

A329: The Making of Welsh History

**Development of a Proprietary Town:
Analysing Key Buildings, Middle Class Activity and Migration:
Milford Haven c.1851 – 1910**

Words: 7102

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Acknowledgements

to my mother, Irene Carruthers BA (1928 – 2022)

for whom history was everything.

She taught me to look back and ask questions.

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INTRODUCTION

‘Act of Parliament, 1790’, allowed construction of a, ‘Proprietary Town, (to) ... provide quays, docks, piers ... establish a market ... roads and avenues ... of said port and town within the Manor or Lordship of Hubberston and Pill in the County of Pembroke.’¹

This dissertation aims to analyse the urban landscape of Milford Haven c.1851-1910. Julie Light argues for filling the gap in Welsh small town historiography and the importance of middle-class involvement in urbanisation, contributing to the field of British urban history as a whole.² This paper therefore analyses urbanisation of the new town with its plethora of fine, architectural buildings, and considers the involvement of middle-classes and immigration on the socio-political-culture of the town.³ Milford stands beside the estuary of the Haven in Pembrokeshire, Southwest Wales, a strategic waterway and safe port, where invaders and settlers left an anglicised population.⁴ By 1790 there existed no town, village or accommodation for travellers. Evidenced on a map c.1750, showing the wide, deep-water Haven, small medieval parishes of Steynton and Hubberston, nearby settlements of Hakin and Pill, acres of farmland and an abandoned chapel.⁵ Hubberston, the closest parish, had a small inn with a coach journey of eight miles to Haverfordwest, nearly forty miles to Carmarthen. Philip Jenkins, key historian of Welsh history, laments, ‘...before ... 1760, the towns that mattered most were not located on Welsh soil ...’ and questions whether there was, ‘even a subject to be studied’ between 1500 and 1800.⁶ Jenkins also discusses industry changing the face of nineteenth century Welsh society.⁷ Pembrokeshire industrialised through its rich natural resources and strategic coastal locations; textiles, fishing, shipbuilding, coal, iron and lime providing local employment. Capitalising on a new port to transport these commodities, while accommodating passengers and mail from the Waterford Mail Packet, plans were laid by Charles Francis Greville to raise a new town. He planned to transform a quiet backwater, compete for trade with London and Liverpool and incorporate commercial communication networks with new and improved roads and a rail link.⁸ Evolution of the port c.1851-1910 was interdependent with development of the town, this paper exclusively researches urbanisation through analysis of the three main streets, considering involvement of middle classes, immigration and consequences for national identity.

Urbanisation was essential to support industry and commerce but, existing local history is biased towards industrial development and economy with little research existing on

¹ ‘Hubberston and Pill, Pembroke, Docks and Piers Act 1790, Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain’, 1790, *The National Archives*, Available at <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> Accessed 21 February 2024

² Julie Light, ‘The Middle Classes as Urban Elites in Nineteenth-Century South Wales,’ *A New Agenda for Urban History*, 24.3 (2009), p.29-30

³ Designated Historic Asset GIS Data, The Welsh Historic Environment Service, (Cadw), Available at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/3/> Accessed 02 April 2024

⁴ Vikings, Flemish settlers, kings, pirates, the French fleet supporting Owain Glyn Dwr, ships from the Spanish Armada, even Shakespeare, landed at Milford Haven.

⁵ See Appendix A.

⁶ Philip Jenkins, ‘Wales’, in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. by P. Clark, (CUP, 2000), p.133

⁷ Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales*, p.236

⁸ James, F. Rees, ‘Charles Francis Greville: 1749-1809’, (1959). *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Available at <https://biography.wales/article/s-GREV-FRA-1749> Accessed 18 Mar 2024

urbanisation.⁹ Neil Evans discusses ‘...the distinctiveness of the Welsh urban experience show(ing) the need for comparative studies...’. Filling this gap leads to the first research question, ‘How have key buildings in Milford Haven, such as, St. Katherine’s Church, The Lord Nelson Hotel, The Tabernacle Chapel and The Baptist Chapel, contributed to urbanisation?’ Additionally, Jane Morgan writes of, ‘a class-conscious group’ of middle-classes bringing about improvement within their localities.¹⁰ Milford Haven, established by monies of landed gentry, subsequently attracted middle-class professionals and businesses. Light discusses middle-classes being left out of Welsh scholarship, arguing that filling the gap is essential, encouraging under researched topics and pushing for more comprehensive Welsh historiography, essential to enrich the scarcity of Welsh urban history.¹¹ This paper therefore raises the question, ‘Did the rise of middle-classes influence socio-political economic culture of nineteenth century Milford Haven?’ As Jenkins and Evans also discuss the ‘patchy nature’ of Welsh urban history, this research, of an Anglicised Welsh coastal town will help fill these gaps by contributing to current historiography, broadening the range and enlarging collective history.¹²

Jenkins also discusses demographic consequences of industrial enterprise, creating opportunity for internal migration.¹³ Migration was an essential component of populating the new town, on a greenfield site, without a large local workforce. He suggests the population of Wales, c.1801-1851 more than doubled, fundamentally through immigration. Brinley Thomas takes it further by discussing how Welsh migration was biased towards valley communities rather than coastal areas,¹⁴ Dudley Baines argues against the common assumption that agricultural depression was pushing migration and suggests migration was more likely, ‘... from the areas in the mainstream of economic change.’¹⁵ Did migration occur from Wales, England or elsewhere? What was the experience of national identity in Milford Haven? Comparing and contrasting issues raised by historians with research results from census data and newspaper commentary, will help answer these questions.

Borsay et. al. suggest ‘... there is no simple and universal urban story to tell.’¹⁶ Milford Haven has a unique history which this paper seeks to unfold through comparing and contrasting current historiography with evidence from primary sources. Evans, Roy Lewis

⁹ For example: Ken McKay, *A Vision of Greatness*, (Haverfordwest, 1989); Sybil Edwards, *The Story of Milford Haven Waterway: The Good Times and the Bad Times*, (Herefordshire, 2001)

¹⁰ Jane Morgan, ‘Denbighshire’s *Annus Mirabilis*: The Borough and County Elections of 1868’, *ante*, 7.1 (1974), pp. 63-87

¹¹ For example, Julie Light, ‘Mere Seekers of Fame?: Personalities, Power and Politics in the Small Town: Pontypool and Bridgend, c. 1860-95’, *Urban History*, 32,1,2005 p.1; Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales: 1536 - 1990*, (New York, 1992) p.419; Neil Evans, ‘The Welsh Victorian City: the Middle Class and Civic and National Consciousness in Cardiff, 1850-1914’, *Welsh History Review*, 12 (1985) p.350-387

¹² Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales*, p.419; Neil Evans, ‘Rethinking Urban Wales’, *Urban History*, Vol.32.1, (2005) p.126

¹³ Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales*, p.236

¹⁴ Brinley Thomas, *The Industrial Revolution and the Atlantic Economy: Selected Essays*, (Oxford, 2002) p.211. Available at <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203161210>. Accessed 27/03/2024

¹⁵ Dudley Baines, ‘Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900’ *Economica*, 55.217, (1988), p.25

¹⁶ P. Borsay, L. Miskell, and O. Roberts (2005) ‘Introduction: Wales, a new agenda for urban history’, *Urban History*, 32(1), pp. 5–16.

and Sandra Wheatley have interesting theories on middle-class urban influence and suburbanisation, these views will be considered against the experience found in Milford Haven.¹⁷ Migration theories of Baines, Thomas, Evans and Harold Carter will be debated to compare their findings of urbanisation and immigration with experiences in Milford Haven.¹⁸ Works by Geraint Jenkins and Philip Jenkins are utilised for the broader picture of Welsh life within the research period.¹⁹ Julie Light's insights into the use of trade directories and census records are relevant as migration will be evidenced from census data and enumerator's books between 1851-1901 when birthplace and occupation can both be traced.²⁰ Filling the gap in Welsh urban historiography will be achieved through analysis of secondary sources, through investigation of key buildings, issues of national identity, immigration and middle-class involvement. This paper seeks to unfold the unique and complex urban history of Milford Haven over the period 1851-1910.

Primary sources for the period are in Parliamentary papers, maps, photographs, newspapers, trade directories and census data. Parliamentary papers confirmed details of the Act of 1790, allowing establishment of the town, of 1857, bringing in the Improvement Commission and of 1894, consolidating management of the town. Further government involvement will be clarified through access to Parliamentary Papers online.²¹ Searches through newspapers c.1851-1910 highlight a substantial amount of primary evidence pertaining to the social and political landscape of the developing town. A more precise search of Welsh newspapers will be undertaken to follow up, substantiate or refute experiences within the town, particularly regarding activities of the middle-class and issues of national identity. While it is understood that individual authors and newspapers often expressed personal and, or political affiliations, careful use brings forward contemporaneous views. A map is presented to highlight the absence of urbanisation c.1750, photographs are included to illustrate features of the town. Details adapted from census data will show evidence for comparative analysis, particulars of 'where born' especially useful. The 1901 census data reveals 'language spoken' which contributes to discussions on Welsh identity. Other census data forms fundamental research into population numbers and occupational strata while trade directories elucidate or support middle class involvement.

¹⁷ Neil Evans, (1982) 'Urbanisation, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy: 1850-1914', *International Review of Social History*, vol. 27, 3, pp. 290-323; Roy Lewis and Sandra Wheatley, (1999) 'The Beginnings of Middle-Class Suburbanization in a Small Town: a Case Study of Aberystwyth, c.1870-1930', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 31(1), pp. 45-64; Dudley Baines, 'Migration in a Mature Economy, p.2; Thomas, *The Industrial Revolution and the Atlantic economy: selected essays*. (London, 1993), Available at: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203161210>. Accessed 07 March 2024

¹⁸Baines, 'Migration in a Mature Economy, p.25; Thomas, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Atlantic Economy', p. 211; Harold Carter, 'Phases of town growth in Wales', in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968), p.231; Evans, 'Rethinking Urban Wales', p.5

¹⁹ For example: G. Jenkins, 'A Concise History of Wales'(Cambridge, 2008 [2007]); P. Jenkins, 'Modern Wales'.

²⁰ Light, 'The Middle Classes as Urban Elites', pp.29-30

²¹ U.K. Parliamentary Papers, Available at <https://parlipapers-proquest-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/parlipapers/search/basic/hcpcbsearch> Accessed 7 March 2024

The first chapter introduces the town's background and new buildings while considering the opinions of Carter, Evans, Lewis and Wheatley.²² Buildings standing in Hamilton Terrace, Charles Street and Robert Street, form the geographical research area. When first constructed these streets were named, Front Street, Middle Street and Back Street, renamed by Improvement Commissioners in 1857.²³ To avoid confusion the streets will be referred to throughout by their later names.

Secondly, focussing on residents from these streets, this paper considers middle-class involvement in the town and potential influence on urbanisation. Where they chose to live and develop businesses within the town will be discussed in comparison with current historiography, particularly through the works of Carter, Evans and Light.²⁴

The third chapter focusses on immigration and national identity, where work by Carter, Evans, Baines and Thomas will be considered in comparison with findings from research.²⁵ Census-data will identify the birthplace of residents to determine nationality and migrant origins.

Finally, drawing issues together, reflecting on research findings and current Welsh historiography the paper will seek to answer questions raised and consider future research opportunities.

²² For example, Carter, 'Phases of town growth in Wales'; Evans, 'Rethinking Urban Wales'; Lewis and Wheatley, 'The beginnings of middle-class suburbanisation',

²³ U.K. Parliamentary Papers

²⁴ For example, Carter, 'Transformation in the Spatial Structure of Welsh Towns'; Light, 'Mere Seekers of Fame?'; Evans, 'Urbanisation, elite attitudes and philanthropy'.

²⁵ For example, Evans, 'Rethinking Urban Wales'; Thomas, 'A Cauldron of Rebirth', Baines, 'Migration in a Mature Economy'.

Chapter 1: ‘... the new and flourishing town of Milford,’²⁶

‘How have key buildings in Milford Haven, such as, St. Katherine’s Church, The Lord Nelson Hotel, the Tabernacle Chapel and the Baptist Chapel, contributed to urbanisation?’

Expansive swathes of land, including the Slebech and Lawrenny estates and the manor of Hubberston and Pill, were acquired after dissolution of the Monasteries c.1550 by Roger Barlow.²⁷ His daughter Catherine Barlow of Colby inherited his estate and married William Hamilton, grandson of the third Duke of Hamilton. Hamilton inherited the land on his wife’s death, appointing his nephew, Honourable Charles Francis Greville, son of 1st Earl of Warwick, as his agent. Greville a politician and member of parliament for Warwick of ten years, had good political connections. An Act of Parliament was granted giving permission for a port and proprietary town. Greville created a port and developed a new town on land around the estuary for commercial and urban speculation, beginning with a new hotel.²⁸ Urbanisation, transforming farmland into the beginnings of a new town.

Visiting Milford Haven in 1810, local historian and travel writer Richard Fenton was impressed with developments and found, ‘... in a very few years such was its progressive enlargement, that something more than the skeleton of streets met the eye ...’.²⁹ After many stages of development the town became, through 1851-1910 a centre of social, cultural and political stability with a population at the latter date of 10,922.³⁰ All necessities were available; modern homes, fashionable shops, trades, professional services, a post office, banks, entertainments, chapels for dissenters, road, sea and rail links.³¹

Professor Harold Carter expert urban-geographer, and early advocate of interdisciplinary study, encompassing urban history, wrote that towns were usually developed on land with older traditions, such as Celtic, Roman or Norman sites.³² Although he concedes, town foundations also occurred as a consequence of the industrial revolution.³³ Neil Evans, historian of Welsh urban history, while honouring Carter’s work, describes urbanisation of greenfield sites as a dominant characteristic of nineteenth century industrial Wales.³⁴ Milford Haven was built on greenfield land but not in the South Wales Valleys tradition of long,

²⁶ Anon., ‘The Cambrian: Milford’ *The Cambrian*, 4 November 1809, p.3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3322090/3322093/10/milford%20haven%20%20tabernacle%20chapel> Accessed 22 April 2024

²⁷ Anon. Pembrokeshire Coast National Park, Available at <https://www.pembrokeshirecoast.wales/about-the-national-park/history/tudor-pembrokeshire/> Accessed 21 March 2024

²⁸ James, F. Rees, Greville, ‘Charles Francis (1749-1809), founder of Milford Haven town, Pembrokeshire’, (1959). *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Available at <https://biography.wales/article/s-GREV-FRA-1749> Accessed 18 March 2024

²⁹ Richard Fenton, *A Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, (London, 1811) pp.455-456

³⁰ GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, ‘Milford Sub D through time, Statistics’, *A Vision of Britain Through Time*, Available at https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10549395/cube/TOT_POP Accessed 26 April 2024

³¹ Examples from trade directories and newspapers 1851-1901

³² Harold Carter, ‘The Towns of Wales: A Study in Urban Geography’, (Cardiff, 1965) p.20

³³ Carter, ‘The Towns of Wales’, p.8

³⁴ Neil Evans, ‘Rethinking Urban Wales’, *Urban History*, 32, 1 (2005) p.126

narrow, ribbon developments with an egalitarian culture. The town was architecturally designed from the beginning to become a town worthy of gentry and middle-class residents with space to accommodate working-classes. Initial plans for a town of grand terraces,³⁵ was later modified by Jean Louis Barrallier, a French naval architect who, in 1797 designed Milford's three parallel street pattern with intersecting side streets.³⁶ Hamilton Terrace was to extend equally on either side of a new church, East to West but, '...the long street, ... lost heart ere ever it reached the site of St Cotherin's Church...', and acts as the street end.³⁷ However, with the church placed at the end of Hamilton Terrace the three parallel streets lend a central core to the town, providing a physical sense of unity and place, in contrast to Welsh ribbon developments. With most shops and businesses operating in Charles Street it became the centre for band processions, demonstrations and celebration.³⁸ Under Greville's plans, Hamilton Terrace was to house ship owners, captains and the wealthy, Charles Street was for trades people, sail makers and shops, while Robert Street was intended for sailors, whalers and artisans.³⁹ This would have been in line with Carter and Wheatley's theory of '... front street-back street segregation ...', in practice it was found, within the boundaries of this study, a heterogenous residential community.⁴⁰ For example, while the majority of Hamilton Terrace housed the wealthy, five artisans were accommodated there in 1851. In 1881, Charles Street, designed for trades people, housed seven people of independent means and 1901 saw six prosperous merchants living in Robert Street.⁴¹ However, from the early years of the town's foundation, many middle-class purchasers bought land and occupied large properties a little way out from the main centre. They built large houses, set within their own gardens and were entirely in keeping with Carter, Lewis and Wheatley's observations of middle-class housing choices in other Welsh towns. They describe how villa building, outside of, but within commuting distance to a main town became popularised in Wales after starting in English cities. The middle classes were expressing their status with smart new detached houses in the suburbs.⁴² Unlike older towns with Celtic or Roman origins, greenfield sites provided ample opportunity for new development.

New Inn, the first building constructed, opened in 1800 and stands in Hamilton Terrace.⁴³ Swansea architect, William Jernigan is believed to have designed the three-storey hotel in neo-Classical Stucco style.⁴⁴ Renamed after a visit by Horatio Lord Nelson in 1802, 'The

³⁵ See Appendix B

³⁶ See Appendix C

³⁷ Flora Thomas, *The Builders of Milford*, (Haverfordwest, 1954) p.32

³⁸ See appendix D

³⁹ Anon., 'Milford Haven: Ex-home of Whale Ship Captain', *History Points*, Available at <https://historypoints.org/index.php?page=former-home-of-whale-ship-captain-timothy-folger-milford-haven> Accessed 25 April 2024

⁴⁰ Harold Carter and Sandra Wheatley, *Merthyr Tydfil in 1851: A Study of the Spatial Structure of a Welsh Industrial Town*, (Cardiff, 1982)

⁴¹ See Appendix I, K, M

⁴² Harold Carter, 'Transformation in the Spatial Structure of Welsh Towns in the Nineteenth Century', p.182; Roy C. Lewis and Sandra Wheatley, 'The beginnings of middle-class suburbanisation in a small town: A Case Study of Aberystwyth, c.1870-1930', *National Library of Wales Journal*, Vol.31.1 (Aberystwyth, 1999) p.45-48

⁴³ See appendix E

⁴⁴ Anon., 'The Lord Nelson Hotel', *British Listed Buildings*, Available at <https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/300012874-the-lord-nelson-hotel-including-low-wrange-to-st-hamilton-terrace-milford-haven> Accessed 21 April 2024

Lord Nelson' became one of the first hotels in Wales to be illuminated by electric light at a grand ball for the town's elite in 1879.⁴⁵ Closed for some time in 1894,⁴⁶ it was subject to a 'grand reopening' where, '...gentry (and) leading public men of the locality,' were invited to a banquet.⁴⁷ George Owen was right to describe Pembrokeshire as, '... always inhabited with divers knights and gentlemen of great worship',⁴⁸ as, even by 1901, out of 152 residents of Hamilton Terrace, thirty three percent were either middle-class or urban elites.⁴⁹ This large, opulent, well positioned hotel became the centre of celebration, banquets and meetings for middle-classes and urban elites.

Early nineteenth century, Baptists would hold their meetings in a local loft, moving to a room in Robert Street in 1825 where they held Sunday and midweek services. By 1826, after public baptisms in the Haven, the congregation grew to several hundred and moved to the Market Hall, Charles Street.⁵⁰ A new chapel was built in Robert Street in 1828, a simple building with whitewashed walls, reflecting their conscious move away from the imposing architecture of the Anglican church. Across Wales the rise of nonconformity was growing, particularly Independents and Baptists where the number of congregations rose from 86 in 1798 to 379 in 1847.⁵¹ This growth in popularity together with a new sense of respectability was reflected in Milford Haven, where Baptists were moving from the idea of a subdued place of worship to that of an impressive and imposing chapel. 1878 saw the Baptist church move to an elegant, new chapel in North Road.⁵²

The first religious building in town was Tabernacle Congregational Chapel, constructed in 1808 in Robert Street. It was the first chapel for dissenters in the area, rebuilt between Charles Street and Hamilton Terrace in 1909,⁵³ of bath stone and red brick in the Arts and Crafts style.⁵⁴ In keeping with other areas of Wales, Milford Haven was considered part of the nonconformist nation, with thirteen religious buildings constructed in the town during the nineteenth century, including a Wesleyan Chapel built 1831 in Robert Street and replaced 1902 with a new chapel in Priory Road.⁵⁵ The Rehoboth Chapel for Welsh speakers built in

⁴⁵ Anon., 'The Electric Light at Milford Haven', *South Wales Daily News*, 1879, p.2. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3508479/3508481/10/> Accessed 15 April 2024

⁴⁶ Kelly, 'Milford Haven', Kelly's Directory, University of Leicester, Available at <https://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/337882/rec/3> Accessed 15 April 2024

⁴⁷ Anon., 'Re-Opening of the Lord Nelson Hotel', *Weekly Mail*, 1895, p.5. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3370622/3370627/124/> Accessed 15 April 2024

Accessed 15 April 2024

⁴⁸ George Owen, 'The Description of Pembrokeshire', ed. Dillwyn Miles, (Llandysul, 1994) p.14

⁴⁹ Adapted from Census data, 1901 Available at <https://search-findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/record/browse?id=GBC/1901/5126-5127/0152> Accessed 3 March 2024

⁵⁰ Anon., 'That Reminds Me: The Fall and Rise of the Baptist Movement in Milford', *Milford Mercury*' (2018) Available at <https://www.milfordmercury.co.uk/news/16310632.reminds-fall-rise-baptist-movement-milford/> Accessed 22 April 2024

⁵¹ Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales 1536-1990*, (London, 1992) p. 191-192

⁵² See Appendix F

⁵³ See Appendix G

⁵⁴ Anon., Tabernacle Congregational Chapel, Milford Haven, Available at <https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/11131/images/?term=tabernacle%20chapel%20milford%20haven> Accessed 18 April 2024

⁵⁵ Anon., Wesleyan Chapel, Milford Haven, (Dartmouth Street being part of Robert Street) Coflein, (1995) Available at <https://coflein.gov.uk/en/search/?term=wesleyan%20chapel%20dartmouth%20street%20milford%20haven&type=archive> Accessed 30 April 2024

nearby Hakin in 1840 served Welsh speakers moving into the locality.⁵⁶ Religion was important in Wales where in 1851, fifty seven percent of the population attended a place of worship, eighty percent of whom were non-conformists.⁵⁷ Philip Jenkins outlines the difficulties inherent in attempting to quantify members of congregations, in particular from ‘... fluctuations ... in religious loyalties.’ And it was, he suggests ‘...a very fluid situation’.⁵⁸ This was the case in Milford Haven where chapels between 1850 and 1910 were seen as places of entertainment as well as places of worship. Many of the residents and elders of the chapels would also attend other chapels and the local church. Locally, secular activities attracted a cross section of those across the religious spectrum. An example can be seen at the Milford Haven Eisteddfod, 1907, held in the Masonic Hall for the benefit of the Baptist Church and supported by many and varied members of the town and its locality.⁵⁹ As with other of the town’s chapels, Tabernacle chapel served as a centre for community activity.

St. Katherine’s church completed 1808 as a chapel of ease,⁶⁰ served as a religious centre for the town, which was developing within the parish of Steynton, with its own medieval church. Fulke Greville witnessed many other religions forming sects within the town and was concerned to lose members from the established church and keen to have it officially dedicated,⁶¹ as this was at a time in Wales when a new chapel was opening every eight days.⁶² However, the new building was fitted with an organ designed to have extra pipes added as funds allowed. This and other forms of upkeep on the church provided many fund-raising activities over the years. August 1890 saw the Hamilton Terrace home of Major W.R. Roberts provide the setting for a garden fete and gala, with activities for children and adults, including, ‘... fireworks, never before witnessed ...’, while helping to raise funds for organ pipes.⁶³ Other summer events were organised, not always to raise funds, occasionally as a tribute, commemoration or celebration such as an annual summer fete or Christmas Bazaar. Garrad points to such activities providing a social status for the middle-class, which in a small town like Milford Haven was of greater value than class distinction and granted a prestigious position within the town.⁶⁴ Occasions such as this, organised by the middle-class and enjoyed by town residents were also important in building and maintaining the social fabric of the town. It was to be a further seventy-nine years before the town was granted

⁵⁶ McKay, A Vision of Greatness, p.76

⁵⁷ Figures from 1851 religious worship census, quoted in, Geraint H. Jenkins, A Concise History of Wales, (Cambridge, 2008[2007]) p.205

⁵⁸ Philip Jenkins, A History of Modern Wales 1536-1990, (New York,1992) p. 203

⁵⁹ Anon., ‘Milford Haven Eisteddfod’, *The Pembrokeshire Herald and General Advertiser*, 7 June 1907, p.3. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3064400/3064403/39/baptists%20%20milford%20haven> Accessed 30 April 2024

⁶⁰ See appendix H

⁶¹ McKay, A Vision of Greatness, p.75

⁶² Jenkins, A Concise History of Wales, p.206

⁶³ Anon., ‘Milford Haven’, *The Pembrokeshire Herald and General Advertiser*, 8 August 1890, p.3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3062365/3062368/23/st%20katherines%20church%20milford%20haven> Accessed 20 April 2024

⁶⁴ J. Garrad, ‘Urban Elites, 1850-1914: the rule and decline of a new squirearchy?’, *Albion*, 27, 4 (1995), p.603

parish status in 1891 when a privy council order of Queen Victoria endorsed the building as a church.⁶⁵

The Lord Nelson Hotel, Tabernacle Chapel, Baptist Chapel and St. Katherine's Church, made significant contributions to the town's urbanisation. These buildings provided essential services and community space and supported the socio-cultural economy of Milford Haven.

⁶⁵ Anon. Milford Haven Town Council, Available at <https://www.milfordhaventowncouncil.co.uk/>
Accessed on 20 April 2024

Chapter 2: ‘We are here a certain number of tradesmen ...’⁶⁶

How did the rise of middle-classes influence socio-political economic culture of nineteenth century Milford Haven?

Industry and urbanisation in Milford Haven saw an emerging middle-class, playing a crucial role in the town’s subsequent development and history. To study middle-classes however, they must be identified within the population. There are evident difficulties in distinguishing class through either occupation or residency alone as there are many elements to class structure. Charles Booth and Seebom Rowntree saw employment of domestic servants as a dependable measure of class, but this did not give a reliable indicator in this study.⁶⁷ Many of the homes on Hamilton Terrace had live in servants, while residents with various occupations in both Charles Street and Robert Street also had servants. As F.K. Prochaska points out, young girls could be acquired from the workhouse by less wealthy clients, to work as live in servants;⁶⁸ 1851 saw Ann McKensey, from nearby Narberth, working as a servant for a washerwoman in Robert Street.⁶⁹ Further difficulties became apparent in determining from census data whether, ‘wife’ on the census should be counted as, ‘household duties’, ‘no occupation’, or ‘independent means’. Industrial and urban changes also provided opportunity for lower social classes to rise into more prominent middle-class positions. Taken together these difficulties in identifying middle-class residents have proven problematic for urban historians. Light believed there was, ‘a common-sense idea of what is meant by middle-class’, which could generally be backed up with occupational statistics and the use of trade directories.⁷⁰ In Milford Haven it was evident when searching community history that a certain group of people stood out from their neighbours by a combination of their influence, wealth, occupation, status, housing and willingness to become involved in community issues. As Light and John England found in their works on middle-classes, the names of those active in social, cultural, economic and politics of the town were seen over and again in trade directories, minutes of meetings and newspaper columns.⁷¹ Through their involvement in social, political, economic and cultural activities, middle-classes emerged as ‘... personnel that formed the urban elites’.⁷²

Residents filling these categories and residing in one of the three streets of the study, are therefore defined as middle-class for the purpose of this paper. As an example, 1844 saw

⁶⁶ Mr. W. Davies, ‘Milford Improvement Commissioners’, *The Pembrokeshire Herald and General Advertiser*, (1879) Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3059450/3059452/7/milford%20haven%20improvement%20commissioners> Accessed 20 April 2024

⁶⁷ P. Jones, ‘Perspective, sources and methodology in a comparative study of the middle-class in nineteenth-century Leicester and Peterborough’, *Urban History Yearbook*, 14 (1987), p.28; For numbers of domestic servants see Appendix I, K, M

⁶⁸ F.K. Prochaska, ‘Female philanthropy and domestic service in Victorian England’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical research*, 54 (1981) pp. 82-3

⁶⁹ 1851 census, *Findmypast*, Available at <https://search-findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/record/browse?id=GBC/1851/4355273/00196> Accessed 17 May 2024

⁷⁰ Light, ‘The Middle Classes as Urban Elites’, p. 38

⁷¹ Light, ‘The Middle Classes as Urban Elites’, p.29-30; John England, ‘Unitarians, Freemasons, Chartists: The Middle Classes in Victorian Merthyr’, *ante*, 23, 4 (2007) pp. 35-58

⁷² Light, ‘The Middle-Classes as Urban Elites’, p.29

fifty-two gentry and clergy, 215 surgeons, teachers, solicitors, religious men, agents, merchants, dealers and traders, living in Milford Haven.⁷³ These 267 residents, approximately three percent of the local population, forming the basis of the occupational strata considered middle-class. Overall, the numbers of middle-class by 1851, within the three streets, as a percentage of the town population, was 3.5 percent, by 1881, 4.4% and in 1901, 3%.⁷⁴

Barallier House, Barlow House and Belhaven House, homes of middle-classes and the first residential properties constructed within the new town, in Hamilton Terrace, set the standard for other wealthy residences over-looking the harbour. Middle-class residents were moving families and staff into the town for port related business and professional reasons. Many of the rising middle-classes lived in Charles Street and Robert Street, where in 1851 thirty percent and twenty-six percent of residents, respectively, were involved in trade, business, education or property.⁷⁵ As Carter noted, the majority of businesses were involved with trades or professions dependent upon trade from other residents and businesses, as such preferring to set themselves within the commercial centre.⁷⁶ Light found small town residents behaved differently to those of larger towns and while there were distinctive middle-class areas, there was less segregation, with middle and working-classes having ‘shared interests’ within the town.⁷⁷ This was apparent in Milford Haven where middle-classes from large sea-front properties collaborated with other residents in various aspects of town life.

The population decrease c.1881 and subsequent rise by 1901, along with the ensuing rise and fall in middle-class residents, is reflective of the economic boom and bust industry experienced in Milford Port, the main source of employment for residents. In 1888 with completion of the docks and the beginning of a fishing industry, Milford Haven’s economy and population were on the ascendent.⁷⁸ For example, 1888 saw a fish buyer move into town, 1904 saw thirty-nine make their living this way while by c.1920 one hundred fish buyers lived and worked in Milford Haven. These families were middle-class and ‘figured prominently ... up to the acceleration of (fishing industry) decline ...’.⁷⁹ Many of the smaller streets of the town, within the time frame of this study, had fishermen, fish packers or those connected with the industry living in nearly every household.⁸⁰ Although outside the scope of this study, it indicates that there was a greater sense of class segregation within the population of Milford Haven as a whole than existed within the three streets of the study. However, these statistics illustrate how economy of a single industry can affect livelihoods of inhabitants.

⁷³ Anon., ‘Milford Haven and Neighbourhood’, *Pigot & Co.’s Directory of Berks, Bucks ..., 1844. [Part 2: Hants to Wilts, & Wales]*, (1884) pp. 471-473 Available at

<https://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/231815/rec/1> Accessed 23 April 2024

⁷⁴ see Appendix I

⁷⁵ see Appendix I

⁷⁶ Harold Carter, ‘Transformation in the Spatial Structure of Welsh Towns in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Transactions of the Right Honourable Cymmrodorion Society*, (London, 1980) p.181

⁷⁷ Light, ‘The Middle Classes as Urban Elites’, p. 50

⁷⁸ See Appendix K, M

⁷⁹ Ken McKay, *A Vision of Greatness*, (Haverfordwest, 1989), p. 182

⁸⁰ Examples, ‘1901 Census’, *Findmypast*, Available at <https://search-findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/record/browse?id=GBC/1901/5126-5127/0242> Accessed 25 April 2024

Middle-class involvement was extensive in the town, as R. J. Morris noted, towns were, ‘substantially the creation of their middle-class.’⁸¹ In Milford Haven, activities might include organising systems to improve the town’s health and wellbeing, fund raising for needy causes, developing a mechanics institute or organising and partaking in fun days such as, ‘Milford Haven Annual Athletic Sports, Bicycle and Pony Races’.⁸² In a meeting of, ‘The Improvement Commissioners’ in May 1879, issues relating to drainage, gas supply, sewers, the local cemetery and access to the beach for swimming were all discussed, and plans put in place to take the issues forward. It is clear from minutes of the meetings, the middle-classes devoted substantial time and effort ensuring consensus amongst commissioners from varying backgrounds. But as Mr Minty, local reporter notes after an Annual General Meeting in June 1860, ‘... the meeting ... was by no means of a mild or gentle character.’⁸³ This was seen several times, when middle-classes were prepared to stand-firm to create a town based upon their ethical principles.

Social status was important to middle-classes in Milford Haven, often organising community events at their large homes and gardens of Hamilton Terrace or within the detached properties around the outskirts of town. ‘The Primrose League, Lord Nelson Habitation’, was a Conservative event where, ‘... 30 Dames and Knights and over 200 associates.’, had become members within the year to February 1887.⁸⁴ Organised by and at the home of Colonel and Mrs Stokes, (St. Botolph’s, a Georgian country mansion) tea and entertainment were provided including music by the band of the First Pembrokeshire Volunteers.⁸⁵ Welsh Newspapers online have editorial covering many and varied community, fund raising, educational and celebratory events including, garden fetes, choral evenings, annual picnics, literary meetings, regattas and steamer trips.⁸⁶

Middle-class, urban elites, together with their social and commercial interests were also adept in promoting institutions such as the mechanics institute, a new board school, banking, Anglican and non-conformist Sunday schools and the Women’s Liberal association.⁸⁷ Keeping the town abreast of socio-political activity kept town residents knowledgeable, in line with Liberal activity across Wales and involved in current affairs. They pressed for political representation and democracy, leading to political reform and the growth of Liberal

⁸¹ R. J. Morris, ‘The Middle-Class and British Towns and Cities of the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1870’, in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe (eds), *The Pursuit of Urban History*, (London, 1983) P.287

⁸² Anon., ‘Milford Haven’, *The Western Mail*, 2 May 1891, p.6, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3982221/3982227/110/milford%20haven%20pony%20races> Accessed 21 April 2024

⁸³ Mr Minty, ‘Milford Improvement Commissioners’, *The Pembrokeshire Herald and General Advertiser*, 30 May 1879, p.2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3059450/3059452/7/milford%20haven%20improvement%20commissioners> Accessed 20 April 2024

⁸⁴ Anon., ‘The Haverfordwest Habitation of The Primrose League’, *The Pembrokeshire Herald and General Advertiser*, 4 February 1887, p.2 Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3061455/3061457/12/lord%20nelson%20habitation> Accessed 21 April 2024

⁸⁵ Anon., ‘Milford Haven’, *The Pembrokeshire Herald and General Advertiser*, 8 August 1890, p.3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3061455/3061457/12/lord%20nelson%20habitation> Accessed 20 April 2024

⁸⁶ Welsh Newspapers, The National Library of Wales, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/> Accessed 20 April 2024

⁸⁷ Anon., ‘Milford New Board School’ *The Pembrokeshire Herald and General Advertiser*, (1877), Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3058915/3058917/19/> Accessed 14 May 2024

ideals. Locally they involved women in political matters as seen in 1894. At a meeting of the Milford Haven Women's Liberal Association, Miss Conybeare of the Women's Liberal Federation and Mrs Wynford Phillips president of the Welsh Union of Women's Liberal Associations gave, 'stirring addresses ... to a large audience'.⁸⁸ While Nineteenth century banking was considered symbolic of a middle-class presence, R. Pringle suggests it was useful only to wealthy customers with commercial enterprises until mid-nineteenth century.⁸⁹ But, earlier than this, a bank known as 'The Milford and Haverfordwest Bank', was first opened in Milford Haven c.1804-1815 by a small group of local, enterprising commercial traders; Rotch, Phillips and Starbuck.⁹⁰ Taken over by Barclays c.1827 and the London and Provincial Bank in 1872, it highlights the presence of wealthy middle-classes within Milford Haven aligning the town with urban development elsewhere in Britain.⁹¹ Middle-classes were simultaneously developing non-conformist Sunday schools, integral to improving literacy across Wales. Much featured in Welsh historiography, were the number and variety of classes available. Geraint Jenkins describes, eisteddfodau, hymn-singing festivals, bible classes and more.⁹² Philip Jenkins depicts a Welsh chapel with activities nearly every day of the week.⁹³ In Milford Haven the middle-classes were at the heart of arrangements, organising fun as well as religious activities, such as a church picnic, at which a long list of those 'lending their assistance', included the often encountered, middle-classes and urban elites of Milford Haven.⁹⁴

Charles Greville, urban elite and philanthropist died 1809, leaving interests in Milford Haven to his son, Robert Fulke Greville.⁹⁵ Fulke became Jenkins 'English-speaking squire', a reluctant, absentee tenant of Milford Haven.⁹⁶ On the death of Fulke, 1853, his son, 'Colonel Greville', inherited the estate.⁹⁷ He moved to Castle Hall, Milford Haven, former home of his grandfather, took an interest in the town, constructed bridges, implemented a rail link and obtained the Improvement Act. Procuring the Act had been a difficult and contentious battle with leading members of the middle-classes. After divisive splits between those voting for the Act and those feeling it too enormous a cost to residents, the Improvement Act was passed in 1857. Colonel Greville became Chairman and others of the middle-classes voted in as commissioners.⁹⁸ At a celebration dinner at the Lord Nelson, a certain Dr Deazley, chief

⁸⁸ Anon., 'Liberalism at Milford', *The Western Mail*, 22 February 1894, p.7, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4328770/4328777/136/> Accessed 28 February 2024

⁸⁹ R. Pringle, *A Guide to Banking in Britain*, (London, 1973), p.22

⁹⁰ McKay, *A Vision of Greatness*, p. 73

⁹¹ Anon., 'Our History in Wales', *Barclays*, Available at <https://home.barclays/who-we-are/our-history/> Accessed 17 May 2024

⁹² Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales*, (Cambridge, 2008[2007]), p. 208

⁹³ Philip Jenkins, 'A History of Modern Wales', p. 202

⁹⁴ Anon., 'Milford Haven', *The Pembrokeshire Herald and General Advertiser*, 26 July 1878, p.2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3059230/3059232/26/st%20katherines%20church%20milford%20haven> Accessed 28 March 2024

⁹⁵ Records of the Milford Haven Estate, *Archives Hub*, (1708-1964), Available at <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/e4fb8dc4-6fe7-35fc-a696-2fdad95fd62f> Accessed 7 May 2024

⁹⁶ Geraint H. Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales* (Cambridge, 2008[2007]) p.205

⁹⁷ McKay, *A Vision of Greatness*, p.95

⁹⁸ Mr Minty, 'Milford Improvement Commissioners', *The Pembrokeshire Herald and General Advertiser*, 29 June 1860, p.2, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3294488/3294490/9/milford%20haven%20improvement%20commissioners> Accessed 20 April 2024

critic of the Act, declared he would keep a watchful eye on future proceedings. Greville however, was relieved the town would henceforth have some form of government. Greville died in 1867, heavily mortgaged his estate passed to the National provident Institution.⁹⁹ Improvement Commissioners ran the town until the Urban District Council took over management through the Local Government Act of 1894.¹⁰⁰

The rise of the middle-classes in Milford Haven had a positive effect on the socio-economic culture. Middle-class philanthropy and presence brought changes within the social and demographic landscape and contributed to the town's economic growth. However, the unreliable nature of port employment created a vulnerable prosperity for all classes.

⁹⁹ Records of the Milford Haven Estate, *Archives Hub*, (1708-1964), Available at <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/e4fb8dc4-6fe7-35fc-a696-2fdad95fd62f?terms=milford%20haven%20estate> Accessed 28 April 2024

¹⁰⁰ Milford Haven UDC Records, 1852 -1987, *Pembrokeshire Archives and Local Studies*, Available at <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/ab987546-e2b7-30b5-9ef9-2313dc5c6b4d?terms=Milford%20Haven%20UDC> Accessed 22 April 2024

Chapter 3: ‘Wales was ... repopled’¹⁰¹

Did migration occur from Wales, England, Ireland or from other countries? What was the experience of national identity in Milford Haven?

Amongst early migrants to Pembrokeshire, Flemish settlers, planted by Henry 1 c.1109 to subjugate the Welsh, dominated the area and left their mark on the language and culture of early twelfth century Pembrokeshire.¹⁰² Brut Y Tywysogion, written c.1350 refers to Flemish migration to Pembrokeshire during Henry’s reign,¹⁰³ and a travelling Methodist minister wrote, in 1864: ‘Separate and distinct from the Welsh race ... (locals)... claim descent from Flemings who landed at Milford and took possession ... in the reign of Henry 1’.¹⁰⁴

Described by G. Jenkins as ‘ethnic cleansing’, it created a border in Pembrokeshire known as the ‘Landsker Line’.¹⁰⁵ English speakers known as *Marchia Wallie* lived South of the border, Welsh speakers known as *Pura Wallia* lived in the North.¹⁰⁶

Research of immigration and urbanisation of Milford Haven therefore encompasses the experience of national identity in this Welsh town within the English-speaking borders of Pembrokeshire. But national identity means many things to many people. In Milford Haven, Eisteddfods were enjoyed, St David’s day was celebrated, and most residents had Welsh surnames.¹⁰⁷ At an ‘eminently patriotic’ banquet in the Lord Nelson Hotel to celebrate St David’s Day 1899, one hundred guests were present.¹⁰⁸ where the General Manager of the London and Provincial Bank, Mr D.L. Thomas presided. On the wall was etched a Welsh motto, ‘*FFaidd yw’r dyn nad yw’n caru’r wlad a’i gofalodd*’, translated as ‘Vile is the man who loves not the land that nursed him’.¹⁰⁹ Letters were read from such as the Cardiff Cymmrodorion Society and the Welshmen of Northampton, the song, *Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau* was sung and ‘all the churches’ represented, including Reverend Ceitho Davies of Rehoboth Chapel, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Chapel.¹¹⁰ Most newspapers available locally were in the English language, while Welsh language newspapers were also available, of interest to local residents, evidenced by their carrying Milford Haven news and family notices.¹¹¹ ‘Y

¹⁰¹ Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales*, p.184

¹⁰² Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales*, p.70

¹⁰³ Brut Y Tywysogion, (The Chronicle of the Princes) – Caradoc of Llancarfan, c.1340,

<http://archive.org/details/brutytywysogionoOocara> Accessed 16/03/2024.

¹⁰⁴ M.C., ‘Langum, a village in the Little England Beyond Wales’ *Unknown Methodist Periodical*, 1864, National Library of Wales.

¹⁰⁵ Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales*, p.70

¹⁰⁶ John Davies, *A History of Wales*, (England, 1994 [1993, 1990]) p.109; Medieval Latin translations

¹⁰⁷ See examples throughout census data of 1851, 1881, 1901

¹⁰⁸ Anon., ‘St David’s Day’, *Haverfordwest and Milford Haven Telegraph and General Weekly Reporter for the Counties of Pembroke Cardigan Carmarthen Glamorgan and the Rest of South Wales*, 8 March 1899, p.3, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4116742/4116745/11> Accessed 27 April 2024

¹⁰⁹ Translated from Welsh by Google Translate, Available at https://www.google.com/search?q=welsh+to+english&oq=welsh+to+englis&gs_lcrp=EgZjaHJvbWUqDAgAECMYJxiABBikBTIMCAAQIxnGIAEGIoF MgYIARBFdGkyBwgCEAAyGAQyBwgDEAAyGAQyBwgEEAAyGAQyBggFEEUYPDIGCAYQRRg8MgYIBxBFGDyoAgCwAgE&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8 Accessed 26 May 2024

¹¹⁰ Anon., ‘St David’s Day’, p.3

¹¹¹ For example, Anon., ‘Family Notices’, *Y Celt*, 22 May 1891, p.10, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3135992/3136002/29/welsh%20milford%20haven> Accessed 1 May 2024

Genedl Gymreig', was 'A weekly Welsh language newspaper and supporter of radical principles', commenting on local issues and circulated in Milford Haven from c.1877-1900.¹¹² Politically, like other areas of Wales, Milford Haven was moving away from domination of local landed families and Conservative rule towards the ideals of a Liberal government and 1874 saw the town's first Liberal MP. Henry George Allen in 1886 being among the first Liberal M.P.s to break with Gladstone over the Irish Home Rule bill.¹¹³ In Milford Haven, through the landscape of newspapers covering the period of this study, the sense of national identity was Welsh.

Carter's work around this subject shows that he advocates for a fixed sense of identity which is challenged by Neil Evans, describing the stance as 'petrified at birth'. Rather, Evans sees Welsh identity and urban culture as 'fluid and changing.'¹¹⁴ The experience of those in Pembrokeshire appears to embrace both aspects of the debate. While change and fluidity has allowed the process of intermarriage and acculturation to promote a sense of Welshness amongst the local population, they have also developed a fixed sense of identity from continuous cycles of birth and family life. The outcome in Milford Haven is predominantly English-speaking, Welsh society, enjoying a Welsh national identity and embracing Welsh culture.

Considering whether immigration influenced national identity, Brinley Thomas and Geraint Jenkins contend that by the nineteenth century, industrialisation and urbanisation of Wales led to the country becoming both repopulated and able to keep her own people, thus strengthening the indigenous language and its associated culture.¹¹⁵ Dudley Baines argues against this, suggesting there was no evidence to support '... a distinctive Welsh migration pattern...'.¹¹⁶ Baines noted how, in both England and Wales, migration emanated from places heavily affected by industrialisation. Thomas in contrast, discusses migration to industrial areas. He found from the 1891 census, out of 900,000 Welsh speakers in Wales, seventy percent lived in counties most affected by industrialisation, including, Glamorganshire and Carmarthenshire.¹¹⁷ This compares with results of this paper, where census returns (1901) show immigration of Welsh speakers (9.5% of residents) was predominantly from Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and Glamorganshire as well as the *Pura Wallia* of Pembrokeshire. The majority of migrants from these counties were Welsh speaking but, although numbers were increasing each year, they were far lower than the numbers of English speakers (90.5%) migrating to Milford Haven from other areas.¹¹⁸

¹¹² 'Y Genedl Gymreig', Welsh newspapers online, Anon., 4 July 1883, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4441775/4441780/26/> Accessed 28 February 2024

¹¹³ Anon., 'Pembrokeshire', *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons*, Available at <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1833-1886/constituencies/pembrokeshire> Accessed 20 April 2024

¹¹⁴ Evans, 'Rethinking Urban Wales', p.12; Translates as 'Marcher Welsh' and 'Pure Welsh'.

¹¹⁵ Brinley Thomas, 'A Cauldron of Rebirth: The Industrial Revolution and the Welsh Language', (Oxford, 1993), *Selected Essays: Taylor & Francis Group*, p.208; Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales*, p. 184

¹¹⁶ Baines, 'Migration in a Mature Economy', p. 2-25

¹¹⁷ Thomas, 'A Cauldron of Rebirth', p.208

¹¹⁸ See Census data 1851, 1881, 1901, Available at findmypast.co.uk

Baines further infers that immigrants based their decision to move on contacts and information gathered, rather than relocating through lack of work in their home county.¹¹⁹ Thomas however suggests that migrants were escaping rural hardship.¹²⁰ Census data in this study indicates that most migration of Welsh speakers into Milford Haven occurred either through family connections or as a consequence of skilled workers moving into local jobs and positions. A common occurrence in census data is of a male or female migrating for marriage, for example: Mrs. Evelyn Beed, age twenty-three, migrated to live with husband Ernest, a local man and 'Boot Dealer', at sixty-nine Charles Street in 1901. She has migrated from Cardiff, Glamorgan and is able to speak both English and Welsh.¹²¹ Data also showed many skilled or experienced migrants, moving into employment. An example of a skilled Welsh speaking worker moving into a local position can be found in forty-year-old Thomas Richards, from Llangau, Carmarthen. Living at forty-seven Charles Street along with four other residents, he works as a chemist in a school, where English is the language of instruction.¹²² In terms of language, Milford Haven was different to other towns outside of South Pembrokeshire, it attracted both English and Welsh migrants but, already anglicised by the Flemish settlers, English was the dominant language and Welsh speakers were not obliged to use their language for everyday business and social affairs. Evidence further suggests that social networks and reliable information played a crucial role in migration decisions during this period.

The 1901 census revealed that ninety percent of residents of the three main streets were English speaking, no residents were monoglot Welsh, only ten percent spoke both languages. In Hamilton Terrace in 1901, ninety-two percent of the residents spoke only English, yet sixty percent were from the local Pembrokeshire population.¹²³ At the same time, only fourteen people migrated to Milford Haven from other parts of Wales while thirty-eight migrants arrived from England and eight from other countries.¹²⁴ Whilst these numbers did not appear to diminish the sense of Welsh identity within Milford Haven, as seen in above examples of Welsh cultural activities, use of the Welsh language over time continued to decline. Jenkins discusses the impact of migration on the South Wales and North-East Wales coalfields and describes a situation where internal migration saved both the Welsh language and Welsh culture from demise.¹²⁵ In Milford Haven, English was the language in use and as more English speakers migrated to the town it became more entrenched.

Carter and Wheatley identified a high-status, English-born, professional and commercial core in nineteenth century Merthyr Tydfil, with a poor and often Irish 'inner city' and a Welsh

¹¹⁹ Baines, 'Migration in a Mature Economy', p.25

¹²⁰ Thomas, 'A Cauldron of Rebirth', p.208

¹²¹ See census data, Charles Street, 1901, Available at <https://search-findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/record/browse?id=GBC/1901/5126-5127/0169> Accessed 10 May 2024

¹²² See census data, Charles Street, 1901, Available at <https://search-findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/record/browse?id=GBC/1901/5126-5127/0166> Accessed 10 May 2024

¹²³ See Appendix O

¹²⁴ See Appendix N

¹²⁵ Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales*, p.184

working class.¹²⁶ Light negates this theory showing many middle-class in her study were of Welsh birth with Welsh surnames.¹²⁷ In Milford Haven the pattern of Welsh high status professional core was changing, for example: in 1901 Averil Malchett, thirty-two-year-old medical practitioner, lived in Hamilton Terrace, born in Halesworth, Suffolk.¹²⁸ However, there were exceptions to this pattern, for example, Ship owner, Thomas Roberts, age twenty-seven, from Hubberston, Pembrokeshire. He lived at nine Hamilton Terrace in 1851, with a wife, child and three servants.¹²⁹ In 1881, at one Hamilton Terrace, lived twenty-four-year-old William Robert Roberts, Gentleman, from Milford.¹³⁰ Although Milford Haven was moving through significant demographic change at the time, statistics from census data agree with Carter and Wheatley, as Welsh born resident numbers declined over the years in favour of English migrants, the high status, professional and commercial core in Milford Haven were increasingly English born during the years 1851-1901.¹³¹

In this study, Irish migrants were low in number, the 1851 census showed less than four percent, just over two percent in 1881 and slightly over one per cent in 1901 but, Irish immigrants may have occupied housing on streets outside of the study.¹³² Within the study they were often, though not exclusively, employed as labourers and living in lodging houses.¹³³ There were also examples of several middle-class Irish immigrants, for example, in Hamilton Terrace in 1851 lived Doctor Charles Deazely. Aged thirty-two years, unmarried with three servants and a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, he was born in Ireland.¹³⁴ Over the years of this study, he was found to have been a major contributor to socio-cultural activities. Giving talks on matters of health and medicine at the mechanics institute he was also a strong antagonist to implementation of the Milford Improvement Act 1857 (see Chapter 1).¹³⁵ His name was seen constantly with other middle-class involved in activities of community benefit and philanthropy. Overall, classifying Irish social status was not possible due to the small numbers identified within the study.

Census data of 1851 revealed eighty percent of residents of the three streets were born in Pembrokeshire, in 1881 seventy-four percent and in 1901 sixty-nine percent. Eighty percent of 1851 residents were born in Pembrokeshire, twelve percent had migrated from England, only three percent from Wales or Ireland and less than one percent from elsewhere. By 1901

¹²⁶ Harold Carter, Sandra Wheatley et al., 'Merthyr Tydfil in 1851. A Study of the Spatial Structure of a Welsh Industrial Town', *Urban History*, 11, (1984), pp.202-203

¹²⁷ Light, 'The Middle Classes as Urban Elites', p.43

¹²⁸ Census data, 1901, Available at <https://search-findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/record/browse?id=GBC/1901/5126-5127/0150> Accessed 11 May 2024

¹²⁹ Census data, 1851, Available at <https://search-findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/record/browse?id=GBC/1851/4355273/00136> Accessed 11 May 2024

¹³⁰ Census data, 1811, Available at <https://search-findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/record/browse?id=GBC/1881/4362740/00524> Accessed 11 May 2024

¹³¹ See Appendix I,K,M

¹³² See census data of 1851, 1881, 1901 Available at findmypast.co.uk

¹³³ See census data of 1851, 1881 and 1901, Available at findmypast.co.uk

¹³⁴ From census data, 1851, Available at <https://search-findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/record/browse?id=GBC/1851/4355273/00139> Accessed 7 May 2024

¹³⁵ For example, 'Milford Mechanics Institute', *The Pembrokeshire Herald and General Advertiser*, 7 December 1855, p.4, Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3054586/3054590/41/Dr%20Deazely%20mechanics%20institutue%20milford%20haven> Accessed 9 May 2024

locally born residents had fallen to sixty-nine percent, Welsh migrants had increased to seven percent, only one percent were Irish migrants but English immigration had more than doubled to twenty-two percent.¹³⁶ Of the Welsh residents, between 1851-1901, excluding those with no occupation or classed 'household duties', between thirty-eight and forty-four percent were in low-paid, low-status employment such as domestic service or labouring.¹³⁷ This meets Carter and Wheatley's definition of Welsh working classes in nineteenth century Merthyr Tydfil.¹³⁸

Milford Haven required immigration to people the town, provide a workforce for the port and bring in professional and trade services. The largest numbers of residents were from Pembrokeshire, followed by high numbers of English migrants. Shaped by its social, economic and cultural developments, the cosmopolitan town developed the identity of an English-speaking community within a broader Welsh context.

¹³⁶ Adapted from Census Data, see Appendix I, K, M

¹³⁷ Adapted from Census Data, see Appendix H, J, L

¹³⁸ Carter, Wheatley et al., 'Merthyr Tydfil in 1851', pp.202-203

CONCLUSION

Milford Haven has a unique history of events and influences over many centuries, highlighted here from its early subjugation by Henry 1, to urbanisation. This dissertation aimed to analyse its urban landscape c.1851-1910, analysing key buildings, middle class activities, immigration and potential effects on national identity. Comparing and contrasting research findings with current Welsh historiography helped answer the following questions:

1. How have key buildings such as, St. Katherine's Church, The Tabernacle Chapel, The Lord Nelson Hotel and The Baptist Chapel contributed to urbanisation?
2. Did the rise of middle-classes influence socio-political economic culture of nineteenth century Milford Haven?
3. Did immigration occur from Wales, England, Ireland or from other countries?
4. What was the experience of national identity in Milford Haven?

Buildings formed the backdrop to social, political, economic and cultural activities, the church, chapels and hotel being the first buildings constructed. The Lord Nelson hotel, established for commercial enterprise was able to accommodate community events, such as celebrations and meeting space. The church and both chapels, significant for urbanisation, housed religious teaching and performed secondary roles as social and cultural hubs, providing space for community interaction and middle-class philanthropy. Creating activities for the working-class contributed to educational development and community cohesion. The middle-class sought to organise community events, town improvements and forge a position of respect within the town.

Evidenced through the town's foundation and development, the middle-classes were planned for and expected in Milford Haven, where street planning from the outset incorporated residential preferences. Ranging from traders, merchants, doctors and those of independent means, they were willing to give time and effort to activities for the good of their community. Social status, behaviour and moral attributes setting them apart as a cohesive group of middle-class people.¹³⁹ The town was found to work as a heterogenous community, concurring with Light's opinion on small town residents and noted by Carter in his studies, Milford Haven also had a significant number of professionals and businesses each relying upon others for trade.¹⁴⁰ Throughout this study, social, political, economic and cultural objectives were encouraging less social partitioning. This was evidenced in meetings, businesses, fund raising events and church/chapel related attendance. In keeping with Julie Light, John England and others who are developing a new historiography of Welsh urbanisation, this study finds middle-classes to be prominent members of the community.¹⁴¹ However, further research is necessary to determine conditions outside the study area.

¹³⁹ Light, 'The Middle Classes as Urban Elites', pp. 34-35

¹⁴⁰ Light, 'The Middle Classes as Urban Elites', pp. 34-35; Carter, 'Transformation in the Spatial Structure of Welsh Towns', in Transactions of the Right Honourable Cymmrodorion Society, (London, 1980) p.181

¹⁴¹ Light, 'The Middle Classes as Urban Elites', p.29; John England, 'Unitarians, Freemasons, Chartist: The Middle Classes in Victorian Merthyr', *ante*, 23, 4 (2007) pp. 35-58

Widely accepted views voiced by Thomas, supported by Jenkins, of Wales being ‘repeopled’ by Welsh migrants and able to strengthen its language and culture was challenged by Baines and not born out in this study.¹⁴² Census data showed the greatest number of people moving into the town came from Pembrokeshire, most speaking English only. This was followed by high numbers of English immigrants compared to those migrating from other parts of Wales. Relatively small numbers were migrating (into the three streets of the study) from Ireland, Scotland or abroad. Baines also rejected Thomas’ perspective on origination of Welsh migrants. This study found, apart from Pembrokeshire, most immigration was from England. Thomas and Baines argue further on reasons for migration, Thomas saw it as escape from rural hardship, Baines as information from contacts and networks. Research in Milford Haven found evidence to support Baines theory. Evidence from statistics showed details of wealthy professionals and skilled traders, as well as working-classes, migrating to Milford Haven, bringing English and Welsh speaking Pembrokeshire people together but drawing increasing numbers from England. Over time this led to high-status jobs occupied by immigrants from England, with many local Welsh residents in domestic or supportive low paid work, a pattern noted by Carter and Wheatley in their study of Merthyr Tydfil.¹⁴³

This paper identifies Milford Haven as a predominantly English-speaking town in Wales; most residents Pembrokeshire born, communicating through English. However, significant numbers of Welsh-speakers were moving into the town so that by 1901, nearly ten percent of residents were Welsh-speakers. This enabled the building of the Rehoboth Chapel, for Welsh services, circulation of Welsh language newspapers, many Welsh surnames amongst residents and a town with a strong sense of Welsh national identity. This was evidenced throughout the period of study, in newspaper articles and advertisements where Eisteddfod, St David’s Day and Welsh hymn singing were constantly discussed.

Unique and distinctive, Milford Haven by 1910, shaped by events since its creation early nineteenth century was formed by decisions and choices of significant people. Social, cultural, economic and political activities, some outlined above, left their mark on the town’s character. Actions of the middle-class, effects of migration and national identity show how urbanisation caused people to come together, with similar ideals, forming communities where people relied on each other to play their part. As Neil Evans suggests its perhaps time for Welsh urban historians to accept the English-speaking areas of Pembrokeshire as part of Wales and worthy of inclusion in Welsh historiography.¹⁴⁴

Investigation into residential expansion, social and cultural experience and developments in Milford Haven after 1910 would provide interesting topics for further research, as would research into all aspects of urbanisation on a regional level.

¹⁴² Brinley Thomas, ‘A Cauldron of Rebirth: The Industrial Revolution and the Welsh Language’, (Oxford, 1993), *Selected Essays: Taylor & Francis Group*, p.208; Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales*, p. 184

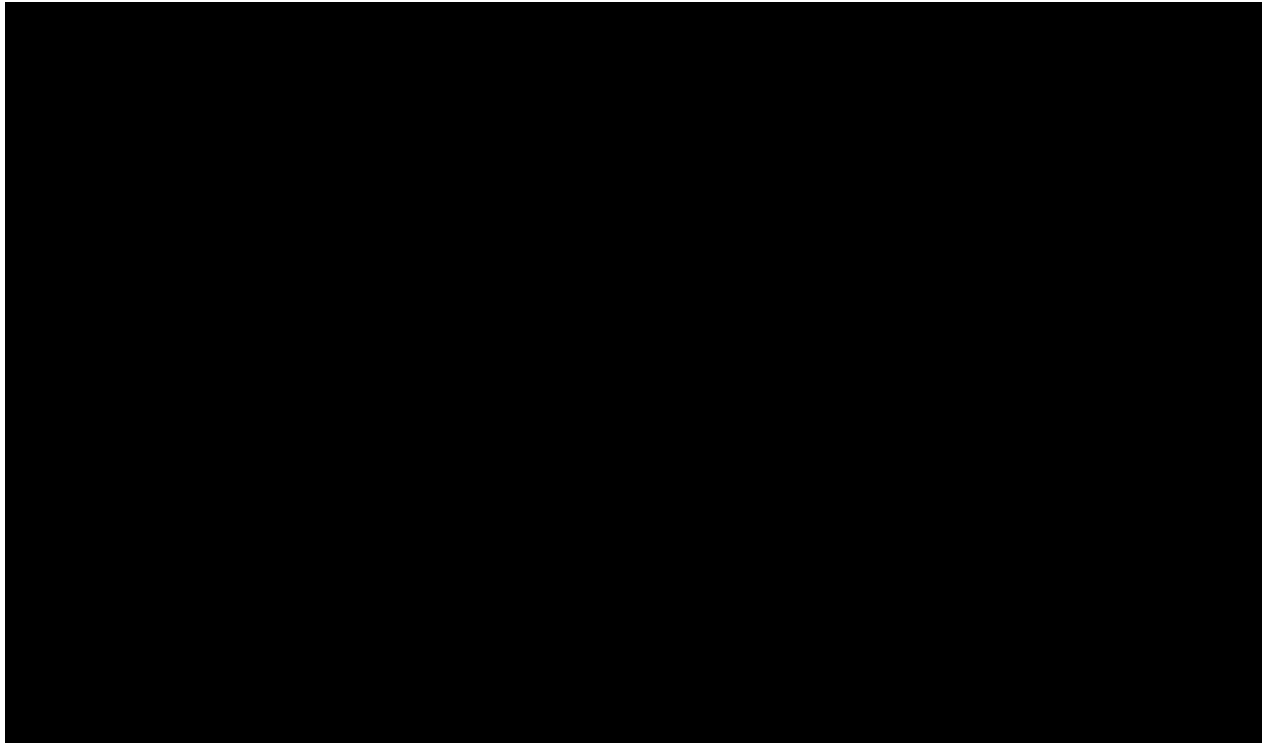
¹⁴³ Harold Carter, Sandra Wheatley et al., ‘Merthyr Tydfil in 1851. A Study of the Spatial Structure of a Welsh Industrial Town’, *Urban History*, 11, (1984), pp.202-203

¹⁴⁴ Neil Evans, ‘Rethinking Urban Wales,’ p.124

APPENDIX

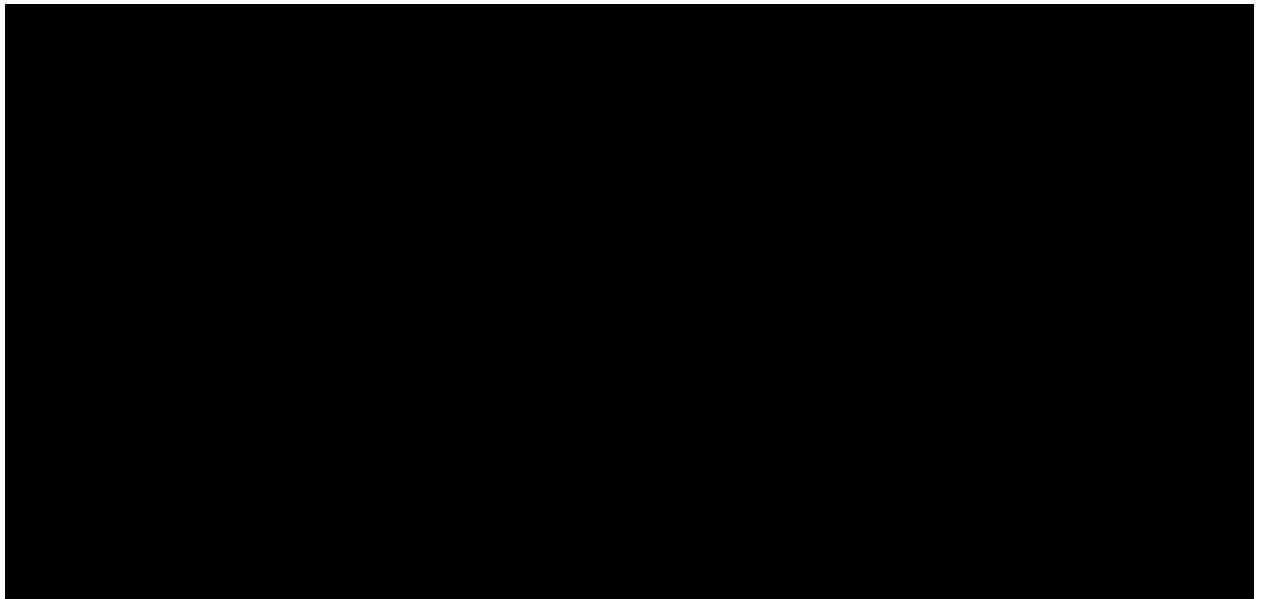
Appendix A: Milford Area c.1750 ¹⁴⁵

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Appendix B: Initial Draft for Proposed Town ¹⁴⁶

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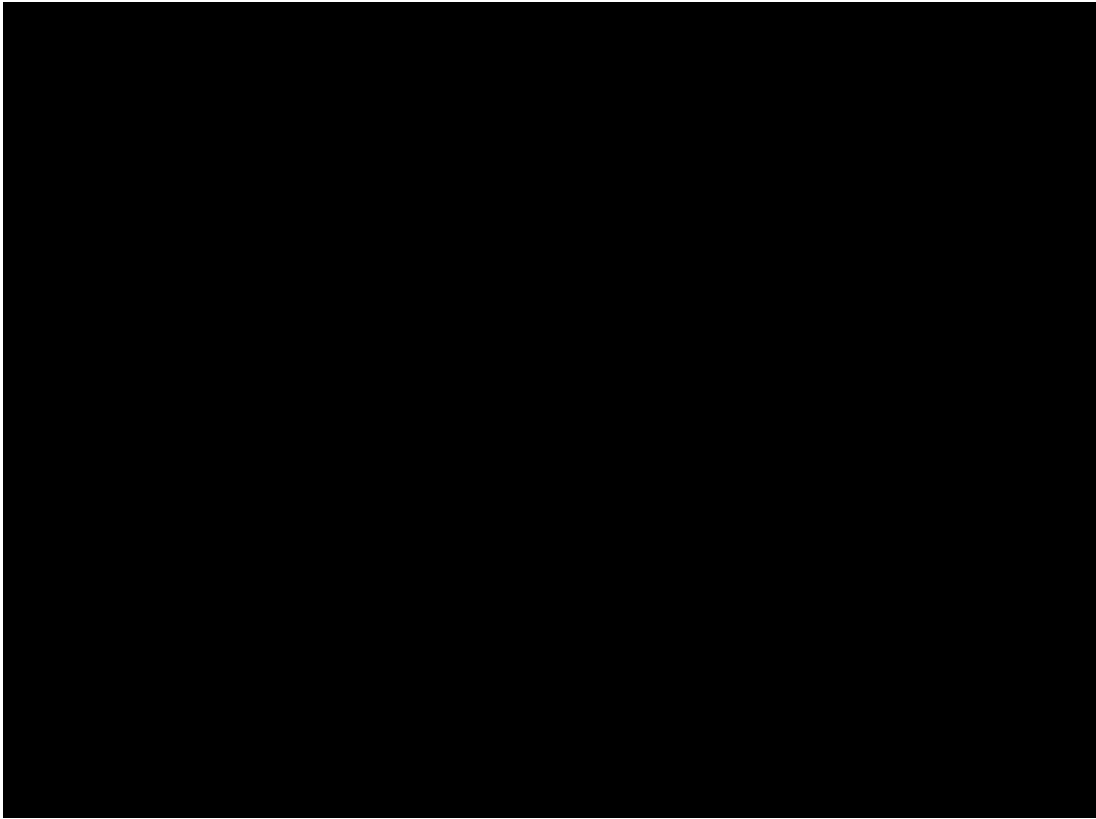


¹⁴⁵ McKay, *A Vision of Greatness*, p.28

¹⁴⁶ Reproduced by K. D. McKay, in *A Vision of Greatness*, Dustcover

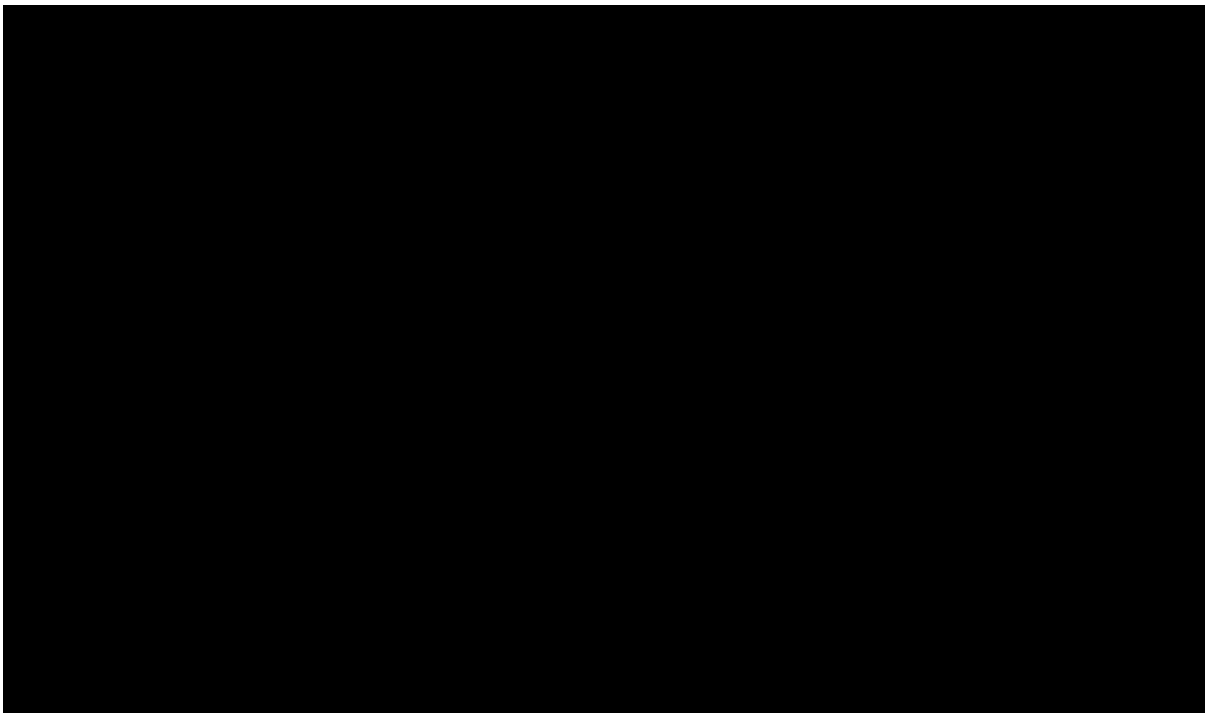
Appendix C: Aerial View, Milford Haven, 1929¹⁴⁷

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Appendix D: Charles Street, Milford Haven, c.1910¹⁴⁸

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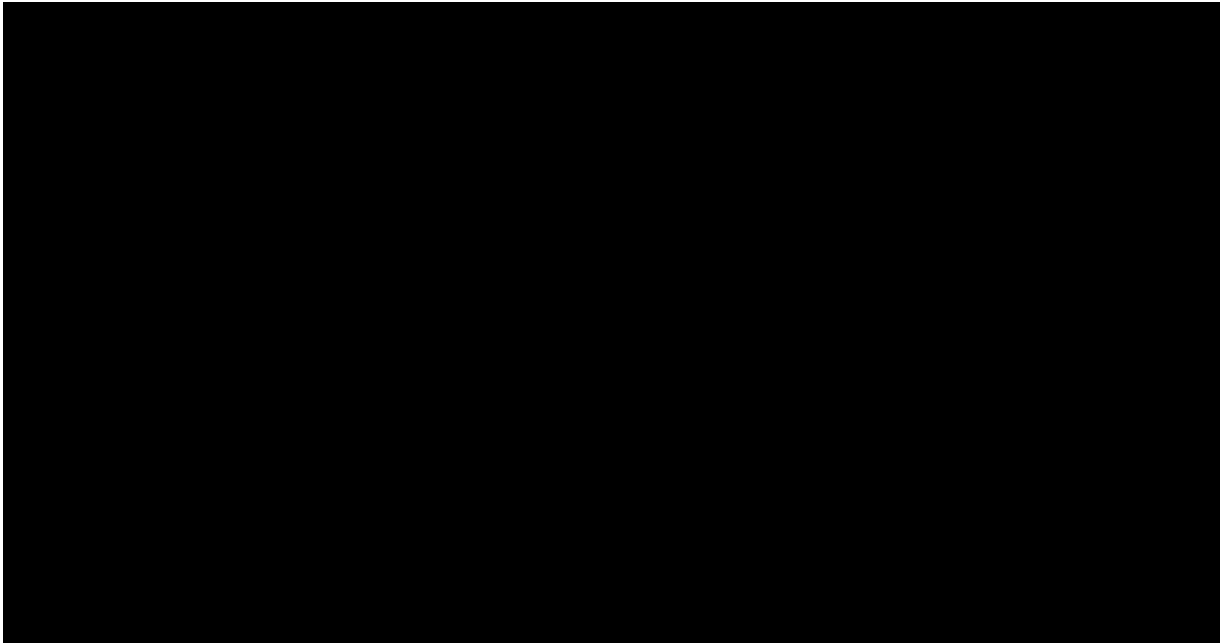


¹⁴⁷ Aerofilms Ltd, 'Milford Haven', (1929), Available at <https://rcahmw.ibase.media/en/view-item?i=27583&WINID=1715873650526> Accessed 28 April 2024

¹⁴⁸ Postcard, 'Charles Street, Milford Haven', provided by *Milford Haven Memories*, Available at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/403538096651625> Accessed 14 May 2024

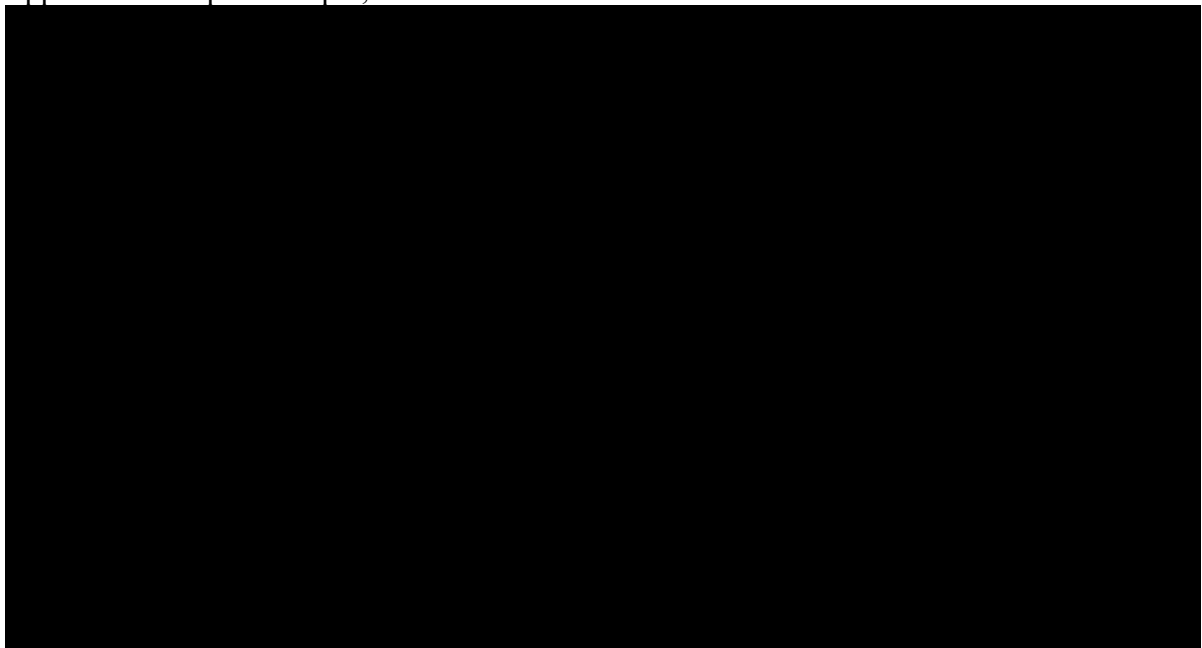
Appendix E: Lord Nelson Hotel c.1802¹⁴⁹

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Appendix F: Baptist Chapel, Milford Haven c.1878¹⁵⁰

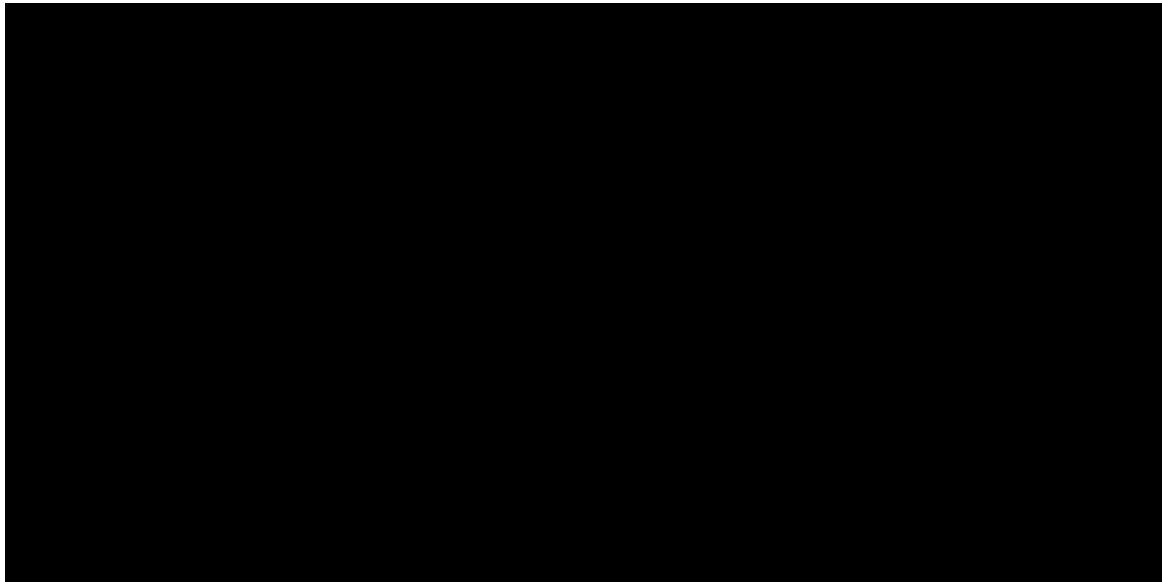
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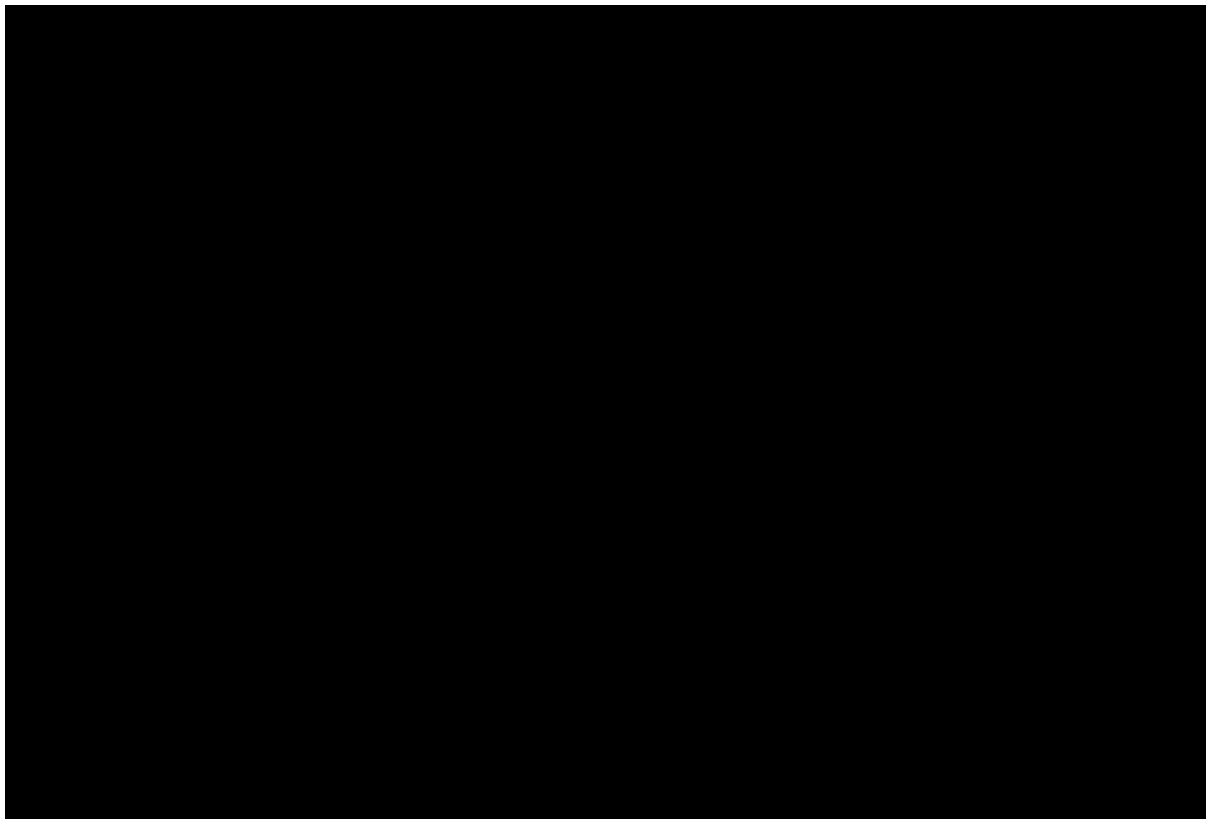
¹⁴⁹ Anon., 'Lord Nelson Hotel', provided by *Milford Haven Memories*, Available at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/403538096651625> Accessed 8 May 2024

¹⁵⁰ Baptist Chapel, Milford Haven, Available at <https://rcahmw.ibase.media/en/quick-search?q=baptist%20chapel%20milford%20haven&WINID=1715175448566> Accessed 6 March 2024

Appendix G: Tabernacle Chapel, Milford Haven, c.1909 ¹⁵¹ *REDACTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS*



Appendix H: St Katherine's Church, Milford Haven, c.1910 ¹⁵² *REDACTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS*



¹⁵¹ Robert Scourfield, 'Tabernacle Chapel, Milford Haven', (1995), *Coflein*, Available at <https://rcahmw.ibase.media/en/view-item?i=130912&WINID=1715175448566> Accessed 8 May 2024

¹⁵² 'St. Katherine's Church, Milford Haven', Picture Postcard, Available at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/403538096651625> Accessed 13 May 2024

Appendix I: Occupational Strata, Milford Haven, Adapted from Enumerator's Books, 1851¹⁵³

OCCUPATION	Hamilton Terrace	Charles Street	Robert Street	Total
Agriculture	6	3	2	11
Artisans	5	27	56	88
Art, literature, science, education	3	5	4	12
Boarding, lodging, domestic, dress	7	26	44	77
Breeding, animal tending, fishing	4	1	1	6
Building	0	5	11	16
Coachman, carter	0	0	1	1
Commercial pursuits, agent	0	0	2	2
Dealers	9	31	19	59
Defence of country	2	1	0	3
Domestic/servants	42	46	29	117
Household duties (wives, children)	23	93	160	276
Labourer	0	6	22	28
Manufacture	0	29	0	29
No occupation/ retired	28	119	168	315
Professional	13	16	17	46
Rank, property, independent means	15	19	0	34
Religion, law, medicine	6	6	3	15
Sailor, mariner, boatman,	0	7	14	21
Total	163	440	553	1156

Appendix J: Place of Birth, Adapted From Enumerators Books, 1851¹⁵⁴

1851	Pembroke - shire	Wales	England	Ireland	Scotland	Abroad	Total
Hamilton Terrace	123	9	21	9	0	1	163
Charles Street	337	15	68	12	5	3	440
Robert Street	464	12	54	18	3	2	553
Total	924	36	143	39	8	6	1156

¹⁵³ findmypast.co.uk¹⁵⁴ Findmypast.co.uk

Appendix K: Occupational Strata, Milford Haven, Adapted from Enumerator's Books, 1881¹⁵⁵

OCCUPATION	Hamilton Terrace	Charles Street	Robert Street
Artisans	0	28	21
Art, literature, science, education	1	8	0
Boarding, Lodging, Inn/Hotel Keeper, Dress	12	28	19
Breeding, Animal Tending, Fishing	0	0	0
Building	0	3	14
Civil Service	5	11	5
Coachman, Carter	1	5	9
Comm. Purs, Agent, Buyer, Broker, Merchant	9	10	1
Dealers, draper, travellers, grocer	9	43	11
Defence of Country	0	3	0
Domestic/Servant	31	43	20
Household Duties (Wives, Children)	26	120	54
Labourer, Dock Worker	0	14	54
Manufacture	0	0	0
No Occupation, Retired	42	140	18
Professional	3	7	0
Rank, Property, Independent Means	4	7	0
Religion, Law, Medicine	7	5	1
Sailor. Mariner, Boatman	0	1	4
Total	150	476	231

Appendix L: Place of Birth, Milford Haven, Adapted from Enumerator's Books, 1881¹⁵⁶

1881	Pembroke-shire	Wales	England	Ireland	Scotland	Abroad	Total
Hamilton Terrace	83	14	49	0	3	1	150
Charles Street	370	28	64	10	0	4	476
Robert Street	185	17	19	9	1	0	231
Total	638	59	132	19	4	5	857

¹⁵⁵ Findmypast.co.uk¹⁵⁶ Findmypast.co.uk

Appendix M: Occupational Strata, Milford Haven, Adapted from Enumerator's Books, 1901¹⁵⁷

OCCUPATION	Hamilton Terrace	Charles Street	Robert Street	Total
Animals, stables, dairy, fishing	1	18	21	40
Artisans	1	38	19	58
Art, lit., science, education, music	1	8	1	10
Building	3	6	4	13
Boarding, lodging, inns, dress	4	42	13	59
Civil service	2	5	7	14
Clerk, cashier	10	7	3	20
Coachman, carter, driver, haulier	0	6	3	9
Commercial, agent, buyer, broker	11	11	6	28
Dealers, Draper, Grocer	1	52	10	63
Defence of country	0	1	1	2
Domestic/servant	28	49	6	83
Household duties, wives, children	33	114	84	231
Labourer	0	4	28	32
No occupation, retired	36	115	70	221
Professional	5	8	1	14
Rank, property, independent means	9	8	0	17
Religion, Law, Medicine	6	3	0	9
Sailor, Mariner, Boatman	1	3	11	15
Total	152	498	288	938

Appendix N: Place of Birth, Milford Haven, Adapted from Enumerator's Books, 1901¹⁵⁸

1901	Pembroke -shire	Wales	England	Ireland	Scotland	Abroad	Total
Hamilton Terrace	92	14	38	5	2	1	152
Charles Street	349	30	107	3	3	6	498
Robert Street	207	19	58	3	1	0	288
Total	648	63	203	11	6	0	938

¹⁵⁷ Findmypast.co.uk¹⁵⁸ Findmypast.co.uk

Appendix O: Language Spoken, Milford Haven, Adapted from Enumerator's Books, 1901¹⁵⁹

1901	English Speaking	Monoglot Welsh	Both	Total
Hamilton Terrace	140	0	12	152
Charles Street	438	0	60	498
Robert Street	271	0	17	288
Total	849	0	89	938

Appendix P: Population, Milford Haven 1841-1911¹⁶⁰

YEAR	Population	Total Houses
1841	8998	na
1851	9815	1933
1861	9771	na
1871	8951	na
1881	9507	1887
1891	9711	1953
1901	10,922	2203
1911	12,038	na

¹⁵⁹ Findmypast.co.uk

¹⁶⁰ 'Population, Milford Haven 1841-1911', *A Vision of Britain through Time*, Available at https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10549395/cube/TOT_POP Accessed 26 April 2024

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