refusing free entry to certain types of visitor demonstrates their determination for the resort to remain an elite leisure destination. Alternative forms of entertainment for the working classes did not exist in the resort. The pier and cliff lift also made a charge and there were no pubs in the town since it was a dry resort due to the Quaker belief in temperance. Alcohol was available in the hotels but for residents only, so the working classes were excluded as they would not have been able to afford a stay at an expensive establishment. The ban on alcohol led to several residents trying to circumvent the rules and brew and sell beer themselves which led to the committee imposing warnings. The guidebooks

printed at the time show that Saltburn had made a good impression on early visitors with many reporting it as a utopia on the north east coast. However, the scandal that affected the resort in 1866 when several dozen residents and visitors reported poor infrastructure, drainage and fresh water supplies to *The Lancet* revealed that certain cost cutting decisions had been made by the committee. The rationale for this is unclear however the saga caused bad feeling between the residents and the Improvement Company which, although eventually resolved, demonstrates a certain amount of arrogance on the part of the directors.

Chapter three studied the loss of focus in Saltburn's development and its decline following the general economic slump of the late 1870s. This chapter also discussed the increase in leisure opportunities for the working class in the mid to late nineteenth century, how those factors came about and whether they applied to Saltburn. Although transport was available to bring the working classes to the town there were accusations that the trains were limited or run reluctantly. Upon arrival in the town the working class visitors would not have found any free entertainments and would have been unable to purchase any alcohol so many instead chose Redcar. The Long Depression, together with competition from Lord Zetland's extension company, drove house prices down and residents began to move elsewhere. Building control became more relaxed and more egalitarian forms of leisure were introduced. The new owners of the town made sufficient improvements to attract visitors back to the resort, although Saltburn did not become the leisure destination envisaged by Henry Pease and his fellow directors.

Further research

This study has concentrated on the first thirty years following Saltburn's establishment. Further research could expand beyond 1890, investigating the resort's appeal in the Edwardian and inter war years. Further, it could examine the town's decline in the post war years, something which most seaside resorts in the UK experienced and how Saltburn has now repositioned itself as a successful historic Victorian resort.

Conclusion

This study has shown that the town's founding committee attempted to create an elite seaside resort which was aimed at the middle to upper sectors of society. The social tone, as identified by Perkin, was set from the beginning in terms of types of housing, covenants, upscale hotels, charges for leisure facilities, ban on alcohol, limiting of trains on holidays to deter trippers and a lack of traditional leisure attractions for the working classes. The committee members themselves were part of the elite, many of them in charge of several local businesses employing thousands of workers. Their decision to create an exclusive seaside resort which excluded the trippers or less wealthy members of society goes against the espoused Quaker principle that everyone is equal. The refusal to be dynamic and respond to local demand resulted in visitors choosing other resorts such as nearby Redcar and this, together with competition from Lord Zetland's company and the Long Depression, caused Saltburn to eventually falter in its growth.

However, in many ways the stalling of the town's development has now become its unique selling point. Saltburn has the one remaining pier on the north east

coast (the next nearest is in Cleethorpes) and the oldest water balanced cliff tramway still in operation in the United Kingdom.¹ Visitors flock to see these distinctive attractions along with the Valley Gardens and boutique shops. The Zetland Hotel is still standing, albeit as private flats, however the train no longer goes to the back door. New housing is currently being built making Saltburn an attractive commuter town for those working in nearby Middlesbrough and Darlington. Henry Pease's hope that a prosperous future was in store for Saltburn by the Sea has eventually been fulfilled a century and a half after his initial vision on the clifftop.

¹ Saltburn By The Sea <<http://saltburnbysea.com>>[accessed 18 December 2018].

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