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## **The Daubneys: Part II**

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# The Daubenys :

The Second and Third Generations of the Family at the Halliers  
Lane Refinery under George II (1714-1760)  
and George III (1742-1806)

## PART II

By I. V. HALL, M.A.

THE decades covering the Eve of Walpole to the Emancipation of Slavery (and coinciding with the lives of George Daubeny II and George Daubeny III) may well be called the Silver Age of the sugar bakers in Bristol. It was then that the sugar refiners emerged as top-ranking citizens by reason of their industrial prosperity, their speculations in the world of commerce and their elevation, as a class, amongst the élite of local society.

In their business successes, these sugar-baking families were the first to accumulate sizeable fortunes; one of their number participated in the foundation of every local bank from 1750 onwards; they organized the New Bristol Fire Insurance Co. (1769) in a joint effort to counteract the large premiums under the 'hazardous clauses' of the existing fire insurance companies; and, on the social side of the city's life, they fostered the foundation of the Coopers' Hall (1744) and the New Theatre (1764). Some of them educated their sons at the Winchester and Oxford colleges; others displayed themselves by acquiring either country manors in the neighbouring counties around Bristol or else by occupying mansions in the newly-erected Squares in the City, and others again rendered service to the community either in the City Council or in the Merchant Venturers Society. These sugar bakers of the second and third generations vied with like-minded citizens in the major activities of their day; indeed in their public capacities, they engaged in local politics and shared both the Mayoral and Schrieval honours with their merchant counterparts throughout the major portion of the century.

These achievements were accomplished by men who basked in the sunlight of their parents' hard-earned successes. Not for them the jockeying and jostling habits of their fathers in search of suitable sites for their newly-erected refineries; not for them the steady climb from management and junior partnerships in a quinquepartite association in a small sugar concern; not for them the day-to-day negotiations with customers and correspondents. These entrepreneurs' sons and grandsons were born to management and proprietorship immediately on obtaining the City's Freedom in their middle twenties; it was their privilege to grant partnership status to a clerk or store keeper (whom their predecessors had appointed to office) after years of useful service. These sugar bakers of the second generation accomplished the business schemes left incomplete by their fathers; indeed their careers were mere elaborations of the policies laid down previously. Where they differed was in the social sphere. It was they who entered the wider circle of friends amongst the City Councillors and Merchant Venturers by which contacts they aspired to life-long service in those important bodies. It was the third generation who gained professional status in the Law, Church, Army and Medicine. Such were some of the advances made by the Daubenys throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

#### GEORGE II, MERCHANT VENTURER AND PROPRIETOR OF THE HALLIERS LANE REFINERY

Born on 14 February 1713-14 and baptized at St Nicholas church, George II was brought up in the business atmosphere of his father's grocery store in his early years, of the Temple Street sugar house in his 'teens' and of the Halliers Lane works in his twenties. Since George II was trained as a merchant in his parent's office, he passed through all the stages of his father's experience by the time he took over the control of the refinery before his parent's death. He thus acquired a working knowledge of the manufacturing processes from the boiling of the muscovadoes to the final one of drying the coned-sugars some months later; so too, in the office, he negotiated the purchases of West Indian raw sugars as well as the sales of the refined products within the distributive markets of England, Wales and Ireland. Moreover, he rubbed shoulders not only with his father's four apprentices, domiciled in his household, but also his parent's business friends—the Macie partners and the newcomers to the distillery at the Temple Street works—and more intimately with the Abington-Bridle connection which developed a more personal relationship throughout

his lifetime. These formed the initial ties during his formative years, and between 1734-8 when his father granted him a portion of the Halliers Lane property, he was brought into direct contact with the family's interests there. Again, he was instructed in the firm's limitations as an economic unit during the peaceful years of the Walpolean Era. Up to that time, the local refiners as a body had striven to create a sufficient number of sugar houses to absorb the city's increasing importations of muscovadoes; in the future, it was left to them to add storage space in the way of warehouses and stables to solve the problems arising out of the wartime conditions during the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War. George II made his appropriate contribution to implement the scheme. Just as documentary evidence of the first-hand nature provided the background of his father's career, so records of a similar character indicated the plans developed by George II throughout the twenty years of his management.

In bold contrast to his father's official status as a grocer, the son started his business life as a Bristol merchant at the age of 24, thus assuming the role which his father had acquired when he started his own refinery at Halliers Lane in 1731. His achievements were therefore an integrated part of his parent's ambitions; his greater social advances were made possible by reason of the family fortune at his command.

It is interesting to watch the device by which George II's recognition as a 'merchant' was achieved in the public eye in spite of his father's apprenticeship and burgess registration as a 'grocer'. It was a method by which a Bristol-born youth of the second generation gained his citizenship under the plea of patrimony not possible a generation earlier when a new entrant to the city came from outside its boundary. Because George II, from his earliest training year (1731) entered his father's office in the role of a merchant—his parent's specific function in his final decade—the City Fathers tacitly recognized his seven years' apprenticeship in that capacity. George I therefore refrained from registering his son's training in the Corporation's Apprenticeship Book; this obviated the parent stating his own status as a grocer. By the time that George II's claim for Burgess-ship drew near, the father applied to the Merchant Venturers Society for his son's registration on their books. Accordingly on 1 December 1737, the young applicant was accepted as a merchant, so that on the following 2 February, he stated to the City Chamberlain his newly-acquired qualification. He therefore gained admission as a citizen by plea of patrimony. It is clear that the Daubenys ranked amongst the socially-accepted members of Bristol in 1737.

## GEORGE II'S BUSINESS ACHIEVEMENTS AS AN ENTREPRENEUR

(1) *Extra Warehouse Accommodation*

Four differing sets of documents, scattered over the entire period of George II's rule, establish the nature of his achievements as a progressive businessman. They record his building scheme to create a unified structure for the works; his response to the new calls of labour covering the employment of carters, warehousemen, clerks and mariners alike, under his expansionist programme; the success of the dual management organization in preference to the multiple partnership associated with the industry a generation earlier; and the inter-city struggle between Bristol and Gloucester for the Midland sugar market.

The first series of evidences specifically referring to the firm's extensions of property is contained in the Abstracts of Title for the years 1748-50. The buildings, comprising two stables and a yard, adjoined the refinery. As far back as 1735, his father had rented these premises at a yearly rental of £8, but in 1748 he purchased them, a procedure which advanced in two stages; first in 1748, immediately on the termination of the Austrian War of Succession, when he paid £35 for one portion of the site, and two years later, when the remainder of the property was bought for a further £90. The second negotiation was conducted by John Daubeny, George's younger brother, who had been introduced recently into the business.<sup>1</sup>

Another property deal was transacted in 1757, the first year of the Seven Years War; this was a more pretentious affair entailing the expenditure of £350. These premises consisted of three separate sites—two messuages with a stable and a yard; a warehouse with a brew-house, stable, a shed, a cellar and a summerhouse; and lastly another tenement, the habitation of a hallier; all were adjoining the refinery. The mention of Onesiphorus Tyndall (a well-known local citizen) as a past occupier of the warehouse and summerhouse meant that a manager's house was being provided for the enlarged works, now that George II and Robert Bridle were vacating their residences there. George II went to his newly-acquired manor house at Norton Malreward, Somerset, and Bridle removed to a tenement on Bristol

<sup>1</sup> John Daubeny's will, dated 1742, proved 1750—Bristol Archives Dept.

Bridge, a well-known centre of the city where the rich and well-to-do businessmen lived, amongst whom were not a few sugar bakers.<sup>1</sup>

By these transactions, George II added considerably to his holdings in Halliers Lane; in terms of money valuation from £710 in 1741, when he succeeded at the works, to 1760, the date of his own death, when they stood at £1,185. From the economic point of view, they were the refiners' answer to the monopolist position of the West Indian planter who was withholding his supplies of 'raws' from the English market as long as possible to maintain a high price for his sugars; at least, adequate warehousing in Bristol for the refined products stabilized the sale prices on the consumer market for a longer period.

## (2) *Employment of Labour*

These property extensions also throw some light on the employment and concentration of labour within the new unit of structure. Because they connote a development of 'factory' conditions with the separate sections of the industry unified under one roof and under the control of works-manager (Robert Bridle), the number of employees at the site must have increased to some small extent. Hitherto under the quinquupartite association of business structure, when each of the partners supervised his own special 'interest' in the firm at his own dwelling house scattered in different parts of the city, the manufacturing unit, though small by comparison with the later development of the 'factory' notion, was nevertheless the all-important centre of the works. The labour strength then consisted of the sugar boilers, and their mates who did the heavy work of fetching and carrying the coals, the timber, the lime, etc. and the numbers so employed were small, perhaps a dozen or so. Now that the enlarged organization concentrated its several entities under one roof, this amount of labour must have increased proportionately. Thus the Halliers Lane works possessed a cooperage, stabling accommodation for horses, drays and carts, another large warehouse together with a manager's house—requirements which accounted for the expenditure of £475 over a decade.

How many workpeople found employment under George II, we are not told in the Daubeny records—nor indeed in any of the documents relating to the other refineries in the city—but it is likely to

<sup>1</sup> Bristol Archives 00655(9) no. 17. Hamm to Mr Daubeny—Counterpart £350 and interest 28 May 1757.

The George II Norton Malreward estate story is given in F. A. Wood's *History of Chew Magna* (Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Transactions, p. 74).

Bristol Archives—Bristol Surveys, 1740, f. 36. Bridle had a tenement on Bristol Bridge held of Francis Whitchurch.

By 1754, *Bristol Poll Book* gives Bridle as a resident in St John's parish, i.e. in the manager's house alongside the refinery.

have been about twenty. This is the inference drawn from a comparative study of the Whitson Court House in 1660 with the Daubeny House in 1760. In the former case, it was estimated that they amounted to about a dozen; now that carters, warehousemen and coopers were being directly employed by the new management under Bridle, that number may have risen to a score.

We have gleaned information about a couple of George II's employees from unexpected sources. Because there is so little information about the transferability of a sugar baker's staff as he moved from one site to another, the case of John Room—George I's last apprenticeship at Temple Street (1724-1731)—throws some light on the question. This was the lad whom the management permitted him to employ at the wage of £15 a year under the terms of the 1723 Partnership Agreement. Since we also know the name of George I's successor as chief clerk at Temple Street (Nehemiah Champion, junior) we infer that John Room followed his master to Halliers Lane in 1731, and found a place on his clerical staff. Perhaps too this idea is reinforced by the fact that he gained his Freedom of the city in 1738, at the time when George II was assuming supreme control during the last few years of his father's life.

Another instance of George II's employment of labour—this time in the commercial sphere which directly concerned his own role as a merchant—was his apprenticeship of John Powell, who on 11 December 1738, was enrolled as a mariner-trainee. This was George II's first act of responsibility on assuming his own citizenship and shows how he tried to implement his father's schemes of expansion. We gain no hint as to the specific purpose for which Powell was to be trained but the fact that the Daubeny interests were concerned both with the Gloucester warehouse and with West Indian purchases of muscovadoes permit the inference that Powell was to be the instrument for their development. During his seven years' apprenticeship (1738-1745) Powell may have been sent on journeys up and down the Severn on the local trows, supervising the firm's transit of refined sugars to Gloucester and the Midlands. Since the Daubeny House was tied up with the Gloucester scheme until 1750, Powell's training years may well have been so engaged.

Subsequently the newly-fledged mariner may have been employed as a supercargo in the negotiations of Jamaican sugars to the Daubeny refinery. This appears the more likely since, up to the present, we have found no references to George II possessing his own ship on these trans-Atlantic voyages. These two items, re Room and Powell, show

George II's active interest in the business in his own specific line whilst he was in his middle twenties.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *The Firm of Daubeny and Bridle*

The sole reference to the firm of Daubeny and Bridle, specifically so named, comes from an unprinted source, *viz.* Isaac Elton's Account Book under the date 16 May 1748. This is a most important tit-bit of business history in that it is the only evidence that Bridle was admitted to dual partnership with George II; the more so in that, it is the sole entry in Elton's Ledger of a transaction with this particular firm; apparently an odd sale of sugar to a rival firm of refiners in the city because the House of Garlick-Elton was already stocked with its own supplies.

The entire entry is worth quotation in full, again because so few references of sugar purchases are available. Isaac Elton, a Bristol merchant, had consigned to him five hogsheads of muscovadoes from John Tittle, a St Kitts planter. This stray item in the Ledger was bought by 'Daubeny and Bridle' in mid-May. The weight amounted to 68 cwts. 1 qr. 1 lb. and included the tare of 5 cwts. 3 qrs. The total price paid for the 62 cwts. 2 qrs. 1 lb. was £106 5s 3d at the rate of 34/- per cwt. and because the bill was paid by the end of the month, a disbursement of the odd shillings was made to the refiners.<sup>2</sup>

This reference to the firm of Daubeny and Bridle is also important because it indicates that Bridle's investments in the partnership covered the business side only and not in the ownership of the refineries or their extensions under George II. This we know from the deeds of the property which ran in the Daubeny family only, even to the latest years of its existence. Thus with his death, the Bridle interests in the firm ceased and could not be passed on to his descendants.

(4) *The Inter-City Rivalry between Bristol and Gloucester for the Midlands Trade*

Another set of original records regarding the Gloucester sugar warehouse have turned up in the Jarritt-Smith MSS, dated 1744-1755, and show the developments of the 1730 scheme by which six

<sup>1</sup> A.L. 11 Dec. 1738 John Powell, son of John Powell, late of Bristol, clerk, deceased, was apprenticed to George Daubeny, the younger, merchant, to be educated as a mariner for seven years. £10 the gift of Edward Colston, Esq. deceased.

<sup>2</sup> Isaac Elton's Account Book 1746-1751—in my possession—is valuable because so few merchant account books exist.

Bristol refiners took over John Pinfold's sugar house under the twenty-one years' lease.<sup>1</sup> Apparently only William Barnes, the senior partner of the House of Barnes, Brice & Co. at Duck Lane (1728-1763) and George Daubeny I took advantage of the plan to stock the Gloucester refinery with their sugars and use it as an additional warehouse for the Midlands trade. Perhaps this was implied in their two signatures appended to the lease. On the other hand, the Articles of Agreement between the two parties specifically stated that they were acting on behalf of each of the other negotiators who participated, not in their separate capacities but for their own firms ('& Co.'). Of the two signatories, Barnes took upon himself to collect the proportionate shares of the £6 rental of Pinfold's house from the rest of the members and this state of affairs continued for six years. By 1736 the non-signatories dropped out of the scheme, leaving Barnes and Daubeny I to carry on as they pleased. By 1741, the date of Daubeny's death, Barnes alone managed the affairs so that when legal complications arose in 1744, George II disclaimed any knowledge of his father's engagement.

In the meantime, Barnes in 1739, having collected £57 out of a total of £96 then due from the other five members of the scheme, recouped himself by subletting the warehouse to John Pasco at an enhanced rental of £14; this we know from two other sources. The *Gloucester Journal* for 28 August 1739 records the sale of timber by John Pasco at the Sugar House near the Westgate, Gloucester, and in the 1750 Dr. and Cr. Account of George Daubeny concerning the Gloucester House, John Pasco's name is mentioned as subtenant there and as paying £14 per annum for the rent.

By 1744 John Pinfold, whose rental receipts for the Gloucester House had fallen well behind, made demands on both Barnes and George Daubeny II for his arrears, and so in their own defence, the two men resorted to Council's advice from a certain Mr Foster, as to their legal position in relation to the other four defaulters in the 1730 scheme.

After examining the lease, Mr Foster stated that, since the lease ran for twenty-one years, i.e. until 1750, and that, since the six lessors had agreed to the terms on behalf of themselves and their partners, the only way for his clients to get legal satisfaction, was to approach the other members of the bond personally and explain to them their position. Accordingly John Pinfold's Account was presented to them and two of the four saw the error of their ways and paid up their

<sup>1</sup> Bristol Archives—Long Ashton records.

deficits. But the other two—Edward Whitchurch, Pinfold's father-in-law, and John Gifford, remained adamant. And so the situation remained unsatisfactory until 1750, the termination of the lease.

In 1750 another demand on Pinfold's account was presented to George Daubeny II who thereupon drew up his own statement of the rental unpaid to Pinfold. From this, it appears that, of the £126 (the amount due to Pinfold over twenty-one years) Gifford still owed £25 odd and Whitchurch £10 odd. And because Barnes had sublet the property to Pasco at £14 per annum, he was left to find the remaining sum of £80 odd as satisfaction to Pinfold. Apparently this was the end of this unique experiment in the rivalry between the Bristol and Gloucester sugar centres because no more quarrels are traceable in the Daubeny Papers.

That the edginess between the two cities' sugar traders continued throughout the remaining decades of the century we know from other references in the Gloucester News Journals but it was conducted in a different fashion, much to the irritation of the Gloucester citizens.

In summary, these four widely differing sources of information collectively provide facts relating to George II in his business capacity and are important sources because they are difficult to come by; they explain the continued success of his sugar house in the middle decades of the century.

#### *George II's Advancement in the Social Sphere*

Though the pattern of his life and activities bore principally the stamp of his father's career, George II's ambitions both in public and private life were made possible by his parent's accumulations which came to him before he reached the age of thirty. Even so the full fruition of his personal endeavours came, not so much in the way of his own outward display, but in the careers of his four sons. And by advancing his children into the ranks of the Merchant Venturers and the Anglican Church, he responded to the social atmosphere of the mid-century rather than the traditional outlook of his family.

George II's private yearnings were for landed estate. This was a natural inclination since it was only in the lifetime of his father that the family—albeit in the cadet branch—had ceased to own rural estates and to live the life of local gentry. As soon as George II felt confident that the refinery was holding its own against its rivals who were older and more well-established, and that it was safe under the directional control of Bridle, he acquired the small manor of Norton Malreward from his family friend Sir Grenville Smyth of Long Ashton, and by so doing, he entered the small circle of local merchants who

preferred the countryside to a city mansion in one of the elegant Squares which were being erected at that time. These possessions remained in the hands of the Daubeny family for at least a century, and many of their number found their final resting place in the church adjoining the manor house.<sup>1</sup>

Conscious that the refinery could not afford the dispersion of too much of its profits on his manorial ambitions, he made provision for the training of his eldest and youngest sons in the business under the care of Bridle, and for their advancement as Merchant Venturers. Thus George III (born 1742) and John (born 1751) were destined for a city career in their eventual control of the refinery.

In the education of his second and third sons at the Winchester and Oxford colleges, George II yielded to the new spirit of the times when one branch of the newly-enriched families of the mid-century—some of whom were of the sugar baking interest—entered the professional services, either in the Law and Church or in the Army and Medicine. Thus Charles (born 1745) and James (born 1748) were sent to Oriel College, Oxford, and to Winchester and Brasenose, Oxford, respectively in the 1760s. These latter eventually entered Holy Orders and this strong family keenness for the Anglican cause was continued in the following generation. In all these cases, distinguished careers were attained; indeed the 19th-century members of the group gained as high academic honours in their study of the Arts, Science, and Medicine as did the 18th-century members in industry and commerce. These achievements were made possible on the economic side by the comfortable fortunes which were left to both Charles and James in their father's will; indeed the author of their lives in the Dictionary of National Biography makes the point that the former entered upon his college career immediately on the receipt of his parent's legacy, and when his college days were over, he toured Germany, France and Russia in fulfilment of his private wishes before entering the Church in 1773. It was no small tribute to George II, who died at the early age of 46, that these results followed in the train of his own fortune made at Halliers Lane during his twenty years at the helm.

<sup>1</sup> The Daubney Mural Tablet at Norton Malreward Church, Somerset.  
In memory of JOSEPH WALTERS DAUBENY, J.P. of Cote, Co. Gloucestershire,  
and of Norton Malreward, in this county,  
d. 28 January 1865, aged 52 years, also of  
SARAH ANN SAVAGE DAUBENY, relict of JOSEPH WALTERS DAUBENY,  
died 23 March 1886, aged 75 years,

They lie in a vault beneath this aisle.

(continued on next page)

Another lesson learned from his father was a close association with the Merchant Venturers Society. As soon as possible after his own membership had been obtained, George II recommended his uncle's admission to that body, a step accomplished for John Daubeny in 1746. Four years later he advanced his own status by becoming the Warden of the Society—quick work for a lad who had only joined a decade earlier. This firm adherence to the Merchants Society was continued in the next generation when his four sons were admitted members; George III in 1767, and his youngest son John in 1774. Because they were trained as merchants, their admission is understandable, but, that membership should be granted to his two other sons, both of whom were then clerks in Holy Orders, shows to what an extent membership had become a status symbol. Charles was admitted in 1774, and James in 1776. On the other hand, George III and John served the Society in the honoured capacities as Masters between five years of each other (1784-1789).<sup>1</sup>

By way of example, George II's own leanings were directed towards the Merchants rather than to the City Council. Other than the Merchants Society, he was interested in the Poor Law institution, of which he was its Treasurer from 1746-1748 and its Governor from 1754-1756. In 1750 he served as Warden of the Merchant Venturers Society, and in spite of another ten years of membership, he was never its Master. Clearly indulgencies were made possible by relying on the faithful service of Bridle.<sup>2</sup>

(continued from previous page)

- Sacred to ARTHUR FREDERICK DAUBENY, M.A., Clerk in Holy Orders,  
 b. 4 February 1808,  
 d. 9 January 1891.  
 GEORGE WALTERS DAUBENY, of Cote, J.P.  
 b. 13 October 1841—and died 1 September 1917.  
 LANSDOWNS DAUBENY, of Norton Court, J.P.,  
 b. 24 December 1842 and died 28 May 1916.  
 He married 18 August 1863 MARY RYLAND, only child of  
 GEORGE EAGLESFIELD. She died 5 February 1919.  
 WILLIAM ARTHUR DAUBENY, of Clevelands, Dawlish, J.P., M.A. Oxon.  
 b. 8 August 1845, and died 8 August 1911.

<sup>1</sup> B.R. 8 Dec. 1766 George Daubeny, son of George Daubeny, Merchant Venturer, was admitted to the Freedom of Bristol.

B.R. Charles Daubeny, son of George Daubeny, Merchant Venturer, was admitted to the Freedom of Bristol, 2 Feb. 1768.

B.R. 1 Oct. 1774 James Daubeny, son of George Daubeny, sugar refiner, deceased, was admitted to the Freedom of Bristol.

B.R. 11 Dec. 1773 John Daubeny, son of George Daubeny, sugar refiner, deceased, was admitted to the Freedom of Bristol.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. A. B. Beaven; *Bristol Lists*, p. 339.

W. E. Minchinton: *Politics and the Port of Bristol in the 18th Century*.  
 Bristol Record Soc. Pubs., Vol. XXIII, see index *Daubeny*.

## ROBERT BRIDLE (1712-1780)

Robert Bridle stands out among the honoured few in the sugar industry who were admitted to partnership in their firms in recognition of their indispensable services. In company with Giles Elbridge and Thomas Eagles in the 17th century, John Newport, Robert Stock and John Collett in the succeeding one, Bridle's name ranks pre-eminent for achievement, both as a symbol of service to the three Daubenys whose lives he overlapped, and as an organizer over a period of forty years. Of the three Georges, his career resembled mostly that of the founder because he attended principally to the refinery, to the warehouses erected by George I and George II, to the supervision of labour and latterly to the training of the Daubeny descendants. Within the first five years of his employment, he was acting as the chief clerk, and sometime in the 1740s he advanced his status to dual partnership—thus repeating George I's steps of progress in the early stage of his career at Temple Street—but never attaining proprietorship of the property, a feature of George I's later career at Halliers Lane. And so his name was never perpetuated beyond his own lifetime.

These pre-occupations at the office prevented Bridle from entering the public service or at least participating in it on so few occasions; in 1751 he acted as Deputy Governor of the Incorporation of the Poor, and in 1773 he presided over the Dolphin Society. Moreover, his devotion to duty enabled George II to spread his wings both in the business and social life of the city, and after George's death, he trained the youthful John Daubeny in the skills of management in anticipation of his own retirement from the business.

Throughout his long life Bridle's name was unheard and unsung in the annals of the local industry except among the members of the Daubeny family. It was James Daubeny, the clerk in Holy Orders (1748-1817) who perpetuated his honour in the naming of his son Charles Giles Bridle Daubeny, and this perhaps at the recommendation of George III.

Bridle's career conformed to the general pattern of those newcomers to the city from the neighbouring counties, anxious to make their way in any trade or industry which opened its doors to them; this specially applied to the half century following the Restoration. It took a three-fold character; (a) from 1712, the date of his birth in the quiet hamlet of Leigh, Dorset, to 1733 when he was admitted to Bristol burgess-ship (after a seven years' apprenticeship as a grocer under Charles Abington's care); (b) from 1733 when he gained his first appointment to 1760; (c) the last twenty years during

which he trained the brothers George III and John II as future managers at the works. Fortunately for him, his long career spanned the period of maximum prosperity for the sugar trade in the 18th century.<sup>1</sup>

Slight as our information is about Bridle's early life, we know that like Abington and indeed George Daubeny I, he came from a small village of the Somerset-Dorset border. When his father, anxious for his son's welfare, came upon Abington's relations in Stalbridge, Dorset, he was recommended to send his son for apprenticeship to Bristol,—indeed to Charles Abington who had just finished a similar training at the hands of George Daubeny I in his grocery store in St Nicholas parish. Accordingly on 10 June 1726 Robert Bridle entered Bristol as a grocer-trainee and on 12 July 1733, completed his service. It is likely that the £65 premium, paid for the training, guaranteed a promise on the part of the apprenticing-master to introduce Bridle to a clerkship in the Daubeny refinery at Temple Street. It so happened a greater chance was in store for him because by 1733, Daubeny was installed in the Halliers Lane works. And there young Bridle stepped up several rungs of the ladder of success by his appointment as chief clerk in Daubeny's office.

Scattered references, well dispersed throughout the second phase of his career, establish his connections with Daubeny's firm, and one of particular interest connects him with the Jarritt-Smith family. That Bridle was a trusted member of the firm we have already pointed out when he was called on twice (once in 1735 and again in 1738) to act as trustee for George II's purchase of one-sixth of the combined properties. These two occasions cemented the life-long friendship between the two youthful members who worked with such harmony through these two decades. About this time, also, the Bristol Survey Book, dated 1740, shows that Bridle had a tenement on the Bristol Bridge, indeed the same one recently vacated by Francis Whitchurch, partner in the Counterslip refinery.

It must have been in the 1740s that the Daubeny-Bridle tie grew tighter because in 1748, we find the only reference to the firm of 'Daubeny and Bridle' as sugar refiners in the Isaac Elton Ledger. This was on the occasion of the firm's purchase of a parcel of sugar from John Tittle, planter of St Kitts. Were this not the sole reference to the firm—so far found—we should not have traced this business connection between the two families in any other document.

<sup>1</sup> See footnotes on Bridle in Part I of *Trans. BGAS*, LXXXIV (1965), 'The Daubenys', p. 129.

This rise in Bridle's status evidently went a long way towards his next step on the ladder of social success, namely his marriage to Jarritt-Smith's daughter Martha. And again it is a stray reference in a Corporation lease that establishes this connection. As far back as 1727 Jarritt-Smith, George I's lawyer, leased two tenements in Prince Street—a fashionable quarter of the city—on the 'lives' of himself, his wife Martha, and their child Martha. By 1759 the next lease occasioned by the death of Martha, the wife, was signed between Martha, 'the daughter of the lessee, now wife of Robert Bridle, and Thomas, the only son of Jarritt-Smith'. This item also explains the change of address of the Bridle family at this date. Hitherto, Bridle had resided at the manager's house on the refinery site, but now his married state necessitated a more elevated place of residence in the city.

Although this middle phase of his career proved such a beneficial one to him in his business and social life, his chief contribution to the firm and the family was at hand. Just before the death of George II, the latter's eldest son George III, a raw lad of 17, entered the business, and so it fell to the elderly partner to teach him during the next seven years the intricacies of the trade. This period, covering the final years of the Seven Years War and the initial six years of the Peace era, initiated George III into the dual conditions of the trade, and in 1766 George III gained his burgess-ship as a Merchant Venturer. This responsibility, together with the training of John Daubeny II, the youngest of George II's children, carries us into Bridle's third stage of his business career, one no less onerous for him because George III started his public life as early as 1769 when he served the city as its sheriff. It was not until 1773 (when John II became a Bristol citizen) that we may say Bridle relinquished his duties as head of the firm. This is indicated by his Presidency of the Dolphin Society.

Other than these few items concerning the last portion of his life, we know little about Bridle's whereabouts. With advancing years he faced the bereavements, inevitably following in its train. In 1764 Felix Farley's *Bristol Journal* for 5 May reported the death of his mother who had come up from Dorset to enjoy the ease and comfort which her son's successful career had provided. And from 1775 onwards the Bristol Directories show that Bridle lived at 12 Lodge Street. This street ran up from the banks of St Augustine's Bridge to Park Row, and the property, being City Land, is registered in the Corporation Rentals for 1775-1780 as being rented at £1 annually. Luckily we have found in the local newspaper for 14 November 1781 a detailed account of the household furniture of Bridle's establishment, so that,

in giving it *in extenso*, we see the standard of life of a prosperous industrialist in the late 18th century.

*Bristol Journal* 14 November 1781. To be sold by auction.

The household furniture of Robert Bridle, Esq. deceased, at his last dwelling house on Stoney Hill, near the Red Lodge; consisting of mahogany Four-post bedsteads with printed cotton, damask and Harateen furniture; leather and mill-puff beds, blankets, quilts and counterpanes, mahogany chairs with hair seats covered over the rail, and brass nail'd, walnut, oak and windsor chairs, dining, pillar, card and dressing tables, Wilton and Scotch carpets; stove grates, kitchen furniture and brewing utensils.

What factors determined the varying degrees of prosperity of the two men, George I and Bridle? Because both entered the sugar industry during the boom period of the 18th century, a comparison of their positions can be made. Whereas the former's business career covered the Walpolean era, the latter's covered the mid-decades of the century. This time-variation accounted for Daubeny's successes. Being a man of exceptional ability and foresight, he acquired Macie's part holdings in the Temple Street firm at the time of its dissolution in 1723. Thus he advanced from clerkship to management at the end of his first four years of service, and then on to partnership in both the refinery and the distillery in the course of the next eight years. Each step was backed by his profits of his grocery store. This was the lot of few of his contemporaries. Throughout this decade he learned many useful lessons about the changing character of the industry which he put to good purpose when he installed himself at the Halliers Lane works. First and foremost, he established the permanence of his family as both proprietors and business organizers by acquiring the ownership of the site and properties and by seizing control of the management from the start. He thereby secured the family from possible take-over bids on the part of rival competitors and set up a family type of organization to replace the multiple association of partners under which he worked at Temple Street. These factors differentiated his position from that of Bridle; moreover, they enabled his successors to march with the times, to initiate the dual type of organization with Bridle as an invited partner, and to elevate themselves in the social sphere. They established a family tradition which was denied to Bridle whose services to the firm, however faithful and abiding, remained personal to himself and could not be passed on to his kin.

On Bridle's part, he entered the Daubeny concern at an early stage of its existence, when George II required a works-manager to supervise the internal affairs of the business, and backed by his own moneyed resources, he quickly advanced his position by investing them

in the dual partnership which George II created. Thus within a decade of service at Halliers Lane he jumped at a stride the years of struggle of George I from 1710 onwards, and, benefiting from his business friends, again associates of George II, he married well and attained social status long denied to his first employer. For all these advantages, however, he never attained the position of proprietor—thus preventing his family from breaking through the social crust; all he could hand on to his son, were the benefits of partnership in the business. Because of Bridle's late entry on the business scene a generation later than George I, all the positive advantages, gained from his long services to the firm accrued to the Daubenys of the second and third generations. It was they who stepped straightway into public life on receipt of the City Freedoms, and established a name in both national and local circles which endured well into the following century.

GEORGE III (1742-1806), SUGAR REFINER, MERCHANT VENTURER,  
BANKER, MAYOR AND M.P. FOR BRISTOL

It was during the lifetime of George III that the family reached the zenith of its business fortunes. Being the sole beneficiary of his father's will as far as the refinery was concerned, he fortunately retained the services of Bridle for another two decades during which time the Daubeny interest was dormant. Subsequent to Bridle's death, George III asserted himself by negotiating the property extensions and by re-organizing the firm throughout the troublesome years of the American War of Independence, the French Revolutionary War and the early years of the Napoleonic War.

With his refinery well established after thirty years' existence, he branched out into a public career at the early age of 27. Three years after attaining the city's Freedom, he entered the Council Chamber where he served for nearly twenty years, and subsequently became an Alderman until the day of his death. In 1769-1770, he acted as Sheriff; in 1786-1787 he served the city as its Mayor; in 1788-1790, he was Governor of the Poor Law Institution; from 1767 onwards he was an active member of the Merchant Venturers Society and in 1784-1785 he was its Master. In spite of these self-imposed tasks, he became absorbed in the commercial and industrial life of the city.

With this double set of credentials he was accepted as one of the six founders of the Ames, Cave & Co. bank established in 1786. He thus climbed from merchant-manufacturer to banker status and demonstrated to the public at large the economic backing of the sugar interest in the city. As an outward symbol of his well-being he moved

residence to the Cote estate on the outskirts of the city where its spacious proportions advanced his claims as a worthy representative of the city in Parliament.

### *George III's Business Achievements*

The local Directories refer to the House of Daubeny in the following ways throughout George III's lifetime.

1760–1780 George Daubeny & Robert Bridle.

1787–1794 John Daubeny.

1791–1795 George Daubeny & Francis Harris.

1796–1806 George Daubeny & Co.

Each of these periods marks some feature of George III's status in the firm. Overshadowed by the dominating figure of Bridle, George took little outward interest in the business during the lifetime of Bridle, but from 1780 onwards, he asserted himself in a threefold manner; (a) by extending the warehousing, stabling and coöperage facilities of the works; (b) by guaranteeing essential labour under the city's apprenticeship system, and (c) by increasing the industrial capital in the business under the stimulus of a foreign sales market to the Continent. These are a few of the detailed plans which have come to light by way of printed materials; if the family papers and the bank archives were available, no doubt many more enterprising schemes would be forthcoming. Even the known sources of information substantiate his business abilities over a span of forty years.

(a) As early as 1772 when the Corporation planned the widening of Halliers Lane, the Mayor empowered the city officers to lease to Daubeny one of its tenements near the refinery on the understanding that he should pull it down and erect on its site a building suitable to his purpose. This agreement was not enforced until the last decade of the century. In the meantime in 1785 Daubeny leased another 'ruinous' messuage from the feoffees of Dr Owen's lands; and two years later, he leased another stable and yard from the feoffees of St John the Baptist. These stables measured 31 feet in front and 41 feet in depth and for these he paid a rental of £1 6s 8d per annum. By 1798 the Halliers Lane development plan matured, and the Corporation, re-naming the street Nelson Street released the 1772 site (now called ruinous) to Daubeny at a rental of £10 16s 0d; thereon he erected a warehouse and coöperage, both with lofts. This was a sizeable structure measuring 36 feet by 172 feet. So the whole building programme meant

a considerable enlargement of the works, making the storage unit one of the largest in the city.<sup>1</sup>

(b) As in the days of George II, we have no direct evidence of the number of workmen at the refinery (nor indeed at any of the rival establishments in the city) by which a comparison might be made of the relative sizes of the individual companies. All we have found are a few stray references to four apprentices taken on by the Daubeny brothers during the last twenty years of their control together with the names of two workmen (one a cooper and the other a German sugar boiler) known to have been in constant employment at the works. The details relating to both the trainees and the employees are of special interest because they reveal the conditions of labour during the war years, a subject about which precious little is known in the sugar industry in the 18th century.

The Daubeny brothers registered the names of four apprentices in the Corporation Apprentices Lists between the years 1785-1801, a practice which had stood in abeyance as far as the sugar industry was concerned, for a generation or so. Unlike the entries in the early part of the century when a specific training, e.g. 'as a grocer', was made, those under the later Daubenys, were stated in general terms, e.g. to the 'person' of George Daubeny; this practice secured the services of the trainee to the apprenticing-master, thereby preventing the former from transferring his labour to a rival refiner in the city, at the same time as it guaranteed continuity of tenure against the pressing grips of a press gang in the days of the French wars. Because the first two apprentices were taken on immediately after the peace was declared in 1783, it indicates the keenness of the Daubenys to repair the depleted staff occasioned by the war years. Such were some of the changes which the original Tudor legislation underwent in the declining years of the Apprenticeship system.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Corporation Lease on behalf of Dr Owen's land, Halliers Lane. Rent 10/-.* No. 00812. Lease to George Daubeny, Esq. 26 Sept. 1785.

Bristol Archives Dept. 06065 Bundle 677. *Abstract of Title* of George Daubeny's lease of a stable and backside in Halliers Lane in St John the Baptist parish, 1787 for £31 10s od. In 1806 George Daubeny III passed these stables etc. on to his eldest son George IV.

*Bargain Book, 1805-1812*, p. 504. City Land. Lease dated 29 April 1812. Nelson St. George Daubeny, fine £105. Rent £10 16s od.

*Journal*, p. 551. The recital of the City Grant in 1798 is given here.

<sup>2</sup> A.L. 2 July 1785. Benjamin Burge, son of Robert Burge, of Bristol, hosier, was apprenticed to John Daubeny, sugar refiner, and Ann his wife for seven years.

A.L. 24 Dec. 1785. James Evans, son of Rev. Daniel Evans, late of Fairford, Gloucestershire, clerk, was apprenticed to George Daubeny sugar refiner, and Martha his wife, for seven years.

A.L. 4 May 1801. Abraham Goold, son of William Goold, of Camerton, Somerset, coalminer was apprenticed to George Daubeny, Esq. sugar refiner for seven years. Friends finding apparel and £10 the gift of Edward Colston, Esq. deceased.

A.L. 9 March 1805. George Baker, son of John Innes Baker, linendraper, deceased, was apprenticed to George Daubeny, Merchant Venturer for seven years.

The names of a cooper (— Edwards) and a German sugar boiler (Christian Backler) in regular employment at the refinery are of interest because they confirm George III's direct employment of all the labour—a feature which his grandfather had inaugurated at the time he started up at Halliers Lane. The mention of a German, specifically called a 'a boiler' signifies that foreign technicians were still being employed at refineries even in the late 18th century. They had been so engaged not only in Bristol but also in every centre of the sugar industry in England and Scotland since the 17th century.<sup>1</sup>

(c) George III's greatest contributions to the firm came during his last decade or so. They arose from the dual needs of finding a manager within the members of the family to run the concern and of creating additional capital funds to keep the business alive in the competitive market.

Ever since 1773 when his youngest brother John II finished his office training at the hands of Bridle, the House of Daubeny had been left in his control. His management continued throughout the period of the American War and the years of peace before the break-out of the French Revolutionary War. On two recorded occasions, he advanced the affairs of the firm by securing one of the two apprentices taken on in 1785, and by leasing a shop and cellar in St Nicholas Street—a timely venture in view of the fact that storage room was a crying need of the time. However, with his unexpected death at the age of 43 in 1794, George III was presented with a critical situation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from the Will of Mrs Mary Lewis, decd. containing her bequests in favour of the parish of St James, Bristol. And Proceedings of the Minister and churchwardens of the said parish in the distribution of the aforesaid charity, Thomas Biddulph, Minister 1808.

Date 1808. N.19. Elizabeth Edwards, widow, living in St Philip's but a native of the parish of St James—husband, a cooper, burned to death in the fire at Mr Daubeny's sugar house. She is 62 years of age and gets her living by ironing. Received no parochial alms—George Daubeny, H. Yabbicomb, churchwarden, William Fifoot, Overseer. I. I. Barnes, John Bull, Onesiphorus Lucas, W. Day, William Battersby.

No. 6. 1808. Elizabeth Bohmer, aged 53 years, widow, of John Henry Bohmer sugar boiler at the House in Whitson Court, left with two children (small)—has been a widow 21 years and a housekeeper in the parish of St James—recommended by Richard Grimes, Andrew Pope, *Andrew Daubeny* and others.

No. 27. 1808. Ann Mary Backler, widow of Michael Christian Backler, boiler at Mr Daubeny's sugar house, and housekeeper in St James Street 14 years. Recommended by William Day, Wm. Dighton, Wm. Dymock, *George Daubeny*, Daniel Wait, James Richards, *Francis Daubeny*.

<sup>2</sup> Three entries in the Corporation Books refer to John Daubeny's ownership of a shop and cellar in St Nicholas Street.

(a) Surveyor's Book, 1774–1785, f.4, date 14 May 1774.

(b) Rental, 1740, p. 125. Shop and cellar in St Nicholas Street. 'Ann Brown of Bristol, widow, holds a shop and cellar 15 Oct. 1772 on the lives of Ann Brown aged 20, Mary Brown aged 16,

(continued on next page)

A revival of the conjoint management under George II and Bridle came to mind. And so from 1791-1795 the new scheme emerged with the business run under the control of George Daubeny and Francis Harris. And by the new arrangement, a dual purpose was served. A new appointment of a manager—Francis Harris—not only brought new youthful blood into the concern, but also represented the amalgamation of two old refining companies in an effort to stabilize both firms under the war conditions of the 1790s.

On the Harris side of the bargain, we know that in 1780 a moneyed man named Francis Harris (the son of John Harris, the senior member of John Harris & Sons, sugar refiners of the First Lewin's Mead Refinery) sought an appointment as manager of a sugar house. He had been trained 'as a sugar refiner' as an apprentice at the hands of Edward Brice at the Old Market Street refinery (1773-1807), and for ten years found employment at his father's business under the running title of 'John Harris and Sons'.<sup>1</sup>

In the years 1794-1795 a double event took place in both the Harris and Daubeny families; in 1794, the death of John II occurred, and in 1795, John Harris & Sons left their Lewin's Mead refinery. This dual situation apparently was met by the amalgamation of the two businesses because Matthew's Bristol Directory for 1795 records the names of the new combination as 'Daubeny & Harris', sugar refiners at Bridewell Lane (an alternative description of Halliers Lane). It seems likely that the Harris connection embraced John Harris, the

(continued from previous page)

and Rebecca Brown aged 13, daughters of the lessee. 1774 Now John Daubeny of Bristol, sugar refiner; Ann Brown holds the above 24 Feb. 1774 on the lives of Ann Brown, now wife of John Daubeny of Bristol, sugar refiner, Mary Brown aged 18, daughters of the lessee, and John Daubeny of Bristol, sugar refiner, now about 23 years of age; £20 fine for one life. 1781 passed to John Collard; and in 1781 to Ames, Cave & Co. bankers'.

(c) Bargain Book, 1771-1776, p. 215. City Land, St Nicholas Street, 1774.

<sup>1</sup> A.L. 19 June 1773. Francis Harris, son of John Harris of Bristol, hosier, was apprenticed to Edward Brice, sugar refiner of Bristol, and Christian his wife for seven years.

B.R. 2 August 1780. Francis Harris, sugar refiner, was admitted to the Freedom of Bristol—son of John Harris, linendraper.

*Bristol Directories, 1787-1795*, John Harris & Sons, sugar refiners, Lewin's Mead.

1793-1798. John Harris, junior, Montague St.

Rev. A. B. Beaven's *Bristol Lists*, p. 293 for John Harris's political career.

Sarah Farley's *Bristol Journal*, 20 Jan. 1787. 'Monday died Mrs Harris, junior, sugar baker of this city'.

Also; Bargain Book, 1784-1792, f. 264. John Harris & Co., sugar bakers, Lewin's Mead, were occupying Elizabeth Merlott's stables on lease from the Corporation.

It is interesting to note that John Harris & Co. occupied the oldest of the Lewin's Mead sugar houses. The first Lewin's Mead refinery, founded as far back as 1684, and burned down in 1720 but re-built soon afterwards, became in 1783 one of the most spacious refineries in the Kingdom. From 1763-1783 it had been carried on by Messrs Barnes, Rice & Co. who, at the end of the American War of Independence, dissolved business. The new occupant was John Harris, variously described as a hosier and linendraper.

father, John the elder son and Francis, the second son; in the new set-up, the two elder members of the Harris family joined in a dual partnership with George Daubeny III, and young Francis Harris became the manager of the firm. Apparently after the death of John Harris senior in 1801, the two sons formed the new arrangement at Halliers Lane, described as 'Daubeny & Co.' This was the firm's title in the Directories from 1801 to 1806. Unfortunately we cannot confirm these suggestions from documentary sources; but this at least can be said in its favour, that the Harris entries as separate refiners do not appear in the local Directories from 1795 onwards.

The Harris-Daubeny liaison meant that both sets of refiners appreciated the changing nature of the refining industry under stress of war conditions. On George III's part he offered the strong claims of a banker-manufacturer to aid the refining houses for the future; and on the Harris side, a recent amalgamation between Hasseldon, the wholesale grocer, and the Harris family combined the chief interests in the trade.

#### *George III's Will 1806*

On 29 August 1806 George III made his will, which like those of father and grandfather, revealed his well-being in general terms, but with sufficient details to estimate his worldly wealth with donations to his children amounting to tens of thousands in the place of mere thousands in the case of his father and mere hundreds in that of his grandfather. He was the last of the main line of the family to be buried in the vault of St James church, 'where my father, mother and wife are deposited'. First and foremost came his sincerest wish; 'To my children I give my blessing with the injunction to conduct themselves through life with mutual effect to each other'. Then came the benefactions; to his daughter Maria Elizabeth Dymock, wife of William Dymock of Bristol, merchant, £3,500 in addition to £2,500, given her on her marriage, and £4,000 in trust for her and her children; also sums unspecified to his three other daughters, Elizabeth, Martha and Joanna. Each of the four daughters also had 60 ounces of plate.

The bulk of his capital both in the refinery and the banking firm of Messrs Ames, Daubeny, Daniel, Cave and Ames went to his only living son George IV, *viz.*—To the £5,000, given him on marriage, he added another £5,000, his own share in the sugar business, together with one third portion of his capital and interest in the bank; the

other two-thirds went in equal portions to his two sons-in-law, William Dymock and Rev. Andrew Daubeny.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, at least, £20,000 were granted to his family, the profits of his two enterprises, besides other sums, impossible to state exactly; in reality, they must have been a mere fragment of his actual wealth, since he had lived a life of luxury with large expenditures during his public life amidst men of his own calibre.

One comment must be made concerning the gift of £10,000 to his eldest daughter Maria Elizabeth, especially about the £7,500 donated in the will. This was in the nature of a business transaction whereby the capital was kept in the family but really given to her husband, William Dymock, who was a part-proprietor of the Whitson Court Refinery with William Dighton, merchant, and Daniel Wait, wholesale grocer, as co-partners (1793-1824). It so happened that between 1803-1808, the latter house was being threatened by a rival competitor, Robert Rankin, a thrusting businessman from the North, who tried to oust the Dymock, Dighton, Wait Company from their refinery. This was Rankin's way of meeting the challenge of the export drive to the continental countries. Having a 4-pan house at Host Street since 1796, he planned an extension of the business unit by acquiring another 6-pan works in 1803, and knowing that the Dymock partners had insufficient capital to buy both the premises as well as the works unit, he made a deal with the property owner (Andrew Pope) for the purchase of the property. Luckily for Dymock, the lease had five years to run, and it was during this time that his father-in-law came to his aid with the £7,500. This story has been told in greater detail in an essay on the Whitson Court House,<sup>2</sup> but this benefaction (unknown at the time of writing that article) now explains the way Dymock extricated himself from his difficulties. By this fortunate turn of events, the latter refinery continued to exist until 1824, whereas the Halliers Lane works failed in 1817, not through George III's action, but by the unexpected fire there which burned the works to a cinder. Incidentally too, the gift to Dymock enabled him to enter a new banking house, the Castle Bank, in 1810 as a founder; his father-in-law initiated him into one of the new methods of saving the local refineries from dissolution—

<sup>1</sup> Office copy of George Daubeny's will, dated 29 March 1806, and proved 5 August 1806, is in the Halliers Lane deeds—Bristol Archives Office, under the heading

'Wills, Lists and Abstracts J.P. (145) $\frac{X}{25}$  p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Trans. BGAS*, LXV (1944), pp. 79-88.

through lack of capital—by allying a banking concern with the manufacturing element. At least, if borrowing had to be done, it was on reduced terms.

On George III's part, he devised another scheme to save his own business from the depleted funds by the formation of the 'company'. As far back as 1787 when he amalgamated his business with that of the Harris family, he realized the dire need to increase its capital holdings; the war years from 1793 intensified these requirements, and so he entered a banking house to back up his plan. To meet the double catastrophe in the year 1806, *viz.* the death of his second son, Frederick (in the early part of the year) who presumably was destined for succession at the refinery) and his desire to help Dymock at the Whitson works, he encouraged Francis Daubeny, the son of John II, to fill the post. It was no fault of George III that young Francis proved an unwilling participant, and, after three years in management (1809–1812), retired from the firm.

By the terms of George III's will, £5,000, the father's share in the refinery, and one-third of his banking interests together with the Cote estate passed to George IV who, more interested in the latter two pre-occupations, let the business side of the works to Messrs Biggs and Savery in 1815. It was his misfortune to see the refinery go up in flames two years later. Thus it was George IV's decision rather than his father's beneficiary gift to Dymock, that brought down the House of Daubeny as a manufacturing unit in 1817 so dramatically.

#### FRANCIS DAUBENY, MANAGER, 1809–1812

How long after the deaths of John Harris senior (1801), and George III (1806) the company formation continued is impossible to state from a lack of evidence. The creation of the company, being George III's second major contribution to the family firm, certainly saved the House of Daubeny for a couple of decades, but the days of its existence were drawing to a close. After all, the family had produced three generations of leaders, all first sons of the previous generation; individually they had managed affairs for long stretches, but already the more deep-seated yearnings of the later members had emerged with the acquisitions of the country estates and their ambition to succeed in the professional world by educating their younger sons at the Public Schools and at Oxford. And though the youngest of the family—Francis, son of John II was detailed for succession at the refinery, it was evident that he was forced into that office because three years after attaining the management (1809), *i.e.* even before he had been

registered as a Bristol Burgess, he left the firm at the age of 25, and matriculated at Magdalen, Oxford, and proceeded to Holy Orders, as so many of the family had done in the early years of the 19th century.

During Francis' three-year term of management, however, he negotiated a renewal of George III's lease of the Nelson Street warehouse acquired in 1798, and in the document, the firm was running in the name of Francis Daubeny & Co. And even after another twelve years, when he was Vicar of Crumpleham, Co. Norfolk and Rector of Feltham, Co. Norfolk, he retained some interests in the family property in Tower Lane in Bristol parish of St John the Baptist for he was one of three who renewed the lease of that Corporation site. He therefore kept in close touch with Bristol affairs to the end of his life (1829).<sup>1</sup>

### THE FIRE AT THE WORKS 1817

Little is known about either of the new partners, Richard Biggs and Henry Savery, who rented the refinery from 1815 onwards. The former, the son of a prosperous clothworker of Bedminster, near Bristol, had been engaged as a hooper since 1790 when he was apprenticed to Henry Brooks in that capacity. Hoopering and coopering were trades which had come to the fore during the second half of the 18th century through their close ties with the wet and dry trades of wine barrel and sugar tierce and hogshead making. This was the half century when they too ventured their capital in sugar businesses and several successful hoopers had emerged as partners in the Bristol refineries. Biggs, however, was not among that number. On the other hand, Henry Savery was described as an 'esquire' in the Bristol Burgess Rolls in 1815 (19 December) when he was admitted to citizenship on the grounds of his marriage to Eliza Elliott, daughter of Lionel Oliver Elliott, a Bristol linendraper. Straightway the two capitalists came together to conduct the Daubeny concern at Halliers Lane.<sup>2</sup>

Their joint affair lasted two years. In early January 1817 Felix Farley's *Journal* advertized their thanks to their friends, the Bristol

<sup>1</sup> Bargain Book, 1805-1812, p. 504. City land lease dated 29 April 1812.

Nelson St. George Daubeny, fine £105. Rent £10 16s. od.

*Journal*, p. 551.

Corporation archives office. 00655(9). Message in Tower Lane. 29 Dec. 1824.

Francis Daubeny was also a member of the St James church charities in 1809.

<sup>2</sup> A.L. 2 Sept. 1790. Richard Biggs son of Richard Biggs of Bedminster, Somerset, clothworker, was apprenticed to Henry Brooks, as a hooper for seven years.

B.R. 4 Feb. 1802. Richard Biggs, trained as a hopper by Henry Brooks, was admitted to the Freedom of Bristol.

B.R. Henry Savery, Esq. was admitted to the Freedom of Bristol on the grounds of his marriage to Eliza, daughter of Lionel Oliver Elliott, a Bristol linendraper.

*Bristol Directories, 1815-1818*; Biggs and Savery, sugar refiners, Nelson St.

Fire Offices and the officers and men of the 38th regiment for their assistance at the time of the disastrous fire which engulfed the works. Two newspaper insertions give the story as we know it. 'Messrs Biggs and Savery beg to return their very best thanks to their friends who so kindly assisted at their sugar house on Thursday night. They have also to express their obligations to the different Fire Offices, and particularly those with whom they have no insurance, for the attendance of their men and engines and to the officers and men of the 38th for their effectual protection rendered their property'.

Notification of the dissolution of the partnership of the firm of Biggs & Savery & Co. occurred a year later in the same Journal, in the following terms'. 22 February 1818. Notice is hereby given that the partnership heretofore subsisting between us, the undersigned Richard Biggs and Henry Savery, in the business of sugar refiners and carried on in the city of Bristol, under the firm of Biggs and Savery, is this day dissolved by mutual consent. All debts will be settled by the said Richard Biggs, dated 8 February 1818'.

So the structure was left in utter ruins and its fate was sealed as a sugar premises, after a century's existence.

In conclusion, how did the Daubeny family which conducted its refinery throughout three full generations, conform to the general industrial and commercial development of the century, and what particular characteristics did it display in its social and cultural life during the two clearly defined periods in the history of the century?

George I proved the most active-minded of the Temple Street firm, and when he went into business for himself at Halliers Lane, he did so as a merchant-manufacturer, thereby replacing the associate principle of organization by the family unit. This put the complete control of affairs—the ownership of the properties, the management of labour and the institution of future policy—in the hands of a Daubeny. He left the implementation of his schemes to his son.

George II advanced the family plan mainly in two directions. First, in conformity with the prevailing ideas of his contemporaries, he created a dual type of control for the business whereby he was left free to inaugurate new ventures both for himself and for the firm at the same time as he depended on the supervisory services of an associate-partner. Thus he gradually extended the warehousing facilities of the business (thereby developing the 'works-unit under one roof'), secured the labour for the entire concern, and garnered handsome profits for himself and Bridle as sole managers. In his personal relations, he preferred membership of the Merchant Venturers Society to a seat on

the City Council and established a family tradition in this respect which dominated its procedures to the end of the century. Secondly, it was during George II's time that the family stepped up its social activities, a feature which took the dual forms of educating the younger members at the Public schools in anticipation for their entry into the Anglican communion, and of acquiring a Somerset manor as a more dignified residence to one on the works site. Thus he drained the firm's capital in a way his father never contemplated, but by training two of his sons as merchants, he secured the family succession to the business. On the double set of fortunes of George I and II, the family mounted the steps to cultural fame in the following generations.

It was George III, however (especially in his ambitious schemes to advance in the social and political life of the second half of the century), who contributed most to the family fame and fortune by climbing from merchant-manufacturer to banker status. In this venture he outstripped most of his sugar baker contemporaries, although they too participated in the general economic build-up of the times. His active life amid the thrust and bustle of like-minded men taught him to keep abreast of the times by organizing his works in accordance with the needs of the industry. Thus he too added more warehousing accommodation there, amalgamated with the Harris-Hasseldon group in an effort to increase the industrial capital in the business in the war years and finally formed a company to run the refinery when he realized that the family members were veering either to professional careers or to estate rank as country gentlemen. In a measure he was responsible for this latter attitude when he purchased Cote House on the outskirts of Bristol. It was, however, no fault of his that, within a decade of his death, his works went up in flames. One wonders on the other hand if he or his son, would have made provision for the indispensable services of a scientist on the staff of the company to meet the immediate needs of the industry on the eve of the introduction of steam processes on the Howard principle (1811).

#### APPENDIX I

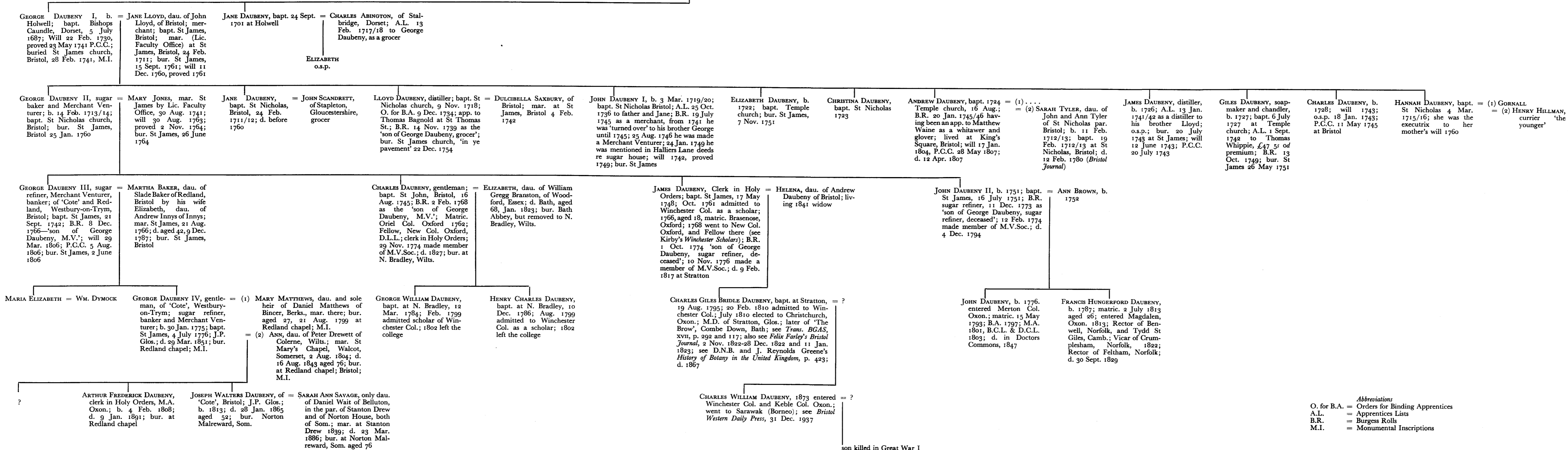
##### *George III as M.P. for Bristol, 1781-1784*

Even before George III had reached his 40th year, his services to the community, and his large pocket book were well recognized by members of his own class. In order to present his case from documentary sources as much as possible, we give a news-sheet account of his proposal for membership as Bristol's M.P. It runs thus:

'To the gentlemen, clergy, freeholders and freemen of the city of Bristol. Gentlemen; Having been prevailed upon at a very numerous and respectable meeting of my fellow citizens, assembled this day at the Merchants' Hall and solicited to

# GENEALOGY OF THE DAUBENYS

ANDREW DAUBENY, of =  
Holwell, Som.; gentleman



*Abbreviations*  
 O. for B.A. = Orders for Binding Apprentices  
 A.L. = Apprentices Lists  
 B.R. = Burgess Rolls  
 M.I. = Monumental Inscriptions

son killed in Great War I

## THE DAUBENYS

standforth a candidate for their favour, upon the present vacancy in Parliament, by the unfortunate death of our late worthy Representative, Sir Henry Lippincott, I was prevailed upon to yield myself to their importunities.

I presume not to hold forth to you any other possession but that of an integrity of conduct. My political principles are sufficiently known to you.

Attached as I am by every tie of affection to this my native city, you may be assured, that should I be so fortunate as to meet your approbation, my chief study will be to merit your favour, and to justify your choice.

I have the honour to be gentlemen,  
Your most faithful and devoted humble servant,

8 January 1781

George Daubeny.

In the same paper we find an account of his nomination.

'On Monday last, there was a numerous and respectable meeting of the High Party at the Merchants' Hall, when John Cave, Esq. nominated George Daubeny, Esq. as a candidate in the room of the late Sir Henry Lippincott, Bart. which was approved of. From whence they proceeded to the Exchange when Mr Daubeny delivered his intentions, in an animated speech, of accepting the honour which his friends had that day done him, and of exerting his utmost abilities in the service of his King and country. This declaration was received with great applause and a canvas is begun in his favour'.

In 1781 Daubeny succeeded in winning the seat, but failed to retain it three years afterwards. During the three-year tenure of his Representation, the Corporation made good use of his presence in Parliament by the presentation of Addresses and Petitions, details of which are given in the printed Histories of the City.

As he said in his election speech, his sympathies lay mostly in Bristol; he married Martha Baker, a resident of Redland. After living in Redland for some time, he eventually took a large residence at Cote in the same vicinity, and descendants resided there for the best part of the following century, most of whom were buried in Redland Chapel.<sup>1</sup> This was the second residence which the Daubenys acquired in the neighbourhood of Bristol, the former one at Norton Malreward, Somerset, having been the seat of his father from the 1750s and this passed to George III's brothers and was retained by them for a similar period. Both these mansions were fitting memorials of the Daubenys in their second and third generations in the city. Certainly no other local industry could boast that its founders could support such pretentious estates out of its profits.

<sup>1</sup> Mural Tablets in Redland Chapel, Bristol.

Sacred to the memory of ANN, the second wife of GEORGE DAUBENY, Esq. of Cote, in the county of Gloucester, who died 16 July 1843 aged 76 and whose remains are buried on the south side of the burial ground of this chapel.

Also of the above named GEORGE DAUBENY, Esq. who died at Cote 29 March 1851 aged 75; buried in the same grave as his wife.

In the vault near this chapel are deposited the remains of MARY, wife of GEORGE DAUBENY, Esq. of this parish.

Also of ANNA MARIA, infant daughter of GEORGE and ANN DAUBENY; buried 28 June 1807, aged 11 weeks.