

THE
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
CONDITION OF ENGLAND
ON THE EVE OF THE
INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LANCASHIRE.

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Ph.D. JUNE. 1921.





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Yours truly


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History records the times of revolutions
in the life of nations. The most complete of a
kind a revolt against conditions that have long been
galling and that have at last become intolerable.
Such a revolution is primarily destructive, - the
forces behind it are fired by passionate resentment,
fear of the consequences of failure, and a bitter
hatred against the classes in power
that represent the control of the old system. The
system that succeeds it will be, for a time at least,
artificial. It is likely to be a more or less

INTRODUCTION.

complete re-organization. Only when the constructive
forces have had time to assert themselves will order
evolve out of chaos.

The other side of revolution is progress
the bursting forth of fresh energy, a growth so rapid
that scope cannot be found within the framework of
the old structure for its expansion. Such a revolu-
tion does not so much destroy the old, as leave it
behind, to construct a newer and better structure,
one at least that will be better adapted to a new age.
Its purpose, so far as it is conscious of one, is to
reach some alluring position. Scope must be found
for the energy that is gathering in every corner, and

bounding in every artery of the national life.

However spectacular some phases of such a revolution may be, it will be found that behind it lay a long period of preparation. There was a slow gathering of forces, which the old organism is finally not strong enough to contain. There is a slow relaxation of the old ties, a loosening of the old shell, a sloughing off of some features of the old organisation. Then when all is prepared, there is the bursting forth of a new age. It may bring on lovely features and create new problems, or new forms of old ones, but at least it shapes its own organisation, and builds its own framework.

It is an impression such as this that is made on one by a study of the eighteenth century in England. The century before the Industrial Revolution was not a period of stagnation or repose. Industry was not suddenly galvanised into fresh activity by the new inventions; they were rather the evidence of the expanding life that could not sufficiently develop under the old arrangement. England was emerging from the practically self-contained and self-sufficient national economy into that international economy which makes a nation dependent upon distant parts of the earth for many of the necessities and comforts of its ordinary life. The old system of transport, of communication, of industry, and of ~~commerce~~

agriculture, could not provide either material or scope for the new activity. The latter part of the eighteenth century was the transition period, when agriculture, industry and commerce adapted themselves to the new requirement.

For at least a century before, there had been active and energetic, if unconscious, preparation. This preparation is discernible in various parts of the national life. In the intellectual sphere, it was the age of Addison and Steele, of Fielding and Richardson, of Swift and Defoe. The activity of the Royal Society was an evidence of the spirit of enquiry that was eagerly searching out the secrets of nature. There was a remarkable interest in mechanical contrivances; some of the most remarkable mechanical toys that have been known were constructed in the first sixty years of the eighteenth century.

This intellectual curiosity, however, was not to be allowed to fritter itself away on toys. Commerce was rapidly expanding during the first fifty years of the century, and new methods of manufacture, new and speedier means of communication, and a largely increased food supply, were becoming more and more necessary. Premiums and prizes were being offered as an incentive to the discovery of new machines and improved processes. But the profits to be made in trade and industry were much more powerful incentives to research and invention. There was a gradual relaxation

of government restriction on the operation of the middleman and of government supervision of the produce of the greatest industry in the country, that of woollens.

In the commercial sphere, there was a remarkable increase in the middleman organisation, a rapid development of postal communication, of inland navigation, and a considerable improvement in the roads; there were also the beginnings of the modern system of credit.

The whole world of business was becoming more sensitive, and therefore more responsive to the needs of both producer and consumer.

In the agricultural sphere, there was a breaking away from the remaining bonds of feudalism, a tendency to consolidate farms, and to concentrate in the hands of one individual rights of ownership in the soil, which had formerly been divided amongst two or more. The desire to make greater profits made progressive farmers wish to adopt new methods of cultivation. Since this could not be done under the common field system, there was a great movement toward the enclosure of the common fields, the re-claiming of waste and barren land, and the elimination of uneconomical methods of cultivation.

It is the purpose of this thesis to discuss some phases of this period of preparation; and to show how, in the spheres of agriculture and of industry, the highway had been made straight for the entry of the new methods and organisation that were to create and dominate

the new age. An endeavour will be made to show how far the abandonment of the old economic organisation had proceeded, and to what extent the lines of the new had begun to emerge. While special attention is paid throughout to Lancashire, it has not been the intention to confine the scope of discussion to that county, but rather to use it to illustrate the broader sweep of the principles involved. Any description of England is liable to be partial, and thus make generalizations difficult. Industry was expanding in the north, while in the south and west, it tended to decline. The worsted industry of Norfolk and Essex had already begun to move northward into Yorkshire. The cotton industry in Lancashire was already beginning to cause uneasiness amongst the woollen manufacturers and merchants, lest the new fabrics should spoil their trade. With industry, population was moving northward. While the date 1760 is adopted as roughly marking the limit of the present enquiry, it stands rather as a landmark than as a goal post. In the woollen industry particularly, it is possible to take facts from a later period without invalidating the main contention of the thesis.

There will be an attempt to show how the new movements, which were to dominate the modern, economic world were already groping through to the light. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the systems and organisation of a former age were passing away, and when the new order

gained entrance, it found the "room more or less swept and garnished. There were still many survivals of the former system, but the great landmarks, which had so strongly characterised the **Tudor** and **Stuart** regimes were gone, and their places were waiting to be filled by the ideas and institutions of a new world."¹

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

OF ENGLAND ON THE STATE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

PART I.

APPENDICES.

1. Heaton. Yorkshire Worsted and Woollen Industries.
p.247.

CHAPTER I.

TECHNIQUE OF AGRICULTURE.

Crops, Rotation, Tillage, Implements, Stock.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

shall first describe the technique of agricultural

the outbreak of the Indus

Under the head of the outbreak of the Indus

live stock,

will then proceed By Wm Yates.

LANCASHIRE

for the

CULTURAL SURVEY

taken in 1903 by

I. HOLT

Sketched from a Survey of the

COUNTY

CUMBERLAND

W. YORKS
DORSET AND
KIRKBY
LONSDALE



- Green M.C.
- 1 Furness Group. Mts. of lime & free stone with small patches of fertile soils.
 - 2 Filde. Arable. Some Mess & Marsh lands in general loamy.
 - 3 Moors & High Lands. In the interspaces covered with rough heath. The soils are generally poor but the limestone in the neighbourhood of CLITHERO.
 - 4 Low lands made up in general by peat, except some areas of waste lands yet capable of improvement.
 - 5 as adjoining lands except such as has been unworked. Pit Roads and Railway cuttings.

LANCASHIRE

RIVER IRWELL

LIVERPOOL

TOLNOR

CHESTER

CHAPTER 1.

TECHNIQUE OF AGRICULTURE

Crops, Rotation, Tillage, Implements, Stock.

We shall first examine the technique of agriculture during the period from 1740 to the outbreak of the Industrial Revolution. Under this head will be described the crops, methods of cultivation, implements and live stock, so far as they have special interest. We shall then proceed to examine how far the change in economic structure and organisation has proceeded, and finally we shall enquire into the condition of the labourer, his wages, his food, and his conditions of life.

LANCASHIRE. Before passing to these considerations, it might be well since the bulk of our illustrations are to be drawn from Lancashire, to glance at the varieties of soil, and hence of farming conditions that present themselves in that county. Reference to the accompanying sketch will show the county divided roughly into five varieties of country side. The first is the northern part of Furness, most remote from the industrial regions of the county, and described as consisting of "cragged mountains of lime and free stone, with

.....

1. The sketch is a tracing from that in Holt's "General Survey of the Agriculture of Lancashire." in 1795. Holt was a farmer at Walton, near Liverpool, and made the survey at the request of the new Board of Agriculture. The description is based in part on Holt and in part on the V.C.H., Lancashire ii.p.419.

wooded declivities, and fertile vales." Red sand stone, mill stone grit, mountain lime stone, and clay slate, are the chief geological features of this district. Husbandry was followed in the lower parts, changing to grass, and finally to sheep farms in the hilly regions. Number 2 is the peninsula between the estuaries of the Lune and the Ribble, and is known as the Field. In this, there were some moss and waste lands, but for the most part, it is a fertile plain. Almost every kind of soil is found in it, from stiff clay to sand or bog. Those portions numbered 3 represent the moors and highlands along the eastern border of the county all the way from the river Ken in the north to the south eastern extremity of the county, except for two narrow intervals. One of these is along the valley of the Ribble, up to Clithere, and the other is the coal area from Blackburn eastward to Colne. The soil in these eastern parts on the mountainous slopes is thin, and of a black morish nature, At the foot of the hills, the soil is of a stronger quality, in many parts amounting to a stiff clayey loam. These eastern hills are mostly of mill stone grit. Type number 4 is composed of the southern part of Furness, and then a comparatively narrow strip from north of Lancaster to the Ribble at Preston. An arm of this district then extends up the valley of the Ribble to Clithere, while the main portion broadens out to include the Ribble:Mersey peninsula, and turning eastward includes the valley of the Mersey and tributaries up to and

beyond Manchester. Except for moss and waste land, this is a low lying plain made ~~parft~~ fertile in general by art. This portion rests upon the New Red Sand-Stone. It forms what was in the eighteenth century the main portion of agricultural Lancashire. The soil is mostly a strong, clayey loam on a sub-soil of clay, which re- required to be under-drained to produce the best result. Those parts numbered 5 are the coal-bearing areas. There is the narrow strip extending from Blackburn in the west to Colne in the east; and there is the area from Prescott via Wigan, eastward through Bolton, to Bury and Rochdale, with a tongue running northward from Wigan to Chorley. This district has a superficial soil resembling the surrounding districts. The county is screened from the east winds by the hills on the eastern border, and because of those hills, there is an unusually great rainfall in the county.

One of the first things that strikes a student at eighteenth century agricultural literature is the recurrence of the phrases "new" and "old" husbandry. From about the end of the first quarter of the century until after the Industrial Revolution was well under way, the conflict between these two went on. The "old" husbandry which was practically universal on the arable land of England, whether enclosed or open, is simply the open field system of fallow, wheat or barley, oats and the third year

fallow again. In some instances, the rotation was a four year one, which means that a root crop, or some kind of pulse, i.e., peas or beans, was inserted as a means of cleaning the land more thoroughly than the ordinary fallow would do. But up till the end of the twenties even this slight improvement had made but little progress. Edward Laurence, writing in 1726, says that "Instead of three fields of tillage, (as the common practice is) all late experience teacheth four are better." ¹ The first thing to break in on this rather primitive system was the advent of some new crops.

Before passing to the question of these new crops, let us briefly examine the staple grain crops of the period, wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, and beans. Wheat was considered the most difficult crop to raise successfully and usually followed the fallow. It was sown at various times from September to March. Of eight different rotations, described in Lancashire, wheat follows the fallow in six instances, in one it follows the clover crop, which replaced the fallow, and in another it was the third in the series after the ground had been broken up. In one of the instances, where wheat followed the fallow, it held this place alternately with barley.

1. Duty of a Steward, p.180 -1. Published 1726.

GRAINS
Wheat.

There were four main varieties of wheat cultivated in England about the end of the fifties. The common wheat, which was grown in most parts of England, was beardless, long-eared wheath each ear carrying four rows of grain. There was a variety of Spring wheat which was not so good. A grey or duck bill wheat, which was grown in some places in the eastern counties had attained no general popularity. The fourth was a red or white Cone wheat, a favourite in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, which had a white ear and red-grained, hence the name. ¹ On cold lands and stiff clays, such as are found in Hertfordshire, Staffordshire and parts of Essex, varieties of bearded wheat were grown. Other minor varieties had come into use in different localities for special reasons, but none were wide spread. ² Rye was sown in the very pool soil in ~~pre~~ preference to wheat, and was in many places the ³ food of the poor people.

The literature of the period abounds in discussions of the best methods of preparing the seed for planting. The most popular was that of steeping it in brine. This practice, if a writer, quoted by Monk

1. Miller. 1759. Gardeners' Dictionary. Art. Hordeum.

2. Mills. 1763. Husbandry. Vol. 1. p. 360-363.

3. Postlethwayte. Universal Dictionary. of Trade and Commerce 1766. 2nd Ed. Art. Corn.

in 1795, is to be believed originated accidentally. He says, "The first brined wheat sown in England was the freight of a ship that sank near the shore. The wheat was rescued, and when sown, produced the best crops in the neighbourhood"¹ By the end of our period, however, the most advanced farmers were beginning ~~at~~ to see that the chief value of brining lay in the floating of the light, poor grains, which were then skimmed off, leaving only the plump, heavy grains to be planted.² This principle of winnowing to get only the best individual grains for seed was beginning to be perceived. We find Mills recommending that the seed grain be thrown to a distance with a shovel, so that the light grains, falling short of the others, may be separated. Others, Tull, one of the earliest, recommends securing the seed grain from richer land than that to be planted.³

Earlier in the century it had been usual to sow three or four bushels to the acre, and this practice was not abandoned, even when Young made his journey in the North, but Mills, following the example set by Miller in 1759, is in 1763 advocating the sowing of less seed, as being likely to secure healthier plants and a

1. Monk. Diet. of Agri. iii.290. Quoted from De Re Rustica
ii. 47.

2. Mills' Husbandry. Vol. 1. 292.

3. Ibid.1. 289.

larger yield to the acre. Such advice was either anticipated by the northern farmers, or the idea spread with unusual rapidity, for, in 1770, the average amount of seed in the north was $2\frac{1}{4}$ bushels, while in Lancashire, it varied from two bushels in the south to $3\frac{1}{2}$ bushels round Kabers in the north. The average crop from two bushels of seed or less was 22 bushels in 37 cases, while the average from three bushels or more was in twelve cases only $23\frac{1}{4}$ bushels. These examples, however, must have been scattered over the north because the average yield of ~~the~~ Lancashire was 32 bushels, considerably better than the average of the north generally.

It was during our period that the practice of mowing wheat with a scythe instead of gathering with the old reaping hook was introduced. At first it met with little success. In 1764, a letter from a Lancashire farmer near Manchester shows that innovations in husbandry often met with opposition. He relates how he attempted mowing wheat many years before, but was unsuccessful owing to the opposition of his labourers, who deliberately spoiled a bit of wheat for him. "It was in vain for me to contend; I had no money to throw away, and it would

1. Mills' Husbandry. Vol. 1. 292.

2. Young. Northern Tour. Vol 4. Letters 31 and 32

have been highly improper for me to attempt encountering the prejudice of the whole parish; for my brother farmers joined with the labourers, vowing they would never countenance innovations in husbandry." ¹ Thus the conservatism of the farmer united with the fear of the labourer that he and his family would be injured, and together they prevented the progress of the industry. He speaks with some envy of a correspondent in Yorkshire who has described the custom as having been in use there for a long time.

BARLEY.

There were four^{or five} main varieties of barley in common use. The spring barley with many rows of grain on the ear was the most generally cultivated in England. The second was called the common, or long-eared, barley. It was an excellent grain, and much cultivated in many parts, but some objected to it because it had slender stems, and in bad weather, easily became lodged. A barley with short, broad spikes, called sprat barley, was popular round Fulham, and round Patney, in Wiltshire. The fourth variety, called winter, bear, or big barley, was, on account of its hardihood, the kind most generally cultivated throughout the north and in Scotland. It was

1. Museum Rusticum. ii.364 et seq. The Yorkshire farmer was a Mr Comber of East Newton.

generally sown in the autumn like wheat, and often occupied the place of wheat in the rotation. The usual seed was 4 bus. to the acre, and in this too the principle of a larger crop from a smaller quantity of seed was being advocated.¹ In Lancashire the average seed was $3\frac{1}{8}$ bus., with an average \pm yield of $28\frac{1}{4}$ bushels. The average seed used in the north generally was slightly greater, being $3\frac{1}{4}$ bushels to the acre, but the greatest yield was from 2 bus. or less of seed. Yield from that amount was $34\frac{1}{2}$ bus.,² while the yield from 4 bus. was only $30\frac{1}{2}$ bus.

Oats.

The varieties of oats are based on their value as food for horses and for human beings. of those for horses two kinds were mostly grown. The Red ~~xx~~ oat was grown extensively in Derby, Staffordshire and Cheshire, but though very hardy and specially good in strong soils, it was seldom seen in any county near London. The Black oat was extensively grown for horses in the north, Round London a White Oat was very popular. While a good oat for horses, this was also suited for human food and was much grown where the inhabitants lives much on oat-cakes. Another

1. Mills: Husbandry. i. 417. The note refers to the preceding information of the paragraph.

2. Young. Northern Tour. iv. Letters 31 and 32.

oat popular in the north as well as in Scotland and Wales was the Naked oat, so-called because it threshed clean out of the husk, and so could be ground into meal¹ at home.

Oats were usually sown after wheat, rye or barley. In the north they were grown more than in the south, because in the south they were not in favour as a human food. They occur ~~in~~ in every example of rotation of crops given by Young in Lancashire, in cases following barley, all these occurring north of the Ribble. In all cases cited south of the Ribble, they followed wheat. In one case in the north they follow beans, and in one wheat. It will thus be seen that in Lancashire, the favourite time for sowing oats was after wheat. With potatoes they form one of the staple crops of Lancashire, and seem to have held their commanding position till the end of the century, especially in the north and east of the county, in spite of the rapidly rising price of wheat after the seventies. Holt in 1795 speaks of them as the principal grain, apparently because they form such an important article of diet for the people. Later in his report, in criticising the rotation of crops, he says, "Oats, oats, oats are universally sown towards

1. Mills: Husbandry. i. 406-8.

2. Holt. Agriculture of Lands. p.24

the north east and south west of Preston for years together except the chain be broken occasionally by a crop of potatoes, and afterwards wheat.¹

Considering that oats were so popular in Lancashire at this time, it is not to be wondered at that the farmers of the county were conspicuously successful in their cultivation. They used on the average $5\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of seed to the acre and reaped an average of 43 bushels to the acre, except round Ormskirk, where the yield fell to 20 bus. The general average of the north was $4\frac{1}{2}$ bus. of seed with a yield of 39 bus., though in one or two instances where 6 or 7 bus. of seed was used, the yield went up to 48 bus. per acre. It must be remembered in view of later discussion, that these crops were mostly under the methods of the old husbandry.²

Rye, Pease,
Beans, etc.

Rye and pease were grown in the northern part of the county, but very little if at all in the south, as they do not appear in Young's account of the rotation nor in his tables of the average crops of grain. Three bushels was the usual seed, and the crop averaged 32 bus for rye, and 30 bus. of pease. Beans on the other hand appear in all districts. They sowed, usually like grain, from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ bus. of seed, and reaped from

1. Holt . Agriculture of Lancs. p.26.

2. Young. Northern Tour. iv. Letters 31 and 32.

30 to 40 bushels. In the case of all three grains the average yield in Lancashire was considerably higher than the average for the north in general. Rye was nearly 6 bus to the acre more, pease nearly 9 bus. more and beans eight bushels more than the general average.¹

Other crops, such as maize, rape, and buckwheat, were not cultivated generally, and where found are of almost

pp purely local interest. // The new crops referred to were artificial grasses, and the transfer of some garden crops, potatoes and turnips, carrots, and cabbages to the fields. Under the old husbandry, when a field

Grasses. was to be laid down to grass the process was the very simple, but ~~an~~ uneconomical one of ceasing to till the field. In the course of three or four years a sort of balance of power had been struck between the grasses and the weeds, and it was considered as pasture. About the beginning of the century, the practice arose of sowing grass seeds with the last crop of grain, and by that means, the grass had a start by the time the crop was taken off, and a sward for pasture or meadow was ready the following season. These grasses were partly native grasses deliberately cultivated, and partly foreign ones imported from the continent. -----
 1. Young. Northern Tour. iv. Letters 31 and ~~w~~ 32.

of the first, while Saint-foin, Clover, and Lucerne are instances of the latter. The position at the beginning of the century is well set forth in a work by a writer in 1700.¹ These foreign grasses were evidently becoming popular because Nourse, while admitting their undoubted advantages to the individual who cultivated them thinks they should be prohibited by Act of Parliament, because their use was lowering the rental of what was formerly the best meadow land. He says that "meadow and feeding grounds are fallen at least fifteen per cent since the importation of these foreign sorts of grass."² Again, "lands which were not worth above five shillings an acre, after they are sown with Clover or Saint foin are worth yearly, twenty -five or thirty shillings per acre."³ The second benefit which he admits is really the cause of the rise in value. "'Tis very true, by means of these foreign growths more corn and cattle are raised than would be otherwise."⁴ In another place, he admits that the sowing of clover with the grain helps to suppress the weeds, which would otherwise get a start and partially

1. Campania Felix: Tim Nourse. 1700. Ch.v. pp.83-92.

2. Ibid. p.87

3. Campania Felix. Nourse p.87.

4. Ibid. p.88.

choke the grain, besides poisoning the ground for some-
 time afterwards.¹ The arguments which he uses for their
 suppression are evidently a last stand against an
 inevitable improvement, and by 1726 seem to have lost
 their force. Edward Lawrence is unreservedly in their
 favour. "Clover, Trefoil, Saint-foin, Rye-grass, are
 improvement to the land by bringing it suddenly to
 turf, and ~~but~~ by the richness of the feed causing them
 to keep near three times as many cattle."²

By the sixties the cultivation of these
 grasses had become fairly general. Miller says in
 1759, "Clover has been so much cultivated for near
 a hundred years past that the seeds have been scattered
 over most of the English pastures, so that there are
 few of them that have not clover mixed with the natural
 grasses."³ A writer in the Museum Rusticum in 1764
 says that a "spirit of improving our artificial
 pastures seems to be raised in most counties of England."⁴
 But another writer in the same publication indicates
 that the old method of leaving nature to seed the
 meadow was still very common. Arthur Young, in his
 "Northern Tour" gives some particulars of the

1. Campania Felix. Nourse. p.47

2. Lawrence. Duty of a Steward. p.184

3. Miller. Gardener's Dictionary. 1759. Art. Trefolium
 (Clover.)

4. Museum Rusticum: Vol.ii.p.60.

cultivation of the most common artificial grasses.

In all the districts of Lancashire, of which he gives particulars, except around Garstang, which is on the Lancaster-Preston road, near the border, between districts 2 and 4, clover appears in the rotation of crops.¹

In the north, round Burton and Holme, he says that clover is not common, but is sown with barley, and produces 15 cwt. of hay the first year, and 10 or 12 the second, and they sometimes feed a crop. Round Garstang, although not mentioned in his account of the rotation of crops, he says elsewhere that it is sown with both barley and oats and is mown for hay. In the Ormskirk district, on the Preston-Liverpool road, they have great crops of clover which they reckon more valuable than corn. In the south, between Warrington and Altringham, it is used chiefly for hay, and yields two tons per acre.² On the average in the places he mentioned a crop of clover is 1 ton 13 cwt. per acre at each mowing. Throughout Lancashire, he does not mention any of the other artificial grasses, Lucerne, Burnet, or Saint-foin.³ From these statements, it would appear that one or other of the artificial grasses had

1. Northern Tour. Arthur Young. 1770. Vol.iii. Letter 18

2. Ibid. Vol

3. Ibid. Vol. iv. Letter 29.

become a regular crop in nearly all parts of England. The experimental stage, if not already passed, was well advanced, and all the more progressive farmers had adopted the principle of artificial as against the natural laying down of meadow land. Thus far, the battle of the new husbandry against the old had been won, at least as early as the late sixties, and all that remained was to expand the areas until the use of the grasses was not only general, but universal. Mills ¹ on his work on Husbandry in 1763, takes their use for granted, and concerns himself entirely with the best methods of sowing and feeding them. The least known of these grasses and one which bade fair to become one of the most popular, especially on wet lands, was Timothy grass. Although introduced from America, it was found to be a native grass. The Editors of the Museum Rusticum in 1763 were ignorant of its character, but their request for more information called forth a number of letters from various parts of the country, which are reviewed by a writer in 1765. ² Lucerne, however, seems to have had a more difficult time to gain acceptance, and Burnet never achieved any wide popularity. Clover was the grass that

1. Mills Husbandry. 1763.

2. Museum Rusticum. 1765. Letter 68.

gained most general favour, and came most generally into use in this period.

cabbages
and
roots.

The other step in the direction of extending the variety of crops was the transfer of some garden crops to field cultivation. These were turnips, the introduction of the potatoe from Ireland, via Lancashire, cabbages and carrots.

Turnips. The growing of turnips as a field crop is usually associated with the name of Lord Townsend in Norfolk. But while it is true that his high rank and the extent of his experiments on his own estate ^{enabled him to do} did more than was done by any other individual to forward the practice, the "growing of turnips in fields for cattle began about the beginning of the century." ¹ They are first mentioned as a field crop by Worlidge in 1689, and Defoe remarks that they^r were first fed to cattle and sheep in Suffolk. Nourse, in 1700, makes no mention anywhere of turnips, or, in fact, any other garden crop, having been extended to the fields. Norfolk was generally considered the most advanced county of the kingdom in agricultural matters, so when a Norfolk writer says that turnips were introduced about the beginning of the century as a field crop, we may conclude he is speaking of the earliest general use

1. Gent. Mag. Octr. 1752 . "Rotation of Crops in Norfolk"
Worlidge. Systema Agricultura. 1689.
Defoe. Tour. i. p.51.

for cattle, since that date falls a decade later than Worlidge's early recommendation, and nearly a quarter of a century before Defoe wrote. Their use made little progress till after 1730. In that year Lord Townsend retired from political life to his estate at Raynham, and threw his energies into improving his lands. His greatest contribution to the progress of agricultural science was perhaps in the direction of re-claiming waste, and by revival of marling, and by mixing of soils, thus raising immensely the value of hitherto almost barren tracks; but it fell to one of his minor improvements to perpetuate his name as a farmer. It was probably because of the well-known increase in the value of his land that his experiment attracted so much attention. Then, again, he applied to the new field crop the principles of Tull's new drill husbandry with great success.

But in his day, and till the end of the century the common practice was to sow the turnips broadcast, even where hoeing was resorted to. When the turnips were a couple of inches high, they were thinned by hand, or with a hand hoe. When full grown, cattle were turned in, and the crop was eaten off. Toward the middle of century, the practice of gathering the turnips and feeding in the stables arose. Before the end of our period, the culture of turnips as a field crop may be regarded as fixed, and fairly general, but not by any means universal in the

north. The literature of the sixties and seventies is not concerned to defend their use, but deals mostly with the comparative merits of the drill and broadcast methods of culture, with the best method of feeding them to stock, and with means of destroying the pest called "the fly". This destroyer attacked the plants while newly above the ground. The various methods in use are described in a dictionary of agriculture, published by Monk in 1795,¹ but consisting of extracts from previous writers. Prevention of the fly was mainly secured by steeping the seed in different mixtures before sowing, or by rolling the ground as soon as the turnips came up, to prevent the young flies from emerging from the ground.

The use of turnips spread much more rapidly in the south than in the north. Edward Laurence, even in 1726, remarks that "turnips which are too much neglected in the north, will not only fatten sheep, but enrich the soil, and make ready for oats, barley, or wheat, without any special coating of dung."² In Arthur Young's time, turnips were cultivated in Lancashire, but not generally. Round Burton and Holme, they stir(plough) twice, but know nothing of hoeing. The high average value of £5 to £6 per acre, he attributes to the scarcity of the product.

1. Monk. Dict. of Agriculture. 1795. I. 153

2. Duty of a Steward. p.183.

~~xxxx~~. Round Kabers and Cockeram, few are cultivated; they are never hoed; but as feed for sheep and beasts are valued at £8 per acre. Farther south, in the Garstang area, scarce any turnips are cultivated, while round Ormskirk, they are not mentioned at all. Even in the south, from Warrington to Albringham, there are very few. They are rather better cultivated, the ground being ploughed three or four times, and though not hoed, they are thinned by hand, for serving the markets. They are used for all sorts of cattle, and are valued as high as £10 per acre.¹

It will thus be seen that Lancashire was one of the backward counties with regard to turnip culture, in fact, the north generally was slow to develop this improvement. Young remarks that where grown, there are more unhoed in proportion than hoed, in the north, while in the south, the greater proportion is hoed.² The scarcity of the crop is probably the reason for the striking difference between the hoed and unhoed value in the north, as compared with the south. In the south, unhoed average £2-8/- per acre, and the hoed, average £2-2-7d.; but in the north, the unhoed average £3-16/-,

1. Young. Northern Tour.

2. Young means by the north, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the counties northwards, and by the South, all the counties south of Lanes. and York.

while the hoed are worth only £2-14/- . The northern farmers had evidently not realised the value of hoeing for the dual purpose of increasing the crops, and the cleaning of the field.¹ Since this is the average even of the north, ~~it~~ will be seen that Lancashire is indeed backward, since no instance of hoeing is adduced by Young. But what the county lacked in that crop it made up, as we shall see later, in potatoes; and the suggestion may be hazarded that it was the very popularity of potatoes that made the progress of turnips so slow. For even in 1795, Holt says that turnips are grown on a very contracted scale, and even then, but seldom hoed. He also states that the first trial of them was by William Dickinson, in the neighbourhood of Wrightington, in 1764, when 8 acres were sown. Before that period, none were sown but in gardens. In view, however, of the number of instances mentioned by Young, only five years later, one must conclude that 1764 is too late a date.

Norfolk remained the county famous for the culture of turnips up to the close of our period. Mills in describing the turnip culture, says that in that county, they cultivate great quantities of turnips for the feeding of black cattle, and alludes to the practice of laying the roo² up in barns. Speaking of the method of manuring the

1. Northern Tour. Vol. iv. Letter xxiv.

2. Mills. Husbandry. Vol iii. p.165

land for turnips, he remarks " This way has become a great improvement to barren, sandy land, particularly in Norfolk, where many persons have doubled the yearly value of their land by the culture of this plant."¹

POTATOES. While the turnip¹, was a garden plant, adapted to field cultivation, potatoes seem from an early date to have been a field crop. Introduced by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1588, they were at first a great novelty, and were only to be had by royalty and people of fashion. But they did not at that time become a common dish amongst the people. In Ireland, by 1676, they had become as cheap as 1/8d. a bushel, but were not cultivated in Scotland until 1683. By 1710, they are noted as one of the chief crops of the Isle of Man.² It is generally accepted by 18th century writers that they were introduced into Manchester from Ireland, and that that county was the first place in England where they were much grown.³ They were first planted in Lancashire as a field crop about the end of 1634, and were an article of common diet in Lancashire and Cheshire long before they were known except as a garden vegetable in other parts of England

1. Mills. iii. 153.

2. Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc. Vol. xx. p. 55-57.

3. Baines. Lancs. and Ches. Vo. ii. p. 19 (Reign of Charles II.) "It was about this time that the potatoe began to be extensively cultivated and used in Lancashire, as appears from the fact that a potatoe market was established in Liverpool about the year 1678."

and Wales. In 1712, they were on the table of a Mr Thomas Tyldesley, near Blackpool, and by 1746, are included in the announcement of the New Church Market in Rossendale, in the eastern uplands of the county. In 1758, they were common enough to be sold in Manchester at 9d. a bushel. Ben Brierley of that period is enthusiastic in his praise of potatoe pie as a common dish in Lancashire. It may be safely assumed that by 1750 they had become important as a field crop.¹ As such they were but little known outside of Lancashire until the second quarter of the century, as Edward Laurence, though mentioning Clover, grass, and turnips,² says nothing of potatoes. In contra-distinction³ to turnips, they seem to have achieved their popularity as a human food and afterwards to have been tried for feeding cattle.

The extension of potatoe culture beyond Lancashire, began about 1730, and by 1763, had become established in almost every part of the country.³ By that time, Lancashire was famous for its culture of potatoe, so that the method of cultivation in that county will give the best idea of the progress that had been made at the close of our period. For this purpose, the particulars given by Arthur Young in 1770 are the most complete, and the nearest

1. Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc. Vol. xx. p. 55-57.

2. Duty of a Steward. 1726.

3. Mills Husbandry. 1763. Vol 3. p. 182

to our date.¹ They are mentioned in all the districts from north to south, though more would be grown near the large centres of population than in the more remote districts. The following sentence from a report in 1795 may be taken as describing the condition in 1770 with the necessary allowance for smaller population.

"In the neighbourhood of every large town, you find extensive fields of potatoes generally; but in distant parts of the country, no such thing is seen, except in some parts of Lancashire and Cheshire, near to the Canal.² They had become a common article of diet, not only for the poor, but for the rich, who at first had scorned them.³

The usual mode of preparation varied from north to south. Round Kabers in the north the land was ploughed first, and the plants were weeded. The same procedure was followed round Ormskirk and near Liverpool, and in each case, the crop was about 150 bushels to the acre. Round Garstang, and on the road between Warrington and Altringham in the south, the ground was dug first, and the plants were hand-weeded, and in the latter district, hand-hoed as well. The crop round Garstang

¹ Young. Northern Tour. iv. Let. 27.

² Rep. of Com. of the Bd. of Agric. on Culture & Use of Potatoes. p. 120, also Enfield; Hist. of Liv. 1774. p. 5. The cultivation of potatoes has of late been so much attended to in this county that the husbandman often depends more upon a good crop of potatoes than of wheat or any other grain.

³ Ibid. p. 159. Hints from Holt of Walton.

reached 380 bushels, and near Altringham as much as 700 bushels. These seemingly enormous crops must be discounted, as Young was referring to a bushel of 48 pounds instead of the usual one of 90. He notes that all the best crops are from ground that was dug rather than ploughed. The general method of sowing was to plant the sets separately from 8" to 10" each way. The common objection to their cultivation was the want of a market, so that they do not seem to have been in general favour for cattle. In fact, they never equalled the turnip or carrot for this purpose. Where so fed, they were boiled by steam in specially constructed boilers. At a later date, Holt remarks that potatoes were commonly eaten with meat instead of bread, and he thinks that this accounts partly for the much lower consumption¹ of bread in the north than in the south.

Carrots.

The culture of carrots in Lancashire is not mentioned by Young in his tour of the North, although sometime in the fifties, they had begun to be sown as a field crop. Mills says in 1763² that this "useful and profitable practice does not even yet extend to more than a few parts of the

1. Committee of Potatoes. In a letter to the Committee, Holt advocates the extension of the Lancashire custom of eating boiled potatoes with meat. Potatoes afford two meals a day to many families of the labouring class. "There are many families in the northern counties which never eat bread except at tea."
2. Mills. Vol.iii.p.193. "Of late years this route has been cultivated for feeding cattle in the fields of England."

country. Miller thinks that an acre of carrots will feed more cattle than 3 acres of turnips. A writer in the Museum Rusticum quotes experiments to prove that they are specially good for dogs and hunting horses.¹ A little later, Young sums up by saying that the whole turn of evidence shows them to be superior food for horses.² But in spite of these supporters, carrots as a field crop for cattle never seem to have had any real chance of ousting turnips from popular favour.

Cabbages. In a similar way, cabbages are not mentioned in Lancashire, and if grown as a field crop at all in our period, it was only by a few experimenters. In some few places, probably where the soil was specially favourable, they were grown as a milk producer for dairy cattle. Cabbages required a more intensive tillage of the soil than was common at that time,³ and so had little chance of coming into general use. Young quotes one instance of an experiment in Yorkshire. The farmer sowed thirty-six acres with cabbages for milk cows, and fattening beasts, and reckoned a profit of £11-9/- per acre.⁴

**ROTATION
AND
TILLAGE.**

The first effect of the introduction of new crops

1. Museum Rusticum .i.332. in 1763.
2. Young. Annals of Agriculture. ii. 144. in 1784.
3. Mills. Husbandry. iii. 147.
4. Young. Northern Tour. ii. 109. In this connection he also says that cabbages give 5 times the profit of turnips for cattle feeding and are a much more certain crop.

was to alter the rotation. Farmers found that turnips, instead of impoverishing the soil, enriched and cleaned it and made it possible to eliminate the unproductive year of fallow. Mills speaks of this effect thus, "Since Camillo Tarello¹ (an Italian writer of a couple of centuries before) not much attention had been paid to this important point of husbandry (the changing of crops on a rational principle) till lately, when the culture of turnips probably gave the useful hint; the farmer observing that his land, instead of being impoverished by that root was enriched and prepared to yield a better crop of barley in the spring." He also quotes from the Report of a Society in Scotland, "some crops as pease, beans, clover, and all plants of the pulse kind are enrichers and cleansers of the earth."² The first improvement lay in substituting the four course tillage for the three field system. This institution of the four² course husbandry is usually attributed to Townshend in Norfolk. But as we find it advocated by Edward Laurence in 1726, four years before Townshend retired from politics, and advocated not as a theory, but as the result of experience, we would conclude that it was somewhat in vogue before, and that the publicity attending the work of Townshend led many to attribute its origin to

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1. Tarello made a report on agriculture to the Senate of Venice in 1566. Noted by Mills. Husbandry. i. 346 et seq.
 2. Mills. Husbandry. I. p355-6.

him. The rotation Laurence recommends is based on the culture of pulse. After the fallow, there is to be a crop of ~~wheat~~ or barley, then pease or beans or both, then oats, and the fourth year fallow again.

It was in the application of this rotation to the use of clover and turnips that Townshend rendered distinct service, and his plan came to be called the Norfolk husbandry. Naturally the knowledge of the recuperative power of clover and roots on the soil, reaching many minds and being applied to different kinds of soil, led to great variety in the rotations used in different parts of the country. This diversity of rotation is well illustrated in an article contributed to the Gentleman's Magazine in 1752. It gives the course of husbandry in all the arable fields on an enclosed farm of 267 acres, from 1739 to 1751. There were twelve fields, and the course of husbandry extends over thirteen seasons. In only two fields was there a fallow, and in neither more than once during the whole time. In six of the fields the land lay untilled for one or two years at the beginning, but this was because it had been freshly marled, and the practice not to till for a couple of years after that operation. In six of the fields

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1. Laurence. Duty of Steward: pp. 180-1 See supra. p. 6. Laurence, as a surveyor of estates for gentlemen owners had seen English agriculture in many counties, and was doubtless basing his recommendation on a fairly wide observation.

In no two fields was the rotation the same, but there is a common principle to be traced. The grain crops are mostly wheat and barley, with pease ~~and oats~~ occurring in each of seven fields, and oats in one. For the rest the wheat and barley are interspersed with crops of clover or turnips. The clover occurs once, twice or thrice in succession; The turnips are always followed by a grain crop.¹

This diversity of rotation in the home farm of an estate in such an advanced county as Norfolk probably represents the high water mark of advance in that respect. The land is made as productive as possible by advanced methods of tillage, and by replacing the unproductive fallow with profitable crops such as clover and turnips, which reinvigorate the soil, and are much better for clearing it of weeds. The more usual side of the picture of the day is found in Young's account of the rotation prevalent in Lancashire in 1770.²

Between Warrington and Prescott, we find the old three field system still in vogue on some farms, though others are more advanced and have introduced clover for the fourth year. Round Holme in the north

1. Gent. Mag. Oct. and Nov. 1752. For the rotation in full see Appendix 1.

2. Young. Northern Tour. iii. Letter 18.

Some farmers allowed the land to lie to its own grass after a fallow and three grain crops. Others fallow, and after two grain crops and a year of clover, allow four grain crops, and then let it lie to its own grass. For this, Young delightfully remarks, "The slovens deserve to be hanged." ^X For the same offence round Garstang after three grain crops, and one of beans, he is not so drastic, but ~~equally~~ ^{very} sarcastic." They leave the land to graze itself, and they assured me very gravely the greas was excellent." In the district round Kabers and Cockeram, near Lancaster, the three course system is mitigated by a crop of beans in the sixth year, making the rotation a mixture of the three and four courses. Round Ormskirk, however, they are somewhat more progressive, for the rotation after breaking up the grass is oats, wheat, barley, oats, a recuperative crop of vetches, then barley, followed by a three or four year course of clover, after which it comes to grass itself, and "excellent grass it must be". On the road from Warrington to Altringham, the ordinary four course rotation of fallow, two grain crops and clover is apparently the most prevalent. Thus we have in Lancashire

a picture of a state of things very little advanced beyond the four course system, some of the remoter districts being still under the ancient three years system. Of course, this condition is everywhere in the county mitigated by the numerous fields of potatoes, none of which are included in the specimen rotations. And we must note too that Lancashire was more a grass country than an arable, except in the north. This will become more evident when we come to discuss the size of farms and the effects of enclosure. England as a whole may be taken as being, on the eve of the Industrial Revolution on the way between the somewhat backward condition of Lancashire and the very advanced stage represented by the Norfolk farm described above.

Tillage. These changes of rotation are but the flying columns of the advance, appearing in many cases long before the main battle was joined on the question of tillage. In the minds of many, the new husbandry and the horse-hoeing of Tull were synonymous. Others took a broader view and recognised the changing of crops as an integral part of the struggle. Clover was introduced extensively after the restoration, and turnips spread to the fields soon after the beginning of the century. The advance guard of the new tillage appeared in the person of Jethro Tull in 1776, ably supported a few years later by Townshend at Raynham, who gave Tull's principles

currency by applying them successfully to his own extensive estates.

TULL. Jethro Tull published in 1726 his work on

"The Horse hoeing Husbandry." He believed that the plant food was found only on the superficies¹ or outer surface of the particles of soil. Therefore, if plants are to get the maximum of food, the soil must be broken into as many particles as possible, so that the roots of the plant may come into contact with the maximum number of surfaces. This fine division of the soil aids in another way; being loose and fine, the soil presents no great obstacle to the roots, which are able to push their way much farther through the soil, and so a greater root surface is exposed to the freshly divided soil. This division of the soil may be obtained either by the application of manure, or by cultivation.¹

Of the two methods, Tull pinned his faith to cultivation. Manure was only valuable as it hastened the process of pulverisation, and he says that after long experience, notwithstanding the benefit, I have these several years left it off, finding that a little more hoeing will supply it at much less expense. He tells of some neighbouring farmers who had accidentally discovered the advantage of more ploughing through the
 1. Tull's Husbandry. Cobbett's Editn. 1829. p. 68.

failure of the crops first planted, when they had to plough again before planting the new crop.

Tull might have carried the community with him thus far as is shown by the spread of double ploughing in his own county. But he extended his principle to the hoeing of the plants while they were actually growing, arguing that the soil needed the benefits then even more than before the seed was sown. He was simply applying the principle of vineyard culture to the crops of ordinary farming. To do this, the seed must be sown in rows, far enough apart to permit a plough to work amongst them. The result was that less seed was required, the crops were larger and healthier, they would not be so much injured by dry weather, and in the end, there would be a much greater yield, with less expense.

There were two great objections in the minds of the farmers. They could not conceive how a field so scantily supplied with plants could produce as much grain as one sown in the old way; and they could not understand that opening up the soil and pulverising it could possibly conserve the moisture. Tull says that hoed plants need less moisture because they are better nourished and the hoeing lets the dew seep into the soil as it cannot do under the ordinary tillage. Moreover, hoeing increases the number of roots, and consequently the area of soil from which the plant draws moisture.

Then, again, his opponents fastened upon his comparative disregard of manure. The fact that for twelve years in succession he raised a good crop of wheat on the same field without any manure was to them an interesting curiosity but by no means of practical value. They failed to understand his argument that ~~it~~ almost the only work of the manure was to assist by its ferment and decay in the pulverisation of the soil.

The fact that he was a stranger in his county made the neighbouring farmers suspicious of his improvements. This was accentuated by his almost continuous illness, which would cut him off to a great extent from association with his neighbours.¹ He also lacked the prestige of title and large estates, which no doubt assisted the success achieved by Townshend. The latter had a further advantage in that he applied the new ideas not only to land hitherto fairly successful, but to barren, sandy land, which had formerly yielded little or nothing. To see the desert yielding fruit was more convincing than to see the fruitful field more fruitful. Again, Townshend manured extensively, and revived the practice of marling, on a large scale. He was not so much a slave to a theory as Tull, and while admitting the value of the principles, he incorporated them into his own system instead of setting them up as a new system. Hence his example was followed over most of

1. Tull's Husbandry. (1829 Ed.) Author's Preface.p.1.

Norfolk, while Tull was practically unimitated in his own county during his lifetime.

A further obstacle in the way of victory for Tullian husbandry was the necessity for new implements. Their expense was a barrier to all the small farmers, and even as late as the sixties, very few artisans could construct them.¹ So it was left for the progressive landlords with money and initiative to get implements specially constructed, and to make the experiment necessary before Tull's ideas could spread. Tull's insistence on applying the methods to grain may also have been a retarding influence. The obvious application of the ideas was to roots, which were already being thinned and hand-hoed in some parts. But even as late as 1759, so progressive a cultivator as Miller, is noting as an improvement that he has placed potatoes in rows three feet apart in order to introduce the horse hoe amongst them.²

Nevertheless, the ideas of the new husbandry were not neglected. By 1765, nearly every writer is convinced of their value, and there is a general feeling that the old methods are wasteful, and the the refuge of the indolent and ultra-conservative. Though the battle against

1. Museum Rusticum, iv. 148-9. The writer thinks that Tull's implements are still the best made public. He says "I know not any workman who can make Mr Tull's drills, and believe these instruments are as yet in very few hands."
2. Miller. Quoted in Mill's Husbandry. iii. 186.

conservatism and in some cases indolence amongst the mass of the farmers was not ~~was~~ won, there were ~~many~~ eager experimenters in many parts of the country. In France, Tull's ideas had been enthusiastically taken up by Du Hamel, whose work on the drill husbandry is extensively quoted by Mills in 1763. Chateauvieux, another French adherent of Tull, had invented implements to carry out drill husbandry, and the experience of another Frenchman, M. de Turbilly, is noted. "He has doubled the number of inhabitants on his estate, and quadrupled his produce, and this not on a small farm, but over a large extent of country." At the same time, Mills laments that Englishmen have never given Tull's principles a fair trial, "but have left the nation¹ our rival in glory, to determine its intrinsic merit." Nevertheless, he puts forward the result of some experiments made in England and Ireland which clearly show the superiority of the new methods. Postlethwayte quotes an experiment from a source apparently independent of the agricultural writers.² This gentleman claims that in twenty years on ten acres he had a surplus profit of £135 to the credit of a new husbandry³ or, nearly £7 per annum. A Middlesex farmer computes

1. Mills: ii. p. 2-3

2. Postlethwayte. Universal Dictionary. Art. Husbandry.

3. Museum Rusticum, iv. p. 81.

his profit in nine years on twenty acres as £149 more than by the common husbandry. An Irish farmer reports that on 40 acres in 15 years there is a surplus profit of £969, or the amount of the fee simple of 18/- land at ¹ 27 years purchase.

The new methods had gained a firm foothold over ² Norfolk, Sussex and Essex. A writer in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1752 sums up the advantages realised in Norfolk. Wheat is increased five times, barley twice, in acreage, and the crop two or three times per acre. The whole county is more cheerful and comfortable, and supports twice as many families, who have twice as much work, and the necessaries of life and cheaper. There had been a considerable subdivision of farms, and large ^{and} increases in value. The new methods had lessened the value of otherwise rich lands by improving the value of the poorer ones. The use of artificial grasses had spread very rapidly between 1730 and 1750, while in a few years the acreage ^{under} ~~in the~~ wheat in Norfolk had increased by ³ 20,000 acres.

One result of the new methods was an increase in the amount of arable land, and the production of corn.

1. Museum Rusticum.vi.p.p.260-7

2. Ibid. Letter 46.Aug.1763.Letter from an Essex land-holder.

3. Gent. Mag. Oct. and Nov. 1752

The bounty on export was an encouragement in this direction, for it assured the farmers of a market, even when the crop was large. The new husbandry was also assisted by the low price of wool, following the prohibition of export, and consequently the low price of sheep. There was also an increase in the Dutch demand for corn, following a decline in the Dutch imports from Poland,¹ Outside of the eastern counties there would seem to have been no advance in the direction of the new methods, excepting the districts near the capital. Young says nothing about their presence in the northern counties, and in Lancashire the ploughing is all on the old system.

Implements. Closely connected with the methods of cultivation is the question of implements. Most important were the drills, and hoe ploughs invented by Tull. The first drill consisted of a frame carried between two wheels; a double-bladed share was set near the front, and could be adjusted to the desired depth. On the frame and behind the share ~~share~~ was a seed box, from which a narrow pipe ran down to the back of the share. A rather complicated arrangement of pulleys regulated the dropping of the seed through the pipe. At first, another plough followed the drill to cover the seed, but later, a second share was set at the back to turn

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1. Gent. Mag. Oct. 1752.

the ~~sand~~ soil back into the furrow. To some extent, these drills were adjustable, but even as late as the sixties, three different ones were required, one for fine seeds like turnips, and the grasses, one for common pease, wheat, barley, oats and ~~tares~~, and one for beans and large pease. Drills were sometimes made to sow several rows at once, but there had to be separate boxes for each row and separate arrangements for emptying the seed. This complicated structure accounts for the difficulty of getting them made by the country artisan. The hoe ploughs were made in a similar way, but without the seed boxes; they were much lighter than the ordinary plough and could easily¹ be drawn by one horse, unless they had several shares.

They were probably responsible for the introduction of the Rotheram or patent plough during our period. This was much like a modern single plough, but with shortened handles, and a curved instead of a straight coulter. Like the modern plough, it had a bridle at the end of the beam to vary the depth of the ploughing. This plough was in general use in parts of the east and south, but was not introduced into Lancashire until 1764 or 1765.² That the old ploughs were very generally used in Lancashire up till 1770 is clear from Young's description of the ploughing. The

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1. Mills.

2. Mills. i.253 -7.

only districts where fewer than four horses are used is round Ormskirk, where the soil was a sandy loam. Even there, three horses were frequently used, while round Kabers in the north, six horses were still used. The economy of the new Rotheram plough will be seen when it is noted that on the farms where six horses are used, 12 or 13 horses per 100 acres were required, while round Ormskirk only six were kept.¹

There was also a wheel plough in use at the end of our period. It differed from the modern wheel plough in having the wheel running in front of the plough, and so could have had little effect on the depth of ploughing. But the advent of these ploughs is evidence of the growing importance attached to ploughing, and the search for easier and more economical means of doing it.²

Mowing wheat with a scythe led to the use of a different shaped handle, with fingers arranged above the blade of the scythe, to keep the grain in a standing position till it was slipped off on to the ground. It was thus ready for the binder who followed up.³ Threshing was still done with the flail, but Mills suggests an engine to wield a number of flails, and to be driven by horse, water, or wind power. He also described the method

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1. Young. Northern Tour.

2. Mills.i.257

3. Mills.iii. p.103

of separating the weed seeds from the grain. Fans and screens of different kinds were used, but wind is in every case the agent. The most advanced was a Dutch fanning-mill, which consisted of a number of fans, revolving on an axis in a box, and as the grain passed through the air current, the weed-seeds were blown out.

MANURES.

When the impulse toward increased reduction was felt, the minds of farmers would ~~have~~ turned first to manures as a means of enriching the soil. The value of new crops and improved tillage would be appreciated only slowly, but the value of manure would be patent to all. This interest is seen in the fact that everything that would decay in the ground was utilised. Rags, bones, refuse from dyeing and fulling mills, soap ashes, bark, ~~and~~ soot, and the scrapings of city streets, all entered into the list.¹ In the seaside districts, sea-weed and other refuse from the sea was extensively used. "The value of the lands all along the coast of Scotland has been more than doubled by the use of this excellent manure." Shells are also mentioned as being in use in Cornwall, Devon, and other maritime parts of England.² Oil cakes were much used in parts of Cambridge and Essex, while malt dust was used as a preparation for wheat in Berkshire.³

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1. Monk. Dict. of Agriculture.ii.p.62 et seq.

2. Mills. i.89

3. Ibid.i.95. Holt in 1795 added the skimmings of the sugar refineries to the list.

These various fertilizers were only local in their use, and the principal dependence was placed on marle and lime, the mixing of soils, paring and burning, and the use of barnyard dung. The operation of the first two was to change the character of the soil, either to open up clays and make them more easily tilled, or to consolidate sands and light soils to a finer consistency. In this, the farmer was half consciously aiming at the condition of the soil described by Tull. The others, however, had also the definite object of enriching the soil and repairing the waste of vegetable matter occasioned by former crops. The effect they would have in producing a more finely divided soil was not at first perceived.

Marle
and
Lime.

The use of marle is an illustration of the saying that there is nothing new under the sun except what has been forgotten. From the time of Pliny, this manure has been continually re-discovered and acclaimed as a new thing. Fitzgerald in 1520 says that marling had doubled the value of lands in Lancashire, and Leland writing later in the century speaks of the ancient marle pits in Cheshire, and Camden in 1600 writes of marle in Lancashire. There were marle pits in Norfolk, which had given names to enclosures as far back as the middle of

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 the 16th century, and similar evidence shows that the practice was equally ancient in Staffordshire and Somerset. A Welsh writer in 1603 describes marling as the "cheefest kinde of mendinge of the lande," in use in Penbrokeshire, and says that its benefit is to fertilize and bind "baren, lowse, and drie lande." All things being "accompted it trebleth in commoditie the charge euery yeare after..... this kinde of marle long sythence was much used about 100 or 160 yeares past.....but it was whollie neglected till about 24 yeares past."²

A writer in 1752 says it was currently believed in London that Lord Townshend was the first inventor of marling or claying in Norfolk, while the fact is that he only took up the method on a large scale when few landlords would incur the expense. It had formerly been done only an acre or two at a time.³ By its nature, and with the existing transportation, it could only be used close to where it was found. Marle is a soft soapy earth found from 18" to several feet below the surface. When spread like manure and left a year or two to incorporate with the soil it greatly enriches the earth for twenty or thirty years, though its maximum value is past after 15 years.

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1. Gent. Mag. Oct. 1752.

2. Description of Penbrokeshire (1603). Owen of Henllys. p.71-74.

3. *Ibid.* Same as note 1.

Its value lay in the fact that its slow effervescence opened up the particles of clay soils, and on light lands, it tended to bind the loose particles together. Hence the extensive use of lime, which in heavy soils, had a similar effect, especially when put on the land unslaked. If slaked, the soil lost the opening effect of the effervescence, though this was only dimly understood, and only one writer emphasises the instruction to use it unslaked. This quality also explained why it was better for clay than for light lands, which needed a binding rather than a loosening manure. This tendency of lime to be too strong for light soils made it lose favour, but to the end of the period, marle was extensively used.

"Lime throughout most parts of the north is what they principally depend on but from the intelligence I gained in many places, I have great reason to believe," says Young, "that this spirit of liming is not attended with the effect that many believe. Its greatest use, that of forming a part of composts is little attended to." He says also "the dependence on lime is everywhere too great, and the neglect of farm yard dung universal."¹

In Lancashire, marle is everywhere the chief manure, except round Burton in the north, where lime had only begun to be used in the late sixties. The cost of the marle varied

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1. Young. Northern Tour. iv. Letter 41.

with the distance of the fields from the marle beds, but in Lancashire was from £2 to £4/10 per acre, and the effects lasted well from 8 to 20 years. Round Garstang, they find a second and even a third marling to answer well. Lime where used cost from £3 to £6 per acre, according to the amount used, which was usually from 80 to 200 bushels per acre.¹

Round Altringham they have all sorts of marle, red, white, blue, black and brown. Young says they reckon it does best in the kind of soil it lies under.² But Mills says that the Staffordshire farmers reckon the soft blue best for arable, and the grey sort the best for pastures. In Sussex, the blue was considered best, and the gray third in the list. In Derbyshire they have a sandy marle that is specially good for clays.³ The danger with marle was that it would in some soils subside below the operation of the plough and so be lost.⁴ Chalk was used mixed with earth or dung in a similar way.⁵

Mixing of
Soils.

The mixing of soils was not so general as the use of marle and lime. Its extensive use was largely confined to the eastern counties. Young in 1772

1. Young. Northern Tour. iii. Letter 18.

2. Ibid. Ibid.

3. Mills; Husbandry. i.38

4. Monk. ii.194. Quoted from Dissertations on Rural subjects. 1775.

5. Mills i.71. Also quoted by Monk in Dict. of Agriculture

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says that clay was used in Norfolk, Suffolk, etc. like Marle. In the Annals it is stated that it is placed on sandy or gravelly soils with good effect. Marshall noted the same thing about Norfolk but says that the earth was mixed with dung from the barnyards.¹ Monk mentions the use of sand on clay and moorish soil.² The clay was used in the one case to consolidate the light sands of Norfolk, and in the other to loosen heavy clays, and make them dryer. Another method of mixing soils, easier, and therefore more widespread than the first, was the use of the mud from the beds of ponds and streams, and the fine mud scraped out of ditches in process of cleaning them. This made excellent manure, especially when mixed with dung.³ Near Yarmouth, some stock-raisers used sea-sand as a litter for cattle, and when mixed with dung, it was highly valued as manure.⁴ Young notes the value, especially from the second year on, of the use of sea-ouze, of which 50 loads to the acre were spread on the land.⁵

Paring
&
Burning. Denshiring, or paring and burning was a fertilising operation very characteristic of the 18th century, and on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, was practised in nearly all parts of England, though not universally

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1. Young. Eastern Tour. p.291. Annals iv. p.413. Marshall; Norfolk.
2. Monk. Dict. of Agric. ii.207
3. Mills; i.110. Farmers' Calendar. 1771. p.208
4. Same as Note 2.
5. Young. Eastern Tour. ii.54

approved. Owen of Henllys describes the process in 1603, speaking of "bettings and burninge the lande". The operation is thus described by Nourse, in 1700. "The way of burning land is by gathering the turfs into little heaps, in the hollow whereof, a little bush or faggot of dry wood is laid. After the turf has been well dried and parched by the sun, they set the hillock on fire, and afterwards scatter the parched turf and ashes upon the surface." Its chief value was that it killed the weeds for some years, especially if the turf was pared deeply enough,"and in the saline or nitrous particles with which the ashes do abound."¹ Laurence in 1726 condemns the practice and speaks of it as new to his experience, so that it was evidently spreading into the north and east.² Though the practice had become general over most of the country it still found opponents. A Lincolnshire correspondent of the Museum Rusticum in 1764 defends the practice, and instances a farm where it had not been allowed. He permitted it to be done, and within a few years the farmer said he could keep one-third more stock. The operation should be followed by two crops of turnips,³ and then barley and other grains.

Another writer the same year advances as the reasons

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1. Nourse. Campania Felix. 1700. pp.33,35.
2. Laurence. Duty of a Steward. 1726. p.29
3. Museum Rusticum.ii.p.45.

why it was not more used, first, the poverty of many small farmers on rack-rent, and second, Landlords, seeing tenants thinking only of present profit, are in general set against this practice and deny leave to follow it.¹ It had been proven successful by a French experimenter in bringing waste under cultivation, especially healthy and furzey land.² Mills advocates it very strongly as a restorative to the land and to kill the weeds. It was specially good for worn out methods. He also recommends it as a first operation on newly reclaimed moors and boggy land.³ It is also mentioned by Prof. Home of Edinburgh in 1756, who says it will improve poor soil, but is bad for rich soil.⁴ Young sums up the situation in 1770, - "Paring and burning is general throughout the north and west, and the price pretty equal everywhere, from 14 to 20s. per acre. Universal observation has proved it to be a most excellent practice....Turh⁵ips are the crop everywhere sown after it." The name "denshiring", from Devonshire, shows that over part of the county at least the example of that county was responsible for its use, though the Welsh term, "betteinge and burninge" indicated that it arose elsewhere independently.

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1. Museum Rusticum. ii.p.167
2. Mills Husbandry i.171 et seq.
3. Mills. Husbandry.i.110 et seq.
4. Home; Essay on Agriculture. 1756.Pt.ii.Sect. vi.
5. Young. Northern Tour. iv.p.482.Letter 41.

Dung of
Farms.

The foregoing were, however, more or less in the nature of permanent improvements; at least they needed only to be done once or twice in a generation on the same piece of land. The use of barnyard manure was a continuous process and went on everywhere. With the efforts to improve cultivation ~~the~~ farmers cast about for means of adding to their stock of manure. To this end some tried to increase the amount of litter for the stock. They brought home ferns, and cut their stubble for this purpose. Straw and hay formerly often fed in the fields was brought home and used where the dung could be collected. Folding of sheep on different spots by means of movable hurdles so that in time a whole field was manured was a common practice. It became a common thing for farmers in the vicinity of cities to buy¹ the manure available there and bring it to their farms.

Composts.

Not only were efforts made to increase the quantity of dung, but the use of mixtures or composts grew up during the first sixty years of the century. All the writers devote considerable space to composts. Soap ashes for example were mixed with earth and dung, in the proportion of one to ten, and made an excellent dressing

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1. Young. Northern Tour. ~~ixxxx~~ iii. Letter 18. Altringham farmers buy dung from Manchester at 4d. to 7d. per ton and then cart home. They agree for it in the lump;

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for wheat.¹ The commonest efforts of this kind consisted in mixing the various kinds of animal manure together according to the kind of land on which it was to be placed, and covering the pile from time to time with earth so as to preserve the benefits of fermentation. But some elaborate composts were in use. Varley in 1772 recommends one composed of soot, dry ashes, unslacked lime, bay salt, sulphur, wheat pickle, galls and train oil, the whole to be covered with earth while fermenting.²

Such mixtures were evidence of attempts to understand the scientific basis of manuring the soil. Prof. Home in 1756 is the first writer who sets out to study the scientific principles of manuring. He discusses the different kinds of soils, and what manure should do for them, opening up the stiff heavy soils, consolidating the loose ones, enriching the poorer ones, and setting free the plant foods in the rich soils. He seizes on the principle of fermentation in the soil as that which prepared ~~it~~ its ingredients to be received by the plant-roots.³ His is perhaps the first series of experiments designed along modern lines to test the actions of different manure substances on the same soils and the

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1. Museum Rusticum. iv.339.
2. Varley. i.167. Quoted Monk: Dict. of Agric. ii.104.
3. Home. Essay on Agriculture. 1756. This essay gained a prize offered by the Scottish Socy. of Improvers in Agriculture. The author was an Edinburgh University Professor, and not a practical agriculturist.

same plants. He is followed by Mills who comes to the conclusion that nitre is the thing needful, a close approximation to the modern fertilizers, which aim to supply nitrates to the soil. "In other words, could the earth be always kept in a fit state for collecting nitre, it would constantly be in a fit state for the production of plants."¹

As always, however, the common practice was far behind these thinkers. Young comments severely on the condition in the north. "The raising manure in farmyards is at a very low ebb throughout most parts of the northern counties. This is due to the want of well enclosed farmyards, there are scarce any that deserve the name; to the feeding of the hay about the fields - an execrable practice - the pastures are poached all the winter, and dung largely lost; and lastly to the failure to chop the wheat stubble for littering the yards." The folding of sheep which is so general in the south, especially Leicester, Wilts, Hants, and the eastern counties, is much ~~but~~² neglected throughout many counties. This in this question as in so many questions of the time, the condition is one of the initiation of progress rather than a great general move forward, the slow gathering of forces that will at a later period sweep over the whole industry.

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1. Mills. Husbandry. i. p. 54.

2. Young. Northern Tour. Letter 41.



rainage. A few words should be said about drainage.

Open drainage was not new, but the first crude under-drains seem to be the product of the ^{early} ~~early~~ 18th century. The principle adopted in Lancashire was to dig deep, narrow drains, partially fill them with stones, brick or other rubbish, amongst which the water could make its way, cover the rubbish with branches, and fill up with the earth. Sometimes a fairly wide drain is made with a narrower one at the bottom. This narrow one was covered over with peat sods, and the wide drain filled up with brush and earth. The flooding of lands with muddy water in order to improve their fertility was also followed to some extent in Lancashire about this time, but was not a general practice.

About 1720, the first attempts at the modern sort of under-draining seemed to have been made. Laurence quotes from a writer of 1718 a recommended method of draining land by artificial tubes or trunks of clay, which "he saith hath proved one of the most useful inventions that has been found out.....and will do in pasture, arable, or woodland, provided you work deep enough." The recommended method was to dig a narrow trench about a foot wide, and at least a foot and a half deep. A wooden cylinder about 4' long, 5" thick at one end, and 4" at the other, was laid in the bottom of the trench. The clay was

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 1. Museum Rusticum. vi.p.151.Letter from a Lancashire farmer.1766.

rammed in round this cylinder and formed a perfect tube. The cylinder was then pulled out, and the operation repeated, so that gradually a tube of clay was formed from one end of the drain to the other. A hole 3" in diameter was punched in each 4' section; sticks were put in it to keep it open, and a broad tile laid across the top. The trench was then filled up. It was recommended that these trenches should be placed 20 feet apart across the whole field. "Thus you have a clayey field as hollow and unfit to retain water as a sieve. These tubes he has known to last for twelve years, even in ploughed lands, and they cost 20s. per acre, when the trenches are 20 feet apart!"

LIVE
STOCK.

"The introduction of the Tullian and Townshend reforms proved the pivot of agricultural progress. But to get the full benefit, live stock must be improved." To this must be added, the increased demand for beef and mutton from London and the rapidly growing manufacturing communities. The middle of the century was a time of prosperity and of a good deal of solid comfort, so that the demand for meat would be greater even amongst the poorer classes. As such a large proportion of the country was under the common field system, the description given of the cattle on the commons at the beginning of the century is of interest! And as the men, so are the cattle, that are bred

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1. Laurence. Duty of a Steward. p. 27-28. Switzer. Gardening (1718)
 2. Prothero (Lord Ernle) English Farming. Chap. 8.
 3. Nourse. Campania Felix. p. 98-99.

upon such commons, being a starved, scabby, and rascally race. Their sheep are poor, tattered, and poisoned with the rot. Their cattle and colts dwarfed and ragged: for little beggarly Stone-colts, running promiscuously amongst the herd, beget a miserable, shotten and bastardly breed;.. Nor are commons only injurious to horses but also cattle, the increase of such places being nothing but a sort of starved, tod-bellied runts, neither fit for the dairy nor the yoke." When allowance is made for the vigorous epithets of Nourse, it will still be seen that little attention was paid to the breeds of stock on the greater part of the English farms. Sheep were valued only for their wool, cattle for draught power, or their yield of milk. Horses were to be wiry and active for the wretched roads rather than models of horse flesh. The revival of Hunting and racing had not yet called forth the fine breeding of later days.

The chief difficulty would seem to be the poor feed afforded by the open field. The system of allowing meadows to lie to natural grass meant that the ground yielded poor pasturage. The adoption of artificial grasses would at once improve the summer pasture, and provide much more hay for winter fodder. To this is due the increase in the number of cattle kept by those who made trial of the new grasses. Similar effects followed the introduction of root crops. Up to 1750, the increased food, and the consequent increase in the size of stock was the only improvement.

"No breeders had attempted real improvement in shape."

The pioneer in this direction was Robert Bakewell, of Dishley, in Leicester. He tried with considerable success to improve the breeds of horses, cattle and sheep. Perhaps the greatest service he rendered was to rouse the spirit of improvement in the country. Once men began to carefully select their breeding animals, they would soon discover the characteristics which, when developed, would make the best varieties for local conditions. With cattle and sheep, early maturity, small bone, and a well-covered carcass were the desiderata. Some districts wanted cattle with a large yield of milk, some wanted beef. It was with sheep that Bakewell had his greatest success. The New Leicesters, as his breed of sheep ^{was} ~~were~~ called, matured in two years, where the ordinary breed took three or four. They were hardy, compact, small-boned, and fat. In 1750, he let rams for the season at from 16/- to 17/6d. each. But in 1784, the price was thirty guineas, and he received a total of 3,000 guineas for a season.

But his success is best proven by the fact that he raised up not merely a breed of sheep or of cattle, but a host of imitators. Men in other parts set to work to improve other breeds of sheep, cattle and horses. The result before the end of the century is illustrated by the classical

1. Prothero. (Lord Ernle) English Farming. Chap. 8.

2. Ibid.

instance of Smithfield Market. The total weight of cattle and sheep sold there in 1732 was 42,000,000 pounds, but in 1794, it had reached 75,000,000 pounds. This is an increase of 75 per cent, "even if the increase in the average weight of sheep and cattle was only a $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter, where it was probably nearly 100 per cent."

Between 1710 and 1795, the average weight of beeves at Smithfield Market increased from 370 to 800 lbs; calves from 50 to 148 lbs; sheep from 28 to 60 lbs; and lambs from 18 to 50 lbs.³

The principal breed of cattle in Lancashire was as it had long been, the long-horned cattle named from the country. In the south and west of England red cattle of a fairly uniform type were bred. In Wales there were Pembrokes, Red Glamorgans, and Cornish cattle, while in Scotland the Highland cattle, the Ayrshires, and the Galloway, and Angus breeds were already the favourites. In the East, the Holderness, a great animal more like a black horse than a cow, held the field. This breed was supposed to be at least partly of foreign origin, probably from the Netherlands. In the North and West, the brindled Staffords shared the honours with the Lancashire long-horns.²

There were many varieties of sheep, chiefly

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1. Eden; State of the Poor.Vol.i.p.334.Note

2. Prothero. Cited above.Chap.8.

distinguished by the length and quality of their wool. This diversity of wools made a great deal of interchange necessary among the manufacturing districts, and secured ~~the~~ the position of the wool-dealer or middleman in that industry.¹ The Ryelands and Herefords yielded the wool for superfine broadcloths, the Sussex and Southdowns had a fine soft curly wool. In the North the principal breeds were the Cheviots, the Northumberland Muggs, and the Lancashire Silverdales. The long woolled sheep were larger, polled, white-faced and white legged. Though no more than ~~a~~ quarter of the total number, they yielded 1/3 of the annual clip. The chief were the Cotswolds, then the Lincolns and Leicesters.²

The development of a demand for carriage horses led to the breeding of a class of horse midway between the "great horse" of the large farms, and the small wiry pack-horses so extensively used in the transport of goods about the middle of the century. Racing and hunting led to the importation of foreign breeds of strong, fast horses. There was a greater mixture amongst horses than amongst cattle.

The number of animals kept on the farms of Lancashire is ~~is~~ shown by three sample farms of about a hundred acres each, one near Garstang, one at Ormskirk, and one at Altringham.³ They have an average of 65 acres of grass and

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1. Heatop. Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industry. pp.118-123
 2. Prothero. (Lord Ernle) English Farming. Chapter viii.
 3. The rest of the detailed information in the this chapter is from Young, Northern Tour. Vol. iv.

Amount
of
Stock.

35 acres of arable. Each has two or three draught cattle, probably horses, as oxen were not much used on small farms where the same animals had to be used for roads and fields. One had nine cows, and the others ten each. None kept any fattening beasts at the time, but one had three, and the others four young cattle each, and these would be fattened later on, or sold to graziers. One farm had ten, one twelve, and one thirty sheep. The average of farms in the north from fifty to a hundred acres was, seven cows, one and a third fattening beasts, five young cattle, and from ten to 400 sheep.

A farm in the north of the county, near Kabers, containing 180 acres, was two-thirds grass land. It had seven draught cattle, only thirteen cows, no fattening beasts, 4 young cattle, and ten sheep. It would seem that farms of this size were very much understocked, as the average for the north was only slightly higher than the one quoted. There were in general more cows kept on the smaller farms in proportion to the acreage, except on those of 300 to 400 acres, which were equal to the smaller ones. The farms from 300 to 500 acres kept the largest number of fattening beasts, while the farms from 300 to 400 acres kept the largest number of young cattle.

The general situation is summarized by Young, in a series of statements. (1) The larger the farm the fewer the draught cattle; (2) the smaller the farm the greater the number of cows; (3) middling farms of from 300-500 acres have near three times the number of fattening beasts of the smaller ones and more than five times the larger ones;

(4) farms from 300-~~400~~ 400 acres keep most young cattle, and in general those under 400 acres, twice as many as those over 400 acres; (5) Farms from 300-400 maintain more cattle than any other size, and those up to five hundred more than double the number of those over 500; (6) Farms of 200-400 acres keep more than small farms, less draught cattle in the proportion of $5\frac{1}{2}$ to three and a third, and more than five times the number of the larger farms. This was probably due to the fact that most of the very large farms would have sheep as their principal stock.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF FARMING ABOUT 1780.

LAND TENURE. SIZE OF FARMS. ENCLOSURES.

CHAPTER II.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF FARMING ABOUT 1760.

LAND TENURE. SIZE OF FARMS. ENCLOSURES.

CHAPTER II.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF FARMING ABOUT 1760.

The changes described in the previous chapter imply a growth in the spirit of individualism. Men were less and less willing to remain subordinated to a system of farming that left but little room for the exercise of individual initiative, and the testing of new ideas. They were increasingly reluctant to have the rate of progress dictated by the most backward and unprogressive members of the community. Under the impulse of the commercial spirit, and the general intellectual activity of the time, the desire to introduce economies of time ~~and~~ and labour, and to gain a greater quantity of food from the soil, conspired with the implications of the new methods to free the most conservative of industries ~~from~~ to some extent from the bonds of custom. The result was a change in the economic structure of the agricultural community. That change was the effect while still the accompaniment of the new technique. The new methods were largely impossible while each manor was bound into one rigid crop order, only to be changed by the consent of all; although it is true that in some open field districts marling had been introduced by common consent. Elimination

1. e.g. Gent. Mag. Oct. 1752. "In the open fields farms, of which some small ones remain still, there is no means of taking the benefit of clover and turnips, yet some of them have marled their grounds." Letter from a Norfolk farmer.

of waste was almost impossible while each farmer's land lay in widely separated strips scattered over a large ~~XXXX~~ area, and while pastures were common to the community.

Four
main fea-
tures.

The main features of this alteration in economic structure may be considered under four heads, viz., conditions of land tenure, size of farms, enclosures, and the marketing of produce. These in their turn led to social changes in the status of the farmers, and in the status and conditions of life of the labourers and their families. They may be considered in the order named, remembering that they did not take place separately, but were interwoven both as to time and place. The tendency toward large farms, the gradual change from customary tenure and small freeholds to leasehold for definite periods, the decay of the system of rack-renting, and the development of enclosures went on together, assisting or retarding each other at different times and in different places. The change in marketing conditions was conditioned by the great increase of produce, the specializing of different localities in stock, or corn, or other products, and the rapidly increasing demand from centres more and more distant from the farms. Agriculture shared in the remarkable development of the middleman which characterized the eighteenth century. The exceptional growth in the export of corn in itself necessitated some change in marketing methods. This growth of the middleman's organization is the intermediary phase between

the small manufacturer who depended on the middleman to link him up with the consuming markets, and the large capitalistic manufacturer of modern times who sets up to a large extent his own sales organization.¹

LAND
TENURE.
Feudal
survivals.

The first considerable change from the customary tenure of the manor arose during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There was an increase of population and a growth of trade, both of which meant an increased demand for agricultural produce. The result of this disturbance of the existing economic equilibrium was that in the newer settlements a money rent appeared, gradually replacing the feudal services. As both money and labour became more plentiful this transition to a rent based on money was even encouraged. Hired labour was more efficient than that of tenants reluctantly leaving their labours to render feudal service. On the otherhand, it made for more successful farming if the tenant could compound his services for money and thus have all his time for his own land.² This process would be further assisted by the practice of gathering the demesne lands into compact areas and letting parts of them to tenant farmers, and by the gradual process of enclosing and cultivating the waste. Thus, through the centuries that succeeded the period mentioned

1. Middlemen in English Business. R.B.Westerfield, 1915.

This work contains a full discussion of this development from 1660 to 1760.

2. Hasbach: English Agricultural Labourer. Chap.I, Sect.ii

above, the transition ~~was~~ to a money rent went on, but it was not complete till the agrarian revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries swept away the last survivals of feudal customary tenure.

Some light is cast on these survivals by advertisements of real property, taken from early issues of the Manchester Mercury, published from 1752 onwards. In an advertisement of some property in the Manor of Tottington, among other items "there is also a right of Turbary in about eight acres of land." ¹ Turbary is also mentioned in connection with some demesne lands (52 acres) called Peel, where there is right of Turbary on Blackmoor, Astley Green, and Chat Moss. The same right applies to "16 tenements bordering on the said demesne lands." ² Another offers for sale the "copyhold inheritance of two water corn-mills in the manor of Accrington Newhold in the Forest of Rossendale.....together with the Suit, Socken, Mulcture and Toll thereto belonging." ³ At the time of the advertisement these mills were let for £120 per annum, "clear of the lord's rent, and all taxes, repairs, and deductions whatever" so that they were evidently a n important property.

1. Manchester Mercury. May 6, 1755.

2. Ibid Sept. 16, 1755.

3. Ibid May 6, 1775.

Dr. Percival, writing in 1776 of an enumeration of the people in Bolton, says that "Little Bolton is a suburb of Bolton, including the manor, and as far as the inhabitants are subject to suit and service." As late as 1795 we are told that "many farms are held on leases of three lives, on which a fine has been paid, and 'sometimes an addition of boon services,' which last system seems much on the decline."¹ Some of these practices lingered into the early nineteenth century. "About Coniston there are some remains of the old feudal tenure as the lord has there still his boon days, and is strict in requiring his tenants to perform suit and service."² Even in towns feudal rights lingered. It was not till 1758 that an act of Parliament was obtained whereby the tenants and inhabitants of Manchester were exempted from the ancient custom and duty of grinding their corn and grain at the School Mills; but it was thereby enacted that the custom of grining malt should be established and confirmed.³

Tithes.

The most notable of these survivals is the practice of collecting tithes in kind during the eighteenth century. Nor was this confined to Lancashire and the north generally. It occurred in some of the most advanced agricultural districts of the south. When landlords had almost universally found the money rent more profitable and economical, the church still clung to her ancient privilege of marking for her own every tenth shock of corn, and every

1. Holt-Survey of Lanes. Sect on Leases.

2. Dickson and Stephenson. Agriculture in Lanes. 1815. Hasbach,

3. Cheetham Papers, vol. 1.

tenth part of the increase of the farm. Lord Ernle (Prothero) notes that between 1793 and 1815 tithes in Lancashire were in many places collected in kind.¹ As late as 1795 the tithe of corn was being taken in kind in the district round Lancaster, but the hay was compounded for at the rate of 5s. per acre.² A farmer pamphleteer in the sixties in another part of the country, in accounting for the poverty of the farmers in a neighbouring parish to his own, blames the tithes in kind. The farmers did not manure or keep stocks sufficient for the improvement of the land. He goes extensively into the question and shows how the tithe in kind eats up the surplus that would otherwise be available for improvement. He advocates that tithes in kind should be commuted for an annual payment, because, he says, "they are a continual discouragement to increase of stock, manuring, etc."³ Young makes a similar declaration. "They are justly reckoned a very great burden on agriculture, and a most invidious tax on improvements; for it is become a common custom for the rectors to take in kind only from those tenants who farm the best, and never to compound for more than a year at a time." Again he says, "But at every place where I made enquiry, all ranks agreed, the clergy as well as others, that tithes were universally found a great

1. Prothero. English Farming Past and Present. App. 6

2. Eden: State of the Poor. Vol.ii, p. 302.(Parochial Repts.)

3. Letters from a Farmer to an M.P., 1766. Rylands Lib. Political Pamphlets. Vol.109.

discouragement to husbandry."¹

A good idea of the prevalence of tithes in kind in the north generally is gained from Young's mention of them as he passes from district to district. In all he mentions them in twenty-five districts in the six northern counties. In ~~thence~~ ten of these the tithe is generally taken in kind, or gathered as the common phrase was. In six there is a mixture of gathered and compounded tithes, and in eight they are generally compounded. In one district, that of Hetton, west of Belford, there is much land tithe free. Nor is there any uniformity about the distribution of the places where compounding had gained a footing, they occur indifferently in districts near and remote from centres of population, though the bulk of the areas where they are compounded for are scattered through the eastern counties. In Lancashire they are gathered in kind round Burton in the extreme north; round Kabers and ~~Farriang~~ Cockeram they are generally compounded for, while further south at Garstang they are both gathered and compounded. (In the south at Ormskirk, and on the road from Warrington to Altringham they are taken in kind. The price at which they are compounded varies for corn and hay. Wheat is compounded at from 4s to 8/6 per acre; barley crops from 4s to 5s, and oats about 4s. per acre. Hay was not often more than two shillings per acre. In some instances the tithe was compounded for a set

1.

Young. Northern Tour. ii. 63 (near East Newton, Yorks)

Also iv. 485-7

sum on the annual rent, as at 2s in the pound round
 Danby. Around Swinton the tithe was two shillings per acre
 for all the arable land, and round Darlington 6s. per
 1
 acre.

There are continual references in the enclosure
 literature of the period to the opposition of the tithe
 owners, for whom the act often meant abandoning the tithe
 in kind for some system of commutation. The opposition
 can be readily understood when it is remembered that the
 money tithe not only gave no advantage in years of plenty,
 but made no provision for a general increase of prices,
 and consequently for a fall in the value of money. Turning
 to more particular instances of the survival of tithes,
 we find that the land advertisements referred to above
 provide a number of illustrations in parts of southern
 Lancashire. A messuage and tenement of 8 acres at Little
 Lever, in the parish of Bolton, a freehold inheritance, is
 stated, presumably as an advantage, to be "free from all
 2
 manner of corn tithe." There is offered for sale in the
 same year, a moiety of half the corn tithe of Astley, in
 the parish of Leigh, of the yearly value of £30 subject
 3
 to a fee farm of £5.6.8. This would indicate that the
 tithe here had been commuted for a fixed annual payment.

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1. Young. Northern Tour. Information collected from the
 whole tour through the six northern counties.
 2. Manchester Mercury. Jan. 15, 1754.
 3. Ibid Mar. 5, 1754

The freehold, fee simple of Peel, 52 acres of demesne lands, is half-corn-tithe free; and with the same estate is to be sold "all the tithe of hemp and flax, pig and goose" within Astley.¹ These instances supplement and confirm the more general statements of Young. We see that the change from the tithe in kind to the money payment was in progress, and it should also be noted that the tithes in some cases had been acquired from the clergy and were bought and sold as investments. Numerous indications that the tithe in kind was looked on as a hindrance to improvement point to the conclusion that the change was part of the movement to free agriculture from old customs that prevented full advantage being taken of the new technique.²

Concentration
of
rights.

With regard to the system of land tenure proper, there is observable a distinct tendency to concentrate all the rights in any particular parcel of land in the ~~the~~ hands of one owner, and so to facilitate the transfer of property. Accompanying this there is a distinct tightening of the conditions of tenancy. Little need be said concerning the freehold, and fee simple tenure. The acquisition of the fee simple is one method of concentrating

1. Manchester Mercury. Sept. 16, 1755.

2. An interesting point in connection with tithes is found in the fact that in 1751 the Warden and Fellows of Manchester Collegiate Church claimed yearly 4d from every weaver in lieu of tithes. Chatham Soc. Vol. 53, N.S. p. 170 (H.D. Crofton, Hist. of Newton Chapelry)

the ~~rights~~ ownership of rights in the land. A leasehold, or copyhold might be converted into freehold at so many years' purchase. This varied in the north from 28 to 47 years, and the general average of the north was $33\frac{1}{2}$ yrs. In Lancashire, the value of the land round Altringham was 30 years' purchase, while in the other districts noted by Young it was 35 years' purchase.¹ An interesting instance of this conversion occurs in connection with Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire, the birthplace of Lord Melbourne, and the ancestral home of the family. It was acquired in 1628 by Sir John Coke on a lease of three lives, and in 1710 by arrangement with the then bishop, (it was an old rectory house) confirmed by Act of Parliament, the lease was turned into freehold.² The main forms of rental were the copyhold, the leasehold for lives, the leasehold for a definite period, usually from 7 to 21 years, and the rack-rent or annual lease.

Copyhold.

The publication in 1763 of an edition of Coke's "Complete Copyholder" is evidence of the extent to which this system still prevailed. The distinctive feature of this tenure for the present purpose was the generally accepted customary right of inheritance on the payment of a fine, or on renewal if the copyhold was for lives. Early in the century it was realized that this tenure presented an obstacle in the way of the consolidation of lands and

1. Young Northern Tour. Vol. iv. Letter Value of Land.

2. Dunckley, Lord Melbourne. p. 2. (Prime Ministers Series)

might be a hindrance to their easy transfer. Edward Laurence advises "leniency in heriots, as too great strictness discourages the buying and selling of these lands." ¹ At the same time he is an advocate of changing the copyhold to leasehold at every opportunity. "I would advise all noblemen and gentlemen whose tenants hold land by copy of court roll for three lives not to let them renew unless they will agree to deliver up their copy in order to 'alter the tenure' by converting it into leasehold for lives." The reason he assigns is to prevent the widow of the last life holding for her life-time by her "Free-Bench" as it is called, "which is the fourth life, not covenanted for in the copy, but only pretended to by custom." ² The advice, however, was much more far-reaching. "The change from copyhold to leasehold turned the landlord into the absolute owner, with a legal right to dispose of the land as he pleased, instead of sharing ownership with tenants having a heritable right." ³ No doubt Edward Laurence had this possibility also in mind. Certainly he was aiming at a greater control of the land by the landlord, and a reduction of that sharing of ownership with tenants having heritable rights.

During our period this form of tenure was coming to be regarded also as an obstacle to improvement. ⁴

1. Duty of a Steward. 1726. p.59.

2. Ibid p.60

3. Ashley. Economic Organization. Lecture vi.

4. Hasbach. Eng. Agric. Labourer. Ch.ii. Sec.1.

A writer in 1751 recounts some of the disadvantages of the copyholder. He says that they suffer from the extravagant fees of estate stewards, and also that the stewards take advantage of the privy knowledge of private affairs gained at the renewal of the copyhold. He thinks that estates would rise five or ten years purchase in value if the copyhold were abolished. It would encourage planting if the landholder did not have to give a present, and get permission to cut timber, even for sale to the royal navy. Another advantage of the abolition would be the increase in the number of freeholders¹ having the parliamentary franchise. This writer evidently did not contemplate a change to leasehold as the means of abolition.

But in spite of its disadvantages, copyhold was still strongly entrenched ~~ix~~ on the eve of the ~~Industrial~~ Industrial Revolution, especially in the north. About two-thirds of Cumberland was of this type.² It still obtained largely in Lancashire. About a third of the parcels of land advertised in the Manchester Mercury in the period investigated were held on the copyhold tenure. Besides these parcels of land scattered over various parts of the county, more particular information shows that the land in the Rochdale district was held largely on copyhold during our period and after.³ The general rent paid for this copyhold land was 4d

1. Gent. Mag. January 1751.

2. Hasbach: cited above. Ch.ii.Sect.i.

3. For all the information about Rochdale, the writer is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. A. P. Wadsworth, of the Manchester Guardian staff, and a native of Rochdale, who gave access to his manuscript material, as well as suggested references.

per acre. In 1745, Robert Entwistle, one of the tenants of the Lord of the Manor, holds fifteen parcels of land amounting in all to a little over fifty acres, Lancashire measure. In 1761, a piece of land called, Copy, and amounting to 2a 3r copyhold measure, was enclosed. The prevalence of these small parcels of copyhold land is partly due to the custom of making the parcels enclosed from the waste copyhold at the standard rate of fourpence an acre. This style of holding prevailed in Rochdale until well into the nineteenth century. An extract from a counsel's brief in 1830, shows that at that time in the Manor of Rochdale 4d per acre was still being paid by enfranchised copyholders on the original grants of the seventeenth and early 18th centuries.

In some cases the share of ownership falling to the tenant went farther than a right of inheritance to the soil as farm land. In the Manor of Macclesfield the copyholder by the custom of the Manor was entitled to the timber, mines and slate quarries. Where such a custom as this prevailed the disadvantages of the copyhold would be somewhat mitigated. Another advertisement, in the same paper, of a tenement in fee, chargeable with a yearly rent to the

1. Manchester Mercury. Sept. 19, 1752.

Lord of the Manor says that a delf of coal is included.¹ It is also worthy of note, that, such property as the water-mills referred to above were held on copyhold as well as land itself. The practice of sub-letting seems to have been very common. This was the case not only with the water mills, but also with the farms advertised in the Manor of Macclesfield, in the county of Chester. The fifteen holdings of Robert Entwistle in Rochdale were sub-let to at least six tenants.

Leases
for
lives.

That policy of altering copyhold to leasehold, with its vital influence on the ownership of the land, advised by Laurence in 1726, was extensively followed throughout England during the second quarter of the century;² although in certain districts like Rochdale and the county of Cumberland, copyhold remained strongly settled in the economic system even into the nineteenth century. Leases for lives were the first step in alteration of the land-holding. They placed the absolute ownership of the land in the hands of the landlord, but the tenants retained the right of inheritance for the duration of the lives specifically mentioned in the lease. In the advertisements in the Manchester Mercury, extending from the foundation of the journal in 1752 till the end of 1755, when the custom of referring prospective clients to agents for particulars arose, the parcels of land regarding which the lease is mentioned may be roughly divided in the proportion of two

1. Man. Merc. Nov. 7, 1752. 2. There was a wave of annual alteration to leasehold in the 16th and 17th centuries.

to one , between leases for lives and for terms of years. In many cases, the kind of lease is mentioned, but only the annual value, from which one would infer that they were mostly on either leases for a term of years or on tenancy at will. It may however be concluded that leasehold lands were fairly equally divided between leases for a term of years, and those for lives. The latter would tend to be more numerous in rural districts and the former in the towns. For example only one of all the properties advertised in Manchester itself is concerned with leases of dwelling houses on three lives, though in that case the lives are all young. The prevalence of this custom during the later seventeenth and the first three-quarters of the eighteenth centuries is attested by the deeds and charters of Agecroft Hall, near Manchester. They are ~~for~~ leases for lands in Pendleton, Pendlebury, Prestwich, etc., covering the period from 1631 to 1787, and are¹ chiefly for lives." But this system had the disadvantage of uncertainty of tenure, especially from the landlord's point of view, and in the case of long lives was an obstacle to advancing the rent as the value of the land rose. There was also the drawback that in the later years of the tenancy, the tenants would tend to let the land run out, and when the lease fell in, it would be in² poor condition for their successors.

1. Lancs. and Ches. Ant. Soc. Vol. iv, p. 214.

2. Holt. Survey of Lanc. Agric. 1795. Spirit of Improvement p. 81.

Hence we find the tenancy being changed for a definite term, varying from seven to twenty-one years.^{1.} One instance occurs in Pendleton of a lease for three lives, and twenty-one years thereafter, thus combining the two systems.² Two cases occur in Rochdale in 1741, of land let for the term of eleven years; one is Little Howarth, 9 acres, and the other Newhey, 25 acres. Both are let to woollen weavers, and contain covenants restricting the tenants freedom of cultivation.³ A lease of 19 years is also mentioned in an advertisement,⁴ and there is one case of a sale of a chief rent on some lands in Wigan that are let on a lease of 999 years. In the latter case, 15 years had expired, so the lease had been granted in 1740, on the threshold of the period under consideration.⁵ One of the earliest advertisements illustrates the transition. "To be let for a term of lives or years, a number of choice farms, from £150 to £5, or under if required....". These lands were in the lordships of Reading and Gt. Harwood, in the triangle between Burnley, Clitheroe, and Blackburn.⁶

1. Gent. Mag. Nov. 1752. There are some leases of 21 years occurring in Norfolk.
2. Manch. Merc. Augt. 28th, 1753.
3. A.P. Wadsworth, Manuscript material.
4. Manch. Merc. April 9th, 1754.
5. ibid Sept. 16th, 1755
6. ibid Octr. 23rd, 1753

A point in connection with church and college lands remains to be noted. A writer in 1739, fellow of a college in Cambridge, explains that the custom had grown up of renewing the leases of years or lives automatically. This was done by adding a life to the lease at every death, or adding 7 years as each period of 7 years expired, so that the leases always had at least 2 lives or 14 years to run. But fines were exacted for these renewals, thus raising the actual though not the nominal rent;¹ and of course being arbitrary, they tended to introduce an element of uncertainty into the tenure. Some slight corroboration of this is found in the wording of an advertisement of a "message, stable and smithy in Prescot, lease hold for years renewable from the lessee of King's College, Cambridge, under a small reserved rent"²

OK RENTS.

It remains only to mention the other main system of leasing land that of tenancy at will or rack-renting. The disadvantage of this is again the uncertainty of both rent and tenure. The landlord could arbitrarily raise the rent, or terminate the lease; with the natural result that the tenants took as much out of the land as they could, and anything in the nature of husbanding the resources of the soil was unknown. This practice was

1. Rylands Library Pamphlet 7035.T.5.E.(1739)
2. Manch. Merc. Novr. 13th, 1753.

resulted in turn in the landlord raising the rent to the highest point at which tenants could be found, and so on in a vicious circle until the land would be utterly impoverished. In fact this impoverishing of the soil was the inevitable result of any system that rendered the actual term of tenancy uncertain, or place the amount of the rent from year to year at the arbitrary disposal of the landlord. It was the defect that lay at the root of leases for lives, as well as the rack-rents, and in the case of the church and college lands, mentioned above, the writer says that the arbitrary fine exacted for renewals put the tenants "in as bad a position often as the rack-rent tenants, of whom there were few on such lands." It has not been possible to determine to what extent rack-rents obtained in Lancashire, but several messuages, totally a yearly value of £141, in the Manor of Tottington, are frankly advertised as being all let upon rack-rents.¹ The practice would thus seem to have been very common in at least some parts of the county. Edward Laurence disapproves of rack-rents and advocates leases of 15 or 21 years, with proper covenants.²

TENANTS.

Not only did the system of leases tend increasingly toward definite periods of time, but leases during this period contained covenants, or conditions restricting the freedom of the tenant in cultivation. Their main object was to ensure that the land would at

 1. Manch.Merc. May 6th, 1755. 2. Duty of a steward. 150 ff.

the end of the lease be left in good condition for the new tenant. Edward Laurence in 1726 details the covenants which prevailed on the estates of the Duke of K-- in the county of H--.¹ They are 22 in number, and are mostly concerned with the duties of the tenant. Tenants are forbidden to pare and burn land, or to sow hemp, rape, flax, woad, madder, etc., and potatoes or hops were only to be sown for private use. They are not allowed to convert pasture to pillage, except where the growth of moss renders it necessary, and they are to spend all hay and straw on the premises. These restrictions, designed to preserve the fertility of the land and the proportion of grass and arable, are supported by laying down the rotation of crops, a four course system of fallow, corn (wheat, rye or barley), beans or peas, and barley or oats. Another set of restrictions which refers to keeping rabbits, greyhounds, guns, the snaring of game, and the paying of the mole-catcher, as well as a prohibition of sub-letting, evidently has the same obstacle in view. The tenant agrees to keep all buildings, bye roads and hedges in good repair, and scour all ditches; to serve all parish offices and perform all services laid on the

1. Duty of a Steward P.150 ff.

land and to pay all taxes, except the land tax. These are the main provisions and are enforced by penalties which are severe enough to deter any tenant from infringing them.¹

Nearly 70 years later, Holt describes the usual covenants prevailing in Lancashire.² In his description, the landlord is to repair the buildings and the tenant to cart the materials. Another difference is that the tenant is restricted, not to keep pasture intact, but to maintain the proportion of the farm that may be under the plough at one time: and instead of a prescribed rotation, he is limited to the number of crops that may be taken from one breaking of the land. He is restrained from selling off his stock till the close of his last year, and is to receive three-quarters of the wheat that is growing when he gives up possession. It will thus be seen that throughout the greater part of the century the usual covenants remained practically the same, except for more freedom in the choice of a crop for any one year, and the change of responsibility for repairs.³ In the leases of 1741, referred to above, some simple covenants are inserted. In one case the

1. Duty of a Steward - See table appended to this chapter
2. Holt. Survey of the Agriculture of Lanes.
3. See Curtler; Hist. of Agriculture for details of covenant in Norfolk leases about the end of the century. In greater detail, they are substantially as Holt describes for Lanes.

farmer is not to plough the meadow ground, and is not to set potatoes except for his own use. He is to do minor repairs and to plant six trees yearly. In the other, the only covenant seems to have been that the tenant was not to plough more than ¹ four acres of pasture in the last three years.

SIZE OF
FARMS

One of the outstanding features of the 18th century with regard to agriculture was the tendency to increase the size of farms. A recent writer has analysed the return from 500 parishes ² in England, and from these he concludes that there was a remarkable consolidation of estates, and a shrinking in the number of small ones between the early 17th century and 1785. According to a table he gives, it is seen that selected owners made their ³ greatest acquisitions between 1720 and 1785. His conclusion is supported by a very general consensus of opinion among contemporaries that the closing years of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century were fatal to the small owner. The frequency with which engrossing of farms is discussed during the 18th century is evidence that the movement was very wide spread. The classical illustration of this tendency is the advice of Laurence to stewards.

1. A. P. Wadsworth. Man. material

2. Johnson; disappearance of small land owner. Lect.

3. ibid. Table 5.

"A steward should as much as in him lieth and without oppression, endeavour to lay all the small farms, let to poor indigent people, to great ones."¹ This is to be done when leases fall into hand by death or by expiry of the term. In another place, he assigns as a reason for this, that tenants who, in the north rent small farms have, generally speaking, but little substance wherewith to make any expensive improvements.² Laurence also encourages the buying out of free-holders wherever they can be persuaded to sell,³ and by the whole tone of his work, gives expression to the prevailing desire to increase the size of holdings. A writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, living in Suffolk, says "When I first came to settle in this country, the parish I reside in was divided into 28 farms, exclusive of those who occupied land in it and lived in another; and then the people in general lived well, and at peace with each other; now twelve of these farms are added to the other 16, disputes daily arise and poverty has made large strides in the parish."⁴ Another writer

1. Duty of a Steward. P.35 2. ibid.P.3

3. ibid.P.36 and 37

4. Gentleman's Magazine Octr. 1752.

speaks in 1755 of the very large farms which are common on Norfolk, some as large as 3,000 acres.¹ Evidence

might easily be multiplied to show the extent of this tendency, which attracted such great attention, and, for the most part, reprobation from the writers of the day.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the whole kingdom was monopolised by great farms. No doubt the presence of a few in any district gave rise to numerous complaints. Arthur Young, in 1770, gives particulars of "250 farms, of all sorts and sizes, on all kinds of soil, and under every variation of culture and stock, spread over a line of country, more than 5,200 miles in extent, which undoubtedly present an epitome of all that part of the country through which the tour was made.² One queries the distance, as in his own summary in another place, only about 1100 miles can be traced, but the farms he mentions certainly present a comprehensive picture, and justify certain conclusions. The average total acreage is 287, 148 of grass, and 149 of arable land, with an average rental of £142-12-6d. His conclusion is that the "greatest part of the kingdom is divided into moderate farms; for these under 300 acres (including the most waste and barren soils) cannot be thought large in

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1. Museum Rusticum April 1765. Letter from Bradfield, on reasons for failures in farming.
 2. Northern tour. Vol. iv. Letter xxxvi.

24.

any county. The tour extends twice through the large one of Northumberland, which contains few farms that are small, and some so great as 6,000 acres, several of which class are included in the average; the generality, therefore, must be of very moderate size for the medium of the whole to be no greater than 287 acres. This is a fact which contradicts very strongly the popular ideas current at present that the whole kingdom is monopolised by great farms!¹ He confirms his conclusions that the average is small by the rental figures, saying that £142 is nowhere counted a large farm, even by those who complain of engrossing.

Into this general picture, it is easy to fit the conditions of Lancashire. That county was one of the strongholds of the small farmer, and the growth of manufacturing only confirmed this characteristic. The size of the farms enumerated by Young in Lancashire vary from 35 to 400 acres, but only two reach or exceed 200 acres. The district containing the largest is that around Garstang, where the figures are 110, 160, and 200 respectively. The 400 acre farm is in the Ormskirk district, but the others given in that district are small. The average acreage of farms enumerated round Lancaster and Kabers is 60, round Garstang 160, round Bowles 65, round Ormskirk the average of 164, and between Warrington and Altringham 110.² To give the rental figures would

1. Northern Tour. Vol. iv Letter xxxvi.

2. ibid. Vol. 3. Letter 18

only confirm the impression given by the acreage, although they would tend to bring out the fact that there were many smaller farms than the average would indicate at first sight. For instance, between Lancaster and Garstang, farms of £10 a year are frequently mentioned, and between Wigan and Warrington, £15 is mentioned as a minimum. Round Halsall, near Ormskirk, farms are from £5 to £100 per annum, but chiefly round £40. In one of the parishes in this district, the text does not make clear which, Young says there are 2,000 acres, divided into 100 farms, making an average of 20 acres. And in his recapitulation, no farm of more than £200 a year is mentioned in Lancashire. Further evidence is given in 1795 by Aiken, - "Land has become more minutely divided since the introduction of manufactures..... in most townships there is one farm, still distinguished by the name of "The Old Hall", or "Manor House" (the former residence of the great proprietor of the district), which is of larger extent than any of the neighbouring farms; few of them, however, exceed, 600 acres, and many do not reach 200. The more general size of farms is from 50 acres down to 20 acres, or even as much as will keep a horse or a cow."

1. Northern Tour. Vol. 4. P.405 -406.
2. Aiken. Hist. of Manch. 1795 p.23.

Enough has been said to show that in the alluvial districts the tendency to small farms was not much disturbed by the sixties of the 18th century. The tendency to small holding is accentuated as we get more into the hill districts, especially those where manufacturing was being carried on under the domestic system. The advertisements from the Manchester Mercury cannot be considered as complete evidence, but they too point in the direction of quite small holdings.¹ It will be remembered that the two leases of 1741 in Rochdale were for 9 and 25 acres respectively.² In 1745, as mentioned above, Robert Entwistle, of Foxholes, near Rochdale, was possessed among other property of 15 holdings of copyhold land, let to at least six different tenants.³ In Brandwood, a district on the edge of the moors, near Rochdale, about this period, we find that the small-holder is in the ascendant. Seventeen "owners and occupiers" have holdings of acreage varying from one and a fraction to 108 acres, the majority being from two to 15 acres. Holdings of "occupiers only" range from one acre up to 50, the majority being under 25 acres. The following table of holdings in Rochdale parish is unfortunately not accurately dated, but applies, I am assured, to the years near the middle of the eighteenth century.⁴

1. They advertise holdings of 8,13,13,8,15,100, 52,(16 tenements comprising 41 acres),12,15,3,169,10,20,18 and 9 acres. There is also an advertisement of several farms from £5 to £150 per annum. These are at various dates.
- 2,3 and 4. This information is from the manuscript material of A.P. Wadsworth Esq., of the Manchester Guardian staff, the results of whose investigations were placed at my disposal.

Under 5 acres	67	holders
5-10 acres	98	"
10-15 "	57	"
15-20 "	34	"
20-30 "	23	"
30-40 "	13	"
40-50 "	2	"
50-60 "	3	"
60-70 "	0	"
70-80 "	1.	"

Out of 298 holders all but six have holdings of less than forty acres, while of the 292, 222 have not more than fifteen acres each. But even in Rochdale there is a farm, Gristlehurst Hall, advertised for sale, which contains 127 acres of meadow, pasture, and arable, and 42 acres of wooded ground (Manch. Merc. Jan. 16. 1753.)

Although more will be said later, it will be well to note here the intimate connection between the domestic system of industry, and the small agricultural holdings. The influence of manufactures on the size of holdings of land is already being felt in certain quarters in 1726. There is the example of Sir Walter Calverly, near Leeds in Yorkshire, - "who by laying out considerable sums in building fulling mills on the river, has tempted the cloth makers to come and settle there with their families, insomuch that his estate, and lands round about, quickly advanced and doubled the old rent." It will be seen later that the restrictions of the municipal corporations in the 17th and early 18th centuries, and the increased cost of living in the towns, tended to drive the independent weavers and clothworkers into the country. This was especially the case with the attempts to regulate the woollen industry of Yorkshire. The uncertainty

1. Duty of a Steward, p. 35-6. | 2. See Heaton: Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries (1920) pp224-34, 291-2.

of being able to weave or spin full time, because of the imperfect arrangements for co-ordinating the various parts of the manufacture, was an incentive to have a few acres of land that could be worked in slack time, and provide part of the subsistence for the family. There is abundant ~~existing~~ evidence of this connection between small holdings of agricultural land and the domestic industry during the period under discussion. Defoe's description of the Halifax woollen area is too well known to need repetition here.¹ The leases of 9 and 25 acres of land previously quoted were both to weavers near Rochdale.² Bishop Pococke in 1750 tells of encountering a boy at New Church, Rossendale, who told him that "his father paid £6 a year, kept a horse, 3 cows and 40 sheep; that his father and he wove woollen, both for their clothing and to sell", which he mentions as an instance of their manner of living in these parts.³ The advertisements in the Manchester Mercury of small holdings of land frequently mention that they are either fitted with buildings for some branch of the clothing trade, or are suitable for it. Perhaps the most typical is the one offering "a number of choice farms of from £150 to £5 or order if required....with buildings erected thereon suitable for any farmer, grazier, or

1. Defoe, Tour. Vol. iii, p. 135-6 (ed. 1762)

2. See supra, p. 42. Note 4.

3. Pococke, Camden Soc. Vol. 1. p. 203-4.

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or trader. This is an obvious attempt to meet the needs of the farmer-manufacturer.

Nor was it only in the manufacturing districts of the north that the small holder was able to resist the encroachments of the great farms. The Vale of Pickering as late as 1788 was largely in the hands of small farmers. "The major part of the lands of the district are the property and in general are in the occupation of the yeomanry. Pickering township contains about 300 freeholders, principally occupying their own small estates. At present no man is owner of £300 a year of landed estate, lying within the township, though its rental, if rack-rented, would be not less than six or seven thousand pounds." That small holding was a success even where manufacturing was not present is proven by the fact that in this district rents are higher than in Norfolk, and the highest rents are for small parcels. These let at from 30 to 40 shillings an acre while the larger holdings seldom bring more than 20 shillings. 3 Such, however, are exceptions to, rather than contradictions of, the general tendency to increase the size of farms.

ENCLOSURES

The enclosure movement is the crown and completion of the changes in the economic structure of the industry,

- 1. Oct. 23, 1753
- 2. Marshall. Yorkshire, 1788. p.20
- 3. Ibid Ibid.

and at the same time it is the channel through which the new commercial and individualistic spirit found its full expression. Enclosures meant the abandonment of the wasteful methods of the open field system for a system in which economy of management, and the new technical progress could reap their full reward. When farming became more a source of profit than a means of subsistence for the community, open fields were doomed and enclosures were already on the horizon. They mark the completion of the transition from the manorial organization where the lord of the manor was the head, social as well as economic, of a largely self-sufficing community, to the capitalistic organization where the landlord is the apex of an industry organized for profit.

We have seen that steps in this direction were being taken by the gradual concentration of the rights of ownership, and by the tendency to a larger unit of production in the larger farm. Enclosures were the logical outcome. The earlier enclosure movements were the foreshadowings of what took place in the 18th and 19th centuries on a much larger scale. They were attempts to over-ride or extinguish the scattered rights of ownership which prevented the use of the land for what the landlords considered the most profitable purposes. The opposition to them was from those who suffered, and their sympathisers, or from those who opposed the social changes and

shifting of population which enclosures brought in their train. Similarly with the larger movement, except that it came when there was sufficient impetus in the times to overbear the opposition. Advocates of enclosures could see little but the great economic benefits. Opponents were intent upon the social suffering and injustices which enclosures entailed, more, it must be admitted, from the methods used than from any inherent evil in the principle of the movement. This explains the sharp division of opinion which has characterised the discussion of enclosures down to our own day, when the question has ceased to have much more than an academic interest.

That the impulse toward enclosures was economic is proven by the close correspondence between the number of enclosure acts and the price of wheat at different periods of the eighteenth century.¹ On the purely economic side, enclosures were an undoubted benefit. They made it possible for progressive farmers to eliminate the waste of time and of land that was a feature of the common fields. They made possible experiments in new methods, and allowed land to be used ~~more~~ for the purposes to which it was best suited. The result was -----

1. See appended table of enclosure by decades in each county. (Gonner).

See also the table published since this was written of the eighteenth century.

a much larger net produce of the agricultural land, for sale to the ~~non-food-producing~~ ^{urban and manufacturing} portion of the population or for export. On the other hand, they had the effect of dislocating the rural social structure. They tended to the disappearance of the cottar class, who had gained part of their subsistence from their small holding, and of the squatters who had gained part of a livelihood from the waste; and deprived both of their old rights of common, by which, they had been able to keep animals or poultry to add to their means of sustenance. They were an important factor in reducing the number of small holders of farms. These, like the cottars, were unable to bear their share of the enclosure expenses and the new hedging and ditching required by the new arrangements; and so were forced to sell their holdings. They either became tenant farmers, or went into trade, or more commonly sank to the level of landless labourers. There is an extensive modern literature on this whole question, so that it is not necessary for the present purpose to discuss the merits and demerits of the movement further.

Gonner describes the various methods by which

1. Gonner; Common Fields and Enclosures. He deals with the question largely from the purely economic side, and is little impressed with its social defects. Slater, Johnson, Hasbach, are examples of writers who are mostly concerned with the social side.

Curtis: (A book ~~published~~ published since this was written) Enclosures in the Eighteenth Century.

Hammond

enclosures was brought about. These were (1) the extinction of common in the ordinary process of law, by uniting the possession of the various rights, by severing the rights of common from the tenement to which they were attached, by release by the owner of common rights, by disuse, by the destruction of the produce for which the right was held, etc; (2) the withdrawal from common by sufferance; (3) agreement, that is, the right of the lord to make any use he wished of the land so long as the common rights were preserved; (4) agreement, which varied from a genuine agreement of all holders, to those forced by pressure, even to the extent of suits in the court of Chancery; this method was common in the 17th, and to some extent in the 18th, century; (5) Parliamentary enclosures by private acts, and later under general enclosure Acts.

This last was not a novel idea, for a general enclosure act had been advocated as early as 1681. But enclosure by private act begins systematically with the reign of Queen Anne. There were several in the reign of Geo. I., and during the reign of Geo. II., they become a considerable number each year. The period to 1801, ~~that is~~^{or}, throughout the 18th century, sees the growth of the private acts into a highly developed system. From 1801 to 1845 the private acts were passed under the provisions of the General Enclosures Act of 1801, and after 1845 ~~they~~^{enclosures} were carried out

by permanent public bodies set up under the act of that year.¹ In our period we are concerned with the stage at which the growth of the private act had arrived about the middle of the 18th century.

Three main waves or periods of enclosure may be distinguished in the course of the eighteenth century. It is possible that so far as enclosure by agreement proceeded it would follow the main outlines of the waves of enclosure by Private Acts. The first period is the one from the accession of Anne to the death of George II in 1760. During this period one writer states there were 200 Acts, 130 for the enclosure of open fields and 70 for the enclosure of waste and some common.² Another, writing somewhat later, enumerates 208 Acts in the same period, 152 for common and waste, and 56 for the enclosure of waste only.³ Hasbach, again, says there were 244 acts, two in the reign of Anne, 16 in the reign of George I,⁴ and 226 under George II. The last is the most interesting for the present purpose, as the figures show the steady rise in the number of Acts, there being nearly thirteen times as many in the 33 years of the last reign, as in the 27 years of the two previous ones.

In 1760 the country was on the eve of a great wave of enclosure which lasted for the next two decades.

1. Gonner p.43 et seq.
2. Prothero. Eng. Farming, Past and Present.
3. Johnson. Disappearance of the Small Landowner.
4. Eng. Agr. Labourer. Chap. 1.

It should be noted that like many other movements of the later eighteenth century, this wave of enclosures did not rise out of a period of stagnation, but was rather the result of the preparation of the previous half ~~century~~ century. There then occurred a decade of comparative quiet in the movement, followed by another great wave of enclosures, beginning in 1790 and continuing until about 1810. It was when this wave was in full progress that the first General Enclosure Act was passed in 1801. The magnitude of the movement may be seen by the fact that in the last forty years of the century there were 2000 Enclosure Acts passed, as compared with 208 enumerated by the same writer passed between 1700 and 1760.¹ The acreage shows about the same proportion, being 312,363 acres in the first period and 3,180,871 between 1760 and 1800. As compared with previous centuries, there was as much land enclosed in the first sixty years of the 18th century as in two centuries before.² It must be remembered, however, that there was a good deal of land being enclosed during these centuries by other methods such as those mentioned above, and this proportion, therefore, does not present an accurate account of the actual enclosures. The inaccuracy, ~~however,~~ is not so great as might at first appear, because the

1; Johnson. qua supra, Note 2.

2. Ibid.

eighteenth century also saw a great deal of land enclosed without resort to Parliament. Lord Ernle names seventeen counties where enclosures¹ was nearly complete by 1790, and largely without the intervention of the House of Commons. But it is impossible to ascertain now what proportion the land enclosed other than by Acts of Parliament in the eighteenth century bore to ^{that enclosed in} the previous ones.

An outstanding feature to be noted in connection with the Enclosures of the first sixty years of the century is the transition from the enclosure by agreement to that by legislative enactments. At first when legal sanction was felt to be necessary because of the opposition of some of the free-holders resort was had to suits in the Court of Chancery; and the decisions of that court fixed the division as a legal change. But this was slow and cumbersome, and in the reign of Anne there began the systematic resort to the Parliament. During the early part of the century many of the acts are merely confirmatory, and some even have no commissioners appointed. Gradually, however, the agreements became less frequent, and the act with commissioners which had at first been the least usual, became the regular method. This was perhaps due to the tacit acknowledgment by Parliament that the consent of the

1. Eng. Farming. Chap. vii. Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Sussex, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Hereford, Monmouth, Shropshire, Stafford, Cheshire, Lancs. Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham.
2. Gonner. Common Land and Enclosures.

owners of four-fifths of the land concerned was sufficient warrant for the passing of the Act. By 1760 the Act, where there was no complete agreement, had become¹ the general rule.

Side by side with this transition there grew up the practice of inserting in the bills provisions designed to safeguard the enclosures from some of the most common sources of injustice. An oath of impartiality was usually taken from the commissioners from about 1760; and there was a gradual growth of provision for publicity in the preliminary stages, which gave the opponents of the measure warning and opportunity to prepare their case for the Committee of the House. The provision for the roads was naturally one of the earliest safeguards to be placed in the bills.² The provision for the poor who would be dispossessed also became more general, but was not so well guarded, nor so carefully considered, as some other phases of the question.

Lancashire presents an interesting problem in connection with enclosures. That county and Cheshire lay off to the North West of the great enclosure belt, which, narrow in the South West, gradually broadened out as it passed across the Midlands to the North Eastern Counties. Lancashire belongs to that group of seventeen

 1 & 2. Gonner. Common Land and Enclosures.

Enclosure
 IN
 LANCASHIRE.

counties mentioned above in which enclosure was practically completed without resort ~~at~~ to Parliament. Lord Ernle also states that no Parliamentary Enclosures took place in Kent, Devon, Cornwall, or Lancashire. With regard to the latter county, he must surely mean that no Parliamentary Enclosures of Open Fields took place there, for Enclosure Acts for common and waste are too numerous to have escaped his attention.

There were altogether some forty Enclosure Acts passed in connection with waste and common in Lancashire during the 18th century. There were two in 1724, and one near Garstang in 1730. For the next twenty years there is no single act relating to either Lancashire or Cheshire, though "at the same time multitudes were being passed for other parts." The writer responsible for the above statements says "it is not at all unlikely that during this interval as at other periods many enclosures were carried out by agreement. Where the commoners were all of full age, and competent to consent, and were few in number, a scheme could be carried out without going to Parliament." The title of an Act in 1750 implies that the agreement was tried but was found incomplete without resort to the legislature. It is entitled "An Act for confirming articles of agreement, and dividing the commons and Waste Ground in the Manor of Culceth."

Between 1750 and 1762 six other acts were passed, the places dealt with being Ellel near Lancaster, Loughton near Preston, Walton on the Hill, and Fazakerley, Lowton near Wigan and Astley, and an Act in 1761 mentioned by Holt in 1795 for the enclosure of Worbrach Moor, which is missed by the writer in the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society papers.¹

But the presence of these Acts for common and waste makes the complete absence of Parliamentary enclosures of open fields all the more notable. It is difficult to find a satisfactory answer. No doubt several influences combined to produce the result. The first of these contributory causes is the fact that the bulk of the county was enclosed before the period of enclosure by Acts. Southern Lancashire was one of the most enclosed districts of England as early as the date of Beland's Itinerary in 1536-42;² ~~Sir George Hamilton's in 1648.~~ Gonner has in his book given a table prepared from the Tour described in Ogilby's Britannia near the end of the seventeenth century. He deduces the percentage of enclosed land from the road maps. At that time only 12 per cent of the land in Lancashire was unenclosed. This is borne out by the descriptions of Celia Fiennes in the last decade of the same century.

1. Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc. Vol. vi. p. 112-126.

2. Common Land and Enclosure. Chap. ii.

According to her account, the seven long miles from Preston to Wigan^f was mostly through lanes. From Gascoyne to Lancaster was mostly all through lanes, being enclosed country. From Blackstone Edge the view was of a fruitful valley full of enclosures, and from Rochdale to Manchester the grounds were all enclosed with quickset.¹ When the new technique of the eighteenth century arose, there would be such widespread illustrations of the benefits of enclosures under the new methods of culture in the old enclosed land, that it would be easier than in other parts to secure the consent of the owners to the change. That there were enclosures of common fields in Lancashire during the 18th century is proven by the following passage in Holt's Survey in 1795; "There are but few open or common fields now remaining; the inconvenience attending which, when they were in that state, having caused great exertions to accomplish a division in order that every individual might cultivate his own lands according to his own method, and concentrate all lands of one property on one point."²

Another influence tending to make agreement possible in enclosing the common fields is noticed by a recent writer on Social Movements. He says "While in the Midlands, arable land was being converted rapidly to pasture,

1. Slater. p.255 ff.

2. Holt. General Survey of Agriculture in Lancashire p.49.

and Cockeram as typical, total 177 acres, of which only 59 acres was arable. In the Garstang district, three farms total 470 acres, of which 180 only are arable. **EX** Round Bowles, between Warrington and Prescot, of 195 acres only 62 are arable. In the Ormskirk district, and on the road from Warrington to Altringham the proportion is about the same.¹ Gonner is perhaps nearer the specific cause when he speaks of the suitability of Lancashire for pasturage.² If pasturage was the most profitable use that could be made of the land, its division and enclosure would make less disturbance in the local arrangements than if the whole system of cultivation were undergoing alteration.

A third cause which may have been operative is mentioned by both Slater and Gonner, viz:- the possibility of the land having been held on some system whereby common rights gained no conspicuous position. Gonner hazards the conjecture that the land may have been brought under cultivation from the wild state at a late period, either by direct enclosure, or by a system free from common rights.³ Slater, on the rather slender evidence of the quotation made above from Holt,⁴ concludes that it would appear from this "that the open

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1. Young: Northern Tour.iii.Letter 18.
 2. Gonner: Common Land and Enclosures.p.124
 3. Common Lands and Enclosures. p.124.
 4. See supra.p.49. Note 1.

the general effect of enclosure in the north and west was to extend the area of tillage and with it the means for constant employment." This quotation seems to point the way to at least a partial understanding of the lack of parliamentary enclosures in Lancashire. The great objection continually made against enclosures was that they made it more difficult for the labouring classes and small farmers to get a living, and thereby led to depopulation. In many parts of England enclosures tended to the increase of the size of holdings, and to the increase of pasturage. Where this was the case, even if there was no actual injustice in the agreements for division, there would be less work for the labouring class after the first hedging and ditching and road-making was over; and the consequence was either increased distress or fewer people in the district.

But it is not equally clear that it was an increase in the amount of land actually under tillage that prevented such objections in Lancashire. The fact of so much early enclosure in the county has been mentioned; and not only would the force of example reduce the opposition to the later enclosures, but the comparatively small part of the common fields left would cause less disturbance of the social organism in any one district. The description given by Arthur Young of the conditions in Lancashire tends to show that grass land formed much the larger proportion of the farms he visited. Three farms quoted round Kabers
 1. Dobbs; Education and Social Movements. 1700-1850, p. 64.

fields of Lancashire, though unenclosed, intermixed, and subject to some common rule of cultivation, were not subject to common rights. Anyone, therefore, who by exchange or by buying and selling could get his lands together in a convenient plot, might enclose without trespassing on his neighbours.¹ Unfortunately for Slater's argument, the evidence as to the existence of common rights is too strong to be thrust aside.. The Lees field, for instance, near Oldham, remained an open or common field of pasturage till enclosed in 1841, when it was laid out for separate ownership. This field as late as 1806-7 had nine proprietors, and was stinted for 13 cows.² Further it was not likely that common rights would exist over the "common", and over the waste, and not over the arable lands.

Gonner's other conjecture, however, that much land was enclosed direct from the waste has more evidence to support it. This was especially the case in the hill districts, for most of the open or common fields were in the alluvial plains, which would naturally be cultivated first.³ Laurence in 1727 declares that it is the duty of a good steward to prevent gradual enclosure by yeomen, especially where the lord of the manor is the owner of the Great Tithe.⁴

1. Slater. English Peasants and the Enclosure of Common Fields. p.255.
 2. Lancs. and Ches. Antiquarian Soc. Vol.xxxv.p.43.
 3. Aitkin. History of Manchester.
 4. Laurence. Duty of a Steward.

The court leet records provide numerous instances of men being presented for enclosing from the waste. At first, no doubt, they were compelled to throw the land into the waste again, but in some districts the custom grew up of exacting a fine, and making the land copyhold from the lord of the manor. This was the custom, for example, in Rochdale, and continued into the nineteenth century. In 1811 John Entwistle is presented for enclosing 150 acres from the waste; but this was for the purpose of exacting a fine, as there is no record of its being thrown open again. In deeds and wills the phrase "new taken in" land frequently occurs during the eighteenth century.¹ There can be little doubt that this process of gradual enclosure from the waste went on during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but was much accelerated in the eighteenth.

Still another factor in the situation is the presence of manufactures in the county. This is a factor of which scarcely any notice is taken by modern writers on the subject. Gonner in his exhaustive work incidentally mentions that there was a distinct tendency to enclosures in the districts adjacent to London and the

 1. Manuscript material, A.P.Wadsworth Esq. He has a copy of the Court Leet Record, in the Barony of the Manor of Rochdale. In a deed of 1725, for a parcel called Spotland, the phrase "new taken in land" occurs, and in a will dated 1727, land is spoken of as "new taken in", improved of Shoreham Moor. The former parcel is 2 acres, property of a yeoman, and is on copyhold.

great manufacturing centres.¹ But he does not discuss the bearing of manufactures on the enclosure movement. This influence would have effect in two ways. There was a rapidly increasing manufacturing and commercial population, and much of this growth was in the towns. Lancashire increased 78% during the first half of the century, and was third after Middlesex and Surrey in density of population amongst the English counties. Liverpool increased ten fold from 1680 to 1760; Manchester five ~~xix~~ times from 1717 to 1773. These urban populations were creating a market near the farms for dairy produce, meats and vegetables.² Such a demand made the use of small areas for pasture and market gardening a profitable venture; so that there would not be the same tendency for enclosure to result in larger farms.³ Consequently, anything that promised to result in increased produce per acre, or to make possible more efficient management would be welcomed. Again the demand for labour for the manufactures would combine with the demand for labour on the farms to make work so plentiful that the social changes would be carried through without any considerable suffering for the labouring classes, in fact rather to their advantage.

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1. Common Land and Enclosure.p.107. Speaks of the influence of urban and industrial growth, but says nothing of the influence of domestic system.
 2. See below Indust. Chap. 1. p.
 3. Holt in 1795, also Aikin, remark that land had become more minutely divided in the previous 40 years.

On the other hand the combination of farming with manufacturing in the domestic system made the compact holding preferable to the scattered strips of the common fields. The profits of the manufacture would also tend to make the farmer manufacturer indifferent to, if not actually in favour of, the process of enclosure. Thus we see that in Lancashire the two main objections to enclosures, the consolidation of the land into larger farms, and the social suffering of the lower classes and consequent depopulation, did not obtain. The tendency to small holdings was accentuated rather than checked during the period of enclosures. The demand for labour due to the more intense farming necessary to supply dairy products and meats for the growing towns, and the demand for part of full time labourers in the manufactures themselves, was so great as to lead to higher wages, and increased rather than reduced population. These facts go far to explain why there were no Acts for the Enclosure of Common Fields in Lancashire during the 18th century. The necessity or rather the presence of Acts for the enclosure of common and waste may have arisen from the fact that proportions of land to be given to each owner were more difficult to determine, and Acts with commissioners were necessary to fix the changes and avoid litigation. Again, in many parts there would be an indeterminate common rights for which there might be a legal doubt as to their holders being entitled to any compensation, and the holders

of such rights would oppose enclosure as tending to extinguish their privileges without compensation. In enclosing common fields these questions would hardly arise, and complete agreement would be much more easily reached. Further, as the common fields were mostly in the alluvial plains of the valleys, it may be presumed that the farmers there would be more progressive than their struggling brethren of the less prosperous hill districts. Then again it must be remembered that many of the acts in the first sixty years were mainly to confirm an agreement already reached.

In conclusion, it may be noted that enclosure would probably be easier where the owners were largely on a social and economic level. Marshall describes the process in the vale of Pickering, which by 1788 was in a state of enclosure. This district was almost entirely in the hands of small yeomen, and enclosure had been reached by amicable arrangement amongst themselves. This would seem to indicate that where small holders prevailed to such an extent as they did there, and in most parts of Lancashire, there would be a community of interest and consequently less mutual suspicious of each others motives than would prevail where the project was being pushed by a few large land-holders.

SUMMARY

We may sum up the forces making for enclosure

1. Marshall: Yorkshire Vol. 1.p.17-19.

by agreement rather than by acts. There was first the force of example from the enclosures of an earlier period. Much of the prejudice against the change would have died out, and when new methods came in, the advantage of enclosures would be so manifest that objection to new ones would be slight. Then we have seen that the accentuated tendency to small holdings and the presence of growing towns made inoperative the usual objection, viz:- depopulation did not follow enclosures in Lancashire, and there was an increased rather than ~~an~~ a decreased demand for labour. In the third place, the small amount remaining to be enclosed would mean that there would be a minimum of disturbance in the social arrangements. A fourth influence was that of the manufacturing element in the population. For the farmer manufacturer a compact holding was preferable to a scattered one. For the cottager, a few days of agricultural labour more or less did not much concern him. A steady supply of weft from the spinners was more important. In the fifth place, the practice of enclosing from the waste for a century or more had familiarized small holders with the principle. And, lastly, there was that community of interest amongst the land-holders who were more nearly on a social and economic level than in most other parts of England.

YEAR

CHAPTER III.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE (cont.)

MARKETS . PRICES . TRANSPORT OF PRODUCE.

CHAPTER 111.
ECONOMIC STRUCTURE (contd.)

MARKETS, PRICES, AND TRANSPORT OF PRODUCE.

Not the least important part of the economic structure of an industry is the organisation by which the producer is linked with the consumer. The character and efficiency of this organization plays a great part in determining the extent of the effective market for the goods, and the extent to which specialization can take place in given localities. Not only does this organization, by means of its knowledge of local conditions in widely separated places, link up the producer and consumer most economically, but its members are the most active agents in promoting improved means of transport and communication.

The method of marketing, and consequently the organization by which the consumer is reached, varies with the product to be marketed. The most direct method, and therefore the simplest organization, obtains in connection with the most perishable forms of produce. Milk and fresh vegetables represent the perishable goods from the farm. So we find them produced in close proximity to the groups of consumers. Towns are supplied from the country in the immediate vicinity. In the eighteenth

2.

century, in some places like Liverpool, large numbers of cows were kept in the town itself. In 1795, Holt estimates that five or six hundred cows were kept in Liverpool, and were fed with hay and the food products from the breweries.¹ But this method did not of course supply the entire demand, and for five or six miles around, the cows kept were almost wholly for the supply of the milk and butter required in the town. Rarely was milk brought from a greater distance than ten miles, and the individual producer was in direct touch with the individual consumer. This system obtained round Manchester also but not so many cows were kept in the town itself, because Liverpool being on the coast, could draw its supplies from only ^a half circle of country,² while Manchester could draw from every side.²

Up till the last quarter of the century, the milk was brought into town on horseback, and distributed to the consumers by someone, usually a woman, from the farm. During our period this system prevailed, and it was not till the later years of the century that the practice arose of conveying the milk in wooden vessels on carts.³ Similarly, it was not till after the beginning of the Industrial Revolution that there arose a class of

1. Holt. Agriculture in Lancs. p.15

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid Footnote to page 15.

retailers who bought the milk wholesale from the farmers, and undertook the organisation of the distribution in the town.¹ This was originally due to the high price of labour, and as the towns got larger, there would be added the economy in the selling organisation thus made possible. One retailer could sell the milk from a number of farms.

The growth and sale of market garden produce would be on a similar basis. The growth of fresh vegetables was sometimes carried out in connection with the dairy farm, because of the possibility of selling the produce at the same time as the milk.² The sale of butter and eggs would be on the same basis also, but less dependent on immediate sale, and therefore they could be brought greater distances. But here too, the middleman did not enter in to any great extent, except in connection with the sale of the local surplus to distant markets beyond the farmer's personal reach. In the remainder of this discussion when products are spoken of, it will be understood that the surplus over local requirements is generally meant. And in the disposal of this surplus the middleman played an important part in the eighteenth century.

MIDDLEMEN.

In fact the development of the middleman

1. Holt. Agriculture in Lancs. p.15.
2. Holt.p.15. footnote. An advantage of the carts he says is that the woman can take along some greens as well for sale to the customers.

function and organisation constitutes one of the most notable features of the century from the Restoration to the outbreak of the Industrial Revolution. In earlier times the middleman was looked upon as an unprofitable member of society, and his activity was jealously restricted by repressive legislation, and continuous government interference. But between 1660 and 1760 this legislation was repealed or fell gradually into disuse, and government interference was to a great extent eliminated. During that period the middleman by his efficiency and by the real economic services he rendered established himself in the important position, from which even the selling economies of great modern producing agencies have not succeeded in altogether ousting him. Especially with regard to the products of the farm, he retains his place with scarcely diminished power.

Several conditions favoured his growth, but he in his turn had no small part in creating and extending the range of those conditions. It is not too much to say that the four-fold increase of British foreign commerce and the accompanying increase in domestic trade during the century before the Industrial Revolution could not have

1. Westerfield. Middlemen in English Business. Tables of Exports and Imports and of shipping. pp. 122-123. Index Number of shipping rises from 45 in 1663 to 181 in 1760. That of the foreign trade rises from 51 in 1662 to 217 in 1760-64.

taken place without the organising and directing work of the classes of middlemen who sprang up in that century. This growth in foreign trade was the result partly of a largely increased agricultural production, leaving a surplus for export; and partly of the rapid growth of manufactures, especially wool. The growing extent and complexity of the market made the specialization of certain localities in production economically profitable. It will be well to trace here the rise and growth of the middlemen function and organization as it affected the disposal of agricultural produce. This will group itself round three products, corn, meats and wool, with a word or two relative to the marketing of butter and cheese.

CORN AND CORN PRODUCTS.

The growth of corn was almost universal throughout the agricultural areas of England. While the population was evenly distributed under the manorial system, and there was little specialization of occupation, each district was practically self-sufficing and the only marketing done apart from the supply of local towns was a small export trade to the continent from districts favourably situated for that purpose. By 1552, however, the growth of towns, and especially the growth of the metropolis had given rise to a distinct class of middlemen. They are described in the statute of that

year which tried to regulate their activities and limit their numbers. Their names indicate the way in which they performed their "economic function of linking up the producers of a surplus in one locality with the consumers in a district which was not self-sufficing. The "badger" or "bagger" was the dealer who went from farm to farm with pack animals and conveyed the grain he purchased in bags or sacks on the animals' backs. The term "kidder" is obscure, but he seems to have been a dealer who bought in one market and conveyed the grain to another to sell. The "lader" was active in the river counties, and loaded the grain into barges or boats for conveyance to distant markets. The "brogger" or broker was at first one who brought buyer and seller together but took no part in the actual sale; but he developed easily into an agent for one part of the other. The "carrier" was also at first an employee whose sole business it was to carry the grain to a distant market. But by the acquisition of specialised knowledge of supply and demand through his frequent journeys to different parts of the country, he passed easily into the speculative dealer and thus added the Middleman function to that of carrier.

The spirit of earlier industrial and commercial

1. Westerfield. Middlemen in English Business. p.135-137. for a fuller description of these middlemen at that time.

legislation was in favour of the consumer, and the statute of 1552¹ was a compromise between a wish to eliminate the speculative middleman, who would increase the price to the consumer, and the recognition of the fact that the inequalities of density of population and the consequent distance between producer and consumer made the existence of such a class a necessity. The general principles of this statute were not new in so far as it was directed against the practices of regrating, forestalling, and engrossing, and it continued the former exceptions in favour of the malsters and millers, and bona fide retail dealers. Its new feature was that it introduced a system of licensing certain badgers and drivers to engross and regrate, but not to forestall. These licenses were to be issued to "badgers, laders, xx kidders, and carriers of Corn, Fish, Butter and Cheese." The issuing of them was entrusted to the Justices of the Peace in the county where the candidate lived. The result was that there were great local inequalities in the case ~~was~~ with which the licenses could be obtained. The difficulties thus raised were practically removed by amending the statute in 1562. The amendments took the form of limiting licenses to married men who were householders and had lived for at least three years

1. 5 and 6 Ed. VI Cap.14, Sec. 7.

in the county for which a license was asked. A fee was to be charged and a register kept of all licenses issued. This legislation seems to have operated tolerable well until after the Restoration when it began to break up.

The first dissolvent element was the statute¹ in 1663, permitting export or engrossing of corn when the prices at home fell below certain listed prices.² Obviously men who did not require a license to enter this trade when prices were low, could be found engaged in an illegal business when prices rose again above the listed level. Then again the price would sometimes be below the legal level in some districts and above in others. It was not to be expected that men who had engaged their capital in this business would cease trading when the prices rose beyond the level up to which their business was legal. "The Act of 1663 was thus an opening wedge in the rigid restraint laid by law upon the middlemen of the corn trade."³ Another element tending to break up the license system was that of bringing only samples to market, instead of whole loads of grain. At first a simple economy of carriage, this method lent itself to large buying, and enabled the farmer to sell his whole surplus crop to one buyer, delivering direct to a specified place at stated times.

1. 15 Chas. 11. Cap. 7.
2. Prices set were, wheat 48s., barley 28s., oats 13/6 per quarter.
3. Westerfield. p.144

This practice arose early in the eighteenth century, and by 1750 was quite general. It made a great difference in the appearance of the corn-markets. "Instead of the vast number of horses and wagons of corn on market days there were crowds of farmers, with their samples, and buyers such as mealmen, millers, corn-buyers, brewers, etc., thronging the market; and on the days between the markets the farmers carried their corn to the hoys and received their pay." ¹ As samples came to be entrusted to agents, the way was opened for greater speculation and a manipulation of the market that helped considerably to bring the control of the trade in corn into the hands of the dealers. The nomenclature of the seventeenth century gave way to more general names such as corn-buyers, engrosser, jobber, and hawker. They performed similar functions to those bearing the old names, but their freedom from legislative restrictions, and growing capital, and the increasing ease of communication, allowed them to buy, store, carry, sell and speculate more freely and extensively than before. ² Another effect of these changing conditions was that as the laws against

1. Defoe, Com. Eng. Trad. Vol.ii.181
 2. Westerfield p.147

fore-stalling fell into disuse, and the buyers established connections with farmers through buying from samples, and dealers called on the farmers at their homes, and bought direct from the granaries, and the farmers gradually ceased to go to market to sell their corn.

Another circumstance that facilitated the rise of the middlemen was a change in government policy regarding the exportation of corn. In 1670 Charles II permitted the importation of corn subject to duties that ~~are~~¹ decreased as the home price increased. He also permitted the export of corn when home prices had fallen below certain levels, and on this export duties² were collected. These duties were repealed practically in 1689, when the principle of export bounties was adopted, and expressly in 1700. Hitherto, the Government had attempted to provide for times of scarcity by prohibiting the export, and under certain conditions allowing importation. Now they reversed the policy, but by means of export bounties encouraged the production of greater quantities of corn, so that the surplus of good years was carried off by exportation, and the supply in bad years would still be

1. 22 Chas. II Cap. 3

2. 12 Chas. II Cap. 4, amended in 22nd year of reign.

Green

sufficient for home consumption. Thus we find that our period up till 1760 was the period of England's greatest export of corn. This remarkable period of export will be considered later, but at present it is noted as one of the elements in the rise of the middleman. Obviously it was not possible for the average farmer to be in personal touch with the foreign markets, and as the surplus for export increased there was a greater field for the activity of the middleman.

Westerfield remarks that "this long legislative contest against the rise of the middleman was at basis a struggle between the economic interests of the locality and of the metropolis."¹ The local public market, and the restrictions laid upon the dealings of middleman buyers therein were for the purpose of ensuring a direct connection between the producer and the consumer. Only after the local consumers had been satisfied, and the existence of a real surplus had been proven was the buyer from a distance permitted to operate. "The rise of the badger through the device of the license, and of sale by sample represent therefore the growing ascendancy of the metropolitan and wholesale markets over the local direct sale and public markets."² This ascendancy was

1. Westerfield p.150

2. Westerfield p.151.

practically complete on the eve of the Industrial Revolution. One result was to equalize the price to a considerable extent over the country with the London price as the standard, the country prices being lower only in proportion to the cost of carriage to the metropolitan centre. With the ascendancy of the wholesale market, the initiative in getting the corn to market passed from the farmer to the wholesale merchant operating directly or through agents.

Before turning to a consideration of the remainder of the middleman organization which passed the corn with or without manufacture to the foreign market or to the home consumer, it will be well to note the function performed by the corn-buyers. In the first place they were assemblers for the exporters, millers, etc who wished to buy in large quantities. The cornbuyers bought from many, assembled in the wares and sold to few. In the second place, they were speculators, assuming a commercial risk for the sake of profit in another market or at a later date in the same market. "Time or places are equalised in supplies, and the prices become more stable over periods of time, and more uniform over large areas."

It has been seen that by the middle of the eighteenth century there was a distinct class of middlemen standing between the farmers on the one hand and the exporting merchants, the wholesale dealers and retail dealers, and the millers, malsters, mealmen and brewers, etc. on the other. Three groups of consumers are to be kept in view. There is the direct consumer who buys the corn manufactured and feeds it to cattle, or has it ground at a neighbouring mill at his own expense before consuming it; there are those who buy it wholesale and manufacture it into food or drink before passing it on to its ultimate consumers; and there is lastly the foreign consumer, represented for our purpose by the exporting merchant. These classes were not separately catered for, but they or their agents were all in the market together.

Factors.

There is first the factor, who is simply an agent for a principal. His function was not speculation, but the linking up of the buyer and seller, and as such he is the successor of the old brogger. These factors set up in one place, and accepted commissions to buy or sell in that market. They established a correspondence with merchants or with other factors in other markets or ports, and, as agents, undertook the purchase or sale of grain for customers at distant points. During the early part of the eighteenth century when the increase in the size of farms took place, large farmers began to employ factors in the large markets to sell for them. Thus

Thus corn factors were well distributed over the whole of England. In London they were numerous, and strong enough to build the Corn Exchange in Mark Lane, and as the number of stands was limited to 72, they had a practical monopoly of the sale of corn in the Port of London. In spite of the outcry amongst contemporary pamphleteers they do not seem to have grossly abused their power, although as the century drew to a close, the stands became concentrated in the hands of a very few factors. They sold from set out on their stands and though some of them bought and sold on their own account the majority of them remained simply commission agents. By manipulating the amount of the visible supply through their samples, they may have sometimes temporarily enhanced the prices, but there is no doubt that over long periods they steadied both supplies and prices.

Jobber. This jobber was essentially a speculator. As operated over long periods, and stored the grain in granaries, there was a danger that in times of scarcity would unduly advance prices. Especially was this the case with the Port of London, which in October and May was declared to be either a closed or open port, for the succeeding six months, according as the local price was high or low.

1. The Corn Exchange in Mark Lane was erected in 1750 by private subscription amongst the parties interested, and its administration was in the hands of a committee.

By flushing the market with reserve supplies at these periods they could keep the port closed, and recoup themselves during the next six months at higher prices. Westerfield who has investigated this subject at some length, concludes however, that the possible use of foreign Corn tended on the whole to equalise rather than to disturb the market price of Corn. Similar conditions prevailed at the out-ports as well, and with similar results.

Merchant. The merchant is difficult to distinguish from the jobber. Both were speculators. But in strict nomenclature the merchant dealt in foreign markets, he was an exporter or importer of corn. In times of dearth the exporting organisation was used to buy corn abroad and import for home consumption. Most of the merchants were jobbers as well. Another distinction, that may be pointed out is that the jobber speculated more in time relations in the one market, while the merchant dealt in many markets, and speculated in place relations. The period from 1660 to 1760 was a period of large exportation, and there was special opportunity for the rise of merchants doing a very large export trade. This increased export trade was due primarily to the fact that

owing to the New Agriculture and the prohibition of the export of wool, the amount of corn produced was increasing much faster than the population¹; and the policy of bounties encouraged the farmers to go on producing, because they would find a market for their corn through the exporters. No doubt the wars that devastated parts of Europe during so much² of the early half of the century, also found a contributory cause.

The economic process of the integration of functions as capital increased in the hands of any individual class is illustrated by the activities of these merchants. The strongest of the merchants in the first half of the 18th century set up very extensive organisations, having resident agents in the chief corn areas. With their large capital they began to finance other operations, and especially did they enter the business of banking and exchange. The most notable example of this is the firm of Coutts, corn merchants and bankers of London and Edinburgh. "the combination of country banking and mercantile pursuits was the order of the day about 1750"³.

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1. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution the population in Urban centres rapidly overtook the surplus of corn production, and during the eighties Britain became a corn importing country.
 2. Wars of the Spanish succession 1700 to 1713; Polish succession 1733 to 1735. Austrian

Millers.

We come now to that group who were primarily manufacturers and only became middlemen through the combination of circumstances that enabled them to increase their profit by performing the middleman function. The primary purpose of the miller was to grind corn for those who brought it to his mill. His profit was entirely in the toll or commission he received for his services. In the first half of the seventeenth century some millers began to buy corn and grind it so as to sell the flour, but this enterprise was suppressed.¹ With the greater freedom of the early eighteenth century, however, the practice arose again, and the millers became as well mealmen, flour factors and corn merchants. This explains why so many of the millers were the objects of attack in the food riots² that characterised the fifties of the century. Their participation in the middleman's functions and profits was still new enough to be resented by the people. In times of scarcity their stores of corn would excite to envy and the existing suspicion would tend to provoke attack on them.

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4. About 1630, when regulations were made forbidding millers to buy corn to sell again. This was successful till the laws against engrossing and forestalling fell into abeyance in the early 18th century. Millers would naturally be among the first to take advantage of the new freedom.
 5. See especially a/c of the Manchester food riots in 1757-8. Attack on the mill and warehouse of Hatfield a miller. I. & C.A.S. Vol. xxviii. P. 82-91.

Malster,
Mealman &
Flourman.

The mealman and flourman were mainly restricted to internal trade, because of the difficulty of keeping flour and meal from spoiling at sea. Foreign trade was mostly confined to raw corn and malt. The meal from the great milling areas of Hertfordshire, Surrey, and the upper Thames was taken down the river to London in barges, and the mealman of those areas were considerable enough to employ factors in London to sell their meal for them. Defoe, however, relates that about 1735 a change was coming over the mealman's business. Where formerly they had been the buyers of corn, and sellers of meal after having the grain ground by the millers, now the bakers were becoming retail mealmen, thus cutting out the city mealman, while the millers bought the grain, milled it and sold direct to the bakers in the city, thereby cutting out the country mealmen.¹ The functions of the mealman were those of a shop-keeper in London where he sold to private families and small bakers; and

1. Complete English Tradesman. II. 179.

of a wholesale dealer and shipper in the country. He was also supposed to sell better flour, because he mixed different varieties of wheat together, and thus secured a better grade of flour than the farmers whose flour was all from the one variety of wheat. But this gave opportunity for adulteration. In the Manchester Food riots in 1757-8 one of the charges made against Hatfield and Brammel was that they mixed acorns, whiting, and beans with the flour.

"Originally malting was a domestic affair" and was carried on by each farmer for his own purpose, the larger farmers malting a surplus which was sent to the towns. But gradually others entered the business, and it was combined with such businesses as brewing, baking, and victualling. But during the eighteenth century there was a great increase in drinking in England, and the business assumed huge proportions. It is possible that Westerfield overestimates the increase, because he does not give

2. Lancashire and Cheshire Antiq. Soc. Vol. xxviii fairly complete account based on the reports in the Manchester Mercury of the current dates, and letters from the firm published in Whitworth's Advertiser.

3. Westerfield. p. 173.

4. Vict. County History, Oxford, II. 194.

sufficient weight to the influence of the rapidly growing urban centres where of course domestic malting and brewing was impracticable, now does he notice in this connection the very large export trade in malt. The increase of travelling, and consequently in the amount of drinking in inns and taverns, would also help to account for the large trade in malting. A table of exports of grain from Christmas 1734 to Christmas 1735, shows that Yarmouth stood second to London as an exporting port, and this ascendancy over the other outports was entirely due to the trade in malt. From that port 92,374 quarters of malt was exported. Wells owes its position as third port in the kingdom to the same cause, with 60,247 quarters. Other ports with a considerable export of malt were Lynn Regis, 17,411 qrs.; Cichester, 11,339 qrs.; Portsmouth, 8,245 qrs.; Hull, 8,063 qrs.; and Blackney and Clay which exported 9,369 qrs.¹ Apart from their export trade the maltsters sold mostly to the brewers.

5. Postlethwayte. Universal Dict. of Trade and Commerce. 3rd ed. 1765, Vol.1, under the article on Corn. (The pages of this work are not numbered.) The table is given and a certified Statement from the Custom House, London. Mar. 8, 1735.

BAKERS

Baking was an industry confined largely to the towns, and represents the last step in the course of the corn made into food before it reached the ultimate consumer. The baker was essentially a manufacturer and retail dealer, but in his case as in that of other corn dealers, there is a tendency to assume other functions as well. This tendency is well marked in the first half of the 18th century. It was common for bakers to buy corn in the country districts, have it ground in custom mills or even in mills of their own, thus combining with their baking, the functions of the miller, corn dealer, and mealman. For example the firm in Manchester before referred to, was a partnership of a miller and corn-factor with a baker in town. That they dealt in other commodities also is shown by the report that the mob when they broke into the house of this firm on June 7th, 1757, threw into the street a great quantity of cheese as well as flour. In the report Bramwell is referred to as a baker who grinds his own corn, and who for some time had been a considerable dealer in corn.¹ Another writer of the period shows the various ways in which the bakers got their flour.

1. Lancs. and Ches. Ant. Soc. Vol.xxviii. p.82 - 91.

Many in country places buy all in corn, and have it ground either on hire or at mills of their own; some buy only part in corn, and part in meal as opportunity offers; whilst others, particularly in London buy all they use in flour from the mealmen or meal factor."^{2.}

The bakers sold direct to consumers though in some instances itinerant cadgers were used in London having every thirteenth loaf as their profit.²

Brewers,
Distillers
Taverners.

The brewers, distillers and taverners represent the middleman who passed the corn to the consumers in the form of drink. The brewer before 1689 was a retail dealer as well. His practice was described by a writer in 1760 as follows: The brown ale and small beer were "mostly fetched from the brewhouse by the customers themselves, and paid for with ready money; so that the brewers entertained but few servants, fewer horses, and had no stock of ales or beers by him, but a trifling quantity of casks and his money returned before he paid either his duty or his malt."³ But during the wars between 1689 and 1713 the duties on these liquors were

2. Tracts on the Corn Trade, 1766. (Rylands Library; S.69 T.3.K.137) p.23

3. Westerfield. p. 174.

4. 'Gent. Mag. 1760. 527.

heavily increased, chiefly in the form of excise on malt, hops and coals. As the duty on hops was the smaller beer was devised as a cheaper drink to produce than ale. The custom of drinking porter also arose.¹ This was beer stored for a period of at least five months. All these circumstances, combined with the great increase in travelling which increased the amount of liquor sold at the inns, meant that a large trade was possible, but also that larger capital was necessary to carry it on. The brewer practically ceased to retail his own wares, and retailing passed entirely into the hands of inn-keepers, and ale-house keepers. About the middle of the century however they began to resume^{as-} this function by gaining financial control of many of the inns and ale-houses in the country. This control over the retailing of their own goods gave them considerable power over the markets for corn. They formed such a large proportion of the buyers that in the last four years of the reign of George II laws were passed forbidding the making of certain alcoholic liquors from any sort of grain, or from any flour and meal.² These years were years of scarcity in England, and it was felt that grain should not be used so much for liquors when it was needed for food, and the presence of brewers and distillers and distillers as such large buyers of grain unduly enhanced the prices for the poor.

5. The use of porter rapidly spread after 1722.
 1. 30 George II, Caps. 10 and 15; 31 George II, Cap. I; 32 Geo. II. Cap. 2; 33 Geo. II Cap. 4. These statutes are quoted from Westerfield p. 179.

Two other points may be briefly noted. The first is that the itinerant brewer was much used in the eighteenth century.¹ The other is the adoption of the national system of licensing retailers. For a long time licensing had been resorted to by local authorities for the sake of administrative control, either as a temporary or permanent expedient. But in 1736, an Act of Parliament provided that no person "should be permitted to vend, barter, or utter spirituous liquors, except by a license with a duty payable thereon."² The result so far as our purpose here is concerned is that it concentrated the trade in the hands of comparatively few retailers. There is no doubt this legislation also gave an impetus to the movement of the brewers and distillers a little later toward control of the retail houses, forms the only important exception to the growth in the freedom of the middleman from government control during our period.

Markets
Prices

There were three main markets for the surplus grain of the corn growing counties; viz., the industrial areas that had ceased to produce sufficient for their own needs, the great urban centre of London, and the foreign market. Before 1760 there was comparatively little local specialization in industry to the exclusion of corn-growing. Westerfield points out that by 1760 "a few centres in Lancashire and Yorkshire had specialised at textile/

2. Westerfield. p. 182. Authority. V.C.H. Berks. 1, 407.

3. Ibid. From Gent, Magazine, 1736, 595; and Journals of H. of C. 22, 638. This quotation is from the resolution of the House.

manufacturing to the degree that they gave over, comparatively speaking, Agriculture, and so devoted themselves to manufacturing that they became dependent on adjacent districts for corn supplies. " But in the older industrial regions in the West of England, and in Norfolk, the specialization had not become so intense, and they supplied their own needs.¹ This process was furthered by the fact that in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and West Yorkshire, the land was not so productive, not the climate so favourable for corn production as in the eastern counties, and in the West. Corn production further declined because the increasing manufacturing population made dairy farming, and stock breeding more profitable than corn growing. A writer in 1758 notices this specialisation especially on the West coast.² He says "that the counties which are the most populous, and where manufactures chiefly flourish in both islands generally grow less corn than other counties less populous and less manufacturing. Thus many counties on the East coast generally supply others on their own side, but particularly the West coast of the island, even in times of plenty. "Even this supply was not always adequate for the growing population of the Manchester/xxxxx

4. Ibid. P. 130.

5. Tracts on the Corn Trade. Written 1758, republished 1766. Rylands Library, Vol. 137. T. 3. K.

1
 Area . Hatfield and Bramwell, defending themselves
 against the charge of engrossing, in June 1758,^{2.} say that
 they had not bought much corn locally, but had brought
 most of their supplies from the southern and remote parts
 of the kingdom; and they claim that their importation had
 actually lowered the price. To the charge that they had
 greater quantities than their trade required, they reply
 that their stock was only sufficient for the demand, in
 view of the uncertainties of wind and weather, and the
 difficult passage of vessels by sea, especially in time of
 war. In another letter which followed the later riots of
 November, 1757, they speak again of their imported corn.³

The chief corn markets of Lancashire about 1750 were
 Ormskirk, and Prescott,⁴ from which the corn was carried to
 Liverpool, and the manufacturing area round Manchester,
 and to the north and east of it. As early as 1735,
 Liverpool figures amongst the negligible ports in the
 export of corn. In the previous year only £249 was paid

8. 1730, 33 windles imported corn at Liverpool unsaleable
 because of the exceptionally good crop of that year.
 So that as early as 1730 corn was being imported into
 the S. Lancashire area. V.C.H. Lancs. II 419-436.
1. Whitworth's Advertiser, June 14-31, 1757. quoted Lancs.
 and Ches. Antiq. Soc. Vo. 28, pp. 82-91. (The riot took
 place June 7th.)
2. Ibid. Jan. 9th, 1758; following the riots of Nov. 1757.
3. Pococke. (1750) I, 207, 209.

as export bounty on grain from that port.¹ The small surplus represented by that export would be more than wiped out by the growth of Liverpool, and of the Manchester area in the next twenty years. The farmers of Lancashire carried their own corn a considerable distance to market. The figures given by Young in 1770 show that they carried corn from 7 to 12 and 14 miles, distances only exceeded by some of the mountainous districts of Northumberland and Cumberland.² This would indicate that Lancashire corn production was not very great, or markets would have been established that would have permitted a shorter carry for the farmer. An instance of the use of carriers is noted by Young. The farmers round Penrith bring their corn to that place, whence it is sent to Kendal by carriers, to the market there.³

But the movement of corn into the industrial area of South Lancashire and West Yorkshire is insignificant when compared with that toward the great consuming market of the kingdom. Not only did London draw off the surplus corn of the Thames valley, the richest corn producing part

4. Postlethwayt. Univ. Dite. (referred to above p.61, note 5)
5. Young, Northern Tour, Facts gathered from Vols.ii and iii, numerous references.
6. Young. Northern Tour, Vo.1 iii, p.

of England, but coasting vessels from the north and from the east coast of Kent brought their quota to swell the total. In the early fifties of the century the Gentleman's Magazine began to quote the prices of grain monthly from the following markets, all of which were supply-

I.
in London ; Mark Lane (The waterside exchange), Basingstoke, Reading, Farnham, Henley, Guildford, Warminster, Devizes, Gloucester, Crediton, and London. Besides being the largest consuming centre of the kingdom London was the largest exporting centre for corn. In 1734-5 London exported 59, 784 quarters of wheat, while Portsmouth, her earnest competitor in that grain exported only 16, 876 quarters. Other ports in order of their wheat export were Arundel, Berwick, Southampton, Chichester, Lynn Regis, Yarmouth and Dover, The total export of wheat from the country was in that year only 153,343 quarters, so that London exported roughly $\frac{2}{5}$ of the total. When all grain exports are considered, London is still first, but Yarmouth and Wells are considerably ahead of Portsmouth, and the order of the others are slightly changed. As noted above Liverpool scarcely figures in the table. The superiority of Yarmouth and Wells over the other out-
ports is due to a large export of barley and malt.

It should be noted however that this year was with the exceptions of 1730, 31 and 36, the smallest export year

7. Gent. Magz. Jan 1754. This reference is typical of every issue and that year and before for two or three reasons.
1. Postlitthwayte. As above P. 64.

in the thirties. Yet it is likely that in other years the various ports held their relative positions with only minor changes.

The export of such large quantities was a feature of the first 60 years of the eighteenth century. "Until the close of the fifteenth century England produced a surplus of corn for export".² In the sixteenth and seventeenth up till about 1670, the rapid growth of London had reversed the direction of the foreign corn trade. Although export was still going on,² it was probably more than balanced by the imports to the London area. But after the Restoration, freer importation and export, though under duties, followed by the policy of export bounties, and the rise of the new Agriculture causes, the supply again to become sufficient for export. The following table will show the rapid rise of the exports up till³ 1756, when there followed three years of poor crops, and restriction or prohibition of export:-

Amounts in quarters, annual average for the decade.

Decade.	Wheat	Barley	Malt.	Malt.
1700-09	104,000	27,300	115,625	(1702-1709)
1710-19	104,000	22,400	209,100	
1720-29	114,600	15,700	270,700	
1730-39	294,500	36,500	185,100	
1740-49	289,000	58,000	246,300	
1750-56	433,143	76,714	292,800	

2. Westerfield. P. 158
3. Owen of Henllys. Descr. of Pembrokshire, describes in 1603, the export of corn to "fraunce, Spain, Ireland, North Wales, and other places". p. 56.
4. Museum Rusticum. II, 289-96. See end of present Chapter.

It will be seen that during the fifty six years included in the table of export of wheat increased by 416 per cent; barley by 281 per cent, and malt by 317 per cent. Reference to the complete table will show that the record year was 1750 when the export of wheat reached 947,000 quarters, barley 224,800 quarters., and malt, though not quite so much as in one or two other years was 331,000 lbs. After 1750 the amounts decreased till the lean years of 1757-9 were reached. Even when exportation was resumed, it never reached the old volume, and during the seventies, the balance swung to the side of import where it has continued ever since. In the years between 1732 and 1756 exports exceeded imports by more than 11 millions of quarters, but from 1767 to 1801, the imports were 7 millions greater than exports ^{I.}.

"As compared with the average price of wheat in the seventeenth century, the first 65 years of the eighteenth century show a fall of 16 per cent. ²" A comparison of the years of high prices with the corresponding years in the table of exports, ³ will show that when the price rose at home because of scarcity, the export fell, and in some years the export bounty was suspended. After 1700 the bounty on export was suspended in six years viz: 1709, 1710, 1741, 1757, 1758, /

5. Lord Ernle (Prothero) Eng. Farm Past and Present. Appendix. III. D.
1. Lord Ernle. Eng. Farm. p. 262.
2. See table at end of chapter.

and 1759, while in 1741, 1757, and 1758, for corn was admitted duty free. The total of wheat admitted in those three years was only 169, 455 quarters¹, considerably less than a normal year's export IN THE TWENTY years during which they occurred. It is probable therefore, that the benefit of free import was not so much in the actual amount as in the possibility of its reducing the prices, and this kept the home dealers from taking full advantage of the scarcity. The average price of wheat at Windsor from 1740-1760 inclusive was 38/3 per quarter, and in the years of suspended bounty, including three of free import, the price was 46/6, 60, and 41/6, and 39/6.²

Lancashire prices have been difficult to obtain during the period. But those taken from the Manchester Mercury in 1752-3 illustrate the normal relation between a country market of the time and the metropolitan one. From March 1752, when the price of wheat was 24 shillings a load, the price gradually fell to 18/6 in the early part of June, then rose to 25s at the end of September, when after holding fairly steadily till December it fell away, and during December 1752, and January and February of the next year it ranged from 18 to 20s per load. It then rose again till in June it stood round 24s and there remained till September.³

3. Lord Ernle. Eng Farming (Prothero), p. 261

4. See table at end of chapter, based on Museum Rusticum. 1765 (II p. 70, 129.)

5. Harrop's Weekly, (Manchester Mercury) March 1752 -Sept. 1753.

At Windsor during the same time the average price was from 41/10 to 44/8 per quarter.¹ At Bear Quay and Mark Lane the prices in January 1752 were 33-34s, and in 1753, 29-33s.²

From the foregoing statements it will be seen that on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, England had just emerged from a period of low prices and plentiful crops, into a period of comparatively high prices, and scantier crops. From 1700 till about the middle of the century, the production of corn had been increasing much faster than the population, but in 1760 the difference was beginning to be made up by the flourishing urban centres, especially Liverpool and the textile centres of the North. The question occurs, why did not the farmers in this period of low prices lay their corn land to pasture and by reducing the production raise the price again? Hasbach argues that the farmers adopted new methods of agriculture in order to reduce the cost of production. The bounty probably encouraged continued production by providing a steady market at fair prices, and thus kept up the area under cultivation. On the other hand, pasture was discouraged by the prohibition of the export of wool during this period. Thus even the government policy

6. See 2 and 4.

7. Lord Ernle (Prothero) p. 263.

furthered the growth of urban manufacturing centres by encouraging cheap food to maintain the workers who should specialize in manufacture, and by trying to ensure cheap raw materials with which to compete successfully against the industries of the continent.

MEATS

Next to corn itself cattle were the most general product of English agriculture. Before the eighteenth century the middleman function so far as it was performed all was managed by the graziers and drovers. The graziers were men in possession of large tracts of meadow land, and they bought lean cattle from farmers and fattened them for the market. They, themselves, marketed the cattle locally or at London, probably employing drovers. In this way the grazier performed the middleman's function of assembling the product for the market from numerous smaller producers. As a producer he fed the cattle and prepared them for the market though he did not breed them himself. The drovers originally employed temporarily or permanently by cattle raisers, and graziers, to drive their cattle, easily added the function of buying en route to sell in the market. By the last half of the seventeenth century the drovers was more middleman than employee. In the markets the farmers, drovers and graziers sold as a rule direct to the butcher.

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4. There is considerable evidence that drovers acted as agents for the buying of articles on commission the conveyance of money and even loaned money on occasions.

The period up till 1760 is notable for two changes in this method of marketing. The first is the interposition of the jobber between the producers and drovers and the market, and the rise of the salesman who stood between the jobber and the butchers. The second is the way in which the drover ceased to exercise his middleman function, and became again an employee whose sole business was to drive the cattle to market for others. The jobbers bought the cattle from the graziers, drovers and farmers when the cattle were actually on the way to market. They sold again either on the market or while en route. And the same cattle might be jobbed several times before they actually went to the butchers. They also extended their buying to the farms, and by their superior knowledge of the market conditions, gradually gained control of the markets, and farmers and graziers went less to market themselves. "Before 1750 the jobbers had gained the monopoly of the live stock market." Early in the century they began to develop a sort of Stock Yard by acquiring tracts of grass lands near the markets they could keep their purchases in reserve and put them on sale when conditions were more favourable. Westerfield points out two results of this. One was that this reserve supply tended to equalise supplies over a period of time. The other not so good, was that they could use the supply to flood the market, and so have a chance to buy up from

1. Westerfield. p. 191.

2. Ibid. p. 192.

the farmers and graziers at bargain rates, and thus retain their own monopoly of the market. In spite of the outcry amongst the pamphleteers of the time, it is probable that the jobber performed a useful economic function. By his speculative activity he would tend to cause a supply that varied in both place and time to fit a demand that was by comparison steady in many markets. As the roads improved and the farmers came into closer touch with the markets, and could market cattle as well in winter as in summer, the advantage of the jobber would be lessened.¹

The jobber specialised in the buying side of the business. The Smithfield market during the eighteenth century another middleman, the salesman, arose. His function was to sell on commission for the jobbers, and the graziers. Large graziers would consign droves of cattle to a salesman who sold to the best advantage. He also sold for the jobbers. The usual commission was 1/6 per bullock and 3d per sheep. During the decade 1751-1760 the average annual sales on the Smithfield market amounted to 649,000 sheep and 86,500 cattle.² Some of the salesmen tended to assume jobbing functions as well. They rented large tracts of land and thus held cattle for some days before selling. Large sums of money would be left in the ir hands for varying periods from the sale of cattle for the graziers at a distance and they employed

3. Defoe II 370.

1. Westerfield p. 195.

this money in jobbing. So that some of them did a considerable jobbing trade with a small capital of their own. The economic service they performed was chiefly in saving time and money for the graziers who would otherwise have been forced to attend the market themselves. "The jobber and the salesman working together facilitated the satisfaction of both the breeder and consumer by reducing the difference between the cost at the farm and the selling price at London.

The drover had, as previously observed, added to his function the buying of cattle en route to market and disposing of them on the market along with those which he was employed to drive for the farmers. But during the eighteenth century, as the license system declined, the jobber took over the buying and selling function and the drover became again an employee. Nevertheless, he was a very important man in the cattle trade. Hundreds of thousands of sheep and cattle had to be driven annually from breeder to grazier to market, over country much of which was unenclosed, and it must have been so small responsibility to secure the safety of cattle and sheep over a journey of many days and perhaps weeks.

At the consumers' end of the scale we find the carcass, and the cutting butchers. The carcass butchers are the wholesale men who buy from the graziers or the jobbers, and slaughter the animals for consumption.

The cutting butcher gradually became economically dependent on the carcass butcher, who complained prevented him from buying in the open market and thereby raised the price. And in the eighteenth century with no means of cold storage, the monopoly of the supply of meat was not very serious. The constant danger of spoiling would be an effective check on monopolistic raising of prices. In the smaller markets of the country outside London, the carcass butcher was absent, chiefly because the wholesaler cannot submit where the trade is small.

Young gives the current prices of meats in the various parts of Lancashire in 1770.¹ Mutton varies from 2½d per lb. at Altringham, Liverpool and Warrington, to 3d in the rural parts, such as Kabers and Garstang. Beef was fairly constant through the county at 2½d to 3d per lb. Veal was from 3d to 4d per lb., being highest in price at Liverpool. Pork sold at 3d to 4d per lb. The average prices throughout the North was 3d for Mutton, Beef and Veal, and 3½d for Pork. It will thus be seen that the prices in Lancashire ruled somewhat higher than the rest of the North except for Beef, which was somewhat lower. The reason for this is probably the presence of the growing of the manufacturing areas in the county and the fact that the dairying would provide a constant supply of animals for sale. In 1765 a writer in the Museum Rusticum give the price of cow at from £3 to £8, Sheep from 10 to 20s. and Hogs from 5 to 40s².

1. Northern Tour, iii.

2. Museum Rusticum, January 1765.

This was in Hertfordshire, but as average weights are not given comparison is difficult.

TER & ESE Defoe in 1726 says that the chief butter counties were Suffolk and Yorks¹, which sent their Butter in firkins up to London. He speaks of Suffolk as a county that produces perh aps the best butter and worst cheese in Britain.² The cheese counties are Cheshire, Wilts. Warwick and Gloucester. In this cheese trade Lancashire shares. Defoe himself tells us that Warrington has the great market for corn, cheese and Potatoes, which are bought largely for export.³ Maitland estimate in 1730 that London was consuming some 21,000,000 pounds of cheese annually of which more than half came from Cheshire.⁴ As part of this enormous export went by way of Liverpool, the Lancashire cheese was probably included under the general name, as the Wiltshire cheese was marketed under the name of Gloucester cheese.⁵ General price of cheese in Lancashire about 1770 was 3½d per lb. ⁱⁿ and the South of the County, and 3d in the Northern parts. The average price through the Northern Counties was 3d.⁶

Cheshire cheese was shipped from Chester direct to London, or sent from Frodsham to Liverpool, whence it was

3. Defoe. Compl. Eng. Tradesman. p. 394.

4. Ibid. Tour i. 41.

5. Ibid. Tour. iii. 248.

6. Westerfield p.205.

7. Ibid.

8. Young. Northern Tour. iii.

shipped either direct to London, or to Scotland or Ireland. In some cases the cheese was conveyed across country to the Trent down that river to Gainsborough or Hull, and thence by sea to London,. The Gloucester cheese was mostly distributed on inland routes. It went by land to the Severn, thence to Bath and Bristol; by land to the Thames, and down that river to London, and from thence distributed to the manufacturing districts North East of London; or it was sent once a year to Stour-¹bridge fair where it was sold to the retailers direct. Not much mention of the Cheddar cheese of Somersetshire be omitted in this brief survey. It went mostly to London where it fetched about four times the price of the Cheshire cheese.

The middleman engaged in this business apart from the retailers, were the factors and cheesemongers. The cheesemonger was originally a retailer, but with the decay of the laws against engrossers, many of them became wholesalers. In the Cheshire cheese trade, the London chæsemongers operated a line of vessels of their own, and among the petitions against the bill limiting the number of horses to be used on carriages on the turnpike roads in 1751, there is one from the Cheesemongers, showing that they had also a large overland trade.² The factor was an agent employed by the cheesemongers of the capital, who was resident in the centre/

9. Ibid.

1. Westerfield. P. 208.

of the cheese producing regions. They visited the farmers and arranged with them to deliver their cheese to Frodsham or Chester. Sometimes the trade was organised the opposite way, and it was the provincial dealer who employed a factor to sell for him in London.¹

Wool was an even more important part of the national wealth in the early eighteenth century than it is to-day. About 1700, the value of the wool clip was about 1/5 of the annual rent of the land of England, and the export of woollens alone brought in about one tenth of the national income.² The raising of sheep was very widely dispersed, but certain districts specialised in it. These may be roughly differentiated as the south west, centering round Wiltshire, and having for its chief market Cirencester; a central district, centering round Leicester, and embracing the other counties of Northants, Nottingham, Rutland and Lincoln; an eastern district, consisting mainly of Norfolk and Suffolk, with Stourbridge fair as its principal market; while the fourth district was that of Yorks and Lancs and the northern counties. This northern district differed from the rest in that its wool was of the poorest quality, and was not sought after by any of the main manufacturing areas. Apart from the home production/

2. Ibid. P. 206

3. Smith-Memoirs of Wool. I222.

for domestic purposes, the wool of these counties was spun and woven in the woollen areas of Yorkshire and Lancashire. But as early as 1654, the supply grown in the district was not sufficient for the supply of the Lancashire cloth-makers, and they began to import.¹

Some of the wool of the northern counties was partially or wholly worked into cloth on the farms where it was grown, but the number of sheep kept on the small farm of the domestic manufacturer would not be sufficient to keep his loom supplied. Consequently the wool buyer found opportunity for his work. In the woollen trade as in others, the middleman is often in earlier times looked upon as an unproductive person who preyed upon the public.² In 1552 a statute attempted to suppress the middleman buyer of wool.² This act instituted the system of licence but the act was constantly evaded by various devices, the most common of which was for the broker to act as the nominal agent of the larger wool growers.³ But "in spite of all interference the woolman's business grew, and won its legitimate place in business, law and public opinion."⁴

4. V.C.H., Lancs. II 377. 5. 5 & 6 Ed. VI. Cap.14.

6. V.C.H. Suffolk II.258 This note and 4 are both based by Westerfield on State Papers Domestic, Eliz. CXV.8 14,40

7. Westerfield. p. 265.

The middleman who was closely in touch with the farmer was the brogger. He was commonly the agent of a merchant. His method was that of the farm to farm canvass, with regular customers, and in picking up what additional business he could. Smith quotes the case of a Yorkshire brogger in the eighteenth century who had from ten to twenty-nine regular customers, from whom he bought on the average £1-5/- of wool annually. Sometimes however the name brogger was applied to all buyers of wool from the farmers whether they were acting as agents or principals. This introduces us to the other class, the jobber or merchant. The merchants or jobbers bought either direct or from the first buyers, but they are distinguished as men who bought and sold in the fleece usually without opening the packs. These were the middlemen mostly engaged in the trade in the north. As the wool of the north was of poor quality, and the manufacture of the north was of coarser cloths, and further, as there was no surplus for export, this organisation worked well enough until the days of the Industrial Revolution.

But in other parts of the country, as the wool brogger shaded into the jobber and merchant, so the merchant shaded into the Woolstapler. This was the buyer who sorted the wools he bought to suit the requirements of the manufacturers, and sold the different kinds of grades after sorting. He differed from the jobbers in that he had to have warehouses and a large capital/

1. Memoirs of Wool. II, 465-6 Quoted by Westerfield.p.266.

and the sorting of the wool according to its staple was his peculiar economic function. The remaining course of wool in its passage to the ultimate consumer will be treated under industry, but enough has been said here to show the way in which the farmer disposed of his annual clip.

TRANSPORT. The question of transport remains. How did the farmers get their produce to market? Water transport was necessarily limited to a few farmers specially favourably situated; and the great bulk of the produce had to be conveyed overland. In the summer carts or waggons could be used, drawn by four, six, or eight horses, and as the century advanced, turnpikes improved the roads so that some winter travel by coach, and transport by waggon was possible. But the more usual method was by pack-horse. The reference by Holt to the conveyance of milk into Liverpool on horseback up till the last quarter of the century ¹ is striking evidence ^{that} the pack-horse was widely used for agricultural produce; for of all produce, liquids would be most difficult to carry on horseback, and for them carts would be used as soon as possible. The conditions of the roads in the Liverpool district is also illustrated by the fact that about the middle of the century there was only one coach in the town, and it was not till nearly 1765 that stage coaches could make the journey all the way up to the town.

1. Holt. Lancashire Agriculture. Footnote to P. 15.
Referred to above p. 54.

Previously they had to stop at Holme's Chapel, or at Warrington.¹ Another point which confirms this suggestion is the use of the load in Lancashire as a measure for corn, when the quarter was the usual measure in the south. The Manchester price of 18-24s per load in 1753 compared with the Windsor price of 33s per quarter,² would seem to indicate that the Lancashire load was something approximating a quarter. From this it may be concluded that the load was the normal load for a pack-horse, and had no reference to the amount that would be carried in a cart or waggon. A further point is in the contrast of the term to "carry grain" used of conveying it on horseback to market with the term "leading" corn, used of harvest time when the corn was brought to the barns on carts.³

Contemporary writers agree in considering the roads impassable for carriages except in the summer time. A Preston historian speaking of the 18th century says that the "great bulk of the roads in Lancashire were scarcely passable for carriages except in very fine weather."⁴ Harrison in describing the pre-turnpike highways of Lancashire and Cheshire gives the following description which may be taken as typical. "For many ages, and to the middle

1. Holt. Hints on Roads. Communications to Board of Agriculture. Vol. I. pt. III. p. 184.

2. See above. Footnote, 5, 6, & 7, P. 66.

3. Young always uses the term "Carry" in speaking of marketing corn.

4. Hardwick. History of Preston, p. 381.

5. Lancashire and Cheshire Ant. Soc. Vol. ix. p. 107

of this (the 18th) century, a causeway about 2ft. wide paved with round pebbles was all that man or horse could travel on, practically in the winter season, both in Lancashire and Cheshire. This causeway was guarded by posts at a proper distance to keep the carts off it, and the open part of the road was generally impassable in the winter for mire and deep ruts. As trade increased, turnpikes became general, and the ruts were filled up with pebbles and cinders, but still in winter no coach or chaise durst venture on them". The same writer says that in quarter sessions indictments against roads the width of the road is always given. It varied at the end of the seventies from 4 ft. to 14 yards, the commonest being 8 or 9 yards. The four foot road is described as as the horse causeway. One advantage Lancashire had over other parts of England towards the end of the 17th century. Celia Fiennes remarks that "at all crossways there are posts with hands pointing to each road, with the name of the great town or market town that it leads to, which does not make up for the length of miles, that strangers may not lose their road."² This raises the interesting question as to whether sign posts originated in Lancashire, or whether they were simply the first county to obey the Act of 1697. As the date of her journey is uncertain, the question cannot yet be answered.

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7. Ibid. p. 108

2. Quoted by Harrison, L. & C. Antiq. Soc. Vol. ix. 108.

Up till the time of the turnpike act all roads were under the control of the parishes, and their upkeep could only be enforced by indictments at the quarter sessions. There were numerous convictions during the first three quarters of the century in Lancashire under this act. As travel through the parishes increased, it was obviously unfair to expect the - inhabitants of a small parish to keep up the roads brought into disrepair by travel for which they were not responsible and from which they derived little or no profit. Hence arose the permission by Parliament to establish turnpikes with toll-bars, by which a tax or toll could be collected for the repair and upkeep of the roads from those who used them most.

Turnpiking began in the 17th century but did not reach the North much before the beginning of the eighteenth. Even then it made ~~XXXX~~ slow progress in Lancashire, for up till 1750 only eleven acts were passed for the turnpiking of roads in that county. Of these two were roads, south from Manchester into Cheshire, and three others led eastward into Yorkshire. The roads for which acts were secured, were, -- the great road from Burton in the north, via Lancaster and Preston to Warrington; 1726 Warrington to Preston, 1750 Preston to Burton; Liverpool to Prescot 1725, continued to St. Helens in 1744; Lancaster to Richmond in Yorkshire 1750; Rochdale to Elland and Halifax, 1734; and four from Manchester, the London road south through Stockport, 1724; south west to Stretford and on into Chester 1750; to Oldham, 1734; /

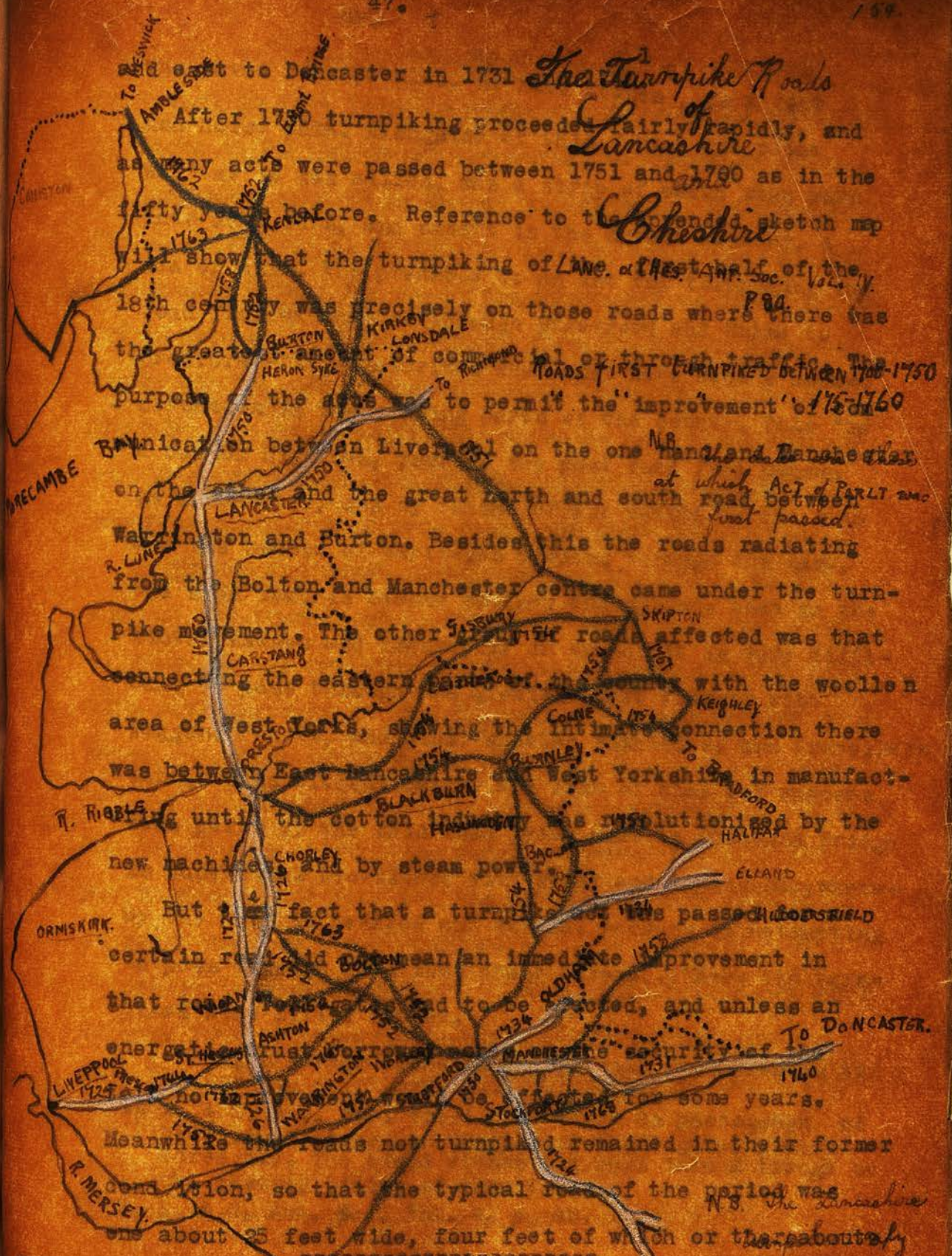
The Turnpike Roads of Lancashire and Cheshire

led east to Lancaster in 1731. After 1750 turnpiking proceeded fairly rapidly, and as many acts were passed between 1751 and 1790 as in the fifty years before. Reference to the appended sketch map will show that the turnpiking of the western half of the 18th century was precisely on those roads where there was the greatest amount of commercial or through traffic for the purpose of the act was to permit the 'improvement' of the communication between Liverpool on the one hand and Manchester on the other and the great north and south road between Warrington and Burton. Besides this the roads radiating from the Bolton and Manchester centres came under the turnpike movement. The other principal road affected was that connecting the eastern part of the county with the woollen area of West Yorks, showing the intimate connection there was between East Lancashire and West Yorkshire in manufacturing until the cotton industry was revolutionized by the new machinery and by steam power.

But the fact that a turnpike act was passed in certain roads would not mean an immediate improvement in that road. It had to be noted, and unless an energetic trust corporation was formed the security of the northern rivers would be imperilled for some years. Meanwhile the roads not turnpiked remained in their former condition, so that the typical road of the period was one about 25 feet wide, four feet of which or thereabouts by

Table of turnpike roads, L. & C. Ant. Soc. Vol. 1, app. 11. See Appendix.

Sketch map appended to this chapter. Traced and adapted from L. & C. Ant. Soc. Vol. 4 p. 80.



1. Table of turnpike roads, L. & C. Ant. Soc. Vol. 1, app. 11. See Appendix.
 2. Sketch map appended to this chapter. Traced and adapted from L. & C. Ant. Soc. Vol. 4 p. 80.

and east to Doncaster in 1731 and 1740.¹

After 1750 turnpiking proceeded fairly rapidly, and as many acts were passed between 1751 and 1760 as in the fifty years before. Reference to the appended sketch map will show that the turnpiking of the first half of the 18th century was precisely on those roads where there was the greatest amount of commercial or through traffic. The purpose of the acts was to permit the improvement of communication between Liverpool on the one hand and Manchester on the other and the great north and south road between Warrington and Burton. Besides this the roads radiating from the Bolton and Manchester centre came under the turnpike movement. The other group of roads affected was that connecting the eastern parts of the county with the woollen area of West Yorks, showing the intimate connection there was between East Lancashire and West Yorkshire in manufacturing until the cotton industry was revolutionised by the new machines, and by steam power.²

But ~~that~~^{the} fact that a turnpike act was passed for a certain road did not mean an immediate improvement in that road. Toll-gates had to be erected, and unless an energetic trust borrowed money on the security of the toll no improvement would be effected for some years. Meanwhile the roads not turnpiked remained in their former condition, so that the typical road of the period was one about 25 feet wide, four feet of which or thereabouts/

2. Table of turnpiked roads, L. & C. Ant. Soc. Vol. x, app.ii. See Appendix.

3. Sketch map appended to this chapter. Traced and adapted from L. & C. Ant. Soc. Vol. 4 p.80.

was paved with pebbles, or flat stones¹, as a foot and horse path. Alongside of this "pack and prime way" as it was called, was a strip of earth road worn into deep ruts, and except in the driest weather, a sea of mire. The preamble to an act for turnpiking the road from Manchester through Stretford and Hulme to Crosford Bridge² describes what must have been a common situation in the growing parts of the county. This "is a common highroad, part of the post road from London to Manchester; and by reason of the nature of the soil and the number of carriages passing through the same, the said road is become so deep and ruinous that in the winter season and frequently in summer it is very difficult to pass through the greatest part thereof with waggons, carts, and other wheeled vehicles; and travellers cannot pass without danger and loss of time and whereas some parts of the said road lying next to Crosford Bridge is many times overflowed with water and impassable; whereby the Post is delayed and several persons in attempting to pass through have lost their lives...."Even the turnpikes were little better.

Young's savage comments on the road from Preston to/

1. L. & C. Ant. Soc. Vol. i. p. 79 there is photograph of the trough stone, on Raddyshore Scout gate, a pack-horse way. The broad stones are worn into a trough by the passing trains of many years.
2. L. & C. Ant. Soc. Vol. 4, p. 86.

Wigan are well known. He actually measured ruts four feet deep in that turnpike road, and he cautions travellers to avoid it as they would the devil. In "those 18 miles of execrable memory" he passed three~~e~~ carts broken down. The continuation of Warrington is a "paved road, and most infamously bad". The road from Altringham to Liverpool is "if possible worse than the one from Preston to Wigan". These are typical of the turnpiked roads over which he passed. The chief difficulty seems to have been that the road was paved only wide enough for one carriage, and it was consequently worn into holes and ruts very quickly ¹.

It was therefore along the pack and prime way that most of the traffic went. Defoe describes this near Wigan.. He says, "We are now in a country where the roads are paved with small pebbles, so that we both walk and ride upon this pavement which is generally about one and a half yds. wide. But the middle road where the carriages are obliged to go is ~~are~~ very bad." ² Along this paved way moved the pack trains, and in winter the only way the traveller could make rapid progress was to start early so as to be ahead of them,. Otherwise he must be content to go at their slow pace until he came to a place where accident or design had left a passable turning out place. and wait till the pack train had passed. ³.

3. Young. Northern Tour Vol 1V. p. 580-2.

4. Defoe. Tour. iii, 25 4.

5. Communications to the Bd. of Agriculture. I. Pt. iii. p. 183. written by Holt.

For passage over streams ferries and fords were large in use. It was not till 1751 ~~XXXX~~ for example that an act was passed for building a bridge over the Ribble at Preston.¹ Wesley, in his Journal, frequently tells of having to wait for the ferry man on the other side to hear his calls and come to fetch him over. These ferries were numerous on the main streams of Lancashire, the ~~Luna~~, Ribble, Wyre, Mersey and Dee.² In view of such roads as have been described it is no matter for surprise that the sands should be largely used around the shallow bays of the northern parts of the Lancashire coast. The Ribble sands west of the Naze were a common and regular highway. The Leven sands were one of the principal highways of the northern part of the county, while one of the routes to Cartmel lay across the shallows of Morecambe Bay.³

1. Defoe. Tour iii. 258.
2. L. & C. Ant. Soc. Vol. ix. p. 127.
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CHAPTER IV.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE . (cont.)

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Chapter IV. Economic Structure of Farming (cont.).
Social Conditions and Labour.

The social structure of the agricultural community before the agrarian revolution was very clearly marked. At the top of the scale were the great landlords, owners of vast estates, but they might be described as in the system yet not of it, for with the exception of enthusiastic experimenters like Townshend, they lived only a part of the year on their estates, spending the rest of the time either in London or at watering places, to the remainder of the community they were beings of another sphere, who although possessed of great power, moved in a world which had few points of contact with the rural community. The management of their affairs was largely in the hands of stewards.

The first class of landowners who could be said to be closely in touch with the life of the community was that of the smaller gentry. They were landed proprietors, and did not themselves farm their lands, unless through bailiffs but they were kept on their lands practically the whole time by the smallness of their incomes. Curtler quotes an excellent description of this class of the community from a writer in 1792, who says that within the last forty or fifty years the small country squire had disappeared.¹ He was:- "An independent gentleman of £300 per annum who commonly appeared in a plain drab or plush coat, large silver buttons, a jockey cap, and rarely without boots. His travels never exceeded the distance of the county town, and that only in assize or session time, or to attend an election."

1. Curtler. History of English Agriculture. p.211-212. Quoted from Grose, Olio, p.p.41-44; Lecky, Hist. of Eng. vi. 169 et seq.

Once a week he commonly dined at the next market town with the attorneys and justices. He went to church regularly. Read the weekly journal, settled the parochial disputes and afterwards adjourned to the neighbouring alehouse, where he generally got drunk for the good of his country. He was commonly followed by a couple of greyhounds and a pointer, and announced his arrival at a neighbour's house by smacking his whip and giving a view halloo. His drink was generally ale, except on Christmas Day, the fifth of November, or some other gala day, when he would make a bowl of strong brandy. The mansion of one of these squires was of plaster striped with timber, not unaptly called callimanco work, or of red brick casemented bow windows; a porch with seats in it and over it a study: the eaves of the house well inhabited with swallows, and the court set round with hollyhocks; near the gate a horse block for mounting; The hall was furnished with fitches of bacon, and the mantelpiece with guns and fishing rods of various dimensions accompanied by the broadsword, partisan, and dagger borne by his ancestor in the Civil Wars. Against the wall was posted King Charles' "Golden Rules", Vincent Wing's Almanac, and a portrait of the Duke of Marlborough; in his window lay Baker's "Chronicle", Foxe's "Book of Martyrs", Glanvill on "Apparitions", Quincey's "Dispensatory", "The Complete Justice", and a "Book of Farriery". In a corner by the fireside stood a large wooden two armed chair with a cushion, and within the chimney corner were a couple of seats. Here at Christmas he entertained his tenants, assembled round a glowing fire made of the roots of trees; and he told/

and heard the tradit^onary tales of the village about ghosts and witches, while a jorum of ale went round. These men and their houses are no more."

This is a lively and convincing picture of the smaller gentry as far as it goes. It shows us the hunting and shooting squire, dispensing and enjoying a generous hospitality, with sincere if somewhat narrow interests, and exercising a ~~XXXXXX~~ paternal oversight over his little community, but the squire was much more than a landlord and social figure. His shadow was over all the life of the community. Sitting sometimes as a single justice, or with his brethren in a Petty Session, or in the more August Quarter Sessions, the squire dominated the administrative and judicial life of the community. As the century advanced, his influence became more and more predominant. Many of the powers of county government exercised by the Quarter Sessions were gradually delegated to Petty Sessions or to single justices, who in a wide range of minor cases could decide alone matters of law and of fact, and could also decide what evidence they would hear. Besides this, in many districts the old manor and other local courts fell into disuse, and their functions passed to the squire. The also came to dominate the church vestry, and the administration of the poor law. Now only did they exercise administrative and judicial power, they became in some cases the "domestic legislature". They settled rates of wages, and the Assize of Bread, and in the Speenhamland bonus system

near the end of the century; they introduced on their own authority what was perhaps the most pernicious piece of social effort England has known in her dealings with the problem of pauperism. "The social order that emerged from feudalism centered round the Justice of the Peace in England as conspicuously as it did round the bureaucracy in France".

Henry The third class of landowner was the yeomanry. They were freeholders, and were the first of these classes who actually farmed the property they owned. At the opening of the century they were probably the bulk of the rural landowners. Gregory King about 1688 estimated that there were 160,000 of these freeholders in the country with incomes ranging from £90 to £55 per annum, as compared the squire's and small gentry's incomes from £280 to £450. It was about the fifteenth century that the yeoman became a prominent figure in English rural life. During that period the small freeholders of the manor were reinforced by numbers of tradesmen who had money in business and bought land on which they settled. In the next 200 years the effect of the Taltarum's case was to render disposal of lands free from the hampering settlement or entail. Owners of land constantly increased, and this no doubt counteracted the displacement of small holders by enclosure. The result was that the yeoman at the end of the seventeenth century was one of the most prominent figures of rural life and comprised about one-seventh of the population of the country. But several causes began to operate to cause a decrease in his

4 numbers, a decrease which had made ~~SEVENTH~~ considerable

1. Hammond. Village Labourer, Ch.1. Their discussion is largely based on Webb; Local Government, The Parish and The County.
2. Eden State of the poor. 1. 238. (verify)
3. The effect of this case is discussed in different places, notably Curtler, Hist. of English Agriculture, p.122-123.

progress by the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. In the first place, land was more and more the basis of political power. The gentry began to increase their holdings by purchase from the smaller freeholders, as well as by enclosure of the waste, etc. at the same time business men who had made their fortunes bought land as a means of getting a foothold in county society or as a step towards political power. This movement was greatly facilitated by the introduction of the system of family settlements, following upon the disturbances of the Civil War, and the Restoration. So that what had been a counteracting tendency to the Consolidation of lands was removed. In the second place, the increase of Parliamentary Enclosures, with consequent expense for the acts, and for the necessary hedging and ditching, etc., made for the disappearance of many of the smaller Yeomen, who sold out their holdings to become tenant-farmers, or went into trade or industry. Then when the factory system of industry began to replace the domestic, the last support of the small freeholder was taken away, and he largely disappeared, finding his way into the ranks of the landless labourer, or the tenant farmer, or of industry according to his abilities or tastes.

tenant farmers. The next class in the early eighteenth century village was the tenant farmer. This man was economically as well off perhaps as the average yeoman, but not being the owner of the land he worked he was of a distinctly lower social grade. For example he did not possess the franchise, as any forty shilling freeholder did, although he might be and usually was farming land/

of much greater value than 40s. per annum. King estimated the number of tenant farmers to be about the same as that of the lesser freeholders, with an average income of about £42-10/- out of which however he was able to save very little. It should be noted that amongst the tenant farmers we find the stronghold of the farmer manufacturer. Pococke's horse boy, it will be remembered, was one of these in Rosendale.^{1.} and it was the presence of the manufacturing element in tenant farming that enabled the small holder of land to maintain his position in districts like South Lancashire when he was rapidly disappearing elsewhere.

Those classes in the community who made their living partly or wholly as wage-earners were the cottagers, the squatters, and the farm servants. The cottagers were the tenants of cottages with anything up to four or five acres of ground surrounding them, and carrying with their tenancy certain rites on the village common and perhaps on the waste as well. By means of the stock or poultry they could keep on the land and the common, and the produce they could raise on the land, they were able to make, with their wages as labourers, a fairly comfortable living. The squatters were labourers who had built cottages on the waste and remained by virtue of custom, or by the tacit consent of the landlord. They exercised privileges rather than ~~rites~~^{rights} over the waste, and in some respects were little inferior to the poorer cottagers, but their position was much more precarious, because they had no legal right to compensation in case of enclosure/

1. See Above, p. 43, Footnote 5.

of the waste. They too eked out a living by working for the neighbouring farmers. The farm servants were those who lived on the farm with their master, and were wholly dependent on their labour. This class was drawn mostly from the cottagers and squatters' families and remained as servants on some farm until they married and secured a cottage of their own.

The classes mostly affected by the new movements of the eighteenth century were the yeomen, the tenant farmers, and the labourers, especially the cottagers and squatters. The first half of the century is considered to have been fatal to the small owner.

From the mass of contemporary opinion one may be quoted; Postlethwaite says, "With the yeomen, the ^{middling} ~~middle~~ gentry of small estates seem hastening to annihilation." He thus takes the disappearance of the yeoman as a well-known phenomenon of his time, and it is interesting to note that the cause he assigns is the heavy taxation. This is the more understandable, when we know that in his whole work, his predominant interest is finance, and government control or encouragement of industry; and that he displays little interest in, or insight into the social conditions and changes of his day. Even in the manufacturing districts, the yeoman was decreasing, although there was a tendency to smaller rather than larger land holdings. It would seem that in districts that remained agricultural, the yeoman disappeared because of the tendency to larger holdings of land, and the expense of enclosures, while in the manufacturing districts he was drawn into the industrial system, selling his land to get the necessary capital.

1. Johnson. Lect.vii.
interest. 1766.

2. Univ. Dict. Article-Landed

3. Aikin. Hist. of Manch. p. 43-44.

The tenant farmers before the new movements were mostly on comparatively small farms. From twenty to fifty acres would seem to have been the usual size. The advertisement of demesne lands refer to above in Lancashire was for a holding of fifty two acres, and may be considered as typical of the farms held by tenants.¹ Another was for a number of farms from £5 to £150, and as the rent was in the neighbourhood of Manchester, about 20s. per acre at this time, the largest farm contemplated was 150 acres. The average farm mentioned by Young in 1770 was 287 acres, but as this included the great pasture farms of Northumberland, running into many thousands of acres, the general size in the arable districts would be much smaller. The tendency of the new movements was to increase the size of the farms. It is a general complaint by Young, that farmers persist in renting larger farms than their capital warrants, and he is supported by numerous other writers in the early part of the second half of the century.² Some of the yeomen, when they sold their holdings, rented much larger ones, and stocked them with the proceeds of the sale. So that along with the disappearance of the yeomanry, there went on what may be called the aggrandizement of the tenant farmer, causing him to approximate more closely to the large capitalistic farmer of modern times. But in forming our picture of Lancashire, it must be remembered that that county was an exception to the rule, and that tenant holdings, because of the growth of manufactures, became smaller rather than larger.

4. See above p. 35. Note 4.

5. Young. Northern Tour, Vol. IV. Sums required to stock Farms. Museum Rusticum. Apr. 1765. Reasons why farming is unprofitable. Mills. I.-255.

The greatest change however was that effected amongst the Labouring Classes. The position of the Farm Servants was much the same, except that as farms became larger, and hence the servants more numerous, there would be a greater social gulf between the farmers family and his servants. But they were after all a temporary class, whose members were continually being recruited from the cottagers' and squatters' homes, and as constantly passing out again to become cottagers, and labourers themselves. Farm servants were hired, usually at hiring fairs,¹ and the engagement was for a year, though no doubt shorter terms were often arranged for, especially when the Settlement Laws were taken seriously.³ Apart from the fairs, labourers would go from farm to farm seeking work. In 1738, the wages of a servant of the first grade were £5:10/6³, and in 1761, at Walton near Liverpool, the same sort of servant got £6:10/-⁴ per annum. Servants of the second grade received £4 per annum in the assessment of 1738, but are not mentioned in Holt's list for 1761. In the same list, 1738, boys from 11 to 14 got £1 per annum, and from 14-18, they received £2:10, after which they would probably become servants of the second class. Servant maids were paid from £2:10. to £3 per annum, according to experience. According to Holt's list these wages had increased by about 50 per cent by 1795.

1. See Patrick Macgill-"Children of the Dead End", for an account of similar fairs in Ireland in 19th cent. Thos. Hardy- "Tess of the Dubervilles" for migrating labourers.
2. A fulfilled contract of a year's service was one of the conditions which gave a labourer a legal settlement in a parish.
3. Wages Assessment of the Warwickshire Quarter Sessions. 1738. See Appendix. No.--
4. Holt. Report to Bd. of Agr. on Lancs. 1795. Comparison of Wages in 1791. See end of Chapter.

Cottagers.

The cottager made only part of his living by labouring for the neighbouring farmers. From them he received day wages or piece rates. He lived in a cottage to which was usually attached from one to four acres of ground. In addition to this the cottager usually had certain rights of pasturage over common land. This meant that he could keep a cow or two, which supplied milk, and butter, and perhaps some cheese for the family, and would also provide a calf for sale occasionally. The right to cut fuel on the waste made it possible to do cooking, and keep the cottage warmer in winter than if all fuel had to be bought. In addition were the vegetables, and other food produce from the small allotment of ground attached to the cottage, to add to the menu of the cottage table, and to help feed the cows through the winter. It is difficult to estimate the value of these things in money, but not so difficult to realize that they represented the difference between a bare subsistence, and a rude plenty, and that they gave to the labourer's position a measure of independence. There was an incentive to industry, and possible rewards for ambitious spirits. Sufficient savings might be accumulated to enable the cottager to take a small farm, and thereby raise the social and economic level of his family.

Some extracts from the communications to the Board of Agriculture near the end of the century, give a good picture of the industrious, and comparatively independent contentment enjoyed by this class. Lord Winchelsea says, "I believe there are from 70 to 80 labourers on my estate at Rutland who

keep from one to four cows each, and I have always heard that they are hard working and industrious men; they manage their land well, and always pay their rent." ¹ Barker of Lyndon, in the same county bears testimony of a similar character. In a letter to the Earl of Winchelsea. "Most of the poor people in this parish do keep cows, one, two, or three to a family, and a great advantage it is to them, so that we can hardly say that there are any industrious persons here who are really poor.... It has been the practice in this place time out of mind. We have a ground called the Cottagers' Close, wherein the poor at an easy rent keep 18 cows, and I suppose it was laid out for them at the enclosure of the lordship in 1624." The same writer says that on his own estate the custom is of great antiquity, and he has "labourers, tenants in whose families the land they now occupy has been for near two hundred years, and they have been generally good labourers and received no relief from the parish." He speaks strongly of the disadvantage of the labourer having no land round his cottage, and attributes it not to enclosures, but to the greed of the farmers who take every opportunity of confining the labourers to the cottages alone, so that the land may be added to the farms. ² Another letter from Lord Brownlow regarding the parish of Belton says; "The parish has had for a great length of time a cottagers' pasture of 159 acres. Tenants of nearly all small houses have the right for each house to turn on this from May Day to Lady Day, 2 horses or four cows/

1. Communications to the Board of Agriculture. Vol. I. P. 77.
 2. Ibid. P. 79. This was done by letting cottages with the farm and when the farmer sub-let the cottages he retained the land that had formerly gone with them.

16 barren sheep, or 12 ewes with lambs. 13 of the 35 stock the common themselves the remainder rent to the farmers for enough to pay the rent of house and common. For the house, which has a piece for a garden, and a pig-stye plus the right of common, there is a rent of 35s. per annum with all repairs except glass.

This rent has remained unchanged for 100 years or more." This writer objects to letting land to labourers, because "they get too independent."¹ A third writer, Crutchley of Burleigh, also favours the system, because it really lowers wages, as the cottagers are more industrious and better fed,² hence do more work for the same wage, and are more dependable. He also says that the cottager enjoys comforts of life that a labourer seldom has it in his power to obtain, such as milk, butter, cheese and bacon; and where there are a number of the cottagers the rates will be low.

The custom has been established in his neighbourhood from time immemorial.

atters. These extracts bring out the main advantages which the cottager enjoyed. The squatters on the waste enjoyed similar advantages but not to the same extent, and as pointed out above, their tenure of them was much more precarious what Gonner calls the "chance gains" from pasturage on commons, etc. made the difference between a nude comfort and grinding poverty. When the changes wrought by enclosures came, these advantages were completely swept away from the squatters, who had no legal right to them. Most of the cottagers lost them, some because they had not been able to formulate their rights in the proper manner.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

All they knew that from time out of mind they had a right of pasture or "turbary" on the common or waste. Others who in strict legal justice received their share of the enclosure, found themselves unable to pay their share of the expenses involved in obtaining the act, fencing, ditching, road-making, and the payment of the commissioners. They were forced to sell their little allotment, and as the farmers in the neighbourhood were the only likely purchasers, the cottager was not likely to get an exorbitant price for it. All too often what he did get was dissipated at the village alehouse. The result of these changes was that, where enclosure was carried out, unless special consideration was given to these classes, they sank at once to the level of day labourers. They had to depend entirely on their wages, which were not sufficient to provide the comforts formerly produced from their land and common rights. The fuel, formerly theirs for the gathering, had now to be purchased, so that it was not possible to do so much cooking, nor to keep such a good fire in the evenings as formerly. Also, the tendency in a country of large farms was to sell little or no milk, butter, etc., locally, but to send large quantities to the market at once, and this made it more difficult for the labourer to purchase these things, even when he had the money to do so.

We have seen that in Lancashire, for various reasons, the small farm retained its hold, and so the se evils would not be present to any great extent. The presence of manufactures was responsible for reducing the social disturbance/

disturbance following enclosures, and in Lancashire this operated with greater force because of the rapid increase of population during the first ~~increase~~ fifty years of the century. In that time the population of Lancashire is estimated to have increased 78 per cent,¹ and with the steadily increasing demand for labour that this indicates, there would have been little distress in Lancashire even if the amount of enclosure had been much greater than it was.

cultural
population

In the century before 1770, there was a considerable change in the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture. Gregory King in 1688 had estimated that out of a population of 5½ millions, 4½ millions were occupied in farming, or nine elevenths of the whole.² In 1769, Arthur Young calculates that in a population of 6½ millions, only 2,800,000 were employed on the farms apart from the landlords.³ This would be only about 1/3 of the population, and represented an actual as well as a comparative decrease. He reckons that on farms of 1 to 50 acres there were 20 souls per 100 acres arable, and 21 on farms of from 50 to 100 acres. On the farms up to 50 acres, averaging 41 acres each, he found there were from 1 to 5 servants, or labourers resident on the farm, from 2 to 5 maids, sometimes a boy. Some sample farms chosen from Lancashire are as follows: 100 acres, 30 arable, had besides the farmer's family, one servant, one maid, and from one to sixteen labourers, this latter no doubt according to the season of the year; 95 acres, 30 arable/

1. Toynbee. Industrial Revolution. Ch.ii. Lancs. had the greatest increase of all the counties in England. West York, the next district, had an increase of only 51 per cent.
2. Ashley. Economic Organisation of England. p.119.
3. Young. Northern Tour. Vol. iv. Recapitulation.

had but one servant, one maid, and one labourer. The average of farms from 50 to 100 acres, working out at 79 acres, employed one servant, one to $1\frac{1}{2}$ maids, two to 3 boys and one to $1\frac{1}{2}$ labourers. A farm of 45 acres in the ~~LANCASTER~~ Lancaster district, employed one man, two maids, and a labourer. In the Garstang district, a farm of 200 acres, 70 of which which were arable employed two men servants, two maids, two boys and two labourers. One of 90 acres near Bowles, between Prescott and Warrington, with 30 acres arable, employed one maid, a man and a boy. A large farm of 400 acres, near Ormskirk in the Halsall district, with 100 acres arable, employed four men, 2 boys, 2 maids, and 2 labourers. This farm also had twenty horses and thirty cows, so was evidently a dairy farm. Still another on the southern border of the county between Warrington and Altringham, containing 200 acres, half of which was arable; kept three men, two maids, two boys and two labourers.¹ This leads to the averages of the north as detailed by Young.

Farms of up to 50 acres,	20 $\frac{3}{4}$	persons	per	100	acres	arable	land	
50-100	"	21	"	"	"	"	"	"
100-200	"	15	"	"	"	"	"	"
200-300	"	19	"	"	"	"	"	"
300-400	"	21	"	"	"	"	"	"
400-500	"	15	"	"	"	"	"	"
500-700	"	13	"	"	"	"	"	"
700-1000	"	19	"	"	"	"	"	" ²
Above 1000	"	14	"	"	"	"	"	"

It will thus be seen that the farms which supported the greatest population in proportion to their arable land were those up to 100 acres, and those between 300 and 400 acres. In proportion to their rental value, the farms of more than 1000 acres supported the greatest number, 20 per £100 rental.

1. Young. Northern Tour. Vol. iii. Letter 18.
2. Ibid Vol. iv.

For the average farm of 287 acres, about equally divided between grass and arable, he finds that there were employed two men servants, one or two maids, one boy and three labourers.¹ According to Young's criticisms, the practice of using six horses to a plough was still almost universal, and two men were required to manage it. In Lancashire the normal amount for stocking a farm was about three times the annual rent, though the general average for the north was £391 per £100 rent, which included seventy pounds for furniture, sixty-three for implements, and £178 for stock. He considers that all the farms are understocked on these figures, due to the farmers' desire for the increased social prestige of a large farm, and a mistaken idea that the greater the acreage, the greater must be the net profit, even though it is poorly worked.² He also considers that 5 men and a boy³ are too few to cultivate a farm of 150 to 200 acres properly. In a parish near Ormskirk there were 2000 acres,⁴ 100 farmers, and 55 labourers, or one to every 36 acres of land.⁴

uses

The farm-houses were not large structures to judge by a plan of one erected in 1790, and which is considered by the writer as typical. It contained a parlour and kitchen below stairs and three lodging rooms, and the cheese-room above. Many of them as late as 1795 were still thatched, "though slate abounds and straw is dear".⁵ Another writer in 1764 advocates the use of straw

3. Ibid Vol. iv. Letter 36

4. Ibid

5. Ibid

6. Holt. General Survey of Lanos. 1795. Sect. on Farm Bldgs.

7. Same as Note I.

for ~~XXXXXX~~ fodder instead of for thatching, and recommends slate or tile for roofing the houses, while the outhouses can be thatched with heath or ling.¹ But some progress had already been made in the fifties of the century in the direction of better houses. Advertisements in the "Manchester Mercury" in 1753, inform prospective purchasers that on one farm of 8 acres the buildings are of brick, and slated. This farm was at Castleton; and another of ~~the~~ ten acres at Sutton, three miles from Prescott has buildings of brick and lime slated.² In the more advanced parts of the country such as Norfolk, a writer in 1752 says, that one of the results of the new methods and of enclosure has been that one farm is split into two, three, four, or more. "New farm houses are erected, the old ones repaired, and nothing but brick houses are to be seen here".³ One glaring defect of farm houses in the north even near the end of the century was the small windows, so deep set in the walls that it gives a most disagreeable gloominess to the whole building.⁴ Such were the ~~XXXXXX~~ houses in which the farmers, a hard working, rather rough mannered, but shrewd and persevering class of the community lived. More progress had been made in the places where the clothing industry had been considerable. All the larger houses had two stories, many had a large room above for weaving, called the loom-shop, and external stair-cases to this room were frequent.⁵ Equal progress can hardly be traced in the cottages used by the labourers. They were made with earthen walls, and had floors of earth/

1. Museum Rusticum. v.p. 2. 00. (1764) East Newton, Yorkshire.
2. Manchester Mercury. Nov. 13, and May 29, 1753.
3. Gent. Mag. 1752. Letter on "Improvements"
4. Comm. to Board of Agr. Vol. I. p. 6 - 5. Heaton, Yorkshire p. 289. Woolien and Worsted Industry.

except the floor of the loft which comprised the only up-
stairs most of them had.¹ The criticism quoted above of
the windows in the farm-houses would apply with even greater
force to the cottages.

ages.

It has been said that "the reign of George II was prob-
ably the nearest approach to the Golden Age for the labouring
classes. Necessaries of life were cheap and abundant; the
population showed no rapid increase, but the standard of living
improved."² The improvement of arable lands had made more
rapid progress than the increase of people, as is shown by the
surplus available for export. According to a writer in 1765
, the average price of wheat was £2:8:5½ for the twenty-five
years from 1688-1712, and from 1738-1762, it was £1:18:2½, a
fall of about 21 per cent.³ As the tendency of wages was to
rise rather than fall, this represented a considerable rise
in the standard of living of the labouring classes. There is
a general concensus of opinion among contemporary writers that
there was a great increase in the amount of Wheaten bread con-
sumed among st the labourers. The presence of other articles
of food that were considered luxuries, in the diet of the poor,
points in the same direction.

1. Com. to Bd. of Agriculture. I.79.

2. Lord Ernle. (Prothero) English Farming. p. 262.

3. Museum Rusticum. Vol. vi. pp 16-24.

4. It is not true however that wheaten bread was the general
food of the labouring classes at this time, as some writers
allege.

Hasbach also agrees that the condition of the labourers was comparatively comfortable in this period.¹

It has been pointed out that the labourers fell into two classes; the farm servants hired for a long period, up to a year, and resident on their master's farm; and the day-labourers, who were the cottagers and the squatters. The position of the farm servants has been discussed. The wages of the labourers showed a steady rise during the early part of the century, totalling about the same increase, as the decrease in the price of wheat in the same time.² In the parish of Walton, near Liverpool, labourers were receiving 10d per day in 1761. According to the Lancashire assessment of wages in 1725,³ a skilled husbandman was to receive as a maximum, 1s. per day during the summer, an ordinary labourer 10d. For the rest of the year the rates were 10d and 9d.⁴ In 1761 a thatcher received a shilling per day, and the taylor, who evidently lived in the house of his employer, got 6d per day with food. A few years later Young reckoned the board of a worker at 8d per day, so that the wage would represent 1/2 per day. Taking harvest as five weeks, hay time as five weeks and the winter at 41 weeks, he estimates the wages of a labourer in Kabers at ten shillings a week in haying and harvest and 7s. the rest of the year. At Garstang the rates were 10s., 9s., and 7s. respectively. At Ormskirk, 6s., 5s., and 4s. At Altroungam, 7/3, 6/6, and 5/- were the prevailing rates.

1. Hasbach. Eng. Agric. Lab. Ch.i. Sect. iv.

2. Lord Ernle (Prothero) English Farming. p.262.

3. V.C.H. Lancs. II, pp 419-436.

4. Holt. Lancashire, General Survey. See ~~table at end of Chapter.~~

This gives an average for the year of 6/4d per week over that part of the county which he traversed. The general average for the north was 7/1 per week so that the labourers in Lancashire were not so well paid as those in other counties. The average house rent paid by these classes he gives as £1:8:2 per annum, the cost of their firing £1:3:11, so that they would have if they worked the year round, £13:7:3 for food and clothing, etc. for their families. Women, employed in haying and harvest got from 4s. to 6/6d per week, and about 4/6d per week when employed at other times. These wages for women compared favourably with the averages for the rest of the country in the north, which amounted to 6/3 in harvest, and 3s. at other times. At the end of the sixties of the century, Lord Ernle estimates, the wages of the ordinary labourer were 7/6 per week in the Northern and N. East Counties, 7/11 in the South Eastern, and Midland counties, 6/10 in the West Midlands and South Western counties, 6/4 in the North and N. Western counties, 6s. to 6/6 in Yorkshire, 6/6 in Lancashire, and 6/6 in Durham. So it may be said that the general wage of the agricultural labourers on the eve of the Industrial Revolution was in the neighbourhood of a shilling a day, somewhat more in the Eastern and Home counties, where however provisions were generally slightly dearer than in the districts more remote from the metropolis.

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5. Young. Northern Tour. Particulars gathered mostly from Vol. iv. See table quoted at end of Chapter.
 6. Lord Ernle (Prothero) Cited above. App. X. Agricultural Wages.
 7. See Appendix No. ^{ix. a 3.} for more detailed figures on wages.

Food

In considering the food of the common people, the first thing to note is that the labourers of the north were generally better fed than those of the south. Provisions were generally cheaper and more abundant, and the labourer in the north had a greater variety of foods to choose from than his southern brother. While there were points of difference in various districts, Lancashire may in respect to Food be taken as presenting the features typical of the northern counties. Pig, cow, sheep, oats, and barley, with the addition of potatoes¹ formed the broad basis of sustenance for the people. From the pig, they had bacon puddings, ham and salt meat; from the cow, came the milk, cheese and butter, and the sheep furnished haggis and boiled meat. The introduction of the potato had a considerable effect on the diet, and helped to ameliorate the conditions of life for the rural and manufacturing population. In spite of the statements of the writer quoted above, it is doubtful if the meats mentioned formed any considerable part of the working people's diet. Holt as late as 1795 say that "oats ground to meal is the food of the labouring classes, particularly in the north and east borders of the county" Eden gives the statement of an official at Lancaster who says that there was little cheese used in labourers' families.⁵

Oats were used in two main ways, as porridge, and as baked cakes or bread. "Water boiled and thickened with meal into porridge, and then eaten with suet, or buttermilk, small beer sweetened with treacle, or with treacle alone was in many families both the breakfast and supper meal,"/

1. Lancs. & Ches. Ant. Soc. Voll. xx. p.77.
 5. Eden. State of the Poor 1795 II 309.

in the fifties of the century . This writer tells of three brothers who were accustomed to make a double portion of porridge on Sunday morning, and kept it warm in a bed, so as to have it for supper as well. They were men of landed property, but lived chiefly on the produce of their own land; they hated selling butter, and probably never tasted tea. They brewed their own ale, never used spirits; a couple of swine fed and slaughtered by themselves provided flesh meat for the year. As the last of these brothers died in 1792, their fare was probably a good example of the countryside earlier in the century. Young had noticed in 1770 that there was too great a proportion of oats sown in the north, but he failed to realise that this was probably because the general food of the people was oats and hence there would not be the demand for wheat. Holt at the end of the century is making the same complaint, with less excuse for missing the real reason. It was not till later than our period than with the gradual ascendancy and spread of tea and popular prices for it, porridge began to lose the important place it generally occupied as a time honoured meal in the northern counties.

Of the baked oat cakes, the chief are the Havercake, the Bannock and the Jannock. The havercake was akin to the modern oatcake of Scotland, being oval or round, flat $\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and unleavened. This was prevalent more in the eastern parts, and throughout the eighteenth century, the men of Rochdale prided themselves on the title of "havercake lads".

2. Holt. Report on Lancs. 1795. Footnote to p. 24.
3. Chas. Roeder In L. & C. Ant. Soc. cited above p. 44.
4. Lancs. and Ches. Ant. Soc. Vol. xx. Do.

The bannock was a thicker oatcake and unleavened. It was baked in the ember, and afterwards before being eaten, was re-heated on a girdle. This cake was sometimes made of Pease meal also. The most prevalent of the oatcakes, however, in the north, and occurring in many parts of Lancashire was the Jannock. This was really a loaf of oaten bread, as a whole loaf weighed nine pounds. It was round about 1" thick at the edges, and from 3" to 4½" thick at the center. It was no doubt this loaf Young was speaking of when he quotes the price of bread (oat) at $\frac{3}{4}$ d per pound in 1770.¹ Tim Bobbin, a local poet of Lancashire in the middle of the century speaks of a "tuppeny Jannock".² The local price round Bury in 1760 was 15 lbs. for a shilling.³ The Jannock was not peculiar to Lancashire, but held its ground there longer than elsewhere, being common up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was still made in 1902 around Belford and Leigh, and was then being sold in Standish Gate, Wigan.⁴

In the table from Eden, Lancashire is included in District IV. with Chester, Derby, Notts, and Lincoln. Of the population of these counties, .39, or almost 2/5 were living on oaten bread, .27 on wheaten bread, and the remainder .34 used barley or rye. A large proportion of the population of district iv, living on oat bread, was concentrated in Lancashire, because when Young, a few years later/⁵

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1. See Appendix. VII.
 2. Tim Bobbin, The Lancashire Dialect, 1750 p. 5
 3. Roeder; Lançs. and Ches. Ant. Soc. Vol. xx. Notes on food and drink.
 4. Ibid. 5; Eden. State of the poor. I. 564. Applies to circum 1760. Quoted by Eden from "Tracts on the Corn Trade. 1766, p. 183-5. While the exact figures of population may be inaccurate, the proportions will be indicative of the same. *See Appendix*

toured the county, he quotes wheaten bread only at Liverpool, and wheat and barley mixed at Altringham. The rest of the places quoted were oat bread, or oat and barley mixed. In district five of the above table, which included the rest of the northern counties, about four or five per cent used barley bread, and the remainder are almost equally divided amongst the users of wheat, rye, and oats. The wheaten bread used in Lancashire would probably be mostly in Liverpool, Manchester, and the homes of the upper and middle classes of the county, so that it is reasonable to conclude that the great masses of the labouring classes in the rural parts were users of oat bread, the wheaten loaf being a rare luxury rather than a regular article of diet. Pococke's horse boy said that "oat-cake and buttermilk was their common food", and his father was one who paid £6 a year in rent. In the Filde district a writer says that "beans and rye bread was the food of the commonalty, wheat bread being rarely eaten except by the rich. Jannocks were eaten with zest by the hungry labourers!"

Milk was cheap and plentiful. Holt says that in 1761 sweet milk was a penny a quart at Walton, quite close to Liverpool, and in the country was probably no dearer than that. The prevalence of small farms would make it easy for those who had no cow of their own to secure a supply of milk from some neighbour willing to add to his income by selling part of the milk from his own cow. Buttermilk as a beverage, and as an adjunct to/

6. See Note 1.

7. History of Blackpool (1837) Thornber, P. 83 referring to 80 yrs. before writing.

and porridge so commonly referred to is another indication of the plentiful supply of milk in rural communities. Butter ranged from 5d to 8d per pound, in different localities, Cheese, put by Young at 3d to 3½d per pound in 1769, was being sold in 1740 at 15s to 17s per cwt. now, or 23s to 24s when old,¹ and hence dryer and better cured. This would mean that there had been comparatively little change in the retail price during these thirty years.

The next important article of diet was potatoes. It has been stated above that by the middle of the century potatoes was a common crop in most parts of the county.² By the end of the century, they were in use in a variety of ways, and there is evidence that they were being largely used by the poorer people much earlier than that. In some districts they had not made much progress by 1760, but such were exceptional. For example in the Filde district it was "esteemed opulence to plant half a bushel of potatoes,.. boiled parsnips and French beans were the principal vegetables, not of the cottager or the farmer only but the gentry, even on gala days".³ But in 1758, on the Manchester market they were sold at 9d per bushel; and this indicates a very general use amongst the population at that time. A potatoe pie is enthusiastically described by Ben Brierly, as a dish that was well and favourably known. By the time that Eden wrote, they were used for every meal except breakfast, and Holt in a letter published in the Report of the Committ

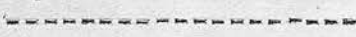
1. Lancs. and Ches. Ant. Soc. Vol. xx. p. 82.

2. See above. Chapter I. p.10,11.

3. Thornber. History of Blackpool.1837. p. 83.

on the Cultivation and use of the Potatoe, in 1795, urges the extension of the Lancashire custom of eating potatoes with meat instead of bread. He attributes the large excess of bread consumption in the south as compared with the North in large measure to this custom. The potato¹ affords two meals a day to many families of the labouring classes; and there are many families in the northern counties which never eat bread, except at tea. Besides being used to meat, they were often eaten with butter and butter-milk.

Of meat foods, the haggis was popular, and is mentioned by Tim Bobbin in 1745. It was general and popular in Lancashire, and continued in the Filde district until the end of the century. Mid-calf, or a dish made of the heart, liver, and lungs of a calf was considered a great delicacy. A black pudding made of blood, suet, and oats shared popularity with a white pudding, which was the same without the blood. Mention of the bacon puddings, ham and salt pork has been made. But it must be remembered that these and other meat dishes were occasional additions to the labourers' diet, on special occasions, or on Sundays, and were not part of his daily food. Pococke's horse boy, ³ told the bishop that they had meat, and pye-pudding on gala days; and no doubt it was only on the tables of the better off cottagers that meat dishes would occur with any frequency.



- 4. Report of Comm. on Cult. and Use of Potatoes p.159 et seq. Holt. Survey of Lancs. p.14. Footnote.
- 5. Lancs. and Ches. Ant. Soc. Vol.xx. p.60 et seq.
- 6. Camden Soc. Vol.1. p. 203-4.

Along with the meat foods it is well to mention the numerous soups of vegetables and sometimes of meat that characterised the north generally. Various kinds of broth were in frequent use. Contemporary observers frequently make mention of the superiority of the northern peasant over the southern in preparing a variety of dishes and soups. Seasonal dishes based on fruit were also common, such as berry tarts; and roly-poly or dog-in-a-blanket, as it was called in Derbyshire, is still known as the Lancashire roly-poly.

As to beverages, tea was finding its way through the county by the end of the sixties. At that time, Young says of the Burton district in the north of the county that all drink tea, as also those round Garstang, and in the South round Warrington and Altringham. In the Ormskirk district it was known but not generally used. As this statement occurs in connection with the poor rate particulars, it is reasonable to conclude that Young was referring to the poorer classes.^{1.}

Later in the century when there had been an increase of drinking among the labouring classes, Eden stated that the labourer of the South indulged daily in malt liquors; but that in the north this was not the case. The general drink was whey, or ~~mi~~ milk and water, or a meagre small beer. He also stated that there was only one alehouse in the north for every three or four in the south.²

When this extensive variety of diet, and comparative moderation in alcoholic liquors, is compared with Eden's

1. Northern Tour. Vol.3. Letter 18.

2. Eden. State of the Poor. Vol.I. 527.

statement that the poor in the South of England live on dry bread and cheese, with malt liquors or tea as their beverage, it is easy to understand the comments as common at the time on the superior household economy of the northern peasant.^{1.} In partial explanation of this it must be remembered that fuel was scarcer and dearer in the south, so that cooking, for a labourer's family, was an expensive matter; and also that milk and butter remained easily obtainable in the north much longer than in the south. In addition, the smaller sums spent on liquors, meant that a larger sum was available in the north for the purchase of provisions. The chief advantages of the peasants of the north may be ~~summed~~^{summed} up as being, - the use of oatmeal in a variety of ways, the use of potatoes, and the great variety of cheap and savoury soups, as well as greater skill in preparing a variety of dishes from the same ingredients.

As to quantity considered sufficient for a labourer, we may refer to two contemporary estimates. The first is a table of the weekly allowance to every man in the navy with the cost, published in 1765.^{2.} 7 lbs. bread, 7d; 7 gals. drink, 7d; 4 lbs beef, 8d.

- 3. Museum Rusticum. March 1765.
- 4. After 1760, Hasbach p.144-7. Rise in prices lowered standard of living, but in the north, "veen with a lower money wage, the standard of living remained higher. L. & C.A.S. Vol.xx p.82. First reference to tea and coffee in Manch. is 1762. In 1749 tea in Manchester was 5/6 to 18s per lb., 10% under London market because brough in via Edinburgh & Leith (lower customs) Coffee . 4 to 7s, Chocolate 4 to 4/6 per lb.

2 lbs. pork, 5d; 2 pints peas, $\frac{1}{8}$ d; 2 pints oatmeal, $\frac{3}{8}$ d; 6 oz. butter, $\frac{1}{4}$ d; and 12 oz. cheese, $\frac{3}{4}$ d; making a total for the week of $2/5\frac{1}{2}$.

Physicians of the time were of the opinion that the allowance was all that any able working man could consume with health. But it is doubtful if any able workingman in either north or south, unless a servant with some generous farmer, ever had the opportunity making the experiment. The other estimate is made about 1766 by the writer of "Three Tracts on the Corn Trade"¹. He says that in Lancashire a labourer consumes nine pounds of oatmeal in a week, or 3 quarters 2 bushels of oats per annum, as 2 quarters of oats will seldom make one quarter of meal. The Scotch labourer, he says, consumes 4 quarters 7 bushels of oats per annum, and pitmen 2 quarters 5 bus. of rye per annum. The annual consumption of wheat is estimated for various sections of the people. Workhouse inmates, citizens and hospital inmates consume from 6 to 7 bushels per head. Labourers, soldiers, and various classes of the French nation, 8 to 12 bushels; French porters, peasants, and eaters of new bread, 17 to 19 bus.; English shepherds, 19 bushels, and English pitmen 20 bushels.

Clothing was entirely homespun and home made in the north, and remained so to near the end of the century. By that time in the Midlands and the South, the clothing was mostly purchased clothing or London cast-offs; but "in the north almost every article of dress worn by farmers, mechanics, and labourers is manufactured at home, hats and shoes excepted... there are many respectable persons at this day who never wore a bought pair of stockings,

1. Three Tracts on the Corn Trade. (Rylands Library, S 69.137/T.3.K.)

coat, nor waistcoat in their lives; and within these twenty years a caot bought at a shop was considered a mark of extravagance, if the buyer was not possessed of an independent fortune.^{1.} Ironed clogs which are cheaper, more durable, and more wholesome (sic) than shoes are very generally worn by the labouring people."^{2.}

But underneath this real prosperity and the abundance of food supplies which characterised the first half of the century there were two disturbing forces at work. The first was the changes in the methods of agriculture, with their accompaniment, enclosures, as a sympton of the tendency to consolidate the farms into larger ones. The second was the influence of growing towns, which made a difference to the markets, and so to the production of different communities. The result was that the old distribution of agricultural population was not suited to the new conditions. More labour was required in some places, as where enclosures had increased the area under tillage, or where the proximity of a growing town such as Liverpool or Manchester, made the small dairy or produce farm a profitable venture. Less was

2. Eden I. p. 554-5.

3. ~~Eden~~ *Ibid.* II. 309. Pococke also mentions the shoes with wooden soles worn by the people in these districts. Camden Soc. Vol. I.

required in other places, as where enclosure was leading to pasture instead of tillage. Agricultural labour was not as a rule mobile enough to meet the new conditions, and the result was a great deal of social suffering. Enclosures also meant a real depression in the social and economic status of many cottagers, and squatters. Those who by the aid of their little holding, and the common rights, had just been able to maintain themselves, sank under the new conditions into a state of at least partial dependence on the rates. A recent writer expresses the opinion that many of the arguments in favour of enclosures betray an excessive confidence in the mobility of agricultural labour, and its adaptability to industry." The weaker elements in a parish that had been enclosed were often left stranded on the land, the result that the rate of wages was depressed.^{1.} He might have added that the poor rate was often raised by their presence.

This immobility of labour was due in the main to three causes. The first was the natural clinging to one place so often seen in the attitude of the poor, especially of the weaker elements amongst them. The more self-reliant would launch out on a new venture while their weaker brethren remained behind and suffered. Then there were the difficulties of removals over the wretched roads of the period, which would prevent many from attempting the unknown districts. But, though these causes were no doubt operating the great hindrance to the redistribution of labour to meet the new conditions was to be found in the Settlement Laws. This law,

1. Dobbs. Education and Social Movements. p. 130.

passed in 1662 to prevent the indigent poor from flocking into districts where they would be best treated, was modified in 1691 to permit a settlement to be obtained in a parish other than that where one had been born. This new settlement was obtained, (a) by paying a year's taxes in the new parish, (b) by serving a parish office for a year; (c) by fulfilling a year's contract of labour with a resident of the parish, or (d) by renting a land-holding of £10 annual value. In 1696 certificates became allowable, and with this certificate a labourer could go where he liked and could not be sent back to his own parish unless he actually became a pauper. This was the condition of affairs in this respect during the first half of the century; and constables' accounts are full of the expenses of returning poor to their respective parishes, while Sessions reports are full of appeals for or against orders of removal. There can be little question that when the new movements of the eighteenth century began to gather momentum these regulations "acted as an effectual check on migration, and prevented the labourer from carrying his labour where it was wanted." Not only were the rates burdened with the cost of returning poor to their parishes, but the poor laboured under the constant uncertainty as to whether they were to be allowed.

2. Curtler. Short Hist. of English Agriculture. p.157-8. Also Eden. State of the Poor. I. 296. Quotes from an essay by a writer named Hay, written in 1735, and republished in 1751. Hay reprobated the system which he says, abridges a poor man's liberty on a suggestion that he may become chargeable; the defect is that it is optional with the parish officers to grant the certificate, whereas they ought to be compelled to do it; or better still, every poor man ought to be put on the footing of a certificate man till he does become chargeable. Eden disagrees with Adam Smith when he says "there is scarce a poor man in England of forty years of age who has not in some part of his life felt himself cruelly oppressed by Settlement Law", but brings no evidence to confute these writers.

to remain in a new parish. Young, when he made up the tables of wages in the appendix to this work, was puzzled to account for the variations which did not at all follow the prices of provisions. Probably one reason was the natural variation with the distance from manufacturing centres where the demand for labour would tend to raise the wages of all labour; but the influence of the immobility caused by the Settlement Laws was also a factor. The Earl of Hillsboro, writing in 1753, proposed to destroy the Settlement Laws, as they were a hindrance in many ways.^{1.}

The eighteenth century is marked by a great increase in the cost of caring for the poor, and while this was partly due to the growth of benevolent sentiment, and partly to the growth of manufacturing centres with their periods of unemployment, yet even such an advocate as Gonner admits that "in many districts such distress was caused that there had to be much more ~~expended~~^{2.} expended in poor Rate. Eden calculates the amount of money raised for the support of the poor toward the end of the seventeenth century. When this is worked out, Lancashire was paying at that time 6 1/10 pence per head of population.^{3.}

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1. Eden. State of the Poor. aI. 318.
 2. Gonner. Common Land and Enclosure. Bk.iii. Ch.v. Sec. B2.
 3. Eden. I.230. This rate of 6.1d per head was the lowest in the kingdom at that time. Generally speaking the northern counties were all much lower than those in the south. The six northern counties all occur among the lowest nine counties of England. Wales, considered as a district is 13th.

Young in 1770 calculates the population of the farming districts at about 14 per £100 rent. This is of course only a rough approximation to the facts, but will serve to indicate the change in the course of the first sixty or seventy years of the century, in the absence of more exact data. Poor rates in the purely agricultural districts such as KabeEs, Cockeram and Ormskirk were from 3d to 6d in the £, averaging slightly over 4d for the places he mentions. This would represent an expenditure on the poor of not less than 28d per head of population. Even this rough calculation shows how greatly the poor rates had increased before the dawn of the Industrial Revolution. In districts that were partly urban, the increase was still greater. For example the rate in Liverpool in Young's time was 1s. in the £, and rounq Warrington and Altringham was from 1/6 to 2/6 in the pound.¹ The expenditure on the poor in Lancaster, for example, rose from £94:19:8 in 1736 to £499 in 1765, when the town was on the decline rather than growing.²

4Young. Northern Tour. Vol. 3. Letter 18.

5. Eden. II. 309. et seq. For fuller discussion on this question of pauperism, see Part II. Chap. V. of the present work.

APPENDIX. No. I.

1. Gent. Magazine. Oct. and Nov. 1752. An article on the New Husbandry.
 Rotation as follows:-
 1739. 1740. 1741. 1742. 1743. 1744. 1745. 1746. 1747. 1748. 1749. 1750. 1751
 A. Clev. Wht. Brly. Cl. Cl. W. & By. Tmps. Brly Cl. Tmps. Bly. S. Dal. Wht.
 B. Brly. Cl. Cl. Wht. Tmps. Brly. Cl. Wht. Brly. Cl. Wht. Brly. Cl.
 C. Brly. Peas Brly. Cl. Peas Tmps. Brly. Cl. Peas Wht. Tmps. Bly. Cl.
 D. Wht. Brly. Cl. Brly. S. Fal. Wht. Tmps. Brly. Tmps. Brly. Cl. Cl. Pease
 E. Brly. Peas Brly. Tmps. Brly. Tmps. Brly. Cl. Cl. Wht. Tmps. Brly. ---
 F. L. (untilled) (Tmps. Brly. Cl. Cl. Peas Wht. Brly. Clover
 L. Brly. Tmps. Brly. Cl. Cl. Peas Wht. Tmps. Brly.
 G. (Brly. Peas Tmps. ---
 (Tmps. Bly. Cl. --- Wht. Tmps. Brly. Tmps. Brly. Brly. Brly.
 H. L. Tmps. Brly. Tmps. Brly. Cl. Cl. Cl. Oats Cl. Peas Wht. ---
 I. L. Tmps. Brly. Tmps. Brly. Cl. Cl. Wt. Brly. Tmps. Brly. Cl. ----
 J. L. L. Tmps. Brly. Tmps. Brly. Cl. Cl. Wht. Tmps. Brly. Cl. Wheat
 K. L. L. Tmps. Brly. Cl. Cl. Wht. Tmps Brly. Cl. Peas Wht. Tmps.
 L. L. Tmps. Wht. Tmps. Brly. Co. Co. Brly. Tmps. Brly. Cl. Peas Wht.
 Field F. dix is divided into two from 1743, and G. is in two parts till
 1743.

~~S. Young: Northern Four. iii. Letter 18.~~

APPENDIX NO. II.

Covenants in Leases. Quoted Edward Laurence. Duty of a Steward,

1. Not to pare and burn land. Penalty, £20 per acre.
2. Not to sow hemp, rape, flax, woad, madder, etc. not potatoes and hops except for private use. Penalty £10 per acre.
3. Not to convert pasture into tillage except where necessary because of the growth of moss. Penalty £10 per acre.
4. Not to cut timber for sale. Penalty, 10 times the value.
5. Rotatioꝝ to be pursued. Fallow, corn (wheat, rye or barley), beans or pease, barley or oats. Half the manure is to be laid on the meadows, and half of the tillage. Also to lay 40 bus of lime per acre on the fallow. Penalty £20 above the rent.
6. Spend all the hay and straw on the premises. Penalty £20.
7. Scour all ditches. Penalty £10.
8. Keep dwelling houses in good repair.
9. Yoke and ring hogs. Penalty 10s. per hog.
10. Sow winter corn before Michaelmas.
11. No sub-letting. Penalty £20.
12. Hedges to be kept in repair.
13. No rabbits are to be kept.
14. No drying and burning of manure.
15. Mole catchers are to be paid 1s. per dozen, by assessment.
16. Tenants must keep the bye-roads.
17. No greyhounds or guns, nor snaring of game.
18. No brick kilns, or digging of brick clay. Penalty £500.
19. Tenants teams are to be lead home the corn and hay from the demesne lands.
20. Tenant to keep up the out-houses with slate or tile of the farm.
21. Tenant to pay church, constable, and poor assessment, and all other except the land tax.
22. A present is to be made every Christmas to the landlord.

TABLE OF THE ENCLOSURE ACTS PASSED FOR LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Made up from Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc. Vol. vi.p.112-126
Wm. Harrison.1888

There were records of three enclosures prior to the 18th century, which may perhaps be taken as indicative of a great many more.

1529. The town fields of Padiham near Burnley appear to have been divided by Sir John Townley, Nicholas Tempest, and N. Banastre, the commissioners of the enclosure.

1597. Denton. Common lands enclosed when 292 acres or thereabouts were appropriated by the adjacent land-owners.

1630. Rowton Heath, near Chester. Amount not given.

1709. At or near West Kirby Mr. Harrison found traces of several enclosures, one of which was in 1709, by the drawing of lots.

1724. An Act to enclose the Common and tract of land called Croston Finney. This did not apply to all the waste in Croston, and there were later enclosures there.

1724. An Act applying to waste ground in West Houghton.

1730. The commons and parcels of waste ground in the township of Claughton near Garstang.

From 1730 to 1750 there is no single instance of an Enclosure Act relating to Lancashire or Cheshire. Mr Harrison thinks there was much enclosure by agreement during this period.

1750. An act for confirming articles of agreement for enclosing and dividing commons and waste ground within the Manor of Culceth.

1756. Commons in Ellel, near Lancaster.

1759. Longton, near Preston.

1759. Walton on the Hill, and Fazakerley.

1761. An Act not mentioned by Mr Harrison, but by Holt in 1795, for the enclosing of Worbrech Moor, which was evidently a successful experiment.

1762. Lowton, near Wigan, and Astley.

1765. Walkden Moor, and part of Chat Moss lying within the Manor of Worsley.

This date marks the beginning in Lancashire of the extreme activity of the later eighteenth century. The lull between 1780 and 1790 can be clearly traced in this table as well as in the figures for the country as a whole. In that decade there were only four acts as compared with eleven in the previous fifteen years, and 12 in the last ten years of the century.

1766. Bryn Common, Weaverham, Ches. 460 acres.
 1767. Several Commons in the Manor of Chorley.
 Common waste lands and sandhills - Layton Hawes, near
 the present Blackpool.
 1768. Wavertree, near Liverpool.
 1771. Barniker Moor, in Nether Wyersdale.
 1773. Grappenhall and Latchford, in Cheshire.
 1774. Oswaldthistle.
 1776. Little Harwood.
 1777. Common fields in the Manor of Yealands, including
 Wartham Moss and Hilderstone Moss.
 1777. Four townships near Frodsham, Cheshire.
 1778. Lathom and Skelmersdale.
 The next is an act for draining, improving and preserv-
 ing the lowlands of the parishes of Altcar, Sefton,
 Halsall, and Walton on the Hill.
 1779. Enclosure at Lower Darwen, Lancs.
 1785. Forton, 80 acres.
 1786. Clitheroe. 300 acres.
 1788. Billington on Wilpshire.
 1789. Wiswell Moor. 350 acres.
 1791. Christleton. 277 acres.
 1792. Belton Moor and other Commons in the township of
 Great Bolton. 289 acres, or without roads, 247 acres.
 1/15 went to the lords of the Manor. The rest was
 sold on chief rent or let on long leases, the rents
 to be applied to the poor rate.
 1793. Claife, near Hawkshead. 1350 acres.
 1793. Clayton le Moors, in Whalley.
 1795. Congleton and Edgeworth.
 1796. Royal Manor of Macclesfield.
 Farnmouth and Kersley.
 1796. Lancaster marshes drained, Stilla stinted common.
 Cartmel. 12,516 acres.
 1797. Halton Moor, Over Killet Moor, and commons within
 the Manor of Hornby.
 Harwood near Blackburn.
 150 acres at Ditton, neat Widnes.
 1799. Thornton Marsh in Foulton and Bispham.
 Ulverston Lands.
 1800. Croston again. Associated with Mawdesley, Rufford,
 Bispham, Tarleton, and Bretherton. The Act included
 the drainage of low lands.
 Hale and Halewood. 350 acres.

To summarize,

for Lancashire there were 40 acts during the century, and
 for Cheshire, 12.

The acreage returns are unreliable, as they vary from
 statute acres to Cheshire acres, and some give the esti-
 mated acreage in the act, some the surveyors awards;
 some include and some exclude roads allowance.

The aggregate of the 12 Cheshire Acts is given at
 10,563 acres.

The aggregate of 27 Lancashire Acts is given at 26,801
 acres, but which acts they are is not specified.

GONNER. APPENDIX D. ENCLOSURES BY ACT IN 18th & 19th CENTS.

| COUNTY. | | up to 18 | | | | | | | | Total |
|------------|------|----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| | | 1760. | 61-70. | 71-80. | 81-90. | 91-00. | 01-10. | 11-20. | 21-70 | |
| Bedford | c.f. | .6 | 3. | 4. | .6 | 16.9 | 11.4 | 2.8 | 4.7 | 44.00 |
| | T. | .6 | 3. | 4. | .6 | 16.9 | 11.5 | 2.8 | 4.7 | 44.1 |
| Berkshire | c.f. | 1.3 | .8 | 4.3 | 1.1 | 2.6 | 9. | 8.4 | 2.7 | 30.2 |
| | T. | 1.4 | .8 | 4.3 | 1.1 | 2.6 | 9.8 | 9.8 | 4.3 | 34.1 |
| Bucks. | c.f. | .5 | 6. | 6. | 1.5 | 6.9 | 6. | 2.8 | 5.1 | 34.8 |
| | T. | .5 | 6. | 6. | 1.5 | 6.9 | 6. | 2.9 | 6. | 35.8 |
| Cambridge | c.f. | - | .2 | 1.2 | .4 | 5.5 | 11.9 | 5.5 | 9.8 | 34.5 |
| | T. | - | 2.4 | 1.4 | .4 | 5.9 | 12. | 5.5 | 10.8 | 38.4 |
| Cheshire | c.f. | - | - | - | - | - | * | .4 | - | .4 |
| | T. | - | * | .3 | - | 1 | .3 | 1.5 | .3 | 3.4 |
| Cornwall | c.f. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | T. | - | - | - | - | - | .2 | .2 | .4 | .8 |
| Cumberland | c.f. | - | - | .2 | - | - | - | * | * | .2 |
| | T. | - | 2.4 | 1.7 | - | 1. | 9.2 | 5.2 | 4.4 | 23.9 |
| Derby | c.f. | .5 | 2.3 | 1.1 | 1.6 | 3.1 | 4.8 | 2. | .8 | 16.2 |
| | T. | .8 | 2.4 | 2.8 | 2. | 3.3 | 6. | 2.2 | 1.8 | 21.3 |
| Devonshire | c.f. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | T. | - | - | - | - | .1 | .2 | .4 | 1.0 | 1.7 |
| Dorset | c.f. | .3 | .8 | .1 | .7 | 1.8 | 2.2 | .8 | 1.6 | 8.3 |
| | T. | .3 | 1.1 | .1 | .7 | 2.1 | 4.4 | 1.5 | 3.1 | 13.3 |
| Durham | c.f. | - | - | - | - | .1 | - | * | - | .1 |
| | T. | 1.5 | 2.8 | 4.1 | .8 | 5.8 | 1.6 | .5 | .7 | 17.8 |

Figures represent the percentage of the acreage enclosed

c.f. - Common field.

T. - Total

| County. | 1760. | 61-70. | 71-80. | 81-90. | 91- ¹⁸ 00. | 01-10. | 11-20. | 20-70. | Total. |
|---------------------|----------|--------|--------|--------|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Essex | c.f. - | - | - | - | - | .7 | .6 | .6 | 1.9 |
| | T. - | * | * | - | * | .8 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 3.1 |
| Gloucester | c.f. 1.7 | 1.7 | 4.2 | .7 | 3.7 | 2.4 | 2 | 1.2 | 17.6 |
| | T. 1.7 | 1.7 | 4.2 | .7 | 3.7 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 18.7 |
| Hampshire | c.f. .8 | - | .3 | 1.3 | 1.3 | .8 | .9 | .6 | 6. - |
| | T. 1.1 | - | .3 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 2. | 2. | 3.1 | 11.1 |
| Hereford | c.f. - | - | .1 | - | .6 | 2. | .8 | * | 3.5 |
| | T. - | - | .2 | * | .6 | 2.2 | 1.3 | .5 | 4.8 |
| Hertford | c.f. - | .9 | .1 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 2.5 | 11.9 |
| | T. .3 | .9 | .4 | - | 3.7 | 3.4 | 2.9 | 3.6 | 15.2 |
| Huntingdon | c.f. 1.6 | 6.4 | 9.9 | .8 | 11.4 | 15.8 | 5.4 | 4.5 | 55.8 |
| | T. 1.6 | 6.4 | 9.9 | .8 | 11.4 | 15.8 | 5.4 | 4.5 | 55.8 |
| Kent. | c.f. - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | T. - | - | - | - | - | .1 | .2 | .2 | .5 |
| Lancashire | c.f. - | - | - | - | * | - | - | - | - |
| | T. .4 | .2 | .2 | .1 | 1.3 | .7 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 5.7 |
| Leicester | c.f. 7.1 | 13.7 | 10.4 | 3.6 | 4.8 | 1.9 | * | .3 | 41.8 |
| | T. 7.9 | 13.7 | 10.8 | 3.8 | 6. | 5.4 | * | .3 | 47.9 |
| Lincoln | c.f. 1.6 | 7.1 | 6.2 | 1. | 5.5 | 5.2 | 2. | .5 | 29.1 |
| | T. 1.6 | 7.9 | 7.1 | 1.2 | 6.0 | 9.2 | 3.1 | 1. | 37.1 |
| Middlesex | c.f. - | - | 1.2 | 1.2 | 2.3 | 6.3 | 8. | .3 | 19.3 |
| | T. - | * | 1.2 | 1.2 | 2.3 | 6.3 | 13.4 | 2.3 | 26.7 |
| Norfolk | c.f. .2 | .7 | 2.5 | .6 | 2.4 | 7.2 | 4.2 | 1.4 | 19.2 |
| | T. .2 | .9 | 2.7 | 1.2 | 3.9 | 8.9 | 5.7 | 2.6 | 26.1 |
| Northumber:
land | c.f. .3 | - | .4 | .1 | - | .7 | .2 | .1 | 1.7 |
| | T. 2. | .7 | 1.5 | .4 | 1.2 | 2.4 | .7 | 3.6 | 12.5 |

County. 1760. 61-70. 71-80. 81-90. 91-00. 01-10. 11-20. 20-70. Total

Nottingham c.f. .6 5.3 8.4 2.2 6.5 3.2 .6 1.1 27.9
T. .9 5.3 9. 2.5 7.3 4.4 1. 1.6 32.0

Northampton. c.f. 5.3 8.4 17.1 1.7 4.4 7.2 4.1 3.2 51.4
T. 6. 8.4 17.1 1.7 4.4 7.2 5.8 3.7 54.3

Oxford c.f. 1.5 5.8 7.8 1.7 7.7 4.8 3.3 8.2 40.8
T. 1.5 5.8 7.9 2.7 7.7 5.- 4.4 9.8 43.8

Rutland c.f. 6. 9.9 4.5 - 20.3 1.5 1.9 2. 46.1
T. 6. 9.9 4.5 - 20.3 1.5 1.9 2.3 46.4

Shropsh. c.f. - - .1 .1 * - .1 - .3
T. - * 1. .4 .9 1. .8 2.3 6.4

Somerset. c.f. .2 - - - .1 .5 .7 .3 1.8
T. .3 1. 1.1 5.1 1.5 1.5 2.2 12.7

Stafford c.f. .4 .1 .3 .4 1.3 3.2 .6 .3 6.6
T. .9 1.1 1.3 .7 1.7 3.5 1.3 1.9 12.4

Suffolk c.f. .1 - .1 - .5 1. 1.2 .6 3.5
T. .2 .1 .2 * 1. 1.6 1.8 1.2 6.1

Surrey c.f. - - * - 1.3 2.4 1.4 .9 6.0
T. - * * - 1.7 3.4 1.5 3.5 10.1

Sussex c.f. - - - - * .8 .5 .4 1.7
T. - .2 * * .1 .9 1. 1.4 3.6

Warwick c.f. 7. 3.4 5.9 1.2 2.3 1.5 1.2 .7 23.2
T. 7.4 3.4 6.2 1.2 2.5 1.9 1.5 1.1 25.2

Wes tmo re: c.f. - - - - - .1 .2 - .3
land T. - .1 .3 * - 2.3 5. 8.6 16.3

Export of corn
 Exported from
 Art on Corn.

18

| County | 1760. | 61-70. | 71-80. | 81-90. | 91-00. | 01-10. | 11-20. | 20-70. | Total |
|-----------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|---------|---------|--------|--------|-------|
| Wiltshire. cf. | .8 | .2 | 3.7 | 3.3 | 4. | 5.3 | 4.4 | 1.2 | 22.9 |
| T. | .9 | .2 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 4.6 | 5.8 | 5. | 2.3 | 26.2 |
| Worcester. cf. | .3 | 1. | 4.6 | 1.1 | .6 | 2. | 2.3 | 1.2 | 13.1 |
| T. | .3 | 1. | 6. | 1.5 | 1.2 | 2.3 | 4. | 1.8 | 18.1 |
| Yorkshire. cf. | 1.7 | 8.6 | 9.4 | .8 | 2.9 | 6.8 | 1.8 | 1.4 | 33.4 |
| E. T. | 2.5 | 9.7 | 10.2 | 1. | 3.3 | 7.2 | 2.1 | 2.3 | 38.3 |
| W. cf. | .4 | .5 | 1.5 | .4 | 1.8 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 1.3 | 10.6 |
| T. | .8 | 2.5 | 2.8 | 1.5 | 2.7 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 24.2 |
| N. cf. | .3 | 1.7 | .6 | .5 | .6 | 1.7 | .6 | * | 6.0 |
| T. | 1. | 2.5 | 1.2 | 1. | 1. | 4.6 | 2. | 3 | 16.3 |
| Totals for all. | | | | | | | | | |
| | 67,325 | 222,122 | 410,000 | 1,226 | 152,343 | 272,433 | | | |

Table of prices taken from Table, Vol. 1.

Export of corn from the chief ports. Christmas 1734 to 1735. 200
 Extracted from Postlethwayt. Univ. Dict. of Trade and Commerce.
 Art on Corn.

| PORT. | Barley | Malt | Oatmeal | Rye | Wheat | Bounty. |
|----------------------|------------|---------|---------|--------|------------|---------|
| London | 8914 qrs | 2101qrs | 39 qrs | 51 qrs | 59,784 qrs | £16,429 |
| Yarmouth | 9802 | 92,374 | -- | 494 | 5,938 | 13,629 |
| Wells | 202 | 60,247 | -- | 217 | 210 | 6,849 |
| Portsmouth | 2190 | 8,245 | -- | -- | 16,876 | 5,523 |
| Lynn Regis | 5747 | 17,411 | -- | 549 | 6,778 | 4,534 |
| Chichester | 603 | 11,339 | -- | -- | 8,748 | 3,941 |
| Southampton | 3013 | 2,358 | -- | -- | 9,443 | 3,098 |
| Berwick | 2396 | 425 | -- | -- | 10,944 | 3,094 |
| Hull | -- | 8,063 | -- | -- | 3,732 | 2,321 |
| Shoreham | 4890 | 2,842 | -- | -- | 3,007 | 1,821 |
| Exeter | 7693 | -- | 1279 | -- | 1,134 | 4,405 |
| Sandwich | 349 | 3,595 | -- | -- | 2,485 | 1,085 |
| Blackney
and Clay | 81 | 9,369 | -- | 18 | 254 | 1,066 |
| Dover | 422 | -- | -- | -- | 4,015 | 1,057 |
| Bristol | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 308 |
| Arundel | -- | -- | -- | -- | 3,090 | 447 (?) |
| Cowes | 689 | -- | -- | -- | 2,241 | 646 |
| Ipswich | 864 | 394 | -- | -- | 2,282 | 728 |
| Millford | 51 | -- | 583 | -- | 2,796 | 778 |
| Liverpool | 9 | -- | 7 | -- | 991 | 249 |
| Poole | 690 | 87 | 10 | -- | 1,159 | 389 |
| Others | very small | | | | | |
| Totals for all. | 57,520 | 219,781 | 1920 | 1329 | 153,343 | £72,433 |

Table of prices taken from Young. Vol. 4.

| Place | Bread | Butter | Cheese | Mutton | Beef | Veal | Pork | Average |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Kabers (oat) | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 8d | 3d | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | - | 4d | 3d |
| Garstang" | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 7d | 3d | 3d | 3d | - | 3d | 3d |
| Warrington- | | 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3d | 3d | 3d | 4d | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| (Barley & Oat) | | | | | | | | |
| Liverpool (W.H.) | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 7d | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 4d | 4d | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d |
| Altringham Wh. & By. | | 6d | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 3d |
| Ave. of Country | | | | | | | | |
| Annual Ave. Dec. | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 6d | 3d | 3d | 3d | 3d | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d | 3d. |

The average of Lancashire is therefore slightly higher than that of the north as a whole except for beef which was quite plentiful in the county, as it was a large dairy county and there would be a good supply of cattle for sale. For example the dairymen bought their cattle when freshly calved and when dry sold them to the butcher.

| Year. | Wheat. | Malt. | Year. | Wheat. | Malt. |
|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------------------|
| 1646 | 48s. | 29s. | | | |
| 1656 | 43 | 24 | 1744 | 24/10 | 24/6 |
| 1666 | 36 | 26 | 1745 | 27/6 | 23/4 |
| 1674 | 68/8 | 34 | 1746 | 39 | 22/4 |
| 1676 | 38 | 26 | 1747 | 34/10 | 22/8 |
| 1679 | 60 | 26/8 | 1748 | 37 | 23/4 |
| 1686 | 34 | 25/4 | 1749 | 37 | 25/4 |
| 1696 | 71s | 28 | 1750 | 32/6 | 25/4 |
| 1706 | 26 | 22 | 1751 | 38/6 | 26 |
| 1711 | 54 | 35/4 | 1752 | 41/10 | 27/4 |
| 1716 | 48 | 28 | 1753 | 44/8 | 27/8 |
| 1721 | 37/6 | 28/4 | 1754 | 34/8 | 28 |
| 1726 | 46 | 28 | 1755 | 33/10 | 25/4 ⁵ |
| 1731 | 32/10 | 20/5 | 1756 | 45/3 | 26 |
| 1736 | 40/4 | 24 | 1757 | 60 | 36 |
| 1740 | 50/6 | 32 | 1758 | 41/6 | |
| 1741 | 46/8 | 32 | 1759 | 39/6 | |
| 1742 | 34 | 38/8 | 1760 | 34/6 | |
| 1743 | 24/10 | 28/6 | 1761 | 40 | |
| | | | 1762 | 38 | |

 TABLE OF CORN EXPORT ? AND GROSS MALT DUTY. 1700-1756.

Based on the Museum Rusticum, II. p. 289-96.

(Where the same years are given this table agrees with Postlethwayte.)

| Year. | Wheat
Qrs. | Malt Export.
Qrs. | Malt Duty. | Barley.
Qrs. | Rye.
Qrs. |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1700 | 49,000 | | | 26,000 | 27,000 |
| 1701 | 97,000 | | £173,000 | 22,000 | 24,000 |
| 1702 | 89,000 | 72,000 | 140,000 | 16,000 | 51,000 |
| 1703 | 106,000 | 123,000 | 689,000 | 72,000 | 58,000 |
| 1704 | 90,000 | 103,000 | 510,000 | 31,000 | 29,000 |
| 1705 | 96,000 | 137,000 | 699,000 | 21,000 | 24,000 |
| | | | | 10,000 | 50,000 |
| 1706 | 188,000 | 141,000 | 596,000 | 5,000 | 34,000 |
| 1707 | 173,000 | 111,000 | 645,000 | 29,000 | 5,000 |
| 1708 | 83,000 | 98,000 | 598,000 | 41,000 | 166,000 |
| 1709 | 69,000 | 140,000 | 523,000 | | |
| Annual Ave. Decade | 104,000 | 115625 | 508,111 | 27,300 | 48,800 |
| 1710 | 14,000 | 80,000 | 507,000 | 6,000 | 12,000 |
| 1711 | 77,000 | 140,000 | 574,000 | 8,000 | 37,000 |
| 1712 | 135,000 | 192,000 | 575,000 | 20,000 | 17,000 |
| 1713 | 176,000 | 218,000 | 645,000 | 53,000 | 39,000 |
| 1714 | 175,000 | 220,000 | 516,000 | 19,000 | 20,000 |
| 1715 | 165,000 | 103,000 | 631,000 | 5,000 | 31,000 |
| 1716 | 75,000 | 227,000 | 687,000 | 15,000 | 40,000 |
| 1717 | 23,000 | 251,000 | 744,000 | 18,000 | 23,000 |
| 1718 | 72,000 | 303,000 | 693,000 | 71,000 | 49,000 |
| 1719 | 128,000 | 357,000 | 728,000 | 9,000 | 45,000 |
| Ave. for Decade | 104,000 | 209,100 | 630,000 | 22,400 | 29,300 |

202.

Continuation of Corn Export and of Gross Malt Duty.

| Year. | Wheat. | Malt Export | Malt Duty. | Barley | Rye. |
|--------------------|---------|-------------|------------|---------|---------|
| 1720 | 82,000 | 254,000 | £661,000 | 4,000 | 49,000 |
| 1721 | 82,000 | 339,000 | 737,000 | 12,000 | 70,000 |
| 1722 | 179,000 | 367,000 | 851,000 | 38,000 | 33,000 |
| 1723 | 156,000 | 305,000 | 791,000 | 46,000 | 13,000 |
| 1724 | 246,000 | 242,000 | 625,000 | 10,000 | 23,000 |
| 1725 | 204,000 | 294,000 | 703,000 | 14,000 | 21,000 |
| 1726 | 142,000 | 336,000 | 697,000 | 20,000 | 19,000 |
| 1727 | 30,000 | 241,000 | 655,000 | 8,000 | 9,000 |
| 1728 | 4,000 | 195,000 | 540,000 | 198 | 13 |
| 1729 | 19,000 | 131,000 | 594,000 | 5,000 | 1,000 |
| 10 yrs. of Decade | 114,600 | 270,700 | 685,400 | 15,700 | 24,800 |
| 1730 | 94,000 | 179,000 | 732,000 | 15,000 | 12,000 |
| 1731 | 130,000 | 178,000 | 566,000 | 14,000 | 21,000 |
| 1732 | 202,000 | 161,000 | 694,000 | 14,000 | 15,000 |
| 1733 ^m | 427,000 | 203,000 | 768,000 | 38,000 | 28,000 |
| 1734 | 498,000 | 233,000 | 698,000 | 70,000 | 10,000 |
| 1735 | 153,000 | 220,000 | 657,000 | 58,000 | 1,000 |
| 1736 | 118,000 | 192,000 | 610,000 | 7,000 | 1,000 |
| 1737 | 462,000 | 104,000 | 631,000 | 24,000 | 8,000 |
| 1738 | 581,000 | 189,000 | 674,000 | 71,000 | 36,000 |
| 1739 | 280,000 | 192,000 | 689,000 | 54,000 | 29,000 |
| 10 yrs. for Decade | 294,500 | 185,100 | 681,900 | 36,500 | 13,100 |
| 1740 | 54,000 | 146,000 | 569,000 | 24,000 | 9,000 |
| 1741 | 45,000 | 123,000 | 519,000 | 7,000 | 8,000 |
| 1742 | 293,000 | 189,000 | 665,000 | 22,000 | 63,000 |
| 1743 | 371,000 | 219,000 | 678,000 | 35,000 | 88,000 |
| 1744 | 232,000 | 220,000 | 819,000 | 20,000 | 74,000 |
| 1745 | 325,000 | 219,000 | 642,000 | 96,000 | 84,000 |
| 1746 | 131,000 | 282,000 | 618,000 | 159,000 | 46,000 |
| 1747 | 267,000 | 361,000 | 642,000 | 103,000 | 93,000 |
| 1748 | 543,000 | 349,000 | 681,000 | 73,000 | 104,000 |
| 1749 | 629,000 | 355,000 | 644,000 | 53,000 | 106,000 |
| 10 yrs. for Decade | 289,000 | 246,300 | 627,700 | 58,100 | 57,500 |
| 1750 | 947,000 | 331,000 | 755,000 | 224,000 | 99,000 |
| 1751 | 661,000 | 256,000 | 696,000 | 32,000 | 71,000 |
| 1752 | 429,000 | 288,000 | 626,000 | 106,000 | 38,000 |
| 1753 | 300,000 | 247,000 | 651,000 | 67,000 | 25,000 |
| 1754 | 356,000 | 322,000 | | 48,000 | 43,000 |
| 1755 | 237,000 | 342,000 | | 33,000 | 43,000 |
| 1756 | 102,000 | 237,000 | | 27,000 | 30,000 |
| 10 yrs. for Tyr. | 433,246 | 292,800 | 682,000 | 76,714 | 52,714 |

| <u>Original Act</u> | <u>Road concerned</u> | <u>Trust expired.</u> |
|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| 1724 | Buxton and Chapel in Le Frith to Manchester | 1860 to 75 |
| 1725 | Liverpool to Prescott | 1871 |
| 1726 | Wigan to Preston via Buxton & Chorley | 1866-87. |
| 1726 | Wigan to Warrington | 1877 |
| 1731 | Manchester, Ashton, Mottram, & Saltesbrook | 1884 |
| 1734 | Manchester, Oldham & Austerlands | 1880 |
| 1734 | Rochdale, Blackstone Edge Halifax & Elland | 1872 |
| 1744 | Prescot to St. Helens (United with the Liverpool Warrington and Ashton roads) | 1871 |
| 1750 | Crosford Bridge, Stretford & Manchester | 1872 |
| 1750 | Richmond to Lancaster | 1867-8 1858 |
| 1750 | Preston, Lancaster, to Heiring Syke s. (Burton) | 1875
n. 1882 |
| 1752 | Didsbury to Wilmslow | 1881 |
| 1752 | Granage, Knutsford and Altringham | 1881 |
| 1752 | Mere to Warrington | 1878 |
| 1752 | Salford to Warrington, and Bolton to Wigan and Duxbury and to Worsley. | 1871-76 |
| 1752 | Prescot to Warrington, St. Helens to Makerfield | 1871 |
| 1754 | Rochdale to Burnley | 1880 |
| 1754 | Manchester by Crumpsall to Rochdale, Bury and Radcliffe | 1873-80 |
| 1754 | Bradford and Haworth to the Blue Bell near Colne | 1860 |
| 1754 | Skipton, Colne, Blackburn, Burnley, and Walton, | 1873-81 |
| 1754 | Skipton, Gisburn, Clitheroe, & Preston | 1873-81 |

There were sixteen acts in the sixties, half of which were in Lancashire, four in that county in the seventies, and four in the eighties,. The fifties of the century with thirteen acts were therefore the period of greatest activity in securing turnpike acts for the country.

Table showing the use of wheaten Bread, circum. 1760.
Eden. State of the Poor. I. 564. Quoted from Tracts on the
Corn Trade, 1766. p. 183-5.

Divides country into districts,

- I. London, Essex, Sussex, Kent Surry, etc., S.E. & S. generally.
2. Wilts, Somerset, Devon, Dorset and Cornwall.
- III. The Midlands.
- IV. Chester, Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln and LANCASHIRE.
- V. York, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland.
- VI. Wales.

| District. | Houses. | Pop., 6 per house. | Number Eating. | | | |
|--|---------|--------------------|----------------|-----------|----------|---------|
| | | | WHEAT | BARLEY | RYE | OATS. |
| I. | 348,187 | 1,089,122 | 1,866,405 | 36,741 | 185,976 | --- |
| II. | 150,689 | 904,134 | 682,815 | 221,719 | --- | --- |
| III. | 170,746 | 1,024,476 | 691,258 | 159,136 | 156,237 | 17,845 |
| IV. | 123,025 | 738,150 | 200,339 | 128,621 | 118,795 | 290,395 |
| V. | 148,760 | 892,560 | 283,996 | 37,196 | 285,322 | 285,986 |
| VI. | 45,075 | 270,450 | 29,344 | 127,585 | 113,521. | --- |
| Population, 5, 918, 892. (say 6,000,000) | | | Wheat --- | 3,750,000 | | |
| | | | Barley--- | 739,000 | | |
| | | | Rye --- | 888,000 | | |
| | | | Oats --- | 623,000 | | |

Appendix No. VIII.

Prices of Implements and Farm Work, etc., in Hertfordshire. Jan. 1765.
Museum Rusticum II. p. 129 et seq.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|------------|---------|------------------|
| Complete Waggon. | £16 to £20 | Horses. | £5 to £15. |
| Complete Cart. | £8 to £10 | Cows | £3 to £8 |
| Two wheeled plough | | Sheep | 10/- to 20/- |
| with chain and | | Hog s | 5s. to 40s. |
| splinter bar. | £3 | Barley | 24s per quarter. |
| Foot swing and | | Wheat | 48s to 56s per " |
| dray plough..... | £1 | Oats | 13s per load |
| 5 barred Harrow | 17s. | Peas | 17s per load |
| 4 " " | 15s. | | |
| 3 " "Z | 12s. | | |
| Roller Complete | 15s. | | |
| Bricks at Kiln. per 1000 | -- 17s. | | |

Harvest man. with diet. 33s. to 40 shillings per mth,
Labourer. with small beer., 1s per day.
Carpenter 1/8 per day.
Bricklayer 1/10 per day.
First Ploughing 6s per acre.
Second Do. 5s. " "
Rolling 4d per acre
Harrowing 6d per acre.

Appendix No. IX.

WAGES ASSESSMENT BY THE WARWICKSHIRE QUARTER SESSIONS.1738. In force till 1773. (See select Documents, English Economic History), p. 6546-7.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| First Husbandry Servant per year, | £5-10- 6. |
| Second Do. | 4- 0- 0 |
| Servant Boy 14-18 | 2-10- 0 |
| Servant Boy 11-14 | 1- 0- 0 |
| Head Servant Maid | 3- 0- 0 |
| 2nd Do. | 2-10- 0 |
| Labourers per day Martinmas- March 25 | -8 |
| Do. March 25- Martinmas | -9 |
| Grass mower,with drink | 1-0 |
| Do. without drink | 1-2 |
| Women, in haymaking, with drink | -5 |
| Do. without drink | -6 |
| Do. in Corn harvest with drink | -6 |
| Do. do. without drink | -7 |
| Carpenters, Michealmas to Lady Day. W.D. | 1e10 |
| Do. without drink | 1- 2 |
| Do. Lady Day till Michaelmas | 1- 0 |
| without drink | 1- 2 |
| Mason with drink | -10 |
| Do. without drink | 1- 0 |
| Thatcher. | 1- 0 |
| •Corn Weeders | - 4 |

Appendix No. X.

COMPARISON AT WALTON NEAR LIVERPOOL OF WAGES AND PRICES.1761 &1791 Given by Holt of Walton, in Survey of Lancs. Agric. 1795.

| Servant | 1761 | 1791. |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| Head man servant per annum | £6- 10- - | £9- 9- 0 |
| Maid servant | 3- 0- - | 4-10- 0 |
| Masons and Carpenters per day | 1- 2 | 2- 2 |
| Labourers | 10 | 1- 6 |
| Mowing per acre | 3- 0 | 5- 0 |
| Threshing wheat perscore | 5- 0 | 7- 6 |
| Do. Barley and Beans | 2- 6 | 4- 0 |
| Do. Oats | 1- 8 | 2- 6 |
| Taylor per day with food | - 6 | 1- 2 |
| Thatcher per day | 1- 0 | 2- 0 |
| Butcher for killing and cutting. | | |
| up a pig | - 8 | 1- 6 |
| Do. calf and selling | 1- 0 | 2- 6 |
| Do. cow and selling | 2- 0 | 5- 0 |
| Price of Good cart Horse | £10- 0- 0 | £25- 0- 0 |
| Pair men's shoes | - 3- 6 | -7- 0 |
| Set of horses shoes | 1- 0 | 1- 8 |
| Journeyman butchers in Liverpool in 1761 for slaughtering a bull for 2s. a cow, 1s. a sow 6ds. a sheep, 1 ^d . a calf, 3 ^d and a days' work was 12 calves, or 20-24 sheep. | | |
| Large Cart, 7'3", wheels 5'2", two coats of paint and flakes | £5 - 0- 0 | £9- 4- 0 |
| New axel-tree with work | - 4- 0 | - 6- 6 |
| Wringing a pr. of wheels | -18- 0 | 1-15- 0 |
| Wheel barrow and trundle | - 5- 0 | -12- 0 |

| <u>Servant</u> | <u>1761</u> | <u>1791</u> |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Plough -- Wood work | £- 7- 0 | £- 11- 0 |
| Harrow 3'6" | 3- 6 | 5- 6 |
| Pair of Hames | 6 | 9 |
| Spade Shaft | 4 | 6 |
| 5 Barred gate | 5- 0 | 10- 0 |
| Wheat straw per load | 5- 0 per 20 lbs. | - 3½ |
| Barley straw per thrave | 2½ | - 6 |
| Oat Straw do. | 5 | - 9 |
| Butter per lb. | 5-8 | - 8-1s. |
| Sweet milk per quart | 1 | 1 |
| Eggs two or three for | 1 | 1-2 ea. |
| Expended on the Poor, Easter 1760 | | |
| to Easter 1761, | £22-3- 2½ | |
| Do. Easter 1790-1791 | 115-1- 1 | |

There had been built twenty additional houses during that period.
