POPULATION, ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN NORTH-EAST LANCASHIRE, circa 1660 - 1760.

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VOL I

ABSTRACT

S.M. SCHWARZ. POPULATION, ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN NORTH-EAST LANCASHIRE, circa 1660-1760.

Lancashire has been the subject of comparatively little academic study in the early modern period. Far more attention has been paid to the economy and society of the county in the late-eighteenth century and the nineteenth century. As Blackburn Hundred in north-east Lancashire was so closely associated with the extensive industrial developments of the late-eighteenth century this thesis aims to establish the role that commercial and industrial activities played in the area prior to the development of factory cotton-spinning. The central element of this thesis is, therefore, a detailed study of the economic structure of parts of the parishes of Whalley and Blackburn in the period between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries. This is based principally on occupational data in a series of parish and chapelry registers and in the poll tax of 1660.

The trend of recent historical scholarship has stressed the importance of long-term changes in the early modern economy, rather than a short-term focus on the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Although the work of Gregory King in the late-seventeenth century and Joseph Massie in the mid-eighteenth century can provide important insights into the nature of the pre-industrial economy and society, it seems clear that local studies of the type presented in this thesis are better placed for tracing elements of development and diversification. Where long runs of occupational data survive in parish registers they can provide quite clear indications of the type and timing of regional change.

It is quite clear however, that the process of development implied in the shift from a traditional to a modern world has a far greater complexity than can be revealed by the single occupational labels ascribed to individuals in parish registers and taxation returns. Therefore, the increasing emphasis on trade and industry and the decreasing emphasis on agricultural activities traced in a number of townships in the early-eighteenth century are both considered in relation to demographic trends, patterns of farming and patterns of wealth distribution. Interrelationships between population, economy and society are apparent in north-east Lancashire in the early modern period, but the ability to trace the underlying causal factors of change depends on the careful linkage of a range of documentary sources focused on a small geographical area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A.H.R.	Agricultural History Review.
Econ.H.R.	Economic History Review.
J.E.H.	Journal of Economic History.
J.H.G.	Journal of Historical Geography.
J.I.H.	Journal of Interdisciplinary History.
L.P.R.S.	Lancashire Parish Register Society.
L.P.S.	Local Population Studies.
L.R.O.	Lancashire County Record Office, Preston.
P.& P.	Past and Present.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, London.
P.S.	Population Studies.
R.S.L.C.	Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
T.H.S.L.C.	Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
T.L.C.A.S.	Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.
V.C.H.	The Victoria History of the Counties of England - Lancashire.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

1. Wills and inventories are analysed according to the date of compilation, but are referenced by date of probate.

2. Prior to the adoption of the New Style (Gregorian) calendar in 1752, the year has been taken to begin on the 1st January.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION.

This thesis is an analysis of economic and social change in the Hundred of Blackburn in north-east Lancashire between c. 1660 and c. 1760. The importance of this area for detailed study is based on its experience as one of the classic areas of industrialisation of the late eighteenth century. However, the trend of recent historical scholarship has stressed the importance of long term changes in the early modern economy rather than a myopic focus on the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[1] E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield's The Population History of England, 1541-1871 identifies a sustained growth in the national population from the 1740s, and in The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800 Corfield identifies the factors which promoted provincial urban development from the early eighteenth century.[2] By aiming to delineate the characteristic features of expanding rural industry and the causal relationship of these early forms of industry with the 'Industrial Revolution', the proponents of proto-industrial theory have also adopted a more long term awareness of economic change.

The concept of 'Industrialization before industrialization'[3] is however, one which has many inconsistencies when applied to the English example. Coleman and Houston and Snell argue that the concept provides a limiting framework, and it is one which does not

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[1] This approach is stressed by M. Berg, The Age of Manufactures, 1700-1820 (Oxford, 1985), pp. 18, 24, 26, 48, 316.

[2] E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, The Population History of England, 1541-1871, A Reconstruction (London, 1981), pp. 207-215. P.J. Corfield, The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800 (Oxford, 1982), passim.

[3] F.F. Mendels, 'Proto-industrialization: The First Phase of the Industrialization Process', J.E.H. 32 (1972), pp. 241-261.

provide a helpful tool of analysis in "an understanding of the transition from an agrarian to an industrial world".[1] Nonetheless, the authors acknowledge a debt of gratitude to the proto-industrial theorists for the stimulation of research and debate which has contributed to an understanding of early modern economies.[2]

Basic to an understanding of the early modern economy is the study of evidence which outlines the characteristic features of the occupational structure. At a national level the social tables of Gregory King, Joseph Massie and Patrick Colquhoun have been used by historians to identify the distribution of the population between different socio-economic groupings. These contemporary observations have clearly influenced our interpretation of the extent of eighteenth century economic change, but P. Lindert stresses the need to resist the temptation to take these convenient materials at face value.[3] Recent research by P. Lindert and J.G. Williamson has called into question various aspects of King's conclusions for the late seventeenth century.

In particular Lindert argues that our view of "the structure of English and Welsh society before and during the Industrial Revolution ... has been seriously distorted by Gregory King's famous

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[1] R.A.B. Houston and K.D.M. Snell, 'Proto-industrialization? Cottage Industry, Social Change and Industrial Revolution', The Historical Journal 27, 2 (1984), p. 492.

[2] D.C. Coleman, 'Proto-industrialization: A Concept Too Many', Econ.H.R. 2nd series 36, 3, (August 1983), p. 448.

[3] P.H. Lindert, 'English Occupations, 1670-1811', J.E.H. 40, 4 (December 1980), p. 687.

social table, which seems to have seriously understated the commercial and industrial orientation of the England and Wales of his day".[1] Lindert and Williamson's re-interpretation of the economic structure of the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century economy is based on a series of local censuses dating between 1676 and 1705 and on the occupational data recorded in the burial registers of 41 parishes between 1685 and 1714. Their evidence is drawn from various parts of the country but is clearly aimed at testing Gregory King's conclusions against fresh evidence from a local context.[2] Similarly, in this thesis the detailed study of economic structure in Blackburn Hundred is based principally on occupational data in the poll tax of 1660 and parish registers, and aims to identify the basic patterns of the economy in the area between c. 1660 and c. 1760. Particular emphasis will be placed on determining the extent and importance of commercial and industrial activities in the economy of Blackburn Hundred. The evidence from Blackburn Hundred can be used to test E.A. Wrigley's assertion that "almost everywhere the proportion of men described as labourers, husbandmen, yeomen or farmers declined as a proportion of all the occupations mentioned".[3]

A further drawback of using King's 'Scheme of the Income and Expense of the Several Families of England calculated for the Year

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[1] Ibid.

[2] P.H. Lindert and J.G. Williamson, 'Revising England's Social Tables, 1688-1812', Explorations in Economic History 19, 4 (October 1982), note 4, p. 387.

[3] E.A. Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period', J.I.H. 15, 4 (1985), p. 697.

1688' is that it conceals regional diversity. It seems clear that an understanding of the early modern economy should be based on the accumulation of a representative group of local studies rather than the simplistic, and seemingly inaccurate, overview provided by King. In addition, the data in King's table provides only a photographic glimpse of the socio-economic structure in the late seventeenth century. A comparison with Joseph Massie's social table of 1759 could give indications of change that had occurred by the mid-eighteenth century, although regional diversity would again be subsumed within the national trends. However, the patterns and progress of change could be charted more effectively at a local level if occupational data in parish registers is available for a number of decades during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Occupational sampling from the registers, as in Blackburn Hundred, can identify phases of stagnation or change and can be used to pinpoint the appearance of new occupational groups in an area.[1] This is not possible from the national data of King and Massie as it is not clear which occupations are categorised under their broad headings, and also the half century divide between the two surveys means that observations of change cannot be precisely dated.[2]

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[1] In a study of economic change in Mid-Wharfedale in the West Riding of Yorkshire, May Pickles uses the parish register data to identify 1721-40 as a period of stagnation and 1740-1770 as a period of rapid demographic and economic development.
M. Pickles, 'Mid-Wharfedale 1721-1812: Economic and Demographic Change in a Pennine Dale', L.P.S 16 (Spring 1976). p. 14.

[2] Lindert and Williamson, 'Revising England's Social Tables', pp. 394-5.

The importance of occupational data in parish registers is stressed by the latest research initiative from the 'Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure'. The occupational labels in parish registers can "throw light on the relative rates of expansion in agricultural employment, in employment in traditional types of occupations ... and in the new industrial occupations". The approach of studying occupational structure at a local level "is one important method of tracing the shift from the traditional to the modern world".[1] In Blackburn Hundred the occupational data in the parish registers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will be used to identify long-term patterns of economic change prior to the traditional period of 'Industrial Revolution'.

A valuable contribution of the proto-industrial theorists to an understanding of the early modern period is the stress that has been placed on the close interrelationships between population dynamics, economic development and the distribution of wealth.[2] It is clear that the process of development implied in the shift from a traditional to a modern world has a far greater complexity than can be revealed by the single occupational labels ascribed to individuals in parish registers and taxation returns. Although

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[1] The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, 'A New Research Initiative: Occupational Structure in the Past', L.P.S. 38 (Spring 1987), pp. 6-7.

[2] This integrated approach characterises J.T. Swain's recent study of economic change in Colne chapelry and Pendle Forest in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Swain argues that industry did not operate in a vacuum "immune from the pressures of changes in the economy and society".
J.T. Swain, 'Industry and Economy in North-East Lancashire, circa 1500-1640', Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University (1983), p. 4.

these labels can identify the proportions of male adults employed in agriculture, industry or trade in Blackburn Hundred they give little indication of economic practice or organisation. The single occupational labels can identify long term trends in the economic structure, but they provide no explanation for the changes apparent in Blackburn Hundred. A consideration of the wealth profile of communities, demographic trends and farming patterns in Blackburn Hundred may point to the underlying causal factors of change.

The nature of agricultural production in this area of Lancashire is analysed closely in chapter five with a view to establishing the extent of market orientation in farming, and to examine whether there was a shift to dairy farming to meet the needs of an increasingly industrialised and urbanised population. The extent to which north-east Lancashire was self-sufficient in supplies of raw materials for the expanding textile industry can be questioned on the basis of probate inventories, and such evidence can tentatively indicate the degree of regional or national integration apparent in the pre-industrial economy.

From the evidence of the surviving probate inventories one can determine the importance of arable farming in the region which would provide some indication of the extent to which the local population provided its own grain requirements or whether there was a dependence on the market economy for corn. Additionally the evidence would show the proportion of testators involved in arable production which has implications for the availability of wage labour in agriculture, as it is acknowledged that there were fewer

opportunities for wage labour in pastoral farming systems.[1] Therefore, if the proportionate involvement in crop production fell over time this would have important repercussions on the economic structure as the wage dependent section of the population would have to find alternative sources of income. The evidence from a number of townships in Blackburn Hundred can be used to analyse E.L. Jones's assertion that industry was stimulated in the northern and midland parts of the country between 1650 - 1750 as the southern and eastern parts of England specialised in the production of food crops. He suggests that agricultural innovation in the south and east made the northern and midland counties "relatively poorer at producing food crops". As a result "in areas not very favourable for the production of cereals, concentrations of household manufacturing thickened and new ones arose".[2]

A shift from a pre-industrial economy to an industrialised economy also implies changes in the organisation of production and in the extent of specialisation amongst the workforce. The principal characteristics of economic organisation in a group of townships in Blackburn Hundred between c. 1660 and c. 1760 are analysed in chapter six on the basis of probate wills and inventories. This source allows the researcher to penetrate the single occupational labels and to establish the scale of production, the relationship between agriculture and industry in the early modern economy, the extent of by-employments amongst different

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[1] Ibid., p. 93.

[2] E.L. Jones, 'The Agricultural Origins of Industry', P. & P. 40 (1968), pp. 69-70.

groups and the importance of the debt and credit network in the economy. Single occupational labels also conceal the economic activities of females and in this consideration of Blackburn Hundred a range of sources illustrate the active involvement of women in a wide range of employments in the early modern economy.

In Lindert's view Gregory King "painted a nation consisting of just London and a vast, poor agricultural hinterland".[1] In 'Revising England's Social Tables, 1688-1812' Lindert and Williamson argue that King grossly overestimated the extent of poverty in late seventeenth century England.[2] On the basis of evidence from Warwickshire Tom Arkell has similarly questioned the reliability of King's conclusions on the extent of poverty.[3] In this context the evidence of the poll tax returns, hearth tax returns and surviving listings of the poor has been used to question whether poverty was as extensive in north-east Lancashire as that indicated by Gregory King at a national level. By focusing on individuals local sources can also provide a better appreciation of the social reality of poverty in the pre-industrial period.

In detailing the latest research initiative from the 'Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure', R.S. Schofield suggests that "few things are more important in shaping one's life than the way in which one makes a living".[4] Gregory

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1 Lindert, 'English Occupations', p. 707.

2 Lindert and Williamson, 'Revising England's Social Tables', pp. 386-391.

3 T. Arkell, 'The Incidence of Poverty in England in the Later Seventeenth Century', Social History 12, 1 (January 1987), pp. 23-47.

4 The Cambridge Group, 'New Research Initiative', p. 6.

King's 'Scheme' reflects the importance of occupation in determining wealth and status as there is a strong correlation between mode of employment and position in the social hierarchy. The evidence of taxation records and probate inventories also indicates the importance of occupation in determining the relative wealth levels of different groups in Blackburn Hundred in the early modern period. Consequently, a study of the basic patterns of the occupational structure in Blackburn Hundred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can also highlight patterns of wealth distribution and draw attention to features of the social hierarchy.

In chapter seven evidence from taxation returns in the mid-seventeenth century has been used to indicate the distribution of wealth and the characteristic features of the social profile in Blackburn Hundred. This analysis is important, as patterns of wealth distribution are determined by prevailing economic circumstances such as the productivity of the land and the availability of employment opportunities in agriculture or industry. Conversely, the nature and profitability of the prevailing economic climate can determine the receptiveness of an area to industrial change. For example, in Colne chapelry and Pendle Forest Swain finds that as a result of population growth and the sub-division of holdings "a large and growing proportion of the inhabitants of the Colne area looked to textiles as a means of making a livelihood or as a source of supplementary income".[1] In contrast the Ribble valley chapelries of Downham, Clitheroe and Whalley showed little

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[1] J.T. Swain, Industry before the Industrial Revolution. North-East Lancashire c. 1500-1640, Chetham Society, 3rd series 32 (1986), p.199.

involvement in textile production in the period 1500-1640 which in Swain's view is explained by the fact that "good arable land and a more labour intensive economy removed the need for extensive dependence on textile by-employments".[1] However, increased levels of textile employment are apparent in a number of the Ribble valley townships during the eighteenth century and it is necessary to question the factors which prompted this diversification. If the number of work opportunities in agriculture failed to keep pace with an expanding population[2] this may explain why an increasing proportion of the population looked to industrial employments as a way of earning a living.

In a study of movements in population and aggregate wealth between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Chris Husbands concludes "that the driving forces in the transformation of the early modern economy were the towns". Using evidence from 32 counties south of the River Humber he finds that "early modern England was an increasingly urban society and that wealth in early modern England was increasingly urban wealth". Husbands considers that the development of early forms of industry is associated with increasing levels of relative wealth between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[3] The evidence from Blackburn Hundred has been used to question whether towns were a dynamic force in the development of the economy of north-east Lancashire and whether the

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[1] Ibid., p. 129.

[2] See chapter 2, pp. 38-71.

[3] C. Husbands, 'Regional Change in a Pre-industrial Economy: Wealth and Population in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', J.H.G. 13, 4 (1987), pp. 345-359.

development of early forms of industry is apparent in the profile of wealth distribution throughout the Hundred. This evidence can be profitably contrasted with patterns of wealth distribution from other parts of the country to measure differential rates of economic growth. According to Lindert and Williamson revising the classic social tables in this way is important as it opens "the way for new perspectives on the growth and distribution of the national product of England and Wales before and during the Industrial Revolution".[1]

Wrigley and Schofield's survey of The Population History of England, 1541-1871 draws attention to patterns of population change at a national level in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is clear that in a study of population dynamics recognition must be given to regional diversity. Alan Rawling's study of demographic change in south-west Lancashire shows the rapid rate of growth associated with Liverpool and its hinterland between 1661 and 1760.[2] North-east Lancashire is also recognised as an area which experienced rapid economic development in the eighteenth century and as "demographic expansion was linked to economic bouyancy"[3] it is relevant to question not only the scale of population change but also the timing of that change. The extent to which that growth exceeded the national average can provide some indication of the economic importance of north-east Lancashire in the eighteenth century.

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[1] Lindert and Williamson, 'Revising England's Social Tables', p. 405.

[2] A. Rawling, 'The Rise of Liverpool and Demographic Change in Part of South-West Lancashire, 1661-1760', Ph.D. thesis, Liverpool University (1986), passim.

[3] Husbands, 'Regional Change in a Pre-industrial Economy', p. 356.

Within south-west Lancashire Rawling identifies sub-regions with varying rates of economic and demographic change based on the Agricultural townships, Coalfield townships and Liverpool. Although it is difficult to categorise the townships and parishes of north-east Lancashire in this manner it is still apparent that variations in patterns of economic and demographic change occurred in areas within close geographical proximity. In particular the spread of the textile industry had a differential impact within the Hundred of Blackburn, and an important consideration of this thesis is to highlight the extent of industrial and commercial development on the western side of Blackburn Hundred.

This thesis concentrates on Blackburn Hundred in north-east Lancashire. For some purposes the entire Hundred is the focus of study, although for a closer analysis of themes the focus is on the western sector of the Hundred. Blackburn Hundred in north-east Lancashire encompassed the parishes of Blackburn, Whalley and Chipping in addition to parts of Mitton parish and Ribchester parish. The Hundred covered a total of 174,437 acres and was bounded to the north and east by Yorkshire, to the west by the Hundreds of Leyland and Amounderness and to the south by Salford Hundred (see figures 1.1 and 1.2). The greater part of the Hundred was covered by the parishes of Whalley and Blackburn with 106,395 acres and 48,281 acres respectively.[1] Each of the parishes was divided into a number of dependent chapelries and in this study

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[1] W. Farrer and J. Brownbill, eds., The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster, vol. 6 (London, 1911), pp. 349, 235.

Figure 1.1 Map of the Hundreds of Lancashire

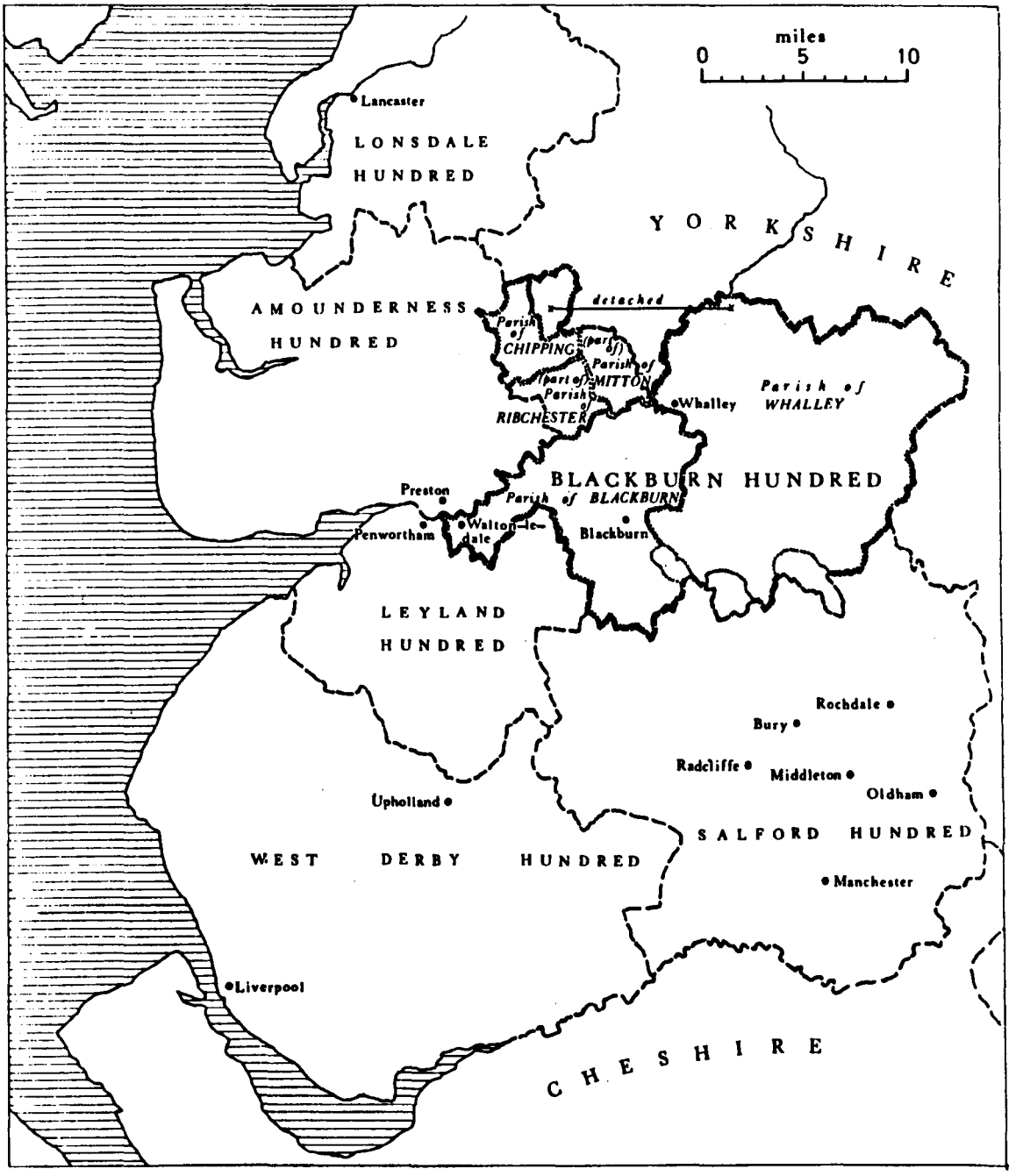

Fig 1.2. Emanuel Bowen's map of Lancashire. 1760.

extensive use is made of the occupational data contained in some of the parish and chapelry registers.[1]

The north-eastern part of Lancashire was a relatively unimportant and isolated part of the country in the mid-seventeenth century, which is reflected in the narrow wealth distribution highlighted in the hearth tax returns of 1664.[2] The general unsuitability of the land and climate for arable agriculture dictated that the predominant basis of the economy in the Hundred was that of cattle farming, and the hilly nature of the terrain contributed to the region's isolation (see figures 1.3 and 1.5). There were few notable centres of population in the mid-seventeenth century as the market towns of Blackburn, Clitheroe, Colne and Padiham had population sizes ranging between c. 300 to 1,100 (see table 2.1). Although Defoe visited Lancashire in the 1720s and commented extensively on the growth of Liverpool and Manchester, he did not comment on the north-eastern part of the county which again underlines the apparently small contribution which the area made to the national economy at this date.[3]

Blackburn Hundred has received relatively little academic study in the early modern period. Far more attention has been paid to the economic development of Lancashire in the later decades of the

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1 H. Fishwick ed., Lancashire and Cheshire Church Surveys, 1649-1655 R.S.L.C. vol. 1 (1879), pp. 158-168; F.R. Raines, ed., Notitia Cestriensis of the Right Reverend Francis Gastrell, Bishop of Chester, vol. 2, part 2, Chetham Society, Old Series 21 (1850), pp. 274-347.

2 See chapter 7, pp. 524-6.

3 D. Defoe, A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain, London, 1724-6, ed. P. Rogers (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp. 540-557.

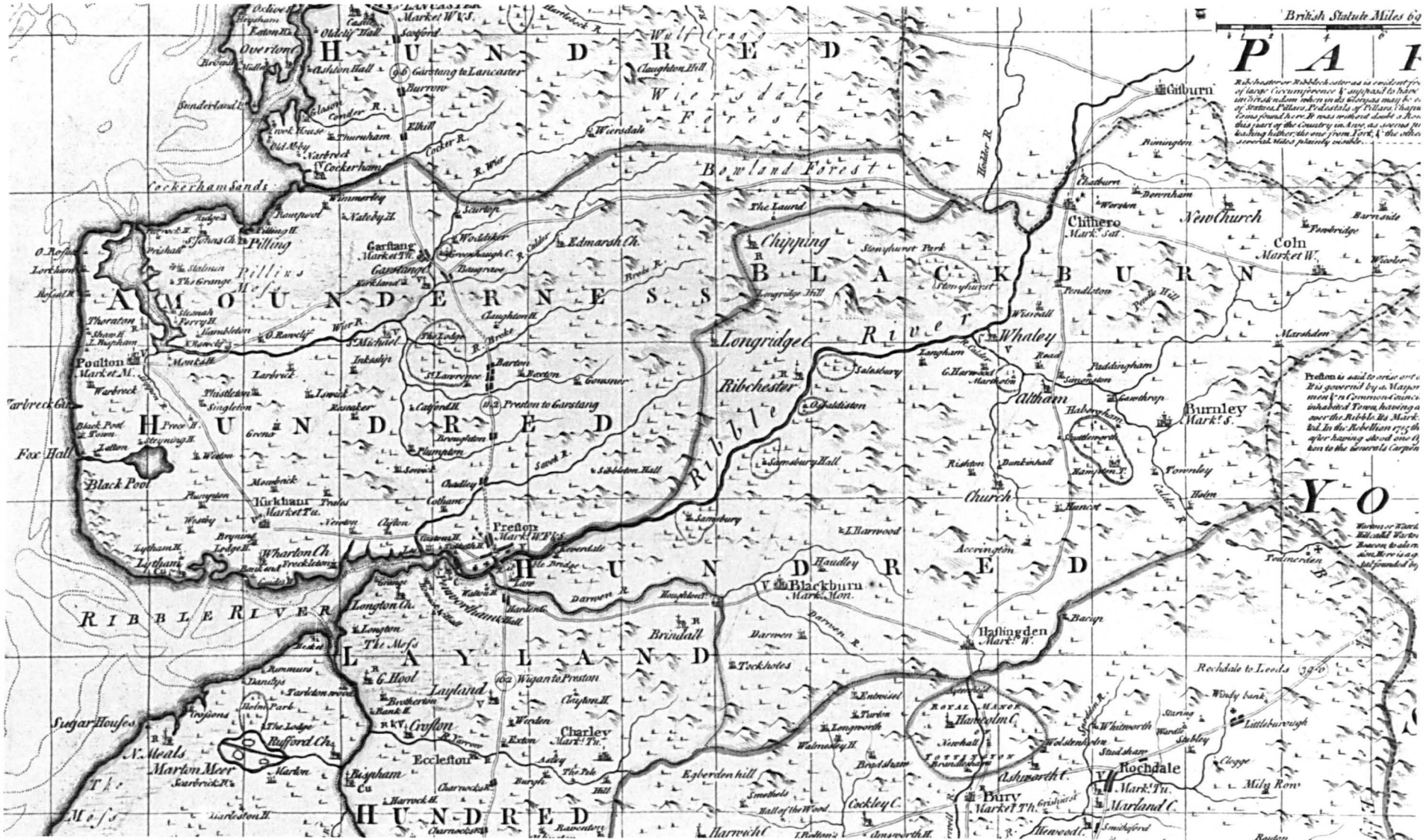


Fig 1.3. The Hundreds of Blackburn and Amounderness from Emanuel Bowen's map of Lancashire. 1760.

Figure 1.4 Township map of Blackburn Hundred

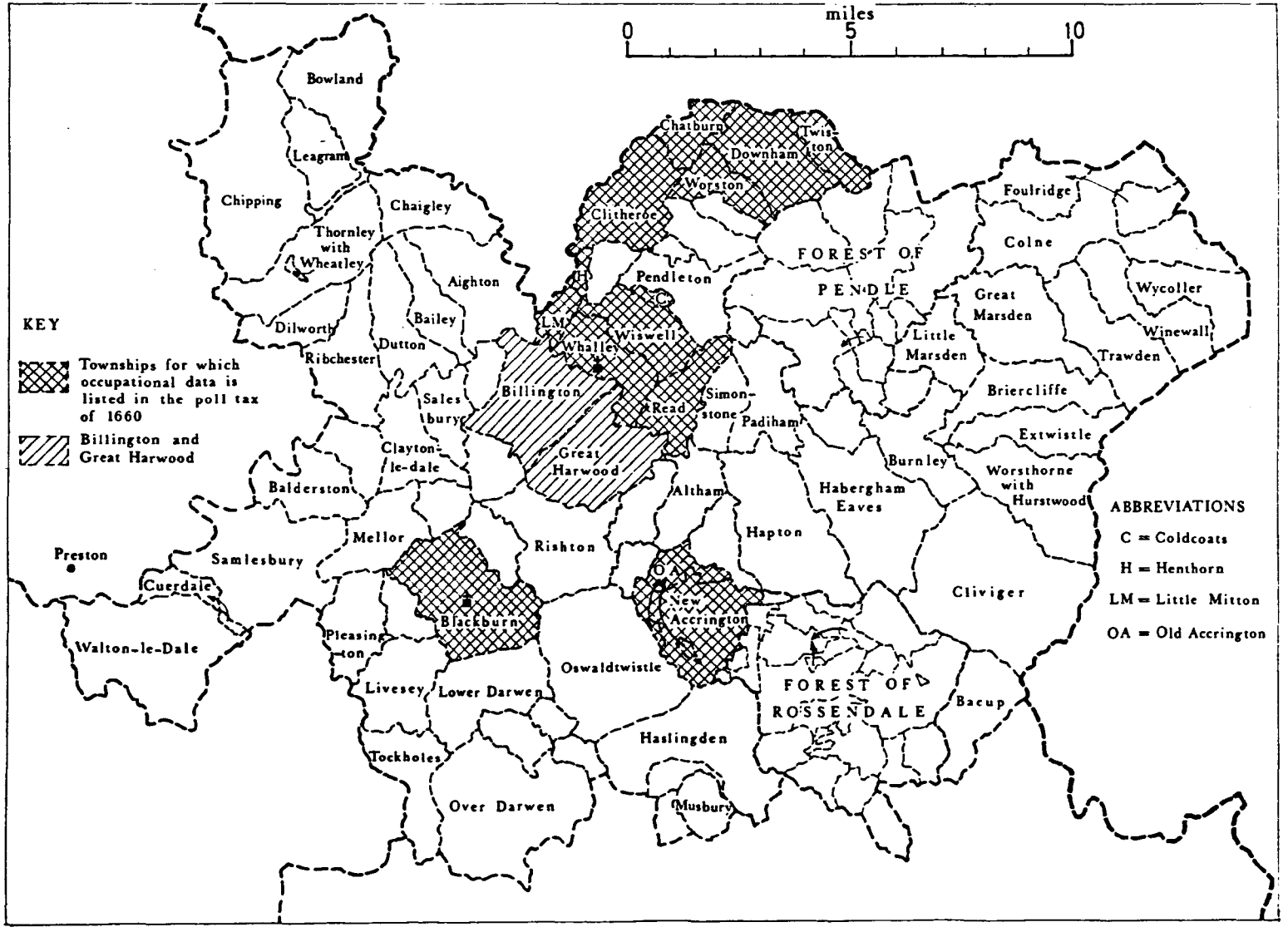
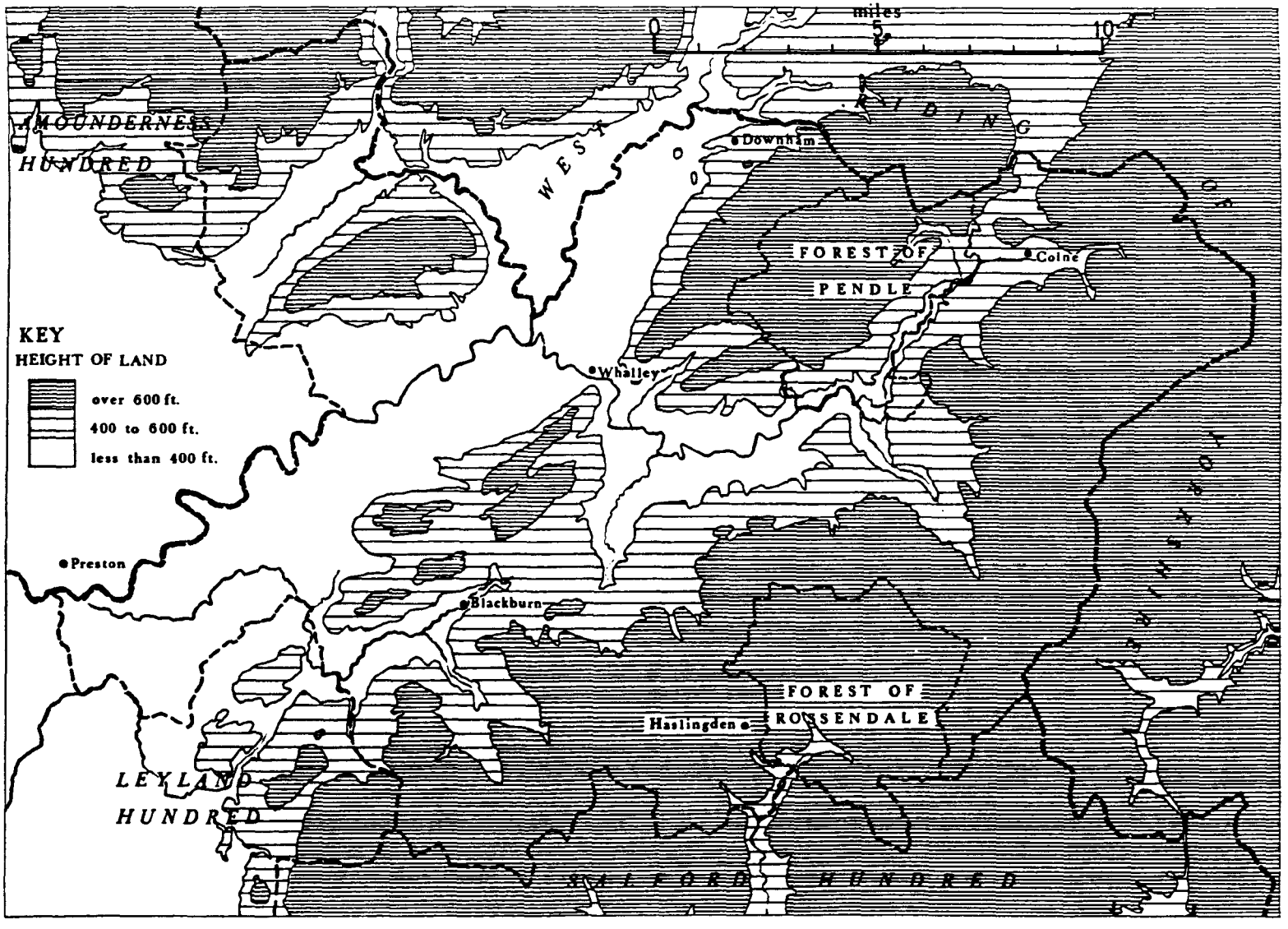


Figure 1.5 Relief map of north east Lancashire



eighteenth century and J.T. Swain questions whether the "neglect of early modern Lancashire may be connected to a belief that Lancashire's contribution to national economic development must have been small before the industrial revolution, due to the comparative poverty of the area".[1] Swain's study of Colne chapelry and Pendle Forest in the period c. 1500 - 1640 has shown in fact that the poor quality of the land and the small size of holdings in this area of Blackburn Hundred actively encouraged the development of industry. The connection between insufficient farming resources and the development of textile by-employments has been highlighted by a number of writers.[2] Therefore, the overwhelming pastoral base of agriculture within north-east Lancashire and the narrow distribution of wealth indicated by the hearth tax returns of 1664 make Blackburn Hundred an interesting focus of study and emphasise the need to investigate whether these conditions facilitated the spread of industry in the early modern period.

Moreover, Swain finds that "the ability to derive an income, in part at least, from industry, was of crucial importance for the well-being of the household economy, well before the Industrial Revolution".[3] As Blackburn Hundred was so closely associated with the extensive industrial developments of the late eighteenth century it is important to adopt a more long term approach and establish the role that industry played in the region in the period between

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1 Swain, 'Industry and Economy', pp. 2-3.

2 P. Hudson, 'Proto-industrialisation: The Case of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries', History Workshop Journal 12 (Autumn 1981), pp. 41-43.

3 Swain, 'Industry and Economy', p. 330.

c. 1660 - 1760. An important aim of this thesis is to establish whether industrial activity was of such overwhelming importance to all areas within Blackburn Hundred, or whether differences in the extent or pace of economic change can be observed within the region.

This comparative element is facilitated by a number of recent studies of Blackburn Hundred in the early modern period. J.T. Swain's study of 'Industry and Economy in North-East Lancashire, c.1500-1640' traces the development of the textile industry in Colne chapelry and Pendle Forest and shows its paramount importance in the economy at this early date. N. Lowe's study of The Lancashire Textile Industry in the Sixteenth Century also points to the developing importance of textiles in the economy of north-east Lancashire.[1] Sarah Pearson's survey of the Rural Houses of the Lancashire Pennines 1560-1760 notes the survival of large numbers of substantial houses in the group of townships centred around Burnley and Colne. As the houses "represented the accumulated wealth not only of individuals but of whole sections of society", Pearson considers that they form "historical documents" which provide evidence of the economic and social history of the area in the pre-industrial period. The study points to the significance of the textile industry in the process by which sufficient wealth was obtained by certain sections of society to build substantial houses.[2]

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[1] N. Lowe, The Lancashire Textile Industry in the Sixteenth Century, Chetham Society, 3rd series 20 (1972), passim.

[2] Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, Rural Houses of the Lancashire Pennines, 1560-1760, Supplementary Series: 10 (London, 1985), passim.

The development of the textile industry is also an important theme of G.H. Tupling's classic study of The Economic History of Rossendale, in which he points to the development of textile by-employments in response to the sub-division of holdings in an area where land was of an inferior quality.[1] W. King's later study of 'The Economic and Demographic Development of Rossendale, c. 1650-1795' similarly examines the process of industrialisation in north-east Lancashire and the associated patterns of population change.[2]

Clearly the Hundred is too large a unit on which to base a close analysis of the themes outlined above. The investigation, is therefore, limited to a group of fourteen townships on the western side of Blackburn Hundred. With the exception of Blackburn these townships have not been the subject of close scrutiny in the early modern period.[3] The studies of Swain, King, Pearson and Brigg have concentrated on the upland pastoral areas in the central to eastern side of the Hundred, and little attention has been paid to the relatively low-lying western side of the region (see figures 1.4 and 1.5). An assessment of the patterns of social and economic development in this group of townships will therefore contribute to a broader appreciation of the forces of change in north-east

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1 G.H. Tupling, The Economic History of Rossendale, Chetham Society, New series 86 (1927), pp. 161-167.

2 W. King, 'The Economic and Demographic Development of Rossendale, c. 1650-1795', Ph.D. thesis, Leicester University (1979).

3 H. Lowe discusses the importance of the textile industry in Blackburn in the sixteenth century, and Wadsworth and Mann comment on the development of the industry in and around Blackburn in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
Lowe, Lancashire Textile Industry, passim; A.P. Wadsworth and J. de L. Mann, The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780 (Manchester, 1931, reprinted Manchester, 1965), passim.

Lancashire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The townships on the western side of Blackburn Hundred are particularly interesting as a basis for investigation as Swain argues that the Ribble valley chapelries of Whalley, Clitheroe and Downham were unreceptive to industrial development in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He argues that the population of these relatively low lying areas did not need to adopt textile employments, as good arable land and a more intensive economy made diversification unnecessary. In this thesis the townships of the Ribble Valley area - Whalley, Wiswell, Read, Downham, Twiston, Chatburn, Clitheroe, Worston and Little Mitton - will be analysed to assess the importance of agriculture in the occupational structure of the mid-seventeenth century, and to determine whether the areas remained unreceptive to change in the period 1660 - 1760 with a continued reliance on arable agriculture.

The townships of Billington and Great Harwood lie adjacent to the Ribble valley townships of Whalley and Read, but they were also part of the parish of Blackburn and were located within five miles of the developing market town of Blackburn. The poll tax of 1660 indicates that textiles were an important element in the economic framework of Blackburn in the mid-seventeenth century,[1] and it would be relevant to determine the significance of textiles and the pace of industrial development in townships close to this emerging market centre. The townships of Old and New Accrington provide a basis of comparison with the Ribble valley townships as Tupling identifies

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[1] See chapter 4, pp. 138-140.

the importance of the textile industry to these areas in the mid-seventeenth century.[1] This early specialisation in textile production can be contrasted with the economic structure in townships such as Whalley and Wiswell. It is, therefore, necessary to analyse the circumstances which determined the differential responses to economic opportunity in areas within close geographical proximity.

A feature common to twelve of the fourteen townships is the listing of occupational data in the poll tax of 1660. It is not clear why this information was given for male household heads in only these townships in Blackburn Hundred, but the data provides a valuable basis from which to analyse the economic structure of the area in the mid-seventeenth century. Patterns of economic change between 1660 and 1760 can be studied for a number of these townships as long-runs of occupational data are available in parish and chapelry registers for Accrington nova, Accrington vetera, Chatburn, Downham, Read, Twiston, Whalley and Wiswell. In the townships of Billington and Great Harwood no occupational labels are appended to householders' names in the poll tax of 1660. Nevertheless, Billington is included in the survey of occupational structure as data for this township is available in the registers of Whalley and Langho between 1653 and 1770. The chapelry registers of Great Harwood contain a limited number of entries relating to occupation, and although the evidence can indicate the importance of textile occupations in the mid-eighteenth century, it is not sufficiently

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[1] See chapter 4, pp. 202-3.

extensive to provide a detailed assessment of economic development over time. However, the township is included amongst the sample group for an analysis of economic practice and organisation in the area based on probate records. The returns of the poll tax of 1660 and the hearth tax of 1664 cover the vast majority of townships in the Hundred and can be used to investigate a number of relevant themes, such as the distribution of wealth and the size of the population.

This thesis will not provide an exhaustive analysis of each of the fourteen areas, but will identify themes of development which can be traced through a number of these townships. Limitations of the available evidence mean that some themes cannot be pursued in relation to all of the townships. Although occupational labels are listed in the poll tax for Blackburn, Clitheroe, Little Mitton and Worston the patterns of change between 1660 and 1760 cannot be studied as there is no occupational evidence in the parish registers for these areas.

In short, then, the main substantive theme of this thesis is to establish the characteristic features of the economy in north-east Lancashire in the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. However, to appreciate the full complexity of the economic structure it is necessary to set the shifts in the occupational profile in the wider context of demographic trends, patterns of farming and patterns of wealth distribution. In this respect the sub-region is the most appropriate focus for study, as the historian can undertake a multi-source study which draws out the interrelationships between population, economy and society in the early modern period.

CHAPTER 2

PATTERNS OF POPULATION CHANGE IN BLACKBURN HUNDRED IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

1. Introduction.
2. Population estimates.
3. Parish register analysis.
4. Conclusion.

1. Introduction.

Since Chambers' pioneering work on the Vale of Trent[1] a number of studies have stressed the close interrelationship between population dynamics and patterns of economic development.[2] Blackburn Hundred is an interesting focus of study as a percentage growth in the population of 295% between 1664 and 1801 far outstripped the national average of 71%. This points to economic vitality in Blackburn Hundred and leads one to question the shifts in the economy which permitted an area of generally poor agriculture to sustain this large increase.[3]

In adopting a more long term approach to change in this region it is necessary to determine whether demographic expansion was a feature of the area in the period between 1660 and 1760, or whether growth was focused entirely on the latter decades of the eighteenth century. It is also relevant to investigate whether variations in

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[1] J.D. Chambers, The Vale of Trent 1660-1800. A Regional Study of Economic Change, Econ.H.R. Supplement 3 (Cambridge, 1957), passim.

[2] For example, Stephen Jackson studied 52 parishes from north-east Somerset and Wiltshire which included communities involved in a range of economic activities. He demonstrates the variations in demographic experience between areas with different economic structures. Alan Rawling identifies the varying demographic patterns associated with Liverpool, the agricultural parishes of Liverpool's hinterland and the coalfield townships in south-west Lancashire.
S. Jackson, 'Population and Change: A Study of the Spatial Variations in Population Growth in North-East Somerset and West Wiltshire, 1701-1800', Ph.D. thesis, Liverpool University (1979), passim; Rawling, 'Rise of Liverpool', passim.

[3] Swain stresses that as early as the sixteenth century the insufficiency of agriculture in Colne chapelry and Pendle Forest encouraged the population to supplement their income from by-employments.
Swain, 'Industry and Economy', pp. 312-333.

rates of population expansion were apparent within Blackburn Hundred, and whether this bore any relationship to patterns of economic development. In particular did the areas selected for further investigation on the western side of the region show signs of demographic vitality in the period between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth century? Clearly demographic vitality could provide a useful indicator of economic development.

Tracing patterns of demographic change in Blackburn Hundred is dependent on estimates of population derived from the hearth tax of 1664, the Notitia Cestriensis of 1717 and the census of 1801. Identifying the trends of change in the intervening periods is dependent on the series of ecclesiastical events recorded in parish and chapelry registers. Each of these categories of evidence presents a number of methodological problems which means that some conclusions are, by necessity, of a tentative nature.

2. Population estimates.

Estimates of population size in Blackburn Hundred between 1660 and 1760 must rely on indirect sources which resulted from the central government's attempts to raise revenue, their concern regarding the loyalty of the population to church and state and the

Anglican church's surveys of communicants.[1] Unfortunately, there are no surviving local censuses for Blackburn Hundred which would provide an estimate of population size in the period under consideration.[2]

The documentation associated with the levying of the hearth tax provides the fullest available listing of population in Blackburn Hundred. The hearth tax, introduced into England and Wales in 1662, was one of the initiatives adopted by the Restoration government to increase revenue.[3] The hearth tax imposed a levy of two shillings per year, payable at Michaelmas and Lady Day on "every fire hearth and stove" in "every dwelling and other house and edifice, and all lodgings and chambers in the inns of court, inns of chancery, colleges and other societies...". Three separate amendments to the original bill introduced grounds for exemption from this tax,[4] and from the historian's point of view the most valuable listings are those which include details of exempt householders as well as those who were chargeable to the tax.

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[1] This is a problem common to population studies of the pre-industrial period. These categories of source material form the basis of John Patten's study of Norfolk and Suffolk.
J. Patten, 'Population Distribution in Norfolk and Suffolk during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 65 (July 1975), pp. 45-65.

[2] C.M. Law, 'Local Censuses in the Eighteenth Century', P.S. 23, 1 (March 1969), pp. 87-100.

[3] J.V. Beckett, 'Restoration Taxation', in M. Alldridge, ed., The Hearth Tax: Problems and Possibilities, Papers submitted to the Conference of Teachers in Regional and Local History in Tertiary Education held at the Institute of Historical Research, London 1983 (Hull, 1983), pp. 8-22.

[4] T. Arkell, 'A Student's Guide to the Hearth Tax: Some Truths, Half-Truths and Untruths', in Alldridge, Hearth Tax: Problems and Possibilities, pp. 23-27.

In Lancashire the hearth tax returns of Lady Day 1664 list householders in the two separate categories of chargeable and non-chargeable, and provides the fullest listing of householders in the various categories of hearth tax documentation. The nominal return for Lancashire in 1663 includes only chargeable households and in total lists c. 3,200 households for Blackburn Hundred[1] which compares with 4751 households in the listing of Lady Day 1664 (see table 2.1). In Whalley township for example, the nominal return for 1663 lists 32 households[2] whereas that of 1664 includes 39 chargeable households in addition to 57 non-chargeable households.[3] The collector's account of Lady Day 1666 lists only 44 households in Whalley township.[4] Although it is difficult to establish in any objective way whether the listing of Lady Day 1664 is complete, the inclusion of paupers amongst the exempt in the townships of Whalley and Colne indicates that the listings covered even the very poorest members of society.[5]

The hearth tax does not provide a total of the population but lists only household heads, to which it is necessary to apply a multiplier which represents average household size. A long running debate amongst historians has focused on the size of the multiplier which most effectively compensates for the proportion of the

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1 J.S.W. Gibson, The Hearth Tax, Other Stuart Tax Lists and the Association Oath Rolls, Federation of Family History Societies (Plymouth, 1985), p. 26.

2 P.R.O. E.179/250/8.

3 P.R.O. E.179/250/11.

4 P.R.O. E.179/250/9.

5 See chapter 7, pp. 503-512.

population not listed in the source. Tom Arkell in a recent contribution to Local Population Studies re-examines the "persistent problem of how to produce reliable population estimates from late seventeenth-century household totals".[1] He considers that Laslett's suggested multiplier of 4.75 should be regarded not as the norm, but as near to the top of the range of possible values.[2] On the basis of evidence drawn from 163 different communities in England between 1662 and 1712, Arkell concludes that a multiplier of 4.3 would provide a more accurate guide to population totals in all areas outside London. Arkell suggests that figures derived from the use of this central multiplier should not assume a spurious accuracy, and that a range of plus or minus ten or fifteen per cent should be allowed.[3]

The application of this methodology to the Lancashire evidence suggests that Blackburn Hundred with a total of 4751 households in 1664, had an estimated population of between c. 18,400 and 22,500.[4] A contemporary estimate of average family size in Blackburn Hundred is provided in the Commonwealth Church Survey of 1650. J.T. Swain considers that this source is unreliable for estimating population totals in Blackburn Hundred as, with the exception of Padiham, the figures for the number of communicants are suspiciously rounded. He

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[1] T. Arkell, 'Multiplying Factors for Estimating Population Totals from the Hearth Tax', L.P.S. 28 (Spring 1982), p. 51.

[2] P. Laslett, 'Size and Structure of the Household in England Over Three Centuries, Part I', P.S. 23, 2 (July 1969), p. 211.

[3] Arkell, 'Multiplying Factors', pp. 53-5.

[4] This is however, an underenumeration as there is no data available for Burnley in 1664.

questions the reliability of the Commonwealth Church Survey as the use of this source alone would seem to underestimate the total population of Colne chapelry by about 1,000.[1] However, the source is valuable as it indicates that in Padiham chapelry (which includes the inhabitants of Padiham, Hapton, Simonstone, Higham Booth and West Close) there are 232 families and 1106 persons.[2] If we accept Laslett's assertion that the terms 'family' and 'household' were interchangeable in the mid-seventeenth century,[3] this suggests a mean household size amongst these families of 4.767. This value is similar to Laslett's multiplier of 4.75 although it is difficult to assess how representative these cases were of Blackburn Hundred overall. In view of this evidence a range of multipliers will be used for each township unit to assess population size (see table 2.1).

The values of population size derived from the hearth tax can profitably be compared with estimates calculated from the records of the Protestation Oath of 1642[4] and the poll tax of 1660.[5] In common with the hearth tax these sources list only part of the total population, and again it is necessary to identify suitable correction factors. In the case of the Protestation Oath only males aged 18 or over were required to swear their loyalty to the "true

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[1] Swain, 'Industry and Economy', p. 33.

[2] Fishwick, Lancashire and Cheshire Church Surveys, p. 164.

[3] P. Laslett and R. Wall, eds., Household and Family in Past Time (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 27-9.

[4] L.R.O. MF 1/25.

[5] P.R.O. E.179/250/4.

reformed Protestant religion", although in the evidence from Blackburn Hundred women were indicated among the totals of those who took the oath and those that 'refuseth'.[1]

To obtain a figure for total population size it is necessary to correct for the absence of women aged 18 or over, and the proportion of the population aged 0-17. Michael Drake assumes that women aged 18 or over were present in the population in the same proportions as males,[2] whilst the results of Wrigley and Schofield's national back projection data can be used to establish the proportion of the population aged under 18. This data indicates that in 1641 11.83% of the population were aged 0-4, 20.48% were aged 5-14 and 17.34% were aged 15-24. Using the crude assumption that the population in the age category of 15-24 was distributed evenly throughout the 10 years, this would suggest that 5.2% of the population were aged 15-17. In total therefore, 37.5% of the population were aged under 18 which converts to a multiplier of 1.6. (100/100-37.5).[3] This proportion is significantly lower than that of 45% used by Faraday for the Westmorland Protestation returns.[4] Faraday's multiplier was based on the work of Gregory King, but

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[1] Faraday similarly observes the presence of 23 women in the returns from Westmorland in 1641/2.
M.A. Faraday, ed., The Westmorland Protestation Returns 1641/2, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Tract series 17 (Kendal, 1971), p. xiii.

[2] M. Drake, Historical Demography: Problems and Projects (Milton Keynes, 1974), Appendix 1, p. 82.

[3] Wrigley and Schofield, Population History of England, table A3.1, pp. 528-9 and figure 7.14, p. 216.

[4] Faraday, Westmorland Protestation Returns, pp. x, xii.

Wrigley and Schofield conclude that King's estimate of the age structure of the English population is much too young and "is a poor guide to most of the pre-industrial period...".[1]

The use of these multipliers in a selected group of townships in Blackburn Hundred (see table 2.2) produces a significant level of agreement between the hearth tax estimates and those derived from the Protestation Oath. In Whalley township the estimate based on the Protestation Oath is 435 which compares with an estimated level of 413-458 based on the hearth tax. In Accrington vetera and Accrington nova the data in the Protestation Oath suggests a population size of 534 compared with 477-529 in the hearth tax. In Chatburn township a population size of 211 based on the Protestation Oath compares favourably with the estimates of 198-219 derived from the hearth tax. In the townships of Read, Wiswell, Worston and Clitheroe the estimates from the Protestation Oath are lower than in the hearth tax which may point to population expansion in certain townships of Blackburn Hundred between 1642 and 1664.[2] The evidence from the Protestation Oath would however, seem to support the reliability of the hearth tax data.

A further listing of population for Blackburn Hundred in the mid-seventeenth century is the poll tax of 1660, and consideration should be given to this source as a basis for estimating total population size in the region. This was levied on all those aged 16 or over who were not in receipt of alms, so that some degree of

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[1] Wrigley and Schofield, Population History of England, p. 218.

[2] At a national level there was a slight decrease in population from 5,091,725 in 1641 to 5,067,047 in 1666.
Ibid., table 7.8, pp. 208-9.

correction is needed for those aged 0-15 and those in receipt of alms. Again the national back-projection data can indicate the proportion of the population aged under 16. In 1661 it is estimated that 9.91% of the population were aged between 0-4, 19.3% were aged between 5 and 14 and 18.73% between 15 and 24. Assuming that the population within the latter category was distributed evenly throughout the ten year period this would suggest that 1.87% of the population were aged 15. In total 31.2% of the population were aged under 16 in 1661 which converts to a multiplier of 1.45 (100/100-31.2).[1] This proportion is far lower than the multiplier which G.O. Lawton uses to obtain an estimate of population in Northwich Hundred based on the poll tax of 1660. On the basis of Gregory King's calculation of the age structure Lawton assumes that the proportion of children aged 0-15 was 44%.[2]

Unfortunately, it is not possible to accurately assess the proportion of the population in receipt of alms in each township. Contemporary comment suggests that levels of pauperism showed marked variations within the townships of Blackburn Hundred, and there is little evidence from the townships studied to support the assertion of Arkell and Lawton that a value of c. 15% typically represented the proportion of the population exempted from the poll tax.[3] Therefore, no attempt has been made to statistically correct the estimates to take account of those in receipt of poor relief in

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[1] Ibid., table A3.1, pp. 528-9.

[2] G.O. Lawton, ed., Northwich Hundred: Poll Tax 1660 and Hearth Tax 1664 R.S.L.C. 119 (Bath, 1979), p. 22.

[3] See chapter 7, pp. 512-514.

1660. Consequently, in the majority of townships there is a marked shortfall between the estimates derived from the poll tax and those based on the hearth tax (see table 2.2). For example, in Blackburn township the hearth tax provides population estimates of between 1,049 and 1,163, which compares with a value of 715 based on the poll tax listing. The shortfall of 334-448 people between the estimates may in fact represent those present in the township between 1660 and 1664, but whose receipt of alms disqualified them from payment of the poll tax. Alternatively, the population recorded in 1664 may include people who moved into the township between the date of the poll tax and the hearth tax.

Clearly, significant variations in levels of poverty between different townships make it difficult to identify a multiplier which provides a suitable correction factor. The limitations of the poll tax as a basis for estimating population mean that reliance must be placed on the hearth tax data, and an indication of the extent of population growth in Blackburn Hundred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is provided by a comparison of the hearth tax data of 1664 with the census of 1801 (See table 2.1).

At a national level the studies of Wrigley and Schofield indicate that the population of England increased from a level of 5,067,047 in 1666 to 8,664,490 at the date of the first census of 1801.[1] The absolute increase of 3,597,443 represents a percentage increase of 71% between 1666 and 1801. However, Wrigley and Schofield's national data illustrates that population increase was

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[1] Wrigley and Schofield, Population History of England, table 7.8, pp. 208-9.

not subject to a continuous progressive pattern. Marked fluctuations within this period are evident as "the period between the mid seventeenth and mid eighteenth centuries ... stands out as an apparently anomalous interlude of stagnation between two periods of substantial population growth". The population of England declined from an estimated 5,281,347 people in 1656 to 4,864,762 in 1686. This was followed by a period of slow and interrupted growth so that by 1741 the population of 5,576,197 slightly exceeded the level of 1656. Consistent population growth characterised the period from 1741, although rates of growth comparable with those of the sixteenth century were not reached until 1771.[1]

Alan Rawling's recent investigation of demographic change in south-west Lancashire between 1661 and 1760 has added an interesting perspective to the national data provided by Wrigley and Schofield. Rawling finds that in this region the number of births and deaths in the 1750s was "some 284% greater than in the 1660s". He considers that if percentage change in the number of vital events is used as a crude index of population change over time it points to a trebling of population in the region between the mid 1660s and the mid 1750s. This is in marked contrast to the slow national growth rate in the numbers of births and deaths which was c. 18% greater in the 1750s than in the 1660s.[2] Rawling considers that "the national growth rate was the product of widely varying rates at the regional level. Some, like our own region grew more rapidly whilst others must have

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[1] Ibid., pp. 207-215.

[2] Ibid., table A2.3, pp. 498-500.

grown more slowly if at all".[1] In Rawling's view "the cause of these wide variations in growth rates appears to lie, as we would expect in differential rates of economic change".[2]

Similarly, the population of north-east Lancashire grew at a much faster rate than the national average which points to economic vitality in this region. The hearth tax of 1664 listed a total of 1,423 households in Blackburn parish which provides an estimated population of between 6,119 and 6,783. This compares with a value of 33,631 in 1801 which represents more than a 400% increase in the population of this parish (see table 2.1). In the parish of Whalley there was a total of 2,751 households listed in 1664 which suggests a population of between c. 11,800 and 13,100. This compares with a total population of 46,218 (excluding Burnley) in 1801 which represents an increase of almost 300% in the population of this parish (see figure 2.2). Overall, the Hundred of Blackburn (which also included Chipping parish and parts of Ribchester and Mitton parishes) increased by 295% from an estimated level of c. 21,400 in 1664 to 87,712 in 1801. This level of increase is the same as that experienced by Chambers' grouping of forty Industrial villages in the Vale of Trent between 1674 and 1801.[3] This high growth rate in the region emphasises the extent of economic development which obviously characterised Blackburn Hundred in the eighteenth century.

A further feature of the Vale of Trent to which Chambers draws attention is the variations in patterns of demographic change which

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[1] Rawling, 'Rise of Liverpool', p. 201.

[2] Ibid., p. 87.

[3] Chambers, Vale of Trent, pp. 20-21.

emerged between the Industrial townships, the Agricultural townships and Nottingham. In the period between 1674 and 1801 the grouping of forty Industrial townships increased by 295% and the 62 Agricultural Villages increased by 66%. Nottingham increased from a level of c. 5,000 in 1674 to 28,861 in 1801 which represents a percentage increase of almost 500%.[1] Similarly, a comparison of the population estimates derived from the hearth tax returns of 1664 and the census of 1801 points to marked differences in rates of demographic change within Blackburn Hundred (see table 2.1 and figure 2.1).

Overall, the parish of Blackburn increased at a faster rate than the parish of Whalley, which may indicate that this parish was associated with more extensive levels of industrial development in the eighteenth century. The highest levels of population change illustrate a clustering in the central to eastern section of the Hundred with lower rates of change on the north-western edge of the Hundred (see figure 2.1). In broad terms this geographical divide corresponds with patterns of economic change as the areas with the most rapid rates of population growth such as Old Accrington, New Accrington, Blackburn, Over Darwen, Haslingden and Rossendale were closely associated with the extensive development of the textile industry in the late eighteenth century. For example, the township of Over Darwen in the parish of Blackburn increased by 800% from c. 400 in 1664 to c. 3,600 in 1801. This evidence can be paralleled with Aikin's comment in 1795 that "this was formerly a small village, but is now a populous district, manufacturing a large

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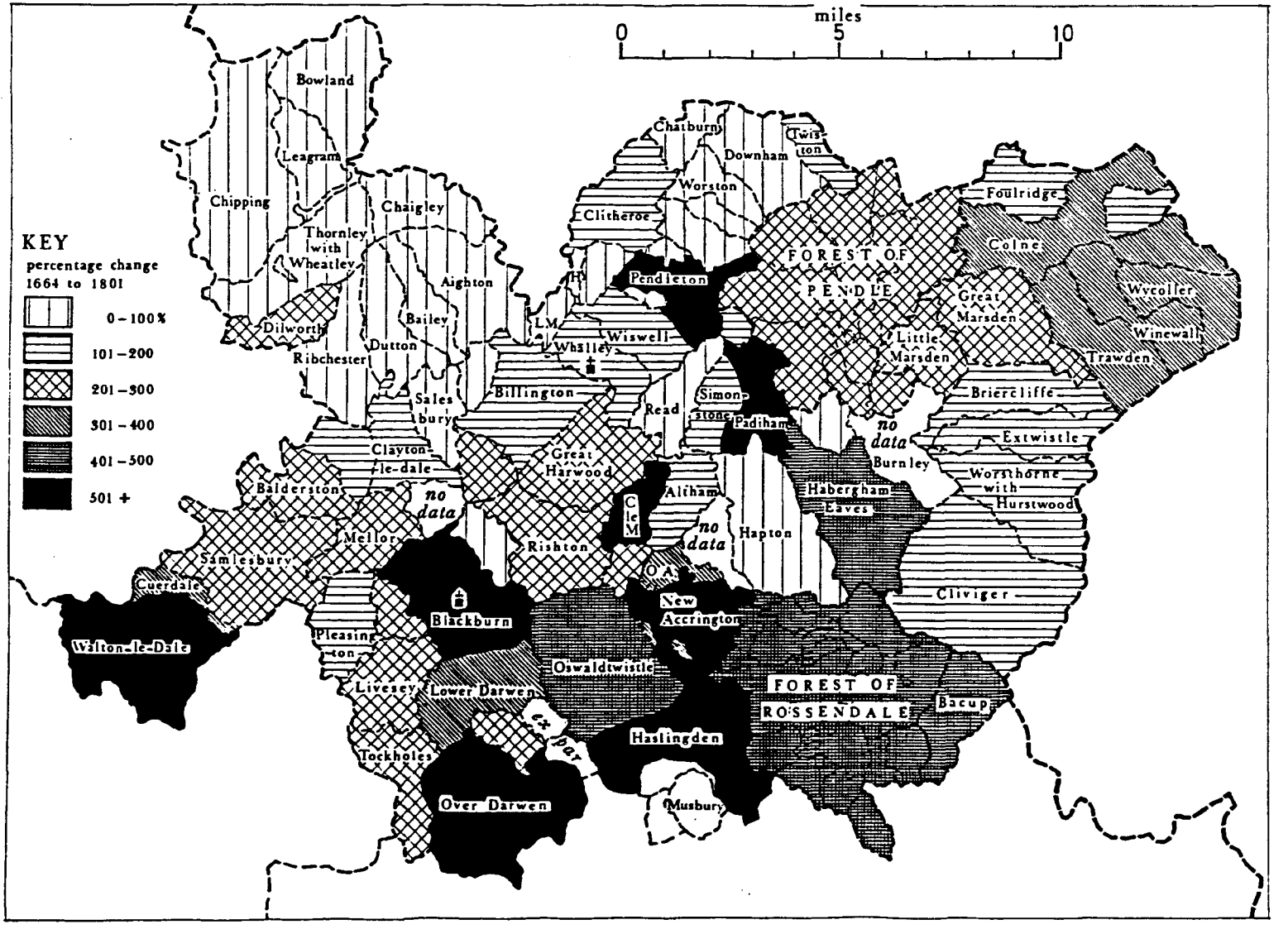
[1] Ibid.

Figure 2.1 Patterns of Population Change: 1664 1801



quantity of cotton goods".[1] Aikin in his tour of the manufacturing districts from thirty to forty miles around Manchester made similar observations in regard to Blackburn, Old Accrington and New Accrington which demonstrate growth rates of 990%, 669% and 301% respectively between 1664 and 1801.[2]

The market centre of Blackburn experienced a rapid growth, expanding by almost 1000% from a level of c. 1,100 in 1664 to 12,000 in 1801 (see figure 2.2). The role of Blackburn as a distributive centre with developed trading contacts with Manchester and London would undoubtedly have influenced the economic development of its hinterland.[3] However, the parish of Blackburn increased by more than 300% even if Blackburn itself is excluded from the calculation. This evidence supports Wadsworth and Mann's assertion that "the increase in the population of Lancashire was not so much an urban increase as a thickening of the population over the countryside particularly in the manufacturing districts".[4] Unlike south-west Lancashire the economic development and demographic growth of north-east Lancashire cannot be related to the overwhelming importance of one main urban centre.

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1 J. Aikin, A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles round Manchester (London, 1795), p. 273.

2 Ibid., p. 270.

3 Thomas Pennant observed in 1773 how Blackburn was "... rising into greatness, resulting from the overflow of manufactures in Manchester, for the artificers retreat to cheaper places, and less populous. The manufactures are cottons: considerable quantities are printed here; others are sent to London".
T. Pennant, A Tour from Downing to Alston Moor (London, 1801), p. 65.

4 Wadsworth and Mann, Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, p. 311.

As in south-west Lancashire high rates of population change in Blackburn Hundred are associated with the extensive development of industrial and commercial activities. However, not all areas of Blackburn Hundred witnessed such rapid population expansion. Eleven of the fourteen townships selected for closer investigation in this thesis have percentage growth rates which are significantly lower than the overall average for the Hundred of Blackburn. The townships of Wiswell, Read, Chatburn, Little Mitton and Downham demonstrate growth rates of less than 100% between 1664 and 1801. The townships of Whalley, Clitheroe, Twiston, Billington and Great Harwood demonstrate growth rates varying between 103% to 245% and Worston is the only township in the Hundred to show a percentage decline in the level of population between the two dates. The growth rates of these eleven townships are certainly low in comparison with other townships in Blackburn Hundred, but this does not necessarily reflect economic stagnation in these areas. The comparatively slow rate of growth in these areas should not be exaggerated as in this sample only the townships of Downham, Wiswell and Worston illustrate growth rates lower than the national average of 71% calculated by Wrigley and Schofield (see table 2.1).

In the period between 1664 and 1801 the level of population growth was particularly high in the townships of Blackburn and Old and New Accrington. In the latter two townships the population expanded by more than 500% between 1664 and 1801 and far outstrips the level of growth in Chambers's group of Industrial villages. The sample group of fourteen townships therefore covers a range of demographic experience. As demographic bouyancy is closely linked to economic vitality it would be interesting to establish the main

features of the economic make-up of each township in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In view of the varying rates of demographic change it would be relevant to assess whether the areas with low rates of population change were chiefly agricultural, and whether they remained unaffected by economic change in the eighteenth century. From the occupational evidence in the poll tax, parish registers and census returns one can determine whether the economic structure remained static in the eighteenth century with little evidence of diversification or whether these townships demonstrated a shift away from agriculture to industry and commerce, albeit less dramatic than in the central to eastern parts of the Hundred. Although the growth rates of these eleven townships are low in the context of Blackburn Hundred the evidence still points to a degree of demographic vitality in these areas.

However, a major problem of comparing population size between the hearth tax of 1664 and the first census of 1801 is that it provides no indication of change within this 137 year period. Classifying the townships according to the percentage growth rates in population between 1664 and 1801 presents a serious methodological problem as the levels of change may largely be the product of economic and demographic shifts in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. As the aim of this thesis is to trace change and development between 1660 and 1760 some assessment is needed of the possible changes in population in the intervening period. A survey of the diocese of Chester compiled between 1714 and 1725 by Bishop Gastrell can be used to estimate the population of the parishes of Whalley and Blackburn in the early eighteenth century, which provides some limited evidence on the timing of

population change in north-east Lancashire. The Notitia Cestriensis provides information on the number of families in each parish and chapelry in the deaneries of Manchester, Warrington, Blackburn, Leyland, Amounderness, Lonsdale, Furness and Kendal.

Rawling used the data from the deanery of Warrington to calculate a population total of 35,200 for south-west Lancashire in the early eighteenth century. He considers that the Notitia Cestriensis provides a broadly reliable picture of population size for c. 1717, and this source indicates an increase of 69% from a level of 20,800 based on the hearth tax data of 1664.[1] The evidence for the deanery of Blackburn indicates that the parish of Blackburn had a total of 1,800 families in the early eighteenth century.[2] This compares with a total of 1,423 households in the hearth tax of 1664, and suggests that there had been an increase of 377 households in the period 1664 - 1717. Using a multiplier of 4.5 for average household size indicates that the population of the parish increased by c. 1,700 to a level of c. 8,100. This represents a percentage increase of 27% which is significantly higher than the national rate of population growth of 4% between 1666 and 1716, but is considerably lower than the level of change in south-west Lancashire.[3]

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[1] Rawling uses a figure of 4.75 for average household size and applies this to the hearth tax households and also the number of families indicated in the Notitia Cestriensis.
Rawling, 'Rise of Liverpool', tables 3.1 and 3.2, pp. 52-3.

[2] Raines, Notitia Cestriensis, p. 274.

[3] Wrigley and Schofield, Population History of England, table 7.8, pp. 208-9.

The Notitia Cestriensis indicates that the parish of Whalley had a total of 2,845 families in 1717 which suggests an increase of 94 families from the total of 2,751 households indicated in the hearth tax of 1664.[1] Using a multiplier of 4.5 for average household size indicates that the population increased slightly from c. 12,400 in 1664 to c. 12,800 in the early eighteenth century. The percentage level of change of 3% is lower than the national increase, and points to a fairly static population in the period between 1664 and 1717.

A comparison of the data in the Notitia Cestriensis with the evidence of the 1801 census indicates that both parishes experienced a higher rate of population change in the period between 1717 and 1801. Although the population of Blackburn parish increased by 27% between 1664 and c. 1717, this level was minimal compared to the increase of over 300% from a level of c. 8,000 in 1717 to 33,631 in 1801. Similarly in Whalley parish the population increased by almost 300% from c. 12,800 in 1717 to 49,523 in 1801 (see figure 2.2). Accepting the correlation between population growth and economic development would suggest that the most significant levels of economic change occurred from the early eighteenth century onwards.

However, within this 84 year period it is again difficult to be specific regarding the timing of population change as the growth rates may again be focused largely on the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Evidence from contemporary comments seems to

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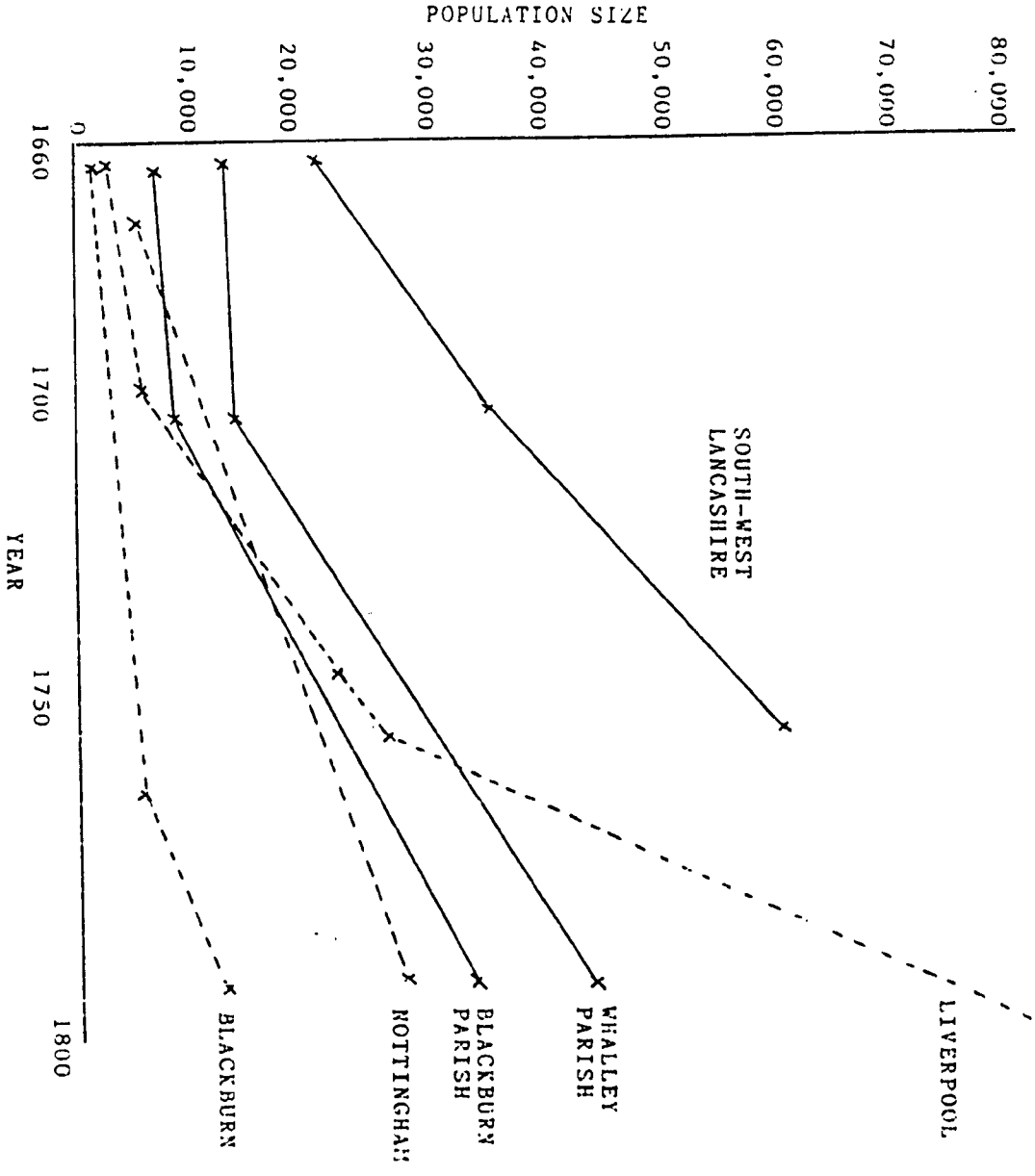
[1] Raines, Notitia Cestriensis, pp. 297-346.

PATTERNS OF POPULATION CHANGE IN NORTH-EAST LANCASHIRE, SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE AND NOTTINGHAM.



confirm that the demographic changes showed their greatest impact in the later decades of the eighteenth century. In 1750 Dr. Richard Pococke referred to Blackburn as "a town which thrives by the cotton and woollen manufacture".[1] However, in 1795 Aikin indicated that Blackburn "has long been known as a manufacturing place, but within the memory of man the population was very inconsiderable to what it has lately been".[2] The time scale implied is vague, and it is not possible to identify the pattern or timing of population growth from this comment. Thomas Pennant in 1773 indicated that the town of Blackburn "is at present rising into greatness, resulting from the overflow of manufactures in Manchester...".[3] This points to some degree of economic expansion which may have given rise to an increased population.

It has been estimated that the population of Blackburn was approximately 5,000 in 1770,[4] and if this value is correct it suggests an increase of 350% from a mid-seventeenth century level of c. 1,100. This indicates that although growth was particularly rapid in the period 1770-1801, the town had witnessed a substantial level of growth in the period 1664-1770. The magnitude of growth in Blackburn is similar to that identified by Chambers in Nottingham,

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1 J.J. Cartwright, ed., The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke, vol. I, Camden Society, New series 42 (1888), p. 11.

2 Aikin, Description of the Country round Manchester, p. 278.

3 Pennant, Tour from Downing to Alston Moor, p. 65.

4 P. Whittle, Blackburn as it is: A Topographical, Statistical and Historical Account of the Borough of Blackburn (Lower Division) in the County Palatine of Lancaster (Preston, 1852), p. 287; Wadsworth and Mann, Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, p. 311.

which increased by 250% from c. 5,000 in 1674 to 17,711 in 1779.[1] The mechanics of change and the precise timing of growth are still not indicated in this evidence. In the case of Liverpool Rawling notes that the population of the town grew by 24,500 between 1664 and 1760, but only 5,500 or 22% of this growth was due to natural increase.[2] From estimates of population size it is not possible to judge the extent to which the growth of Blackburn was fuelled by inward migration or natural increase. Clearly, the townships surrounding Blackburn may have contributed some of their natural increase to the growth of the town.[3] The relatively low rates of population growth on the western side of Blackburn Hundred may have resulted from movement from these areas to the developing urban areas.

Aikin's comments on the town of Haslingden are more specific than those relating to Blackburn as he outlines that "the town and hamlets of Haslingden are reckoned now to contain about 3,000 inhabitants, which is triple the number they contained forty years since".[4] The census of 1801 indicates that Haslingden had a population of 4,040 which indicates that Aikin's estimate of 3,000 people in 1795 is within feasible limits. Aikin indicates that

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[1] Chambers, Vale of Trent, pp. 20-21.

[2] Rawling, 'Rise of Liverpool', p. 99.

[3] Long distance migration may also have contributed to some of the growth. M. Long and B. Maltby in a study of mobility in the Dale parishes of the West Riding of Yorkshire conclude that areas which were changing under the influence of industrialisation also attracted long range migrants.
M. Long and B. Maltby, 'Personal Mobility in Three West Riding Parishes, 1777-1812', L.P.S. 24 (Spring 1980), p. 21.

[4] Aikin, Description of the Country round Manchester, p. 276.

Haslingden had a population of c. 1,000 in 1755, which compares with an estimated population of 580 in 1664. Haslingden's main period of population increase is apparently located in the period from the 1770s onwards as Aikin indicates that the area "has been greatly improved within the last twenty years chiefly from the increase of the woollen manufacture; though much of the cotton trade has likewise been introduced within a few years...".[1] Although population increase is more rapid in the later decades of the eighteenth century this evidence still points to a 72% increase in the population of Haslingden between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. This exceeds the national increase of c. 18% between 1666 and 1756, but is substantially lower than the level of change noted by Rawling in south west Lancashire.

The widely spaced population estimates of 1664, 1717 and 1801 have identified broad patterns of change in Blackburn Hundred. The population of the parish of Whalley showed only a marginal level of growth between 1664 and 1717 although Blackburn parish showed a percentage growth of 27% in this period, which may point to an earlier shift to manufacturing in this parish. Both parishes showed high levels of population increase between 1717 and 1801 and again a more rapid rate of growth in the parish of Blackburn may indicate a greater reliance on industrial activities. Although contemporary comment indicates that rapid growth focused particularly on the last three decades of the eighteenth century it is apparent that demographic expansion was a feature of the area in the period

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1 Ibid.

between the early eighteenth century and the mid-eighteenth century. As the main focus of this thesis is on the economic and social conditions in north-east Lancashire between 1660 to 1760 it is necessary to attempt some closer analysis of the patterns of population change indicated by the series of ecclesiastical events recorded in the parish and chapelry registers of the area.

3. Parish register analysis.

The value of parish registers as a source for tracing the population history of England was recognised by John Rickman in the early nineteenth century. As part of the first census of 1801 he required from every Anglican parish minister a count of the numbers of baptisms and burials for every tenth year between 1700 and 1780 and for every year between 1781 and 1800. Marriage totals were required for every year from 1754.[1] The aggregated data for Blackburn Hundred published in the Parish Register Abstract of 1801 has a number of important defects. In particular the true number of ecclesiastical events is distorted as a number of parish and chapelry registers are stated to be defective. For example, in the chapelry register of Balderston baptisms and burials were stated to

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[1] The strengths and weaknesses of Rickman's data are fully discussed by Wrigley and Schofield, Population History of England, Appendix 7, pp. 597-630.

be defective for the whole period between 1700 and 1760. Similarly, the baptism register of the chapelry of Langho in Billington was stated to be defective between 1700 and 1740 and this missing data could have a serious effect on the reliability of the totals. From the data it is difficult to assess how representative the totals of baptisms and burials for each single year in a decade were of the whole decade. For example, the average annual number of baptisms for Blackburn Hundred in the period 1780-1789 (when data is given for each year) is 1,081 which is significantly higher than the total of 952 which is recorded for the single year in 1780.[1]

Nonetheless, the increasing number of baptisms and burials between 1700 and 1800 confirms the rapid population growth indicated by a comparison of the Notitia Cestriensis and the census of 1801. The level of baptisms increased markedly across the eighteenth century from a level of 707 in 1700 to 2,404 in 1800 which indicates a growth ratio of 3.4. The level of burials increased from 903 in 1700 to 1,729 in 1800 pointing to a growth ratio of 1.91 (see figure 2.3). The twofold to threefold increase in the flow of events during the eighteenth century provides a broad indication of the magnitude of population growth during this period, and this evidence compares favourably with the estimates derived from the Notitia Cestriensis and the census of 1801.

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[1] Abstract of the Answers and Returns: Parish Registers (London, 1801), p. 145.

FIGURE 2.3 TOTALS OF BAPTISMS AND BURIALS IN BLACKBURN HUNDRED: BASED ON RICKMAN'S PARISH REGISTER ABSTRACTS 1801.

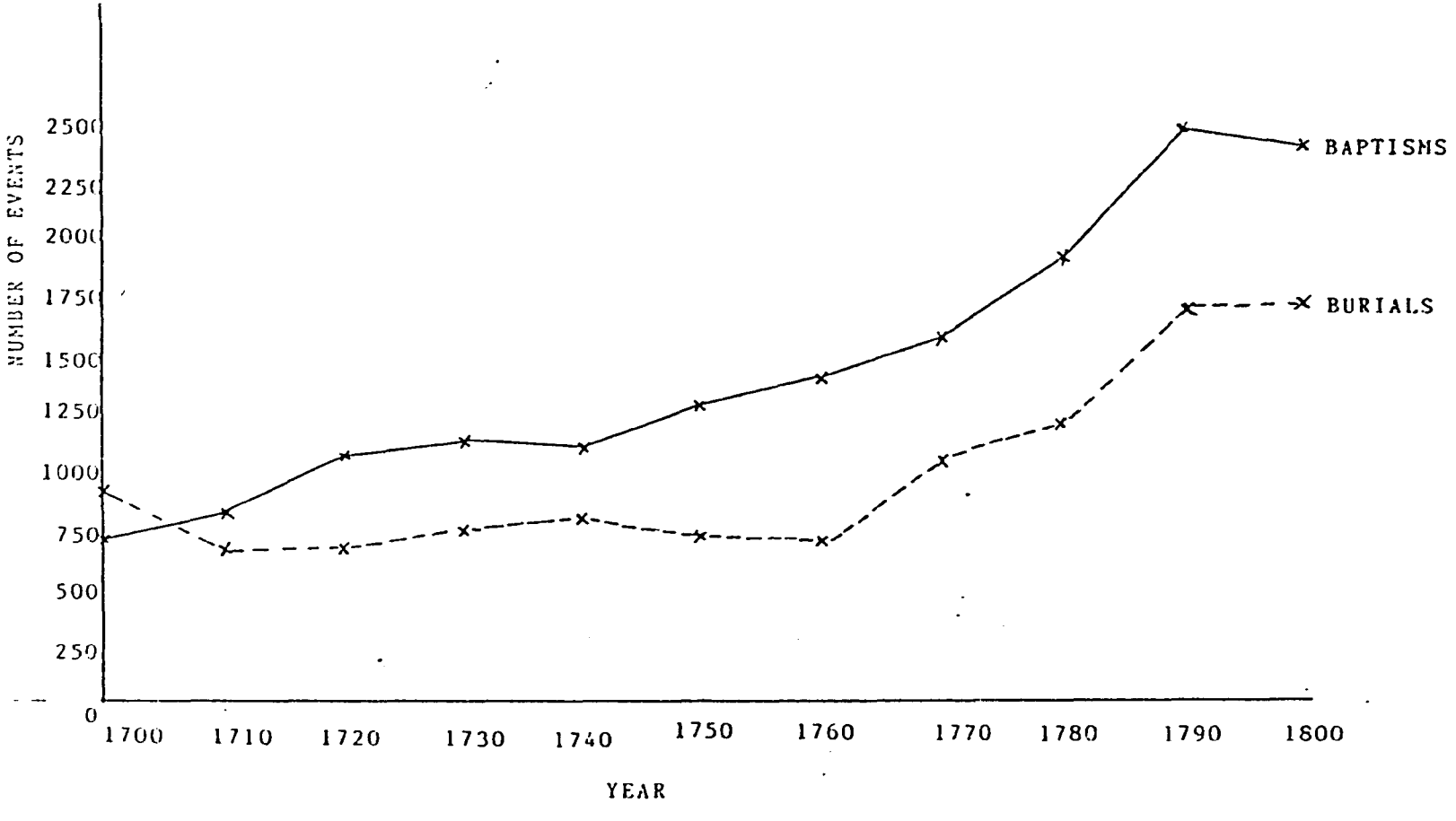

FIGURE 2.3

Population growth is apparent in the period between 1700 and 1760, as from 1710 baptisms exceeded burials to an increasing extent. Baptisms increased from 804 in 1710 to 1,404 in 1760 which indicates a growth ratio of 1.74. Burials increased from 657 in 1710 to 702 in 1760 which suggests a growth ratio of 1.07. Baptisms and burials were 44% greater in 1760 than in 1710, but it is difficult to quantify the precise extent of population growth which this represents as one cannot assume a constancy in vital rates between the two periods. The evidence points nonetheless to an increasing population in the Hundred of Blackburn between 1710 and 1760.

The period between 1740 to 1770 indicates a growing divergence between the baptism and burial series and points to a higher level of natural increase in the Hundred of Blackburn from the mid-eighteenth century, which is very similar to the trend identified in mid-Wharfedale in Yorkshire.[1] The level of burials declined from 903 in 1700 to 657 in 1710 and a fairly constant level was sustained until 1760 when the series showed a sharp upward movement reaching a peak of 1,729 burials in 1800 (see figure 2.3). This increase in burials is unlikely to reflect increased mortality in the period due to adverse weather conditions or an increased level of disease, but reflects rather an increased population at risk due to the natural increase which accumulated from 1710 onwards (assuming no significant level of outward migration from the Hundred) and

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[1] Pickles, 'Mid-Wharfedale, 1721-1812', pp. 30-36.

possibly from inward migration to the Hundred in response to economic development.

From Rickman's data it is not possible to calculate cumulative levels of natural increase in Blackburn Hundred between 1700 and 1760 as totals are only given for single years in a decade. In view of the reality of population growth highlighted by a comparison of the available population estimates much of this natural increase must have been retained, although there may have been some re-distribution of population within the Hundred. Those townships which remained predominantly agricultural in the eighteenth century may, as in the Vale of Trent, have lost some of their natural increase to the developing urban areas or to those townships with a heavy reliance on textiles.[1] Rickman's data therefore provides only a summary view of the demographic changes which affected Blackburn Hundred in the eighteenth century, and undoubtedly reflects the outcome of varying patterns of change in the parishes and chapelries of the region. It is relevant to determine whether the pattern for Blackburn Hundred revealed by Rickman's data provides a reasonable representation of trends in the parishes on the western side of the region.

An aggregative analysis of two registers from the western section of Blackburn Hundred can be used to establish the patterns of demographic change which affected this part of north-east Lancashire between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. The population estimates based on a comparison of the hearth tax

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[1]Chambers, Vale of Trent, p. 22.

returns of 1664 with the census of 1801 indicate that growth was apparent on the western edge of the Hundred, although at a lower level than in the central and eastern parts of the region (see figure 2.1). Plotting the numbers of baptisms and burials recorded in the registers of the chapelry of Great Harwood in the parish of Blackburn and in the parish register of Whalley reveals certain features in common with the overall pattern of change for the Hundred of Blackburn. Some variation is apparent between the chapelry of Great Harwood and the mother parish of Whalley as the former shows an earlier and more rapid rate of population growth. This confirms the differential rates of growth between the parishes which was identified from the widely spaced population estimates.

The registers of St. Mary's parish church in Whalley date from 1538 and contain entries which relate principally to the townships of Whalley, Wiswell and Read, although entries relating to the nearby townships of Worston, Pendleton and Billington were regularly included.[1] The entries which are recorded between 1653 and 1660 refer to the civil events of births and deaths rather than the ecclesiastical ceremonies of baptisms and burials which resume from December 1660. The quality of registration appears high as various clerks took the trouble to record occupational data consistently in the birth and death registers between 1653 and 1660 and in the baptism and burial registers between 1721 and 1800. There are few obvious breaks in registration caused by mechanical damage or by the carelessness of the clerk.

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[1] L.R.O. PR3 - PR6.

Other causes of under-registration are however, more difficult to detect. E.A. Wrigley considers that under-registration caused by the increasing length of the interval between the birth of a child and its baptism could have a serious effect on the quality of registration.[1] If the gap between birth and baptism lengthened over time this would increase the shortfall between the recorded number of baptisms and the actual number of births. He identifies a range of tentative estimates to compensate for the impact of infant mortality and the increasing interval between births and baptisms, and suggests that the number of baptisms should be inflated by a value of 4% between 1650-99, 5% between 1700-1749 and 7½% between 1750 and 1799.[2] Wrigley considers that deficiencies in registration caused by a lapse of time between the date of death and burial were minimal and were not likely to increase over time.[3]

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[1] In the chapelry of Downham between 1654 and 1662 the register records both the date of birth and the date of baptism, which can provide some indication of the extent of the delay between the two events in Blackburn Hundred. Out of a total of 91 entries which record this information 65 (71.4%) relate to baptisms which took place within 5 days of birth. A further 20 baptisms took place within 6 - 9 days of birth (20%), whilst the remaining 6 baptisms took place within 11 - 16 days of birth (6.6%). The average interval between birth and baptism in this chapelry of Whalley parish was 4 days.
William Bennet Price, ed., The Register of the Parish Church of St. Leonard, Downham 1605-1837, L.P.R.S. 118 (Leyland, 1979).

[2] E.A. Wrigley, 'Births and Baptisms: The Use of Anglican Baptism Registers as a Source of Information about the Numbers of Births in England before the Beginning of Civil Registration', P.S. 31, 2 (July 1977), p. 310.

[3] In the chapelry of Downham the date of death and burial is recorded between 1654 and 1662, and this evidence points to a short average interval of less than 2 days. Of the 89 entries which provide this detail 25 (28.1%) relate to burials which took place on the same day as the date of death, 59 were buried on the following day (66.3%) and 5 were buried on the second day following death. Price, Register of the Parish Church of St. Leonard, Downham.

The growth of non-conformity and the presence of Catholics in a population could also distort the recorded number of baptisms and burials away from the actual levels of births and deaths.[1] Assessing the inflation ratios needed to correct for under-registration caused by unwilling attenders is particularly difficult in an area such as Blackburn Hundred for which Haigh concludes that the mixed distribution of Catholics and Protestant non-conformists "... almost defies geographical analysis".[2] Applying the inflation ratios suggested by Wrigley and Schofield would be an inadequate basis on which to account for the levels of religious dissent in Lancashire. Therefore, for the limited purposes of this analysis reliance will be placed on the patterns revealed by the uncorrected ecclesiastical events.

The parochial chapelry of St. Lawrence's (later St. Bartholomew's) in Great Harwood was part of the mother parish of Blackburn.[3] The registers contain a number of miscellaneous entries which date from 1547, although a more consistent recording of events is evident from 1560. In 1546 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners

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[1] Arkell finds that in the parishes of Edgbaston and Rowington in Warwickshire, Catholics were included in the parish registers for burials, but not for marriages. He finds that in Rowington Catholic parents did not take their infants to be baptised at the Anglican church "unless they were sickly and likely to die or unless the husband was a noticeably less ardent adherent of the Catholic faith than his wife".
V.T.J. Arkell, 'An Enquiry into the Frequency of the Parochial Registration of Catholics in a Seventeenth Century Warwickshire Parish', L.P.S. 9 (Autumn 1972), p. 29.

[2] C. Haigh, Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire (Cambridge, 1975), p. 317.

[3] A. Sparke, ed., The Parish Register of Great Harwood, 1547-1812, L.P.R.S. 75 (Preston, 1937).

granted a licence to Richard Wood to christen, marry, bury and minister the sacraments to the neighbouring inhabitants who numbered 400 "houselinge people".[1] In the Notitia Cestriensis compiled in the early eighteenth century it was outlined that the inhabitants of Great Harwood, Tottleworth in Rishton and the east end of Rishton township resorted to this chapelry.[2] The entries in the register between 1660 and 1760 relate principally to the townships of Great Harwood and Rishton, but there are a significant number of entries relating to the adjacent townships of Billington and Wilpshire. Deficiencies in registration are apparent in these registers particularly between 1654 and 1664 when the entries appear confused and incomplete. The quality of registration shows a marked improvement from 1665 when the entries are more systematically arranged, although one still gains the impression of sporadic under-registration throughout the whole register.

Both registers are affected to varying degrees by under-registration. However, plotting the totals of uncorrected ecclesiastical events can still be of value in revealing the major fluctuations and overall changes in the relationship between the two series. Plotting the data in the form of nine year moving averages is intended to smooth out the sharp annual fluctuations and to highlight long term trends in the series of baptisms and burials (see figures 2.4 and 2.5).

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[1] Farrer and Brownbill, V.C.H. Lancs., vol. 6, p. 343.

[2] Raines, Notitia Cestriensis, pp. 284-5.

Estimates of population derived from the hearth tax returns and the Notitia Cestriensis indicate that the parish of Blackburn increased by just over a quarter between 1664 and 1717. As the chapelry of Great Harwood is a component part of the parish of Blackburn it is relevant to establish whether the series of baptisms and burials confirm the pattern of growth revealed by the estimates of population. In the period between 1671-1680 burials exceeded baptisms and a baptism/burial ratio of 0.724 points to a declining population. The period between 1681-1720 shows a cumulative surplus of baptisms over burials and a baptism/burial ratio of 1.223 points to a growth of population during this period, which corresponds with the modest level of population growth identified in the parish of Blackburn by the Notitia Cestriensis (see figure 2.4).

In the period between 1721-40 there were 436 recorded baptisms compared to 374 burials and this small natural surplus of 62 is reflected in a baptism/burial ratio of 1.166. The period from 1740 marks a sharp divergence in pattern as the series of baptisms and burials show a sharp upward movement with a growing divergence between the two series which is reflected in a high baptism/burial ratio of 2.006 in the decade 1741-50 and 1.749 in the decade 1751-60 (see figure 2.4). This rising trend of baptisms and burials corresponds with the pattern revealed in Rickman's data for the whole of Blackburn Hundred, and this pattern is also characteristic of the national movements in demographic trends.

Plotting the numbers of baptisms and burials has revealed that positive levels of natural change were apparent in Great Harwood chapelry from 1681-1720, but there is a sharp divergence in the trend from 1740 onwards with large increases in the recorded numbers

FIGURE 2.4 NINE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES OF BAPTISMS AND BURIALS GREAT HARWOOD CHAPELRY, 1660 - 1760.

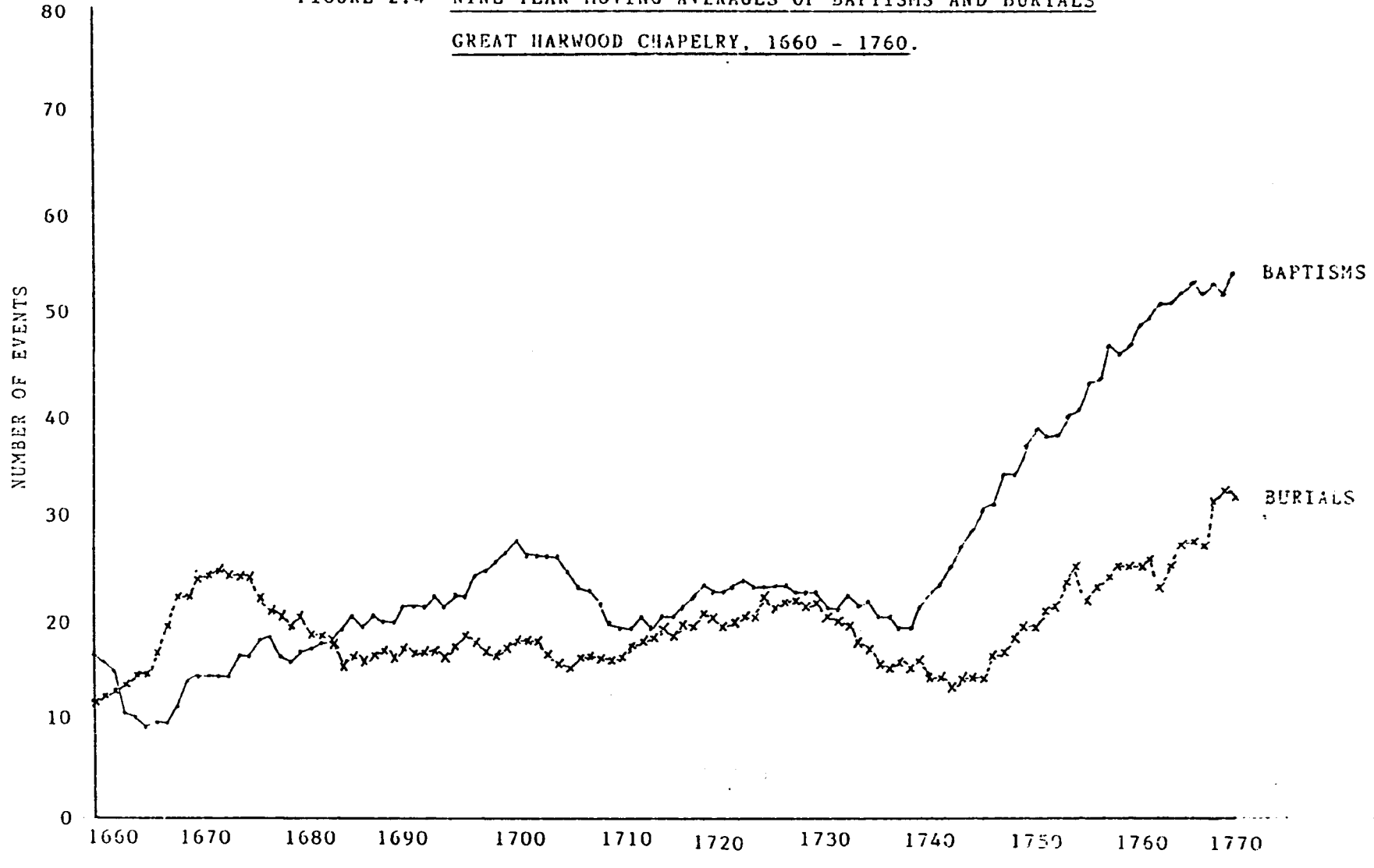

FIGURE 2.4

of baptisms and burials. If we compare the annual numbers of events recorded in an eleven year period centred on 1715 with similar figures for an eleven year period centred on 1765 it is possible to quantify the extent of growth in the chapelry. In the period between 1715 and 1765 the level of baptisms in the chapelry register of Great Harwood increased from an annual average of 19.1 to 51 and indicates a growth ratio of 2.7. This evidence of population growth is confirmed in the burial register as burials increased from an annual average of 18.3 in the early eighteenth century to 25.6 in the period centred on 1765, which points to a growth ratio of 1.4. The growth ratios in the series of baptisms and burials are significantly higher than in the parish register of Whalley in the same period,[1] and confirm that the parish of Blackburn had a more rapid rate of population growth in the eighteenth century. In the chapelry of Great Harwood the level of baptisms and burials was 105% higher in 1765 than in the period centred on 1715.

These growth ratios in the series of baptisms and burials in Great Harwood between 1715 and 1765 are higher than in the national series of vital events. Using Wrigley and Schofield's totals of vital events it is apparent that the growth ratio in the national series of births between 1715 and 1765 was 1.32 whereas the deaths showed a growth ratio of 1.21. At the national level births and deaths were only 27% greater in 1765 than in 1715.[2] Clearly this

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[1] See chapter 2, pp. 64-66.

[2] Wrigley and Schofield, Population History of England, table A2.3, pp. 498-500.

evidence points to demographic vitality in Great Harwood chapelry in the first half of the eighteenth century.

In the parish of Whalley the period between 1661 and 1720 was one in which the decadal totals of burials continually exceeded baptisms. In the period 1661-90 burials exceeded baptisms by a cumulative total of 337 and a baptism/burial ratio of 0.717 points to a significant level of natural decrease (see figure 2.5). Although burials exceeded baptisms in each decade between 1691-1720 the decline is not as extensive as the baptism/burial ratio is slightly higher at 0.847. However, the high mortality of the crisis years of the late 1720s produced a substantial deficit of burials over baptisms, although certain years within this decade showed small natural surpluses.[1] If baptisms were subject to more extensive under-registration than burials due to the presence of Catholics and Protestant non-conformists this trend of declining population in Whalley parish may well be exaggerated.

From the mid 1730s the level of baptisms exceeded burials, and with the exception of the late 1750s when baptism levels dropped markedly, the level of baptisms exceeded the level of burials and points to positive levels of natural change. The sharp decline in baptism levels in the 1750s is not due to any obvious deficiencies in registration, but it may indicate movement out of the area by young adults if the trend of population increase apparent from the

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[1] At a national level the late 1720s were years of very high mortality. Ibid., pp. 162, 310-311.

FIGURE 2.5 NINE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES OF BAPTISMS AND BURIALS WHALLEY PARISH, 1660 - 1760.

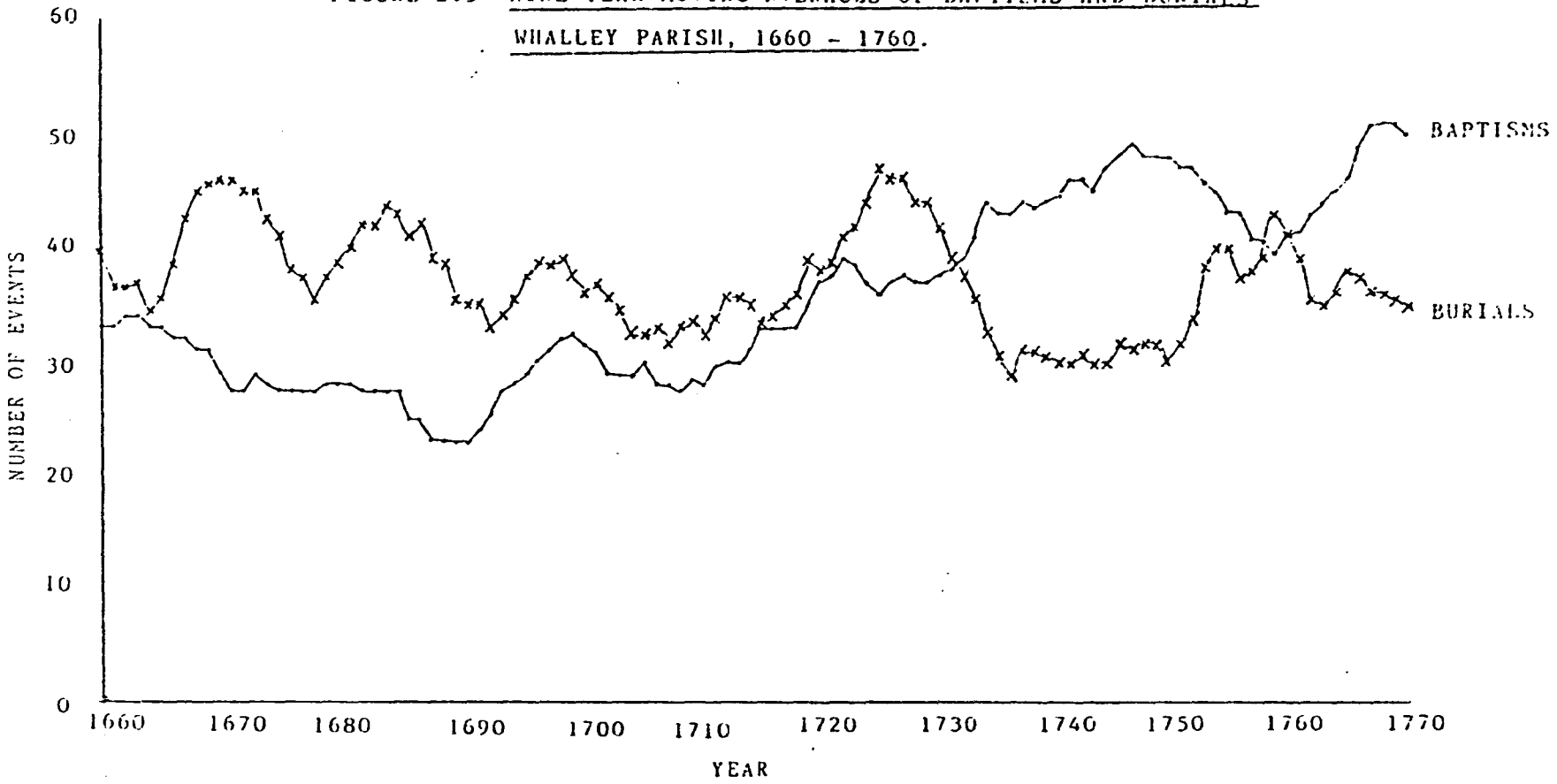

FIGURE 2.5

1730s limited the availability of employment opportunities in agriculture. This is however, an apparently temporary interruption in the robust upward trend of baptisms.

If we compare the annual numbers of events recorded in an eleven year period centred on 1665 with similar figures for an eleven year period centred on 1715 we can gauge possible trends in population change. At a national level births grew from an annual average of 148,113 to 163,325 over this period and the number of deaths declined from 149,808 to 147,114. The increased numbers of births represents a growth ratio of 1.10 whereas the decline in the number of deaths points to a ratio of 0.98.[1] If we assume no major changes in the rates of fertility, mortality and nuptiality between the two dates this would suggest that the national population grew very slightly or declined slightly, and confirms Wrigley and Schofield's observation that this was a period of relative stagnation in population numbers.

The parish register of Whalley indicates a similar pattern of change, as the average annual number of baptisms declined from 32.9 in 1665 to 31.5 in 1715. Similarly, the level of burials declined from an annual average of 37.5 to 34.8 which, assuming constant vital rates, points to a slightly smaller population in the second decade of the eighteenth century than in the mid-seventeenth century. This does not correspond with the marginal increase in population size suggested by a comparison of the hearth tax of 1664

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[1] Ibid., table A2.3, pp. 498-500.

and the Notitia Cestriensis of 1717.[1] However, the evidence used to calculate the growth ratios is based on the uncorrected ecclesiastical events so that if allowance had been made for the various types of under-registration this may have pointed to a marginal level of growth.[2] Nonetheless, it indicates that in Whalley parish the period between 1660-1717 was a period of decline or only marginal growth in the level of population, which corresponds with the trends in the national series of vital events. This contrasts with the expansion of population apparent in the registers of Great Harwood in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Figure 2.5 indicates that the numbers of baptisms in Whalley parish showed an upward trend from c. 1715, although baptisms do not exceed the level of burials until the mid 1730s. Baptisms increased from an annual average of 31.5 in an eleven year period centred on 1715 to 46.4 in an eleven year period centred on 1765 whereas burials increased from an average of 34.8 to 36.4 over the same period. The evidence points to a growth ratio of 1.47 in the series of baptisms, which is slightly higher than in the national series of births but lower than the increase in baptisms in the chapelry of Great Harwood. The growth ratio in the series of burials of 1.05 is lower than both the national series of deaths and the level of burials in Great Harwood, and this may point to an underenumeration

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[1] See chapter 2, p.45.

[2] Wrigley and Schofield suggest that non-conformity "... depressed the number of baptisms being registered more than the number of burials...".
Wrigley and Schofield, Population History of England, pp. 164-5.

of burials in Whalley parish if there was migration out of the area. Baptisms and burials were 25% higher in 1765 than in 1715 which is very close to the increase of 27% in the national series of births and deaths. This evidence points to growth in the population of Whalley parish in the first half of the eighteenth century, but at a slower pace than in the chapelry of Great Harwood.

Rawling used this technique of calculating increases in baptisms and burials to indicate possible population changes in south-west Lancashire. He compared the totals in the 1750s for those recorded in the 1660s and found that the numbers of events were 33% greater in the Agricultural areas and 72% greater in the Coalfield townships.[1] Aggregating the data in the same way for Whalley parish and Great Harwood chapelry points to a 53% increase in the numbers of events in the same period, although the under-registration apparent in Great Harwood chapelry in the 1660s may have exaggerated the level of increase. Nonetheless the evidence shows that the increase was far in excess of c. 18% in the national series of vital events. The level of growth in this part of Blackburn Hundred exceeded that of the Agricultural townships in south-west Lancashire and, although lower than for the Coalfield townships, it still suggests some level of industrialisation in north-east Lancashire.

This method of calculating increase in the levels of ecclesiastical/vital events does not provide an estimate of

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[1] A. Rawling, 'Population Change and Urban Growth in South-West Lancashire, 1661-1760', Lecture at meeting of the Local Population Studies Society, Geography Department, Liverpool University, November 1984.

population size for individual townships, but indicates broad characteristics of growth in an area. The detail in the parish register of Whalley can be used to estimate population change in individual townships but one must be reasonably certain that the population of the township did not resort extensively to other parishes or chapelries. The parish register of Whalley contains entries for a number of townships lying adjacent to the township of Whalley. The extraction of all the entries between 1665 and 1765 relating just to the baptisms and burials of individuals from Whalley township can be used to trace patterns of demographic change. The size of the population in Whalley township can be estimated on the basis of the hearth tax of 1664 and using a multiplier of 4.5 for average household size suggests that Whalley township had a population of c. 430. From this base one can roughly establish the population size in 1760 by adding or subtracting the levels of natural change. This simple aggregative method is seriously flawed as the successive calculation of population assumes a closed population in which there was no movement into or out of the township. Therefore, the population estimates derived by applying this methodology to Whalley township can have no claims to precision but the data may highlight whether the underlying trends of change were of growth or decline.

Applying this methodology to Whalley suggests that in 1700 the population of the township was approximately 435 and had therefore changed little from that of the mid-seventeenth century. By 1717 the estimated population size was 455 which shows a percentage increase of 5% from the mid-seventeenth century. This marginal increase in population size in the township of Whalley corresponds

with the evidence of demographic patterns for the whole parish of Whalley which showed a marginal growth in size of 3% between the hearth tax of 1664 and the Notitia Cestriensis of 1717. Some degree of expansion was apparent in Whalley township by 1740 as the successive addition and subtraction of baptisms and burials points to a population size of 533. In 1760 the estimated population size of Whalley township was 625 which represents a percentage increase of almost 50% from a level of 430 in the mid-seventeenth century. This evidence from the parish register again confirms that demographic expansion was evident on the western edge of Blackburn Hundred in the period between c. 1720 to 1760.

4. Conclusion.

The parish register data has confirmed that population growth was a characteristic feature of Blackburn Hundred in the period between c. 1660 to 1760. As at the national level the Hundred of Blackburn was not subject to a continuous process of growth as the second half of the seventeenth century witnessed phases of decline and stagnation interspersed by periods of marginal growth. A sustained trend of population increase was apparent in Blackburn Hundred from 1740 onwards, as the increasing numbers of baptisms and burials diverged to give greater levels of positive natural change. The fastest rates of population growth were located in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but is is clear that long term

growth in both rural and urban areas was apparent from the early eighteenth century. Variations in rates of demographic change are apparent within the Hundred, as the parish of Blackburn showed earlier and more extensive growth than the parish of Whalley.

Alan Rawling's study of south-west Lancashire emphasises that economic development and demographic expansion were closely associated in the early modern period. There is, therefore, a need to assess the patterns of economic change in north-east Lancashire between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries to determine the nature of the relationship between population growth and economic diversification. It is relevant to determine whether any correlation is apparent between the timing of population growth in Blackburn Hundred and increasing levels of industrial activity.

In the predominantly pastoral farming economy of north-east Lancashire, which sustained only a relatively narrow distribution of wealth in the mid-seventeenth century, it is necessary to determine how these increased numbers were employed. For example, Whalley township showed a significant level of population growth between 1700 and 1760. One can question whether agricultural opportunities expanded in Whalley township to absorb the increased numbers or whether the inhabitants of the area looked to other means of earning a livelihood. As the population of the townships expanded in the early/mid-eighteenth century this may have put pressure on the existing economic structure of a parish, so that the increased numbers could not be accommodated by the number of work opportunities in agriculture. This trend would be particularly

marked if the involvement in arable agriculture declined as E.L. Jones suggests.[1] If the population turned to industrial occupations as a means of earning a living how far had this trend progressed by 1760 and how important was industry to the early modern economy in north-east Lancashire?

This stresses the causal effect of population growth in stimulating economic diversification. However, other studies have emphasised how the development of industry could promote demographic changes. J.A. Goldstone argues that the "crucial factor" in population growth after 1750 was "a sharp drop in the age at first marriage, probably tied to emerging industrialization".[2] On the basis of evidence from Shepshed in Leicestershire David Levine argues that the availability of industrial employments loosened the traditional sanctions on early marrriage. The age at marriage dropped "because men (and women) could reach their maximum earning capacity at an early age so there was no longer any reason to defer marriage".[3] If we accept this argument it would suggest that distinctions in the age at marriage, and hence in the power of the population to increase, should be apparent within Blackburn Hundred. Areas such as Colne chapelry and Pendle Forest which showed an early and extensive reliance on textiles should theoretically reveal a

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[1] Jones, 'Agricultural Origins of Industry', pp. 69-70.

[2] J.A. Goldstone, 'The Demographic Revolution in England: A Re-examination', P.S. 40, 1 (March 1986), p. 32.

[3] D. Levine, 'The Demographic Implications of Rural Industrialization: A Family Reconstitution Study of Shepshed, Leicestershire, 1600-1851', Social History 1, 2 (May 1976), p. 192.

lower age at marriage and higher fertility levels than the Ribble valley townships, whose extensive reliance on textiles followed over a century later.

This is an interesting and complex area of debate, and it seems that the detailed basis of research on the economic structure of Blackburn Hundred provides an important foundation for an assessment of patterns of demographic change. Tracing the mechanisms underlying population change in Blackburn Hundred lies outside the scope of this thesis, but it seems evident that the differing patterns of economic change apparent within the Hundred may have influenced the demographic régime.

Population expansion was evident on the western side of Blackburn Hundred in the early/mid-eighteenth century, although the limitations of the evidence make it difficult to quantify this growth precisely in each township. This evidence raises the question of the extent to which economic change was associated with demographic growth in Blackburn Hundred. Occupational data in the poll tax, parish registers and census returns is used in chapters three and four to assess whether any associated shift in work patterns is apparent in the townships under consideration. This study can thereby add a further local perspective to Wrigley and Schofield's analysis of the relationship of demographic trends to "some aspects of the sweeping economic changes of the early modern period".[1]

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[1] Wrigley and Schofield, Population History of England, p. 402.

Table 2.1

ESTIMATES OF POPULATION SIZE: BLACKBURN HUNDRED 1664-1801.

Township	Total no. of h/holds 1664	Multiplier 4.3	4.5	4.767	1801 census	Percentage change* 1664 - 1801
Blackburn Parish						
Balderston	38	163	171	181	615	260
Billington	71	305	319	338	844	165
Blackburn	244	1049	1098	1159	11,980	990
Clayton-le-dale	34	146	153	162	419	174
Cuerdale	9	39	40	43	170	325
Darwen, Lower	84	361	378	399	1,640	335
Darwen, Over	87	374	391	413	3,587	817
Dinkley	22	95	99	105	197	99
Harwood, Great	107	460	481	510	1,659	245
Harwood, Little	19	82	85	90	104	22
Livesey with Tockholes	139	598	625	662	1,942	211
Mellor with Eccleshill	110	473	495	522	1,785	261
Osbaldeston	21	90	94	100	252	168
Pleasington	58	249	261	276	614	152
Ramsgreave		No data in the hearth tax			298	-
Rishton	77	331	346	367	1,051	204
Salesbury	32	138	144	152	236	64
Samlesbury	99	426	445	471	1,664	274
Walton-le-dale	126	542	567	600	3,832	576
Wilpshire	20	86	90	95	275	205
Witton	26	112	117	124	461	294
Total	1,423	6,119	6,403	6,783	33,631	425

Table 2.1 (continued)

ESTIMATES OF POPULATION SIZE: BLACKBURN HUNDRED 1664-1801

Township	Total no. of h/holds 1664	Multiplier 4.3	4.5	4.767	1801 census	Percentage change* 1664 - 1801
Whalley Parish						
Accrington, New	65	279	292	310	2,246	669
Accrington, Old	46	198	207	219	831	301
Altham	33	142	148	157	328	122
Bowland with Leagram	54	232	243	257	318	31
Briercliffe with Extwistle	72	310	324	343	956	195
Burnley		No data in the hearth tax			3,305	-
Chatburn	46	198	207	219	415	100
Church	19	82	85	90	323	280
Clayton-le-Moors	38	163	171	181	1,130	561
Clitheroe	135	580	607	643	1,368	125
Cliviger	87	374	391	415	1,058	171
Colne	196	843	882	934	3,626	311
Downham	65	279	292	310	470	61
Foulridge	88	378	396	419	833	110
Habergham-Eaves	83	357	373	396	1,919	414
Hapton	48	206	216	229	395	83
Haslingden	128	550	576	610	4,040	601
Heyhouses	13	56	58	62	156	169
Huncoat	39	168	175	186	-	-
Ightenhill Park	17	73	76	81	126	66
Marsden	160	688	720	763	2,322	222
Mearley	10	43	45	48	75	67
Mitton, Little	9	39	40	43	76	90
Oswaldtwistle	106	456	477	505	2,710	468
Padiham	72	310	324	343	2,118	554
Pendle Forest	303	1,303	1,363	1,444	4,272	213
Pendleton	32	138	144	152	914	535
Read	37	159	166	176	311	87
Rossendale	401	1,724	1,804	1,911	9,156	407
Simonstone	24	103	108	114	298	176
Trawden Forest	79	340	355	376	1,443	306
Twiston	17	73	76	81	189	149
Whalley	96	413	432	458	876	103
Wiswell	56	206	216	229	349	62
Worsthorne with Hurstwood	45	193	202	214	443	119
Worston	32	138	144	152	128	-11
Total	2,751	11,829	12,379	13,114	46,218 (exc. Burnley)	273

Table 2.1 (continued)

ESTIMATES OF POPULATION SIZE: BLACKBURN HUNDRED 1664-1801

Township	Total no. of h/holds 1664	Multiplier 4.3	4.5	4.767	1801 census	Percentage change* 1664 - 1801
Chipping Parish						
Chipping	140	602	630	667	827	31
Thornley with Wheatley	78	335	351	371	387	10
Ribchester Parish (part of)						
Dilworth	37	159	166	176	524	216
Dutton	47	202	211	224	388	84
Ribchester	132	568	594	629	1,172	97
Mitton Parish (part of)						
Aighton Bailey Chaigley	143	615	643	682	1,260	96
BLACKBURN HUNDRED OVERALL	4,751	20,429	21,379	22,648	87,712	295*

* The percentage change in population is calculated by comparing the population size in 1801 with the estimate of the hearth tax population based on a multiplier of 4.5. Burnley is excluded from the calculations of percentage change as no data is available in the hearth tax of 1664.

The population data for 1801 is taken from:
A comparative account of the population of Great Britain in the years 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831 (1831), pp. 130-139.

TABLE 2.2

A COMPARISON OF POPULATION ESTIMATES BASED ON THE PROTESTATION OATH OF 1642 THE POLL TAX OF 1660 AND THE HEARTH TAX OF 1664.

*(the methods for estimating population from each source are outlined in chapter 2, section 2).

Township	Protestation Oath 1642		Hearth tax 1664				Poll Tax 1660	
	Number of males aged 18 & over	Estimate of Population*	Total h/holds	x 4.3	x 4.5	x 4.767	Number of adults aged 16 & over	Estimate of Population*
Accrington nova Accrington vetera	167	534	111	477	499	529	289	420
Billington	111	355	71	305	319	338	154	224
Blackburn	No data in the Protestation Oath		244	1,049	1,098	1,159	492	715
Chatburn	66	211	46	198	207	219	102	148
Clitheroe	146	467	135	580	607	643	376	546
Colne	306	979	196	843	882	934	308	448
Downham Twiston	104	333	82	353	369	391	185	269
Great Harwood	No data in the Protestation Oath		107	460	481	510	213	309
Read	35	112	37	159	166	176	86	125
Whalley	136	435	96	413	432	458	214	311
Wiswell	65	208	56	206	216	229	114	166
Worston	25	80	32	138	144	152	71	103

CHAPTER 3

THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF TOWNSHIPS IN THE HUNDRED OF BLACKBURN, c. 1660 - 1760: METHODOLOGY AND SOURCE MATERIAL.

1. Introduction.
2. Occupational categorisation.
3. Parish registers.
4. Wills and inventories.
5. The poll tax.
6. Conclusion.

1. Introduction.

A study of the economic development of Blackburn Hundred in the early modern period must necessarily involve a detailed reconstruction of the occupational profile of local communities. Economic and social geography can be examined through occupational structure and clearly it will be valuable to ascertain for each area under consideration the relative numerical size of occupational groups at given stages in the period 1660 - 1760. An occupational analysis should indicate the economic divisions in seventeenth and eighteenth century society, the relative importance of different sectors of the economy and the nature and level of industrial activity.

In this survey all the available data on occupations is gleaned from source material whose original intention was not to describe the economic make-up of an area. In the poll tax of 1660, parish registers and probate wills and inventories, the use of occupational titles served rather to aid identification of individuals. Peter Lindert, in reference to the use of occupational titles in parish registers, stresses that the crucial point to understand about the labels is that they were "apparently used just to identify persons more clearly, and that whether or not they were used was largely determined by the whim of the individual recorder".[1] However, A.J. and R.H. Tawney argue that in the case of the Muster Returns of 1608 for Gloucestershire occupational titles had a greater significance

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[1] Lindert, 'English Occupations', p. 690.

than simply aids in identification. The information also had a military value as "one does not set the weavers or haberdashers to dig trenches or mind horses if miners, quarrymen and carters are to hand".[1]

The records of occupation in the Hundred of Blackburn seem to be essentially indirect in their nature and the consequent limitations of the source material should be recognised. For each source it is important to assess whether a comprehensive picture of occupational structure is provided. Some sources create a bias in favour of certain sections of the social hierarchy. The social bias inherent in probate wills and inventories is perhaps the most quoted example.[2]

2. Occupational categorisation.

One of the first problems in attempting to conduct a survey of the economic structure of an area is "to find ways of ordering occupational information gathered from multifarious sources for analytical and comparative purposes".[3] This involves delineating a

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1 A.J. Tawney and R.H. Tawney, 'An Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', Econ.H.R. 5, 1 (October 1934), p. 26.

2 See chapter 3, pp. 101-107.

3 J. Patten, 'Urban Occupations in Pre-Industrial England', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New series 2, 1 (1977), p. 297.

number of categories for occupational descriptions that are considered to be similar in one respect or another. Clearly where a large body of occupational data is being handled the grouping and classification of the economic labels is essential to any analysis of the economic structure and change over time.

M.B. Katz drew attention to the two main approaches to the study of occupations. The first is a 'structural' or functional analysis which shows the distribution of the workforce between various kinds of employment. In this analysis functional similarity determines the categorisation of occupations. It is a "classification by the function of the occupation, regardless of its economic standing or status".[1]

The second approach is that which relates to the movement of individuals from occupation to occupation. As Katz points out "in studying mobility, historians ask how many men 'bettered' themselves, how many slipped, and in what ways and among which groups". As a result hierarchy is central to an occupational structure which is designed to measure mobility. In order to avoid what Katz referred to as "the confusion of structure and mobility" one should consider the differing objectives and points of reference of the two scales. To take the example of a builder and a carpenter. In a categorisation based on function they would appear in the same grouping. However, if the purpose of the occupational analysis was to measure social mobility "they should not be in the same or adjacent categories unless they are occupations that offer

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[1] M.B. Katz, 'Occupational Classification in History', J.I.H. 3 (1973), p. 81.

similar rewards in terms of money, status or whatever criteria of ranking are chosen". In a classification tracing social mobility the *individual* is the point of reference whereas in a functional category it is the *occupational group*. In the mobility analysis "what matters finally is how many moved up or down not how the proportions of people engaged in shoemaking, clerking and storekeeping shifted from decade to decade".[1]

The survey of occupations in Blackburn Hundred between 1660 and 1760 is concerned essentially with the latter objective. It is a study of occupational structure based on a functional categorisation. It is concerned to trace the distribution of the workforce between different types of economic activity and to analyse whether certain activities came to afford support for a larger or smaller number of individuals during the period c. 1660 - c. 1760. This analysis is concerned therefore with "what happens to the shoemakers as an occupational group, not to individual shoemakers...".[2] The survey of occupations makes no attempt to decide which groups occupied the same niche on the socio-economic scale.[3]

Having decided on the objectives of the occupational survey the essential problem concerns the basis on which to group together the various types of economic activity. Patten argues that no one scheme could be forwarded as the ideal solution to the problem of occupational categorisation. Different contexts will dictate the

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[1] Ibid., pp. 65-6.

[2] Ibid., p. 66.

[3] Clear differences can however, be observed in the relative wealth levels of occupational groups. See chapter 7, pp. 546-583.

most appropriate approach but one should be careful to point out the aims of any analysis, the drawbacks of any scheme adopted and the nature of the source material that is classified.[1]

E.A. Wrigley's survey of the occupational structure of Colyton demonstrates one of the alternatives. It includes a categorisation based on the type of material with which particular occupational groups worked. For example, the category of metal included the occupations of blacksmith, smith, brazier, whitesmith, gunsmith and iron founder. Those occupations classified under leather included tanner, cordwainer, shoemaker, currier, saddler and glover. This classification has two main drawbacks. Using type of material as the main criterion of organisation fails to take account of the value of the raw materials involved and consequently the relative status of occupations. This criticism is not vitally important in a structural analysis but more significant is the fact that the type of material is not a valid division for those individuals who were involved in non-productive and tertiary activities.[2]

Another alternative as Katz points out is to use a classification based on the type of product or alternatively a combination of these criteria. One would then be faced with the problem of an occupation which could fit equally well into two categories. Shoemakers might be grouped with workers in leather or makers of clothing.[3] Hoskins in his survey of Leicester recognises

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[1] Patten, 'Urban Occupations', p. 307.

[2] E.A. Wrigley, 'The Changing Occupational Structure of Colyton over Two Centuries', L.P.S. 18 (Spring 1977), pp. 10-13.

[3] Katz, 'Occupational Classification in History', p. 67.

that "there are a number of difficulties and arbitrary allocations in any classification. For example, shoemakers (who are a numerous class) have been classified under the clothing trade rather than the leather trades, and tailors under clothing rather than textiles".[1] Pound in his study of sixteenth century Norwich adopts the same solution as Hoskins and places the cobblers, cordwainers, glovers and shoemakers with the clothing trades rather than leather work.[2] Peter Lindert also questions whether a seventeenth century miller should be put in retailing, in manufacturing, or in a processing end of the agricultural sector.[3]

The best approach for the study of occupations in Blackburn Hundred in the period 1660 - 1760 is a classification in which detailed categories are encompassed by broad headings. Such a scheme was put forward by A.J. and R.H. Tawney in 1934 in their survey of Gloucestershire occupations based on the Muster Returns of 1608.[4] A classification of occupations developed by John Langton[5] is

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[1] W.G. Hoskins, 'An Elizabethan Provincial Town; Leicester', Provincial England (London, 1963), pp. 94-5.

[2] J.F. Pound, 'An Elizabethan Census of the Poor', University of Birmingham Historical Journal 8 (1962), p. 152.

[3] Lindert, 'English Occupations', p. 693.

[4] Tawney and Tawney, 'An Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', pp. 59-63.

[5] See table 3.1. This table was devised by Dr. J. Langton and Mr. P. Laxton, Department of Geography, Liverpool University.

a progression on the same theme. Langton's table is separated into eight broad divisions based on the type of activity:

I Primary Occupations
II Building
III Manufacture
IV Transport
V Dealing
VI Public and Professional Service
VII Menial Occupations and Domestic Service
VIII Status and other descriptions

From these broad headings the classification moves to the type of material worked on. Within the broad category of manufacturing for example there are 13 groupings classified on this basis.

A. Tools and Instruments
B. Shipbuilding
C. Clothing
D. Victualling
E. Iron
F. Non-Ferrous Metals
G. Earthenware
H. Glass
I. Furs and Leather
J. Glue, Tallow, Wax, Bone, Horn etc.
K. Wood
L. Textiles
M. Others

Within each of these groupings very specific divisions were made according to the type of raw material. Within the category of textiles are (i) woollen and worsted (ii) silk, lace, cotton and calico (iii) flax, hemp and other (iv) finishing.

This categorisation therefore facilitates very specific observations on occupational groups, or alternatively, more wide-ranging statements on the proportions of the workforce engaged in a particular type of economic activity. This is illustrated if a comparison is drawn between Langton's classification and the earlier scheme developed by A.J. and R.H. Tawney.

The latter survey includes a heading for the 'Making of food and drink'. The more recent classification by Langton firstly places the equivalent heading of 'Victualling' under the broad heading of manufacturing together with twelve other groupings. Within the heading 'Victualling' distinction is then drawn between (i) materials preparation and (ii) production and purveyance. This use of different levels of generalisation in the occupational classification is shown also in the major category of dealing. In the earlier survey A.J. and R.H. Tawney did not draw any distinction between different types of dealing activity. John Langton's scheme breaks this category down into four headings of a) specialist retail b) specialist wholesale c) itinerant d) indefinite. Within group (a) of Specialist retail are three further groupings. The first of these is that of food and drink and covers the occupations of alehousekeepers, grocers and victuallers amongst others. 'Cloth and clothing' forms a separate category within that of specialist retail and a third heading allows for occupations such as apothecary and shopkeeper which are of a more general nature.

The earlier survey clearly tends to subsume a large number of occupations under one heading. This illustrates the way in which Langton's scheme allows the same type of broad comparisons to be made as in the occupational structure of Gloucestershire. The improvement lies in its ability to make comments even more general and yet more specific within the same classification system. As a result comparisons can be drawn with other areas of Lancashire or even other areas of England. The detail which the classification involves at one level of analysis does not make it specific only to Blackburn Hundred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

3. Parish Registers

There is no single comprehensive source of information for an analysis of the occupational structure of pre-industrial England. Consequently, the historian needs to make use of a variety of sources each with its own limitations and particular form of bias. No parochial listings of population are available for Blackburn Hundred in the period 1660 - 1760 which detail occupational information. E.A. Wrigley in his survey of the occupational structure of Colyton over two centuries considers that parish registers which regularly provided information about occupation could form a substitute for periodic parochial censuses. He argues that "where such a register exists it can be made to yield an insight into the occupational structure of the parish comparable in some respects to that which would be given by a census".[1]

Within the Hundred of Blackburn a number of parish and chapelry registers provide full and consistent occupational data for significant periods of time in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see table 3.2). The registers of the parish of Whalley are exceptional in providing occupational data in both the birth and death registers for the period 1653-60 and also in both the baptism and burial registers between 1721 and 1800. Downham chapelry registers provide occupational data in the baptismal register between 1721 and 1750 and the registers of Altham chapelry covering the townships of Old and New Accrington have occupational details in both the baptism and burial registers between 1721 and 1730.

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[1] Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', pp. 9-10.

To be useful for an analysis of economic structure parish registers should detail occupational titles for the large majority of adult males who appear in the baptism or burial registers. Clearly registers that provide only sporadic details of occupation are of little use in such a survey. Sporadic references are likely to be unrepresentative of the total population and would perhaps distinguish only those of high status, those with the same names and those with exceptional occupations. J.S. Moore's analysis of Westerleigh parish in Gloucestershire notes that the occupational sample was biased by the predilection of the parish clerk for including the gentry.[1] E.J. Buckatzsch in a survey of Sheffield parish registers stresses that one "must be able to regard the groups of men recorded in the Registers as representative samples from the working population at each period".[2]

The first criterion to be fulfilled therefore is that the register should give occupational data in a consistent fashion for the inhabitants of the area under consideration and that those entries must constitute a representative proportion of the total number of entries. Wrigley's survey included what he refers to as an "uncomfortably high" proportion of 'not stated' entries between 1609-1612. Of 226 entries taken from the baptism, burial and marriage registers 72 had no occupational description appended, which formed 32% of the total. Wrigley questions whether more

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[1] J.S. Moore, ed., The Goods and Chattels of Our Forefathers: Frampton Cotterell and District Probate Inventories, 1539-1804 (London, 1976), p. 17.

[2] E.J. Buckatzsch, 'Occupations in the Parish Registers of Sheffield, 1655-1719', Econ.H.R., 2nd series 2 (1949), p.148.

consistent recording would have markedly altered the picture of occupations presented by this source. He concludes that this failure to record occupations for almost one-third of the entries was the result of "intermittent inattention" in which case there is unlikely to be any bias introduced against any one occupational group. The level of 'not stated' entries is more acceptable in the period 1765 to 1779. In the baptism register for this period 12 out of 416 entries have no occupational description (3%) whilst in the burial register only 29 out of 458 entries (6%) provided no occupational data.[1]

In all but one of the data sets from the Hundred of Blackburn the percentage of entries for which no description was given was less than 10% (see table 3.3). Clearly these registers provide a satisfactory basis from which to comment on the economic structure of the area and its change over time. As in the registers from Colyton no apparent bias is introduced by this failure to record occupations in some of the entries.

In the chapelry registers of Great Harwood occupational data is recorded in the baptism and burial registers between 1722 - 1774.[2] These long-runs of data are of limited value however, as in most decades there is no occupational data provided for one-third of the recorded entries. Some limited comments can be made on the occupational structure within the chapelry of Great Harwood, but for the purpose of this analysis it is considered that the large number of entries with no occupational description means that the data does

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[1] Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', pp. 14-15.

[2] Sparke, Parish Register of Great Harwood, pp. 88-143, 344-377.

not provide a representative sample from the male adult population.

An analysis of occupational data in parish registers can be attempted in two ways. The first involves simply counting the number of times an occupational description occurred but this would tend to stress the differences that might exist in vital rates between different occupational groups. The problem of a number of entries relating to the same individual (sometimes with different occupational titles) can be removed by separating out the individuals who appear in the registers. Although this method is far more time-consuming it enables an estimation of occupational frequency based on numbers of individuals rather than the relative numbers of entries. To assume that the relative proportion of entries reflects the relative numbers of individuals in an occupational group involves the assumption that people in different occupations had the same levels of fertility, mortality and nuptiality. Differences which may be observed in the relative wealth levels of occupational groups in the Hundred of Blackburn would tend to render such an assumption unsound.[1]

Even totals of individuals engaged in certain occupations as opposed to entries does not give us the absolute size of the workforce, but it is the relative proportions with which we are concerned. Unlike data extracted from a census the numbers which appear in each occupational category are a function of the length of the period analysed rather than the actual numbers in the population, although the two factors are clearly related.

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[1] See chapter 7, pp. 546-583.

Separating out individuals as opposed to simply recording the number of times an occupational description occurs has a number of advantages. Firstly, a large proportion of the entries where no description was recorded can be linked with other entries relating to the same individual where an occupational description was provided. David Avery in an occupational survey of the parish of Tottenham High Cross in Middlesex between 1574 and 1592 observes that "it is not essential that the occupation be given in every entry provided that a high percentage of men can be definitely identified from at least one entry as following a specific occupation."[1] For example, the baptism register of the chapelry of Altham recorded that Christoper Cronkshaw and his wife Alison of Accrington township baptised a son William on the 15th November 1730. No occupational description was provided for this particular entry and if one were simply recording the frequency of occupational descriptions this would unnecessarily increase the proportion of the population recorded as unidentified. Four further entries relating to Christopher Cronkshaw and his wife Alice in July 1722, March 1724, November 1725 and July 1727 indicate that this individual was a yeoman.[2]

The most satisfactory way of recording this information is to extract the relevant information from each entry on to a separate single slip of paper of card index size. The data should include name of male adult, place of residence, occupation and the details

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[1] D. Avery, 'Male Occupations in a Rural Middlesex Parish, 1574-1592', L.P.S. 2 (Spring 1969), p. 29.

[2] L.R.O., PR 2819/2.

of the baptism or burial which took place. The chronology of references can aid nominal linkage in the case of more than one individual with the same name. If recorded in this form the information can subsequently be sorted according to the name of the individual, occupational group, date or place of residence.

A further limitation of the Great Harwood chapelry registers is the failure to record place of residence for a large number of individuals. This makes the process of linking the entries to individual cases very difficult, a problem that is compounded by the common surnames of Duckworth and Hindle. As the place of residence is not consistently recorded the analysis of the registers can only be conducted at the level of the chapelry (which also includes Rishton township) rather than according to the township unit of Great Harwood.

A further advantage of identifying individuals and collating all the entries relating to them is that it can provide some insight into the type of economic activity encompassed by the term 'labourer'. In their survey of Gloucestershire occupations based on the Muster Returns of 1608 A.J. Tawney and R.H. Tawney discuss the problem of dealing with labourers of unspecified occupation.[1] W. King in a survey of Rossendale between 1650 and 1795 indicates that individuals listed as labourers in the parish register were often subsequently recorded under a different occupational description.[2] Counting the frequency of entries cannot highlight the application

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1 Tawney and Tawney, 'Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', pp. 32-33.

2 King, 'Economic and Demographic Development of Rossendale', pp. 195-6.

of different titles to the same individual. In the chapelry register of Downham Ellis Smethurst married to Elizabeth, was referred to twice as a weaver and once as a labourer.[1] An assessment of alternative occupations ascribed to labourers at a parish level can, therefore, be used to identify the form of economic activity covered by this term.

M.B. Katz recognises the need for a system of occupational classification which would take into account "the use of more than one occupational title to record the same job".[2] The evidence from the parish and chapelry registers in Blackburn Hundred indicated that many people were given more than one occupational title within a short time period. Linking entries on the basis of individuals allows some insight into this problem. In the majority of cases the different titles had slightly varying implications but for the most part probably signified equivalent work. In the parish registers of Whalley this use of different, but essentially equivalent occupational descriptions applied particularly to those working with wood.[3]

An accepted feature of the economy of pre-industrial England is the lack of occupational specialisation.[4] Many writers have stressed the way in which individuals supplemented their income from

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1 Price, Register of the Parish Church of St. Leonard, Downham.

2 Katz, 'Occupational Classification in History', p. 64.

3 See chapter 4, pp. 215-216.

4 P. Deane, The First Industrial Revolution, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1979), p. 15.

agriculture by carrying on some form of by-employment.[1] This feature of the economy can be traced mainly through probate inventories, but the evidence from Blackburn Hundred would suggest it was perhaps even given recognition in the parish and chapelry registers. Edward Mercer of Downham was referred to as a yeoman on the baptism of his son James in September 1742 and his son Edward in July 1745. However, when William the son of Edward and Alice Mercer was baptised on 4th June 1745 the occupation recorded was that of a weaver. In Accrington Hugh Lonsdale was referred to as a woollen weaver in March 1723 when Henry his son was baptised, but as a husbandman both in February 1726 when James his son was baptised and in February 1728 when James was subsequently buried.

These apparent contradictions might be excused by inconsistency on the part of the parish clerk(s).[2] A.L. Beier argues however, that burial registers "are likely to be accurate, because identification was the whole purpose of adding occupational and status titles".[3] How does one explain therefore the varying occupational titles that were applied to individuals in the Hundred of Blackburn? The occupational title is usually taken to represent the main activity with which the individual was associated but as P.H. Lindert points out "weavers farmed and farmers wove in unknown

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[1] J. Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside', in F.J. Fisher, ed., Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England in Honour of R.H. Tawney (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 70-88.

[2] See chapter 4, pp. 209-217.

[3] A.L. Beier, 'Engine of Manufacture: The Trades of London', in A.L. Beier and R. Finlay, eds., London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis (London, 1986), p. 145.

proportions...".[1] R.W. Malcolmson questions whether the use of the term by-employments was appropriate in some circumstances as "it is often the case that one means of livelihood cannot be clearly identified as predominant and the other as subsidiary".[2] It is possible that the use of more than one occupational title in the parish registers under consideration reflects a fairly even division of the individual's time so that the parish clerk had difficulty in deciding on the most suitable means of identifying the person concerned.[3]

Peter Lindert argues that "we know from literary evidence that persons with one label often had many occupations both in a single year, and (especially) over their adult lives".[4] One essential problem of all the source material relating to occupation in the Hundred of Blackburn is that it is not possible to assess the precise division of time between the various economic activities. Clearly, a single occupational title "may well conceal the very miscellaneous nature of much economic activity".[5] Consequently, the proportionate distribution of adult males between the main economic

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1 Lindert, 'English Occupations', p. 693.

2 R.W. Malcolmson, Life and Labour in England, 1700-1780 (London, 1981), p. 38.

3 Joan Thirsk similarly suggests that the term 'by-employment' is a misleading term for the industrial occupations of pasture farmers. J. Thirsk, 'Seventeenth Century Agriculture and Social Change', in J. Thirsk, ed., Land, Church and People. Essays Presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg. A.H.R. Supplement 18 (1970), p. 172.

4 Lindert, 'English Occupations', p. 693.

5 M. Reed, 'Economic Structure and Change in Seventeenth Century Ipswich', in P. Clark, ed., Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England (Leicester, 1981), p. 103.

sectors according to their occupational titles does not provide a precise assessment of the levels of involvement in agriculture, industry and trade.

If one is surveying occupations over a long time span it is possible to investigate whether individuals changed their occupation. Such a survey has been attempted for Whalley township between 1741 and 1770 based on both the baptism and burial registers.[1] The essential problem of analysis however, involves deciding where a different occupational title represents the same type of work or a change of economic activity. Alternatively, did the use of the term weaver to describe an individual who was previously called a yeoman indicate that this person was no longer involved in agricultural activity? Was the change of occupational title giving recognition, as argued above, to the fairly even division of his time between agriculture and industry?

Dealing with individuals as opposed to the number of entries does however, pose one serious methodological problem. This involves where to place in a statistical survey those individuals who were given more than one occupational title. The method adopted in this study is to base the decision on the most common occupational description, noting the case and using the evidence to illustrate features of the economic structure. In a small number of cases there were just two entries relating to an individual within a decade. The decade preceding and following the sample period were checked to determine whether any further entries could clarify the classification of the individual. If no further entries were

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[1] See chapter 4, pp. 214-217.

recorded the individual was classified according to the first title ascribed. This is undoubtedly an unsatisfactory method, but the small number of cases where this was necessary means that no significant bias was introduced into the sample.

The value of relating evidence to the individual is clear and is an approach stressed by John Patten. He argues that "it is only through a more detailed study of the sources beginning with individuals that the bare statistical bones of occupational classification will be clothed with greater substance".[1]

A further methodological problem in the use of parish registers is whether the baptism or burial register is more effective in capturing in sample form the economically significant section of the population. E.J. Buckatzsch discards the occupational data available in the burial registers of Sheffield. In his view occupational mortality rates varied more widely than occupational baptismal and marriage rates particularly in view of Sheffield grinders' disease. He considers that the burial register did not represent "some economically significant population" and consequently was less relevant to an assessment of the occupational structure than the marriage and baptismal registers.[2] In contrast Peter Lindert argues that burial registers are better for measuring the economic basis of an area as they pick up individuals dying at all adult ages.[3] A similar point was made by A.L. Beier who argues

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[1] Patten, 'Urban Occupations', p. 311.

[2] Buckatzsch, 'Occupations in the Parish Registers of Sheffield', p. 147.

[3] Lindert, 'English Occupations', p. 689.

that "the records are more comprehensive than most others, because everyone dies sooner or later".[1] David Avery in a survey of occupations in the parish of Tottenham High Cross in Middlesex similarly considers that very few adult males could avoid a reference in a burial register in some capacity whereas there were several ways in which to avoid a marriage reference or a reference to a baptism. A male could marry in the bride's parish, and the author was aware of cases where a wife returned to her mother for the birth of her children.[2]

It could be argued that a burial register would be more unreliable in its representation of the economic structure than the baptism register, representing the 'past' as opposed to the 'present' occupational structure. However, this factor can be overstressed for two reasons. Firstly, a significant proportion of burials related to adult males burying young children or spouses so that a significant element of the 'present' occupational structure was regularly included. Of a total of 106 burial entries relating to the townships of Accrington nova and Accrington vetera between 1721-1730 36% was accounted for by the burial of children. Secondly, the economic structure of seventeenth century England must have dictated that a large proportion of males would be practising their craft or trade immediately prior to their decease. A.L. Beier dismisses as "fairly trivial" the suggestion that occupational structure might be mis-represented because the data was swollen by older established persons while understating young apprentices and

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[1] Beier, 'Engine of Manufacture', p. 144.

[2] Avery, 'Male Occupations in a Rural Middlesex Parish', p. 30.

servants.[1] The registers of baptisms and marriages on the other hand provide too narrow a focus on young adult males. Burial registers are more "socially comprehensive" than those of baptisms and marriages in Lindert's opinion as they are more likely to represent the non-conformist element and the floating population of drifters and strangers.[2]

Both baptism and burial registers can be used together which has the advantage of increasing the number of adult male individuals captured in the sample. E.A. Wrigley considers however, that mixing data from both the baptism and burial registers is undesirable in principle as in a period of rapid economic change the evidence presented by the two registers may be significantly different due to the particular age bias of each register.[3] In this study of Blackburn Hundred emphasis has been placed on the occupational data from the burial registers. However, for many of the periods evidence was extracted from both registers to allow a comparison of the two data sets. In Downham chapelry however, the occupational information in the burial registers is too sporadic to allow anything coherent to be said about the overall economic structure of the chapelry. Consequently, reliance was placed on data from the baptism registers. The East London History Group similarly selected

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[1] Beier, 'Engine of Manufacture', p. 145.

[2] Lindert, 'English Occupations', p. 689.

[3] Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', p. 14.

the baptism register of Stepney for analysis as its record of occupations was more complete than that of the burial register.[1]

The dispute about whether to use the data in the baptism or burial registers concerns the wider problem of how to ensure that the men recorded in the registers formed a representative sample from the working population. The length of time covered by any sample is significant, as too short a period would not give a sufficiently representative proportion of the population chance to appear in the sample. In Wrigley's survey of Colyton one sample was only of a short duration, covering the years 1609-1612. This resulted in the absence of three important village crafts in this particular sample, but earlier and later entries indicated that they were present in the village.[2] To avoid this problem sampling periods of ten years were adopted for the Hundred of Blackburn in order to ensure that occupations were given a reasonable chance of appearing in the sample.

Parish registers do not provide a complete coverage of the range of economic activity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Several levels of economic activity are either absent or concealed behind status or marital descriptions. Servants and apprentices were an important element in the economic structure but since they were usually single they are absent from the baptism register. The younger age bias of this occupational group dictated

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[1] East London History Group, 'The Population of Stepney in the Early Seventeenth Century: A Report on an Analysis of the Parish Registers of Stepney, 1606-1610', L.P.S. 3 (Autumn 1969), p. 49.

[2] Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', p. 14.

that servants and apprentices were also uncommon in the burial registers.

A feature of all the sources available for the study of occupation is that they seldom admitted that women had occupations.[1] Probate records can penetrate behind their marital status to identify forms of economic activity but the women who went through probate were untypical of the large majority of the female population. When using the baptism or burial registers for an occupational survey one should exclude all references to widows or adult single women from the sample. This is not to deny that women played an important and active role in the pre-industrial economy but, as E.A. Wrigley points out, to put women in the 'not stated' category would produce a misleading impression since they never carried information about occupations. The distortion would be particularly great in the case of the burial register and would skew the percentage values for the number of male adults in a particular occupational group.[2]

The limitations of the data dictate somewhat artificially that the economic activity of women must be considered separately to that of men.[3] Also the work of children within the family is unrecorded, a feature common to all the sources of occupational data.

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1 Lindert argues that "the monotony with which women turned to spinning, knitting, and other textile tasks apparently vitiated the usefulness of such labels as aids in identifying individual women". Lindert, 'English Occupations', p. 691.

2 Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', p. 14.

3 See chapter 6, pp. 463-477.

One notable advantage of parish register data however, is that the information should cover those who were at the base of the social pyramid. A further advantage of occupational data in parish registers is that where it is available for long stretches of time as in Whalley, it is possible to survey change over time. A.L. Beier points out that such data provides "a series of pictures over several decades" which can be used to document long-term changes in the economy.[1] The potential for economic analysis based on parish register data is also stressed by E.A. Wrigley in his survey of Colyton. He refers to how:

> "the possibility of a major advance in understanding the course and nature of change in early modern England exists, if full use is made of the care taken by some incumbents to add details about occupation to the bare record of name and date when making entries in their parish registers". 2

Peter Lindert similarly argues that occupational data from parish registers is important in helping to date the acceleration of British economic growth.[3] A.L. Beier in fact went so far as to argue that the strengths of burial registers in this respect outweighed their weaknesses "making them perhaps the best single source for the study of occupations before the census of 1841". This can be contrasted with a source such as the poll tax which is concerned with a very limited period of time and hence provides "no more than photographic stills of people's occupations...".[4]

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1 Beier, 'Engine of Manufacture', pp. 143-4.

2 Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', p. 21.

3 Lindert, 'English Occupations', p. 711.

4 Beier, 'Engine of Manufacture', pp. 143-4.

The occupational data in a number of parish and chapelry registers from Blackburn Hundred allows the researcher to establish the general profile of the economy in this area of Lancashire. The occupational data is sufficiently extensive to allow the researcher to study long-run economic shifts. One can investigate whether the economic profile was significantly different in the mid-eighteenth century to that of the mid-seventeenth century. One can question the extent to which the economy was geared to manufacturing and whether economic diversification was a feature of Blackburn Hundred in the period 1660 - 1760.

4. Wills and Inventories.

In a study of occupational structure probate wills and inventories can be utilised in two main ways. The first involves noting the occurrence of occupational titles and in terms of a functional or 'structural' survey of the economy has severe limitations. The major problem concerning this source is the fact that it is socially biased and consequently the number of probate records surviving from the townships under consideration does not represent a cross-section of the community. As the probate records do not fairly represent the community as a whole they provide only a limited recognition of the range of occupations that would have been present in the community. Consequently the documents provide a collection of occupational titles over time rather than a statistically meaningful sample. Probate inventories cannot be used

to identify proportions of individuals involved in different occupational groups which is necessary to evaluate occupational change over time in Blackburn Hundred.

The bias in this sample of documents is caused by a number of factors. A 'structural' survey of the economic base derived from probate records is unsatisfactory as this source "largely ignores the poorest and most numerous section of the population".[1] It is apparent in the Hundred of Blackburn that relatively few inventories survive which relate to the poorer elements in society. This virtual absence of probate material relating to the lower social groups is in J.P.P. Horn's view simply related to the low valuation of their goods which rendered a will unnecessary.[2] J.D. Marshall similarly recognises the view that "an educated, comfortably placed man is much more likely to make a will than a man with few goods and insecure employment".[3]

In Lancashire there is some limited representation of the poorer elements of society in the series of 'infra' wills that survive. This series of documents includes those individuals whose personalty was worth less than £40.[4] The number that survive is very small with only 24 male inventories and 18 wills surviving between 1660 and 1760 for the townships under consideration. It is

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[1] J.A. Johnston, 'The Probate Inventories and Wills of a Worcestershire Parish, 1676-1775', Midland History 1 (1971), p. 21.

[2] J.P.P. Horn, 'The Distribution of Wealth in the Vale of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, 1660-1760', Southern History 3 (1981), p. 87.

[3] J.D. Marshall, 'Agrarian Wealth and Social Structure in Pre-Industrial Cumbria', Econ.H.R. 33, 4 (November 1980), p. 507.

[4] A.J. Camp, Wills and Their Whereabouts, 4th edition (London, 1974), p. 59.

not clear whether this represents a very poor survival rate or alternatively the fact that very few were made (see table 3.4). The numbers of documents relating to 'infra' testators are clearly too small to draw any conclusions about the economic activities of the poor in general.[1]

The remainder of the sample is drawn from the 'supra' series and relates to those with personalty worth more than £40. The 'supra' jurisdiction lay with the episcopal consistory court of the Diocese of Chester whereas the rural deans had 'infra' jurisdiction.[2] This sample does not include those testators who owned property in more than one diocese. This is likely to exclude the richer testators who had their wills proved at the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of York (PCY) which is the northern equivalent of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC). If an individual had goods or good debts worth more than £5 ('bona notabilia') in both provinces of York and Canterbury then probate took place in the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury.[3]

Consequently, the sample for the townships in the Hundred of Blackburn does not even embrace the whole spectrum of those who left wills and inventories. As in D.G. Vaisey's study of Lichfield and

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1 Inflation would have altered the distribution of 'infra' testators over time. It would have had the effect of lowering the £40 dividing line in real terms so that more decedents would have been included in the 'supra' series who would previously have been included in the 'infra' series.
G.A. Kerby, 'Inequality in a Pre-Industrial Society: A Study of Wealth, Status, Office and Taxation in Tudor and Stuart England', Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University (1983), pp. 90-91.

2 Camp, Wills and Their Whereabouts, p. 59.

3 Ibid., pp. xxv, xxx, 153.

District this sample of inventories does not adequately represent the two extremes of the social scale. The sample is biased even *within* the inventory making population.[1]

One then needs to ascertain as J.P.P. Horn points out "the representativeness of inventoried decedents compared to all decedents".[2] Some indication of inventory coverage can be obtained by taking the number of adult males who were buried in an area for a given time period and to compare it with the number of adult males for whom a probate will or inventory survives. J.P.P. Horn finds that the number of males for whom probate records survived between 1678 and 1699 represented 34% of adult male burials.[3] M.W. Barley finds that between 1572 and 1600 49 wills survived compared with 172 adult burials in the same period, representing 29%.[4] This compares with an example quoted by Joan Thirsk for a Nottinghamshire parish where the proportion varied between 25% in the period 1572-1600 and 20% between 1660 to 1725.[5] J.D. Marshall's study of Hawkshead in the period 1661-1750 indicates a figure of just over 40% although the decennial percentages varied from 24% between 1681-1690 to 73% between 1731-1740. The latter figure was certainly exceptional and

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1 D.G. Vaisey, ed., Probate Inventories of Lichfield and District, 1568-1680, Staffordshire Record Society, 4th series 5 (1969), p. 1.

2 Horn, 'Distribution of Wealth in the Vale of Berkeley', p. 82.

3 Ibid., p. 86.

4 M.W. Barley, 'English Farmhouses and Cottages, 1550-1725', Econ.H.R. 2nd series 7 (1955), p. 292.

5 J. Thirsk, 'The Content and Sources of English Agrarian History after 1500', A.H.R. 3 (1955), p. 72.

indicated a survival rate that was described by the author as "startling".[1]

Variations in time as well as in place are characteristic features of inventory coverage. J.P.P. Horn suggests that 20% is the general level of coverage in most English communities. The values for townships in Blackburn Hundred suggest that the level of inventory coverage was also low and that it fluctuated according to time and place. The data from Blackburn Hundred indicates that the inventory coverage varied from 6% of male adults in Downham and Whalley between 1741-50 to more than 40% of male adults in Read between 1751-60. The overall coverage of 16% of male adults is close to the typical coverage of 20% identified by Horn (see table 3.5).

If this value of 16% in Blackburn Hundred formed a random sample of all male decedents some conclusions could be drawn regarding the economic basis of the area. Daniel Scott Smith in a study of eighteenth century Massachusetts argues that omissions were not random and that this source represents "the experience of an atypically prosperous segment of the population".[2] In J.P.P. Horn's view a low coverage of inventories is directly related to a high level of poverty. In the Vale of Berkeley Horn finds that those areas with a high percentage of non-chargeable households in the hearth tax had a low inventory coverage. This has important

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1 Marshall, 'Agrarian Wealth and Social Structure', note 1, p. 507.

2 Daniel Scott Smith, 'Under-registration and Bias in Probate Records: An Analysis of Data from Eighteenth Century Hingham, Massachusetts', William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series 32 (1975), p. 100.

implications for an area such as the Hundred of Blackburn where the hearth tax of Lady Day 1664 illustrated high levels of exemption amongst the townships.[1] Comparison between areas is therefore difficult on the basis of these documents. If J.P.P. Horn's correlation is correct then the probate records of Twiston, Read and New Accrington, areas with low exemption levels, are likely to give a more representative coverage of the occupational structure than in areas of high exemption such as Whalley and Chatburn.[2]

The principal objective of a 'structural' economic analysis is to provide a framework which permits broad comparisons in terms of the proportion of individuals engaged in different activities. This source is therefore unsatisfactory for that purpose if it constantly operates against any social or economic grouping. Occupations and wealth are closely correlated so that a source inherently biased towards the latter must necessarily misrepresent the former.[3] The result in an occupational survey would seem to be that the higher status occupations would be disproportionately represented. J.P.P. Horn finds in the Vale of Berkeley that the inventoried population was similar in occupational structure to that of persons seeking marriage licences. This was also a source with a marked social bias due to the significantly higher cost of a licence as opposed to banns of marriage.

In a parish register analysis it is possible to measure change over time where long-runs of data are available. Change over time

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[1] See chapter 7, pp. 524-6.

[2] Horn, 'Distribution of Wealth in the Vale of Berkeley', pp. 87-9.

[3] See chapter 7, pp. 546-583.

is difficult to measure from probate records due to the small number available and their uneven distribution within sub-periods.[1] As survival rates were not uniform in terms of place or period the sample is unlikely to provide consistent coverage even within the inventory making population. This presents difficulties for a 'structural' analysis of the economy. Aggregating data from the townships under consideration to obtain a larger sample is not valid since a principal objective of this study is to highlight variations between areas. Clearly, larger numbers would not remove the social bias discussed above.

A significant number of testators are not given an occupational title in the available wills and inventories which has the effect of limiting the survey still further. Vaisey solves this problem by deducing an occupational title from the internal evidence of the inventory and Havinden ascribes occupational titles to 111 individuals on this basis.[2] This is hazardous and somewhat arbitrary, because in some cases the agricultural possessions of craftsmen bulked larger in their inventory than the tools of their trade.[3] The dangers of guesswork are clear and as J.S. Moore argues that "the only safe guide in occupational analysis is a contemporary

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[1] In Blackburn Hundred the number of documents is particularly low between 1701 and 1720 and J.P. Earwaker could provide no explanation for the drop in numbers.
J.P. Earwaker, ed., An Index to the Wills and Inventories now Preserved in the Court of Probate at Chester, 1701 to 1720, R.S.L.C. 20 (1889), p. v.

[2] Vaisey, Probate Inventories of Lichfield and District, p. 8.
M.A. Havinden, ed., Household and Farm Inventories in Oxfordshire, 1550-1590, Oxfordshire Record Society 44 (1965), p. 5.

[3] See chapter 6, pp. 407-9, 413-416.

written attribution...".[1] No attempt has been made in the Hundred of Blackburn to assign occupational descriptions to individuals where none are provided.

A further difficulty is the fact that decedents were likely to be older than the population as a whole so that one needs to question how far the 'present' as opposed to the 'past' occupational structure is represented. The burial registers in parish records introduced a similar bias, although the burial of young children provided occupational data on their fathers and to some degree the age bias was corrected. A problem that is difficult to resolve is that "a person's economic and social position at the time of his death - when the inventory was made - may not reflect his wealth and status at the peak of his career as a farmer, dealer or craftsman".[2] This is a particular problem in an analysis of the distribution of wealth and one needs to question whether the economic activity indicated in his probate documentation reflects the position at an earlier point in the individual's life cycle. There is the problem also that if the title ascription in the will was decided by the testator it may be an inflated view of his social and economic position.[3]

The limitations of probate records for a 'structural' survey of the economy are too serious to be corrected by statistical adjustment. Their value clearly does not lie in assessing the

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[1] Moore, Goods and Chattels of our Forefathers, p. 18.

[2] Marshall, 'Agrarian Wealth and Social Structure', p. 504.

[3] M. Spufford, 'The Scribes of Villagers' Wills in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and Their Influence', L.P.S. 7 (1971), p. 41; Kerby, 'Inequality in a Pre-Industrial Society', pp. 213-215.

distribution of the workforce between various kinds of employment at different points in time.

The emphasis should be placed rather on the secondary use of probate records. The information that is provided in a "true and perfect inventory of all the goods, chattels, wares, merchandises, as well moveable as not moveable whatsoever..."[1] can be used to penetrate behind the single occupational labels. This documentation can provide some indications of "what people really did".[2] With certain exceptions the single occupational labels derived from parish registers and the poll tax do not indicate the scale on which people carried on their business. Single occupational titles do not provide a reliable index of activity and, as John Patten argues, a term such as 'scrivener' conceals rather than reveals the "rich complexity and diversity of pre-industrial urban life...".[3]

Some occupational labels, particularly those relating to status, concealed the economic sector with which the individual was involved. The evidence from probate inventories could, for example, be used to show that 'gentlemen' were involved in agriculture and money-lending.

Probate inventories cannot go as far as to elucidate the precise mix in the relationship between agricultural and industrial pursuits. The presence of clothmaking equipment together with livestock and crops cannot tell us how the farmer/craftsman spent

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1 R. Burn, The Ecclesiastical Law, vol. 4, 9th edition, corrected with additions by R. Phillimore (London, 1842), pp. 405-6.

2 Lindert, 'English Occupations', p. 693.

3 Patten, 'Urban Occupations', p. 303.

his days. However, it is possible from this source to identify the scope and nature of by-employments in the pre-industrial economy of Blackburn Hundred. Probate inventories permit the historian to look behind the single occupational labels of 'yeoman' and 'husbandman' and establish not only the extent of industrial by-employments but also the nature of the farming system. As in Yelling's study of east Worcestershire between 1540 and 1750 this documentary source has been used to establish the "relative importance of livestock compared with crops, and the distribution of the various livestock types".[1] The nature of agricultural activity is important in view of Joan Thirsk's contention that pastoral farming allowed more time for industrial by-employments.[2]

All the forms of bias indicated previously should be considered in relation to this second use of probate documentation. The principal value of this source is that it allows one to focus more closely on title ascriptions and their implications. However, with the exception of the 'infra' testators conclusions are limited to an atypically prosperous sector of the population. Tracing by-employments amongst the 'supra' testators does not indicate how the lower reaches of the social scale responded to increased opportunities for industrial activity.

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1 J.A. Yelling, 'Probate Inventories and the Geography of Livestock Farming: A Study of East Worcestershire, 1540-1750', The Institute of British Geographers' Transactions and Papers 51 (1970), p. 111.

2 Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside', p. 73.
J. Thirsk, 'The Farming Regions of England', in J. Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume IV, 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), p. 86.

Having assessed the limitations of the source, probate inventories can still provide a wealth of information about the economic enterprises of individuals. In Owen Ashmore's view they "provide a vivid picture of the circumstances of at least the more substantial members of society unobtainable from any other source".[1]

5. The Poll Tax.

The poll tax of 1660 was levied on all those aged sixteen and above who were not in receipt of poor relief.[2] The returns for Blackburn Hundred are particularly valuable as in twelve townships information is given which allows some discussion of the economic structure of these communities (see figure 1.4).

The reason why occupation should have been recorded for these twelve areas is not clear. G.O. Lawton points out that as the format of the returns was not laid down in the statute "this left a great deal of scope for the commissioners to omit or include detail relevant to the determination of the appropriate charge".[3] An Amending Act detailed that "Every Householder being Master or Mistris of a family [was to deliver within two days] a true and

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[1] O. Ashmore, 'Inventories as a Source of Local History: 1 - Houses', The Amateur Historian 4, 4 (Summer 1959), p. 157.

[2] 12 Chas. II, c.9, cl.4.

[3] Lawton, Northwich Hundred, p. 3.

perfect list of all persons above the age of sixteen yeares as shall be inhabiting or residing in their respective families together with the names sur-names degrees and qualities of such persons...". The returns made to the Exchequer, which survive in the Public Record Office, illustrate in G.O. Lawton's view the "wide variety of interpretation" that was placed upon these clauses.[1]

The returns from Blackburn Hundred are extremely detailed and in G.O. Lawton's opinion rank second in quality to those for Northwich Hundred.[2] The exact format of each return would possibly have depended on the individual collectors unless the commissioners in the county gave them strict instructions on format.[3] As only 12 townships are treated in this way from Blackburn Hundred it seems as if the individual collectors determined the format.

There was some variation in the extent of coverage of occupational titles between these twelve townships. In Clitheroe, Worston, Whalley, Wiswell and Little Mitton an occupational or status description was given to every male householder without exception. In Accrington vetera and Accrington nova there are a significant number of male householders who were accorded no occupational or status description. The majority of unspecified entries relate to those paying on estates of £5 or more per annum. In the township of Blackburn no data is provided at all for this section of the population, and in the analysis that follows this township is treated as a separate case not simply because of this

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[1] Ibid., p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Opinion of Dr. T. Arkell expressed in correspondence.

omission but also because of the large size of the sample. As the omissions are not random this could have important implications for a study of occupational distribution. The township of Read provides the fullest information with occupational data provided for males living *within* households in addition to male heads of household. The inclusion of this extra information however, made no real difference to the proportionate distribution of occupations between the various economic sectors.

As in the parish register women tended to be identified by their marital status and by the name of their husband, although in Accrington nova Widow Hartley was described as a clothier. The parish registers and poll tax therefore hardly admit that women were engaged in economic activity. In both these sources the use of data which relates to male heads of households also excludes a consideration of servants and apprentices who formed a significant element in the workforce.

The main problem in using the poll tax to show the distribution of the workforce between different activities is that it excludes those individuals who received poor relief. The extent of the problem is difficult to assess as there are no listings of those in receipt of poor relief in the townships concerned. The number of households exempt from payment in the hearth tax of 1664 cannot be used as a surrogate index of the number in receipt of poor relief as many householders exempt from the hearth tax were liable to pay the poll tax.[1]

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[1] See chapter 7, pp. 509-510, 512-515.

Parish register data is available for three of the townships under consideration for the years between 1653 and 1660. The occupational structure presented by the poll tax in these three townships can be compared with that of the parish registers to assess which section of the workforce was underenumerated. Comparisons should be made at a broad level of analysis to indicate the contribution of the exempt section of the population to the economy.

The data from Whalley township indicates a shortfall between the proportions of those involved in agricultural activities (see table 4.7). Of the 43 adult males listed in the birth register 23 were ascribed to agricultural activities (53%) compared with 33 of 70 adult males (47%) in the register of deaths. This would seem to suggest that those in receipt of poor relief were involved in agriculture as in the poll tax only 40% of the sample householders were involved in this activity (26 of 65 male householders). In Read township the underenumeration would seem to fall principally in the agricultural category (see table 4.9). G.O. Lawton's study of the poll tax returns of 1660 for Northwich Hundred similarly points to an underenumeration of the agricultural sector of the economy.[1] In Wiswell township there is broad agreement between the sources on the level of agricultural and manufacturing activity in this township (see table 4.11). It is impossible to decide whether the number of people receiving poor relief in this township was minimal or whether the poor section of the community were spread evenly throughout the main economic categories.

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[1] Lawton, Northwich Hundred, p. 18.

Comparison of the poll tax and parish register data is useful as it indicates that the use of the term 'labourer' in the poll tax represents agricultural activity. No labourers are enumerated in the parish register data for Whalley township whilst they account for 14 out of 65 male householders (22%) in the poll tax. It is probable that the number of labourers would be even greater if those householders exempt from the poll tax were included. The problem appears however, to be one of terminology. In the parish register approximately half of the adult males are involved in agriculture, although in the poll tax only 12 of the 65 adult male householders (18%) are described as husbandmen or yeomen. The shortfall is resolved to a large extent if labourers are included under agriculture in the poll tax figures. Nominal linkage supports this assumption as 10 of the 14 individuals described as labourers in the poll tax for Whalley township are listed as husbandmen in the parish register. Similarly, in Wiswell township five individuals are referred to as labourers in the poll tax. Nominal linkage between the poll tax and parish register indicated that all five individuals were referred to as husbandmen in the records of births and deaths between 1653 and 1660.

This has obvious implications for an occupational analysis which is designed to make statements about the relative social position of different occupations.[1] However, this difference in terminology between the two sources is not critical in an occupational survey which is measuring the distribution of the workforce between different sectors of the economy.

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[1] Marked distinctions are apparent in the wealth levels of labourers and husbandmen. See chapter 7, pp. 548-554, 560-565.

A further limitation of the poll tax is that it provides only a photographic image, a glimpse of the economic structure at one point in time. Ideally, what is needed is a series of photographic images of the economy, to measure change over time and to highlight the timing of that change.

6. Conclusion.

It is clear that no one category of source material can provide a complete insight into the structure of the pre-industrial economy. The occupational analysis of Blackburn Hundred in the period 1660-1760 is dependent therefore on the linkage of diverse documentary sources. The poll tax of 1660 and the census of 1811 provide photographic stills of the economic structure, and these fixed reference points enclose a period of significant change in the society and economy of north-east Lancashire. A comparison of these two sources can broadly identify the shifts in the economy that had occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, where long runs of occupational entries are provided for male adults in parish registers it is possible to obtain a far more detailed insight into the nature and timing of change. Moreover, the use of occupational data from parish registers provides a moving picture of the trends of change, unlike the poll tax and census which provide a static glimpse of the economic framework.

The single occupational labels in the poll tax and parish registers cannot usually reveal the full complexity of the economy at a time when agriculture was pursued as an adjunct to trade and manufacturing and vice versa. Probate inventories can be used to penetrate behind the single occupational labels to assess the nature of farming practice, the organisation of production and the type and extent of by-employments amongst different groups.

By combining the evidence from each of these sources and exploiting their strengths it is possible to identify the characteristic features of the economic structure, and to determine the forces of change apparent in Blackburn Hundred in the seventeeenth and eighteenth centuries.

TABLE 3.1

CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS

I	PRIMARY OCCUPATIONS	
A.	Agriculture etc.	husbandman, yeoman, cow keeper, forester, gamekeeper, grazier, hogman, ploughman, shepherd, warrener.
B.	Fishing	Fisherman, freshwater fisher
C.	Mineral Extraction	
1.	Quarrying	Quarryman, delfman, stonecutter
2.	Mining	Coalminer, miner, collier, coaler, banksman, coalgelter, coalhewer, coalmaster.
II	BUILDING	
A.	Houses etc.	
1.	Masonry	brickmaker, bricklayer, freemason, hellier, mason, roughmason, tiler, slater, waller, slatemaker.
2.	Wood and plaster	carpenter, house carpenter, plasterer, reedlayer, reeder, thatcher, pargiter.
3.	Metal and glass	plumber and/or glazier.
4.	Others	limeburner, painter and/or stainer
B.	Roads	pavior
III	MANUFACTURE	
A.	Tools and instruments	
1.	Watches, clocks and tools of mixed or variable materials	clockmaker, chirurgeon instrument maker, combmaker, gunsmith, locksmith, lastmaker, reedmaker, pinmaker or pinner, ploughwright, pumpmaker, sievemaker, watchmaker, pulleymaker, compassmaker, mathematical instrument maker, spectaclemaker.
2.	Others	bowyer or bower, cardmaker, fletcher, jackmaker, slaymaker, hourglassmaker, lanternmaker, millwright or milnwright, longbowstringmaker.

Classification of occupations (cont.) -2-

B.	Shipbuilding	
1.	Wood	blockmaker, boatwright, shipwright, shipcarpenter, bargemaker, shipscaulker
2.	Cloth	sailmaker
3.	Iron	anchorsmith
C.	Clothing	
1	Cloth	hosier, hatter, hat bandmaker, embroiderer, tailor, upper bodymaker, bodymaker, fringemaker, pointmaker, tapiter, seamstress, breechesmaker, capper, child's coatmaker, gownmaker, mantuamaker, milliner, shirtmaker
2.	Leather	cordwainer or cordiner, shoemaker, glover, cobbler, girdler, translator, jerkinmaker, wetglover, glovester
3.	Others	claspmaker, pattinmaker, tachemaker, buttonmaker, clogmaker, heelmaker, perriwigmaker, perukemaker
D.	Victualling	
1.	Materials preparation	distiller, miller, malster, oatmealmaker, sugarboiler, sugarbaker, stillor of hot waters, sugar refiner
2.	Production and purveyance	baker, baker of spicebread, baxter, brewer, butcher, finger breadmaker, gingerbreadmaker, comfitmaker, cook or coquus or quoquus, confectioner, pastry cook, milkman
E.	Iron	blacksmith, farrier, lorrimer, smith, spurrier, armourer, bladesmith, cutler, sheargrinder, fish hookmaker, bendwareman, bitmaker, clipborer, edgetoolmaker, forgeman, hammerman, ironfounder, nailer, needlemaker, razormaker, scythemaker, swordcutler, arrowheadmaker, hooper, sizersmith
F.	Non-ferrous metals	
1.	Precious	goldsmith, silversmith, goldwiredrawer, goldbeater, monier, silverpinner, watergilder
2.	Base	brazier, bellfounder, coppersmith, founder(er), lattenfounder, pewterer or putherer, plateworker, metalman, tinman, whiteplatemaker, whiteplateworker, wiredrawer, wireworker, whitesmith

Classification of occupations (cont). -3-

G.	Earthenware	potter, potman, pipemaker, platemaker, tobacco pipemaker
H.	Glass	glassmaker, glassblower, glassman, glass bottlemaker, bottlemaker, looking glassmaker/polisher
I.	Furs and Leather	
1.	Leathermaking	currier, furrier, leatherdresser, leathertawyer, parchmentmaker, skinner, tanner, barker, beavercutter, budgemaker, greytawyer, whitster.
2.	Saddlery, harnesses etc.	collarmaker, knacker, saddler, trunkmaker, bridlemaker, bookbinder, upholsterer, harnessmaker
J.	Glue, Tallow, wax, bone, horn etc.	chandler or chaundelor, hornbreaker, soapboiler, soapmaker, starchmaker, tallowchandler, waxchandler, sealmaker, dicemaker, hornbox maker, inkhornmaker.
K.	Wood	basketmaker, cooper, chairmaker, chairmender, coachmaker, joiner, latheryver, matmaker, pedmaker, panyerman, sawyer, turner, winecooper, wheelwright, bellowsmaker, cabinetmaker, caner, carver, cartenmaker, inlayer, lathmaker, mouldmaker, saddletreemaker.
L.	Textiles	
1.	Woollen and Worsted	bayweaver, broadweaver, clothworker, comber, coverlet weaver, dornixweaver, feltmaker, jerseydrawer, russelweaver, sergeweaver, sayweaver, tuft mokadomaker, twister, worstedweaver, weaver, webster, woollenweaver, woolcomber, worsted dornixweaver, worstedskinner, worstedcomber, baymaker, friezemaker, framework knitter, fustianweaver, rower of rugs, rugmaker, saymaker, spinner, twinespinner.
2.	Silk, lace, cotton and calico	ribbonweaver, silkraiser, silkweaver, silklaceweaver, laceweaver, silkwoman, calicoprinter, silkthrower, stockingweaver/maker/presser, silk stockingmaker.
3.	Flax, hemp and other	flaxdresser, hairmaker, linenweaver, ropemaker or ropier, hairthrower, arrasmaker, mapmaker, sackman, sackweaver, staymaker

Classication of occupations (cont.) -4-

4.	Finishing	callenderer, clothdresser, dyer, fuller, hotpresser, presser of serge, tucker, sherman, waterer of stuffs, worsted sherman, clearstarcher, colourman, fustian-dresser, hempdresser, packer, quilter, silkdyer, starcher, fringeweaver
M.	Others	furbisher, printer, ruffman, diamondcutter, papermaker, saltpeterman, japanner
IV	TRANSPORT	
A.	Ocean and Inland Navigation	cogner, keelman, mariner, master and mariner, shipmaster, sailor, waterman, bargeman, hoyer, lighterman, wharfinger, wherryman, flatman.
B.	Land	carrier, collier and carriageman, porter, sledman, waterleader, lattercarrier, waterbearer, wineporter, carman, carter, chairman, coachman, drover, drayman, hackney coachman, waggoner.
V	DEALING	
A.	Specialist Retail	
1.	Food and drink	alehousekeeper, fishmonger, fruiterer, grocer, innkeeper, innholder or innbrother, mealseller, poulterer, vitner, victualler, acqua vitaeseller, coffeeseller/man, costermonger, drawer, drawman, salterer, tobacconist.
2.	Cloth and clothing	draper, haberdasher, mercer, milliner, coatseller, linendraper, salesman, silkman, slopseller, woollendraper.
3.	Other	apothecary, ashburner, bookseller, chemist, merchant of coals, perfumer, retailer, stationer, druggist, hairseller, ironseller, glass seller, leatherseller, oilman, shopkeeper, jeweller.
B.	Specialist Wholesale	
1.	Food and drink	boothman, couper, cheesemonger, cornfactor/chandler, sugar-merchant
2.	Wool, yarn, cloth and and clothing	clothier, feltmonger, merchant-taylor, fellmonger
3.	Other	reedmerchant, shipbroker, woodman

Classification of occupations (cont.) -5-

C.	Itinerant	chapman, kydder, pettychapman, tinker, woolchapman, badger, higgler, pedlar
D.	Indefinite	hostman, merchant, mercator or mercatoris, merchant adventurer, apprentice, broker, dealer in East India Wares, factor, salter
VI	PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE	
A.	Public Service	alderman, courtholder, (Lord)mayor, chamberlain, recorder, receiver, swordbearer, sheriff, treasurer, keeper of prisons, commoncrier, beadle, exciseman, constable, bailiff.
B.	Professional Service	
1.	Church, Law and Education	attorney, clerk, archdeacon, generosi, redemptuion, scrivenor, scriptores, schoolmaster, schoolmistress, architect, chaplain, chancery clerk, court letter writer, lawyer, notary, public notary, parish clerk, preacher, sexton, writing master, apparitor.
2.	Medicine etc.	barber, barber-surgeon, surgeon or chirurgeon, horse-leche, physician.
3.	Art and Amusement	limner, musician, mapmaker, signwriter, engraver, dancingmaster, minstrel, singing man.
VII	MENIAL OCCUPATIONS AND DOMESTIC SERVICE	labourer, dustman, servant, butler, cellarer, ostler
VIII	STATUS OR OTHER DESCRIPTIONS	
1.	Male	armiger, gentleman, esquire, knight, baronet.
2.	Female	widow, wife, spinster
3.	Poor	foundelling, pauper.
4.	Other	stranger, traveller, wayfarer.

TABLE 3.2

OCCUPATIONAL DATA IN PARISH REGISTERS: THE HUNDRED OF BLACKBURN

Township	Register	Date	Number of individuals		Reference
			Male	Female	
Whalley	Births	1653-60	43	4	L.R.O. PR3
Whalley	Deaths	1653-60	70	15	L.R.O. PR3
Whalley	Burials	1721-30	91	33	L.R.O. PR5
Whalley	Baptisms	1741-50	86	4	L.R.O. PR6
Whalley	Burials	1741-50	61	15	L.R.O. PR6
Whalley	Baptisms	1751-60	85	5	L.R.O. PR6
Whalley	Burials	1751-60	100	28	L.R.O. PR6
Whalley	Baptisms	1761-70	87	10	L.R.O. PR6
Whalley	Burials	1761-70	69	26	L.R.O. PR6
Whalley	Burials	1771-80	75	17	L.R.O. PR6
Read	Births	1653-60	12	1	L.R.O. PR3
Read	Deaths	1653-60	20	2	L.R.O. PR3
Read	Burials	1721-30	26	12	L.R.O. PR5
Read	Burials	1741-50	19	3	L.R.O. PR6
Read	Burials	1751-60	18	4	L.R.O. PR6
Read	Baptisms	1761-70	24	4	L.R.O. PR6
Read	Burials	1761-70	18	7	L.R.O. PR6
Wiswell	Births	1653-60	15	2	L.R.O. PR3
Wiswell	Deaths	1653-60	31	5	L.R.O. PR3
Wiswell	Burials	1721-30	31	7	L.R.O. PR5
Wiswell	Burials	1741-50	28	10	L.R.O. PR6
Wiswell	Burials	1751-60	36	9	L.R.O. PR6
Wiswell	Baptisms	1761-70	32	4	L.R.O. PR6
Wiswell	Burials	1761-70	28	12	L.R.O. PR6
Billington	Births	1653-60	47	0	L.R.O. PR3
Billington	Deaths	1653-60	61	8	L.R.O. PR3
Billington	Burials	1721-30	50	18	L.R.O. PR5
Billington	Burials	1741-50	38	7	L.R.O. PR6
Billington	Burials	1751-60	39	12	L.R.O. PR6
Billington	Baptisms	1761-70	79	11	L.R.O. PR6 and PR 2965/1/2
Downham	Baptisms	1721-50	93	7	L.P.R.S., vol.118.
Chatburn	Baptisms	1721-50	51	3	
Twiston	Baptisms	1721-50	31	1	
Accrington	Baptisms	1721-30			L.R.O.
Accrington	Burials	1721-30	128	22	PR 2819/2

TABLE 3.3

PROPORTION OF PARISH AND CHAPELRY REGISTER ENTRIES WITH NO OCCUPATIONAL DESCRIPTION: BLACKBURN HUNDRED, 1653-1780.

		(A) Total number of entries (male adult)	(B) Number where no occupational description provided	(B) as a %age of (A)
WHALLEY PARISH: Whalley township.				
Births	1653-60	65	2	3.1
Deaths	1653-60	86	2	2.3
Burials	1721-30	134	1	0.7
Baptisms	1741-50	168	6	3.6
Burials	1741-50	78	-	-
Baptisms	1751-60	152	1	0.6
Burials	1751-60	128	4	3.1
Baptisms	1761-70	177	-	-
Burials	1761-70	86	-	-
Burials	1771-80	89	3	3.4
Overall		1163	19	1.6
Read township.				
Births	1653-60	17	2	11.7
Deaths	1653-60	24	1	4.2
Burials	1721-30	31	-	-
Burials	1741-50	25	1	4.0
Burials	1751-60	23	-	-
Baptisms	1761-70	53	1	1.9
Burials	1761-70	22	1	4.5
Overall		195	6	3.1
Wiswell township.				
Births	1653-60	25	-	-
Deaths	1653-60	40	2	5.0
Burials	1721-30	46	3	6.5
Burials	1741-50	38	-	-
Burials	1751-60	42	-	-
Baptisms	1761-70	60	1	1.7
Burials	1761-70	36	2	5.5
Overall		287	8	2.8

Table 3.3 Proportion of parish and chapelry register entries with no occupational description (continued)

		(A) Total number of entries (male adult)	(B) Number where no occupational description provided	(B) as a %age of (A)
WHALLEY PARISH AND LANGHO CHAPELRY: Billington township.				
Births	1653-60	62	2	3.2
Deaths	1653-60	81	3	3.7
Burials	1741-50	46	2	4.3
Burials	1751-60	51	3	5.9
Baptisms	1761-70	158	13	8.2
Overall		398	23	5.8
ALTHAM CHAPELRY: Accrington vetera and Accrington nova				
Baptisms	1721-30	171	10	5.8
Burials	1721-30	85	6	7.0
Overall		256	16	6.2
DOWNHAM CHAPELRY: Downham township.				
Baptisms	1721-50	290	23	7.9

TABLE 3.4

NUMBER OF WILLS AND INVENTORIES SURVIVING FOR TOWNSHIPS IN THE HUNDRED OF BLACKBURN, 1660 - 1760.

	ACCRINGTON	CHATBURN	DOWNHAM	GREAT HARWOOD	READ	TWISTON	WHALLEY	WISWELL	WORSTON	INFRA
NO. OF MALE TESTATORS WITH:										
Will only	4	3	8	6	4	3	7	3	2	4
Inventory only	17	12	8	12	5	1	7	5	3	10
Will and Inventory	30	3	8	20	10	5	11	13	5	14
TOTAL MALE INVENTORIES	47	15	16	32	15	6	18	18	8	24
NO. OF FEMALE TESTATORS WITH:										
Will only	3	1	-	-	2	-	4	2	1	4
Inventory only	2	-	1	2	1	-	5	2	1	2
Will and Inventory	7	1	1	7	3	-	1	5	1	7
TOTAL FEMALE INVENTORIES	9	1	2	9	4	-	6	7	2	9

TABLE 3.5

COVERAGE OF PROBATE RECORDS IN THE HUNDRED OF BLACKBURN.

Township	Date	(A) Number of adult male burials	(B) Number of adult males for whom a probate will or inventory survives	(B) as a %age of (A)
Accrington	1721-1730	33	6	18.2
Downham	1681-1690	16	2	12.5
	1691-1700	12	2	12.5
	1701-1710	12	5	41.7
	1711-1720	10	2	20.0
	1721-1730	14	3	21.4
	1731-1740	9	1	11.1
	1741-1750	17	1	5.9
	1751-1760	13	5	38.5
		103	21	20.4
Read	1721-1730	14	4	28.6
	1741-1750	6	2	33.3
	1751-1760	7	3	42.8
		27	9	33.3
Whalley	1721-1730	42	4	9.5
	1741-1750	17	1	5.9
	1751-1760	48	4	8.3
		107	9	8.4
Wiswell	1721-1730	13	1	7.7
	1741-1750	10	4	40.0
	1751-1760	19	-	-
		42	5	11.9
OVERALL		312	50	16.0

CHAPTER 4

THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF TOWNSHIPS IN THE HUNDRED OF BLACKBURN, c. 1660 - 1760: PATTERNS OF ECONOMIC CHANGE.

1. Introduction.
2. Whalley, Wiswell and Read townships.
3. Downham, Chatburn and Twiston townships.
4. The townships of Accrington nova and Accrington vetera.
5. Billington township and Great Harwood chapelry.
6. Conclusion.

1. Introduction.

The principal objective of this occupational survey is to establish patterns of change and to assess whether the economic profile of townships in Blackburn Hundred was significantly different in the mid-eighteenth century from that of the mid-seventeenth century. As no one category of source material provides a comprehensive coverage of the period under consideration, the study of the economic structure of fourteen townships in Blackburn Hundred is based on a range of sources with a balance of advantage and disadvantage. The poll tax of 1660 and the census returns of 1811 provide two common anchor points in this survey, spanning a period of wide-ranging economic changes. However, the 1811 census provides only very limited evidence on the occupational structure of these townships, and a comparison of the two sources raises problems not only of accuracy but also of the timing of the economic changes indicated. It is therefore necessary to move to the level of individual townships and use the occupational information in the parish registers to pinpoint more precisely long term economic shifts.

The combined use of occupational data from the poll tax, parish registers and the census can provide a valuable insight into trends of economic change. The need to categorise the wealth of occupational information in order to trace shifts in the economic profile necessitates a reliance on statistical data in which the use of percentage figures tends to convey a sense of absolute precision. As previously outlined however, various forms of bias and under-registration affected the recording of occupational data in the

sources used. The effect of non-conformity, the potential age bias of the baptism and burial registers and differences in the quality of recording between the registers of different parishes and chapelries all suggest, for example, that the figures based on the parish register surveys should be viewed with some caution as they are no doubt subject to the cumulative impact of these problems.[1] With this caveat in mind it still seems a valid exercise to draw evidence of the broad trends of change from the occupational data recorded in these sources.[2] Particular care should however, be exercised in the case of sample sizes of less than ten which are too small to facilitate accurate comparisons over time (in the tables of occupational data such samples are indicated by the symbol +).[3]

The poll tax of 1660 provides the starting point of reference. It provides a photographic still of the economy from which it is possible to study the occupational structure of twelve of the fourteen townships in the mid-seventeenth century: Accrington nova, Accrington vetera, Blackburn, Chatburn, Clitheroe, Downham, Little Mitton, Read, Twiston, Whalley, Wiswell and Worston. In the

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1 See chapter 3, pp. 77-78, 85-101.

2 There is some evidence to suggest that occupational data in parish registers provides a fair representation of the economic structure of a community. The Mid-Wharfedale Local History Research Group compared the occupational labels from a surviving Muster Roll of 1803 with those taken from baptismal entries between 1800-1809 and they concluded that "... on the whole the Muster Roll and the baptismal registers show very similar occupational structures thus encouraging belief in the validity of the figures obtained from the parish register study". The Mid-Wharfedale Local History Research Group, 'A Comparison between the Craven Muster Roll and Parish Registers', L.P.S., No. 40 (Spring 1988), pp. 61-63.

3 In Read and Wiswell townships the samples of adult males from the parish registers are small and the results need, therefore, to be viewed with caution. See chapter 4, pp. 154-6.

analysis of the poll tax Blackburn is considered separately from the other eleven townships as no occupational data is available for those male householders in Blackburn who paid on estates of £5 or more per annum. This omission of occupational data is not random, and as it relates to the wealthier groups in Blackburn it introduces an unacceptable degree of bias into the occupational sample. As certain economic groups are likely to be absent or underenumerated this data should not be aggregated with that for the remaining eleven townships as the large size of the sample from Blackburn would skew the overall results.

The occupational data in the poll tax indicates that the predominant source of employment in this sample of 11 townships (excluding Blackburn) was agriculture. If labourers are included under agriculture[1] then this branch of economic activity accounted for 213 out of a total of 417 male heads of households (51%). This evidence clearly indicates the central importance of agriculture in the mid-seventeenth century economy. However, the occupational labels derived from the poll tax do not provide an exact account of the distribution of the population as no information is provided of the economic activities of those who were in receipt of poor relief in 1660.[2] Moreover, as occupational labels were not ascribed to those males aged 16 and over within households headed by others (with the exception of Read township), to females and to children,

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1 See chapter 3, pp. 114-115.

2 In the townships of Whalley and Read, and in Northwich Hundred in Cheshire, this omission underenumerates the level of involvement in the agricultural sector. See chapter 3, pp. 113-114.

this source provides an incomplete picture of the economic structure.

The level of manufacturing varied between townships but, overall, accounted for 114 of the 417 heads of household (27%). Textiles alone accounted for 43 male heads of household (10%) and G.H. Tupling notes the significant numbers of weavers and clothiers that were recorded for Accrington nova and Accrington vetera in this source.[1] Reference to the data in the poll tax indicates that 19 of the 87 male heads of household in Accrington nova and vetera were described as weavers or clothiers (22%). Downham and Twiston also demonstrated fairly high levels of textile activity with 10 of the 60 male householders (17%) ascribed to this category of manufacturing.

With the exception of Little Mitton the proportion of male householders afforded status descriptions is fairly low, as they account for 18 out of 417 male heads of household (4%). As A.J. and R.H. Tawney point out it is interesting to have an estimate of the numbers of gentry in each community but it is inadequate as a measure of economic activity. Such titles as gentleman and esquire often conceal a considerable involvement in agricultural pursuits.[2] Building workers form a low proportion of the total as only 14 out of 417 male heads of household can be classified in this sector.

Overall the economy of these eleven townships was based principally on agriculture, although there were significant

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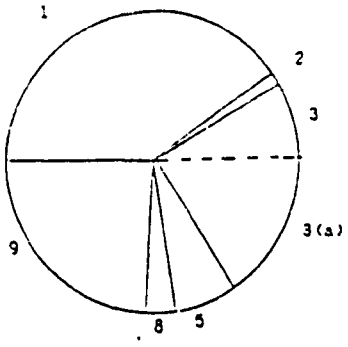
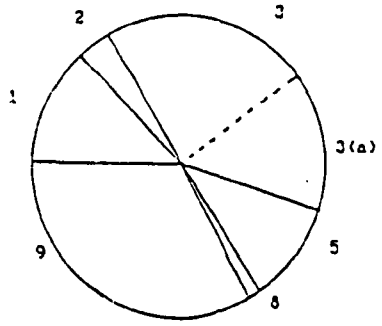
[1] See chapter 4, p. 202.

[2] Tawney and Tawney, 'Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', p. 32.

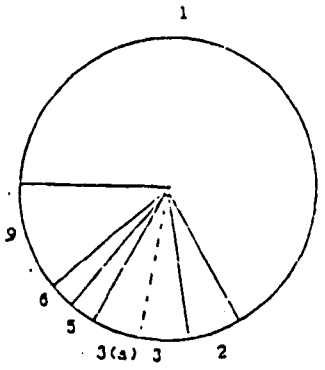
FIGURE 4.1
THE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD: THE POLL TAX OF 1660.



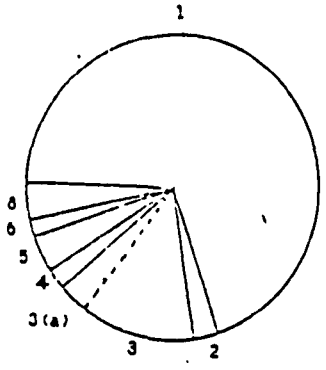
ACCRINGTON NOVA



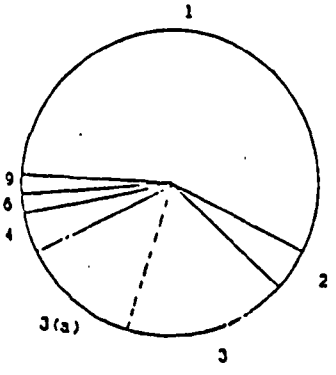
ACCRINGTON VETERA



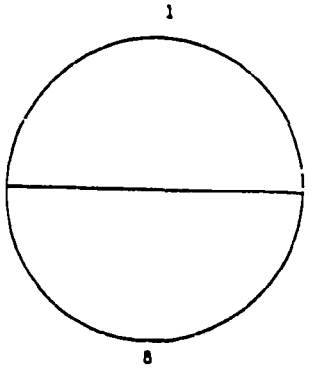
CHATBURN



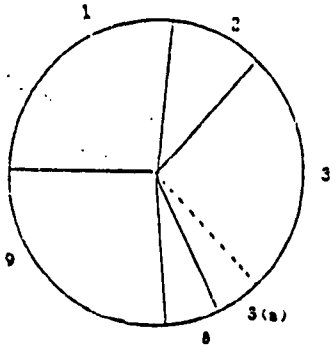
CLITHEROE



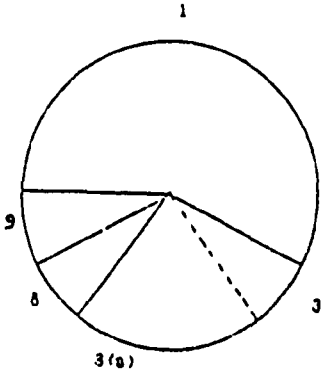
DOWNHAM



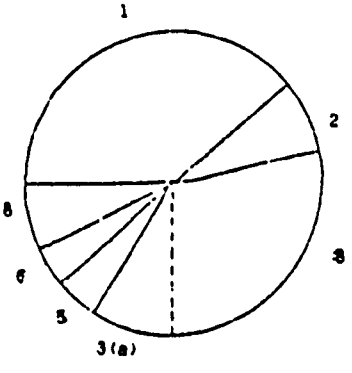
LITTLE MITTON



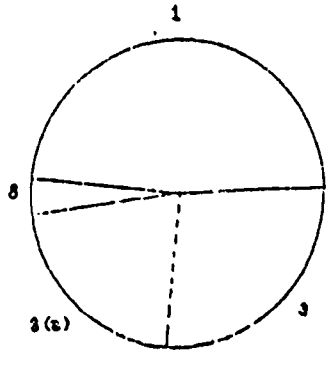
READ



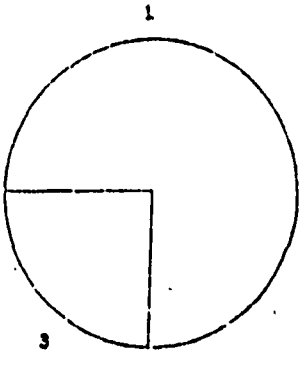
TWISTON



WHALLEY



WISWELL



WORSTON

KEY:

1. Agriculture
1(b). Fishing
1(c). Mineral Extraction
2. Building
3. Manufacture
3(a). Textile Manufacture
4. Transport
5. Dealing
6. Public and Professional Service
7. Menial occupations and domestic service
8. Status descriptions
9. No description

concentrations of textile manufacturing in a number of the townships (see figure 4.1). The level of involvement in the non-productive tertiary sector was low with just 22 male householders ascribed to the categories of dealing and public and professional service (5%). However, the extent of population growth in Blackburn Hundred between 1664 and 1801 points to a vitality in the region which should be reflected in the level of economic development. Moreover, the level of population growth in an area of generally poor agriculture suggests that there must have been diversification in the economic base to support the increased numbers. To assess the broad patterns of change over time the occupational data in the 1811 census can be used as a basis of comparison with the evidence of economic structure provided in the poll tax of 1660.

A comparison between the poll tax of 1660 and the census of 1811 allows only the most general of statements regarding changes in the economic basis of the area. It is important to recognise that the sample populations from each source have different characteristics, as in the poll tax occupational data is provided for male heads of household whereas the census of 1811 highlights the predominant employment within families. Consequently, the information extracted from each source does not allow a precise comparison of the absolute levels of employment in different sectors but highlights the main features of the economic profile at each date.

The 1811 census provides figures for the proportion of families employed predominantly in agriculture or those "chiefly employed in trade, manufacture or handicrafts". An immediate problem in this occupational categorisation is the perplexing heading of "All other

families not comprised in the two preceding classes". Problems arise as no information is given as to which occupations are considered to belong to each group and it would seem probable that Overseers of the Poor were left to make these decisions for themselves, a situation which would lead to widespread inconsistency in recording. Within the category of "Trades, manufactures and handicrafts" in the census of 1811 one cannot comment precisely on industrial development since it is not clear which occupations were included in this category. It is questionable whether the textile and other industries would be reasonably well represented by the manufacturing category and that the distribution of this feature would reveal the concentration of these industries. One can observe that places were more/or less agricultural in bias between the dates of the two sources, but as Stephen Jackson concludes in a recent study the census cannot be used with any certainty to define sub-areas of economic activity.[1] Plotting the percentage level of families employed in agriculture for the Hundred of Blackburn was intended to reveal areas with few other important economic activities (see table 4.5).

Nonetheless, it is clear from a broad comparison of these two sources that there had been important changes in the economic structure of the townships in the period between 1660 and 1811 (see table 4.6). In the mid-seventeenth century agriculture was the predominant source of employment with more than half of the male adult householders in the poll tax ascribed the title of yeoman, husbandman or labourer (213 of 417 male household heads). Combining

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[1] Jackson, 'Population and Change', p. 63.

the data for the same eleven townships in the 1811 census indicates that only 268 families out of a total of 1,541 (17%) were considered to be "chiefly employed" in agriculture. The extent of industrial and commercial activities increased significantly between the date of the poll tax of 1660 and the census of 1811. In the poll tax the dealing and manufacturing categories accounted for 129 of the 417 male heads of household (31%), whilst the census of 1811 recorded that 1,117 families out of 1,541 (72%) were "chiefly employed in trade, manufacture and handicrafts".

The broad trend is clearly that of a fall in the proportionate involvement in agricultural activities and an increase in the levels of employment in trade and industry. John Holt in 1795 observed that the county of Lancashire "is the most manufacturing province in England, and amongst the worst cultivated". Although Holt fiercely criticised the use of profitable agricultural land for industrial purposes and the emphasis on manufacturing at the expense of agriculture, it is not possible from a comparison between the poll tax of 1660 and the census of 1811 to assess whether the absolute level of agricultural activity in north-east Lancashire was lower in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century than in the mid-seventeenth century.[1] The high levels of population increase observed in the Hundred of Blackburn may clearly have led to an increase in the absolute numbers of individuals involved in agriculture despite the proportionate decline in employment in this primary sector. Moreover, the stimulus provided by the needs of an

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[1] J. Holt, A General View of the Agriculture of Lancashire (London, 1795), pp. 71, 207-220.

increased local population, particularly one that was increasingly reliant on trade and industry, may have encouraged those remaining farmers to increase output through the use of new techniques and to increase the area of land that was farmed.[1]

In the township of Blackburn the proportionate level of employment in agriculture was far lower in the early nineteenth century than in the mid-seventeenth century. In 1811 only 45 families out of a total of 3,090 were considered to be chiefly employed in this sector (1%). This compares with 10% of male householders in the poll tax of 1660 (16 of 155 male heads of household), although this is likely to be an underestimate of the true level as the absence of occupational data for those paying on estates of £5 or more per annum would probably have excluded a number of yeoman farmers from the sample. Manufacturing and trade were clearly of paramount importance in the economy of Blackburn in the early nineteenth century as 2,861 families were chiefly employed in this sector out of a total of 3,090 families (93%). Despite the underenumeration of occupational groups in the poll tax of 1660 which may have excluded the wealthier clothiers from the occupational sample, trade and manufacturing still emerged as

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[1] Such a process was observed in the north-east of England in the eighteenth century. Paul Brassley observes that the emphasis on coal-mining and its associated activities led to a "growth in the number of people who consumed food without producing it, and therefore the demand for food in the market place rose by more than the simple increase in population". Although Tyneside had drawn on supplies of grain from East Anglia through the port of Newcastle from the mid-seventeenth century, Brassley points to improvements in agricultural practice which led to a significant increase in local levels of food production.
J. Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol.V, 1640-1750. 1. Regional Farming Systems (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 42-58.

significant elements in the economy as 64 of the 155 male householders (41%) can be ascribed to these sectors (see table 4.3).

Although Blackburn at this date had a population lower than the limit of 2,500 set by Corfield to represent urbanity it seems clear that the population showed a heavy reliance on non-agrarian occupations.[1] The poll tax returns for Blackburn township listed 155 male heads of household. Of these only 87 were given an occupational description. 28 heads of household are described as "websters" accounting for almost one-third of those with occupational titles and 18% of the total male householders in Blackburn township (see table 4.3 and figure 4.2). Given the complete absence of occupational data relating to those in the £5 or more per annum section of the returns this figure represents a high level of textile activity, and indicates the importance of this occupation in the economy of Blackburn in the mid-seventeenth century. The level of textile employments is significantly higher than in Burnley where 11% of the entries in the register of births between 1653-60 related to clothworkers.[2] Unfortunately, there is no means of ascertaining the economic activities of the 68 householders in Blackburn who were given no occupational description. The complete absence of any individuals described as clothiers certainly seems unusual in a market town which has been

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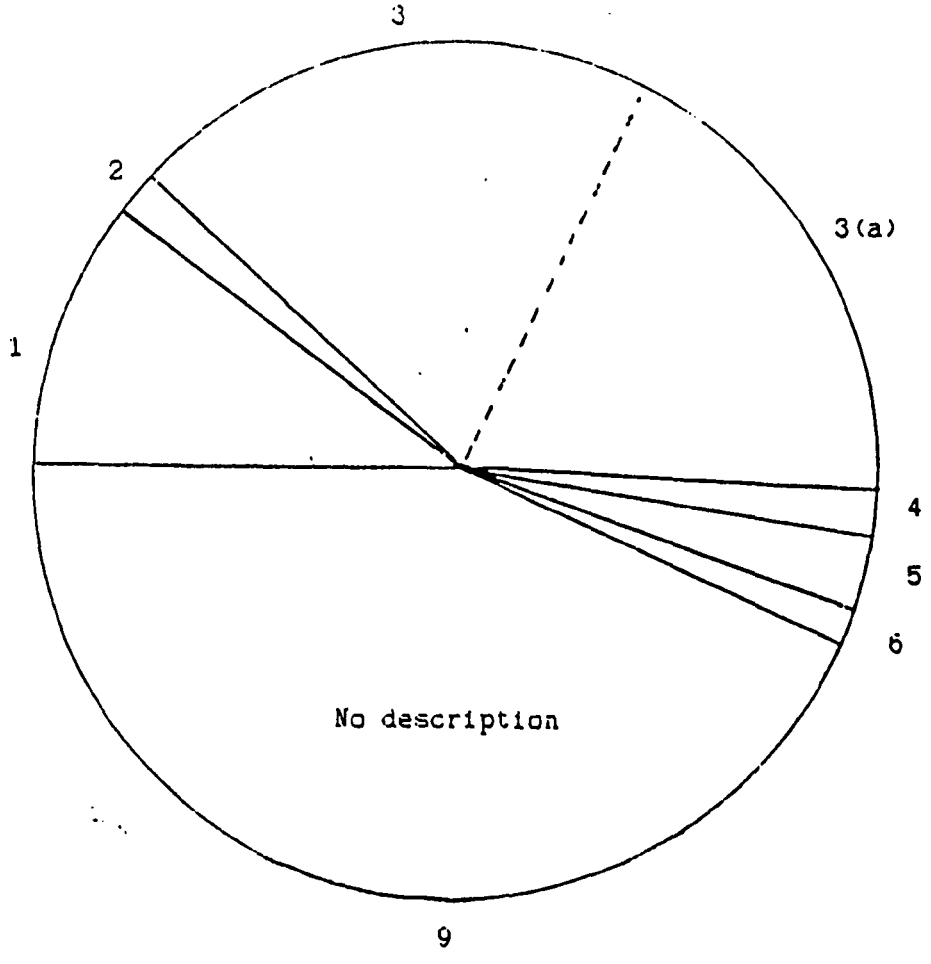
1 P.J. Corfield, 'Small Towns, Large Implications: Social and Cultural Roles of Small Towns in Eighteenth Century England and Wales', British Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies 10, 2 (Autumn 1987), p. 133.

2 Swain, 'Industry and Economy', pp. 254-255.

FIGURE 4.2

THE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS IN BLACKBURN TOWNSHIP: THE POLL TAX OF 1660



1. Agriculture
1(b). Fishing
1(c). Mineral Extraction
2. Building
3. Manufacture
3(a). Textile manufacture
4. Transport
5. Dealing
6. Public and Professional Service
7. Menial occupations and domestic service
8. Status descriptions
9. No description

identified as an important centre for textile manufacturing and distribution in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[1]

Blackburn "newly joined the ranks of 'towns'" sometime in the early to mid-eighteenth century and it seems from the evidence of the census of 1811 that Blackburn consolidated its position as a distributive and manufacturing centre during the eighteenth century. Such a process of specialisation in the small towns such as Blackburn would have created a certain momentum for survival and growth as "their own urban demand generated business for their own workforce; and traditional patterns of business, travel and social life continued to bring custom in from the countryside".[2]

In the remaining two townships of Great Harwood and Billington male householders were not ascribed occupational titles in the poll tax of 1660. However, in the township of Billington entries extracted from the parish register of Whalley between 1653-60 provide an indication of the structure of the economy in the mid-seventeenth century. This evidence indicates that the predominant form of employment was agriculture as 38 of the 61 male adults listed in the register of deaths were classified as yeomen, husbandmen or labourers (62%). The proportion was slightly higher in the register of births for the same period with 33 of the 47 male adults ascribed to agricultural activities (70%). In 1811 only 32 families out of a total of 152 (21%) were "chiefly employed in agriculture", whilst 114 (75%) were categorised under trade,

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1 Lowe, Lancashire Textile Industry, passim; Wadsworth and Mann, Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, passim.

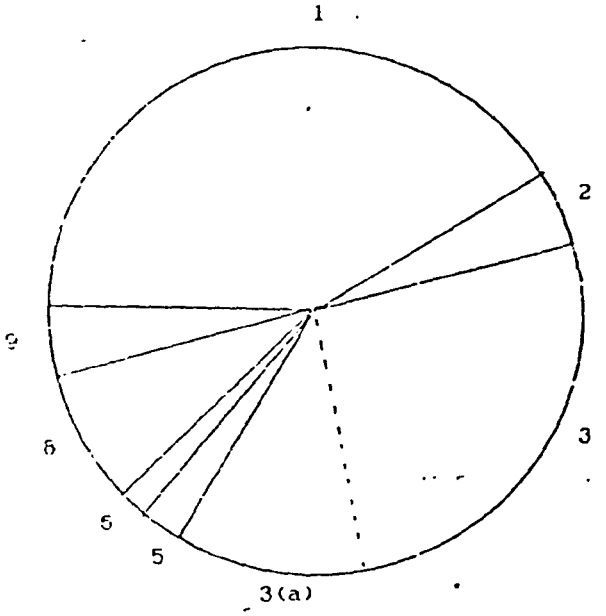
2 Corfield, 'Small Towns, Large Implications', p. 130.

manufactures and handicrafts. In common with the twelve townships discussed above the trend of change in Billington is one of a proportionate decline in agricultural involvement and an increase in the level of commercial and industrial activities.

Unfortunately, the chapelry register of Great Harwood does not contain occupational data in the seventeenth century, so that there is no basis of comparison from which to assess economic change between 1660 and 1811. Using the census data in isolation indicates that the category of trade, manufacturing and handicrafts was the predominant sector in the early nineteenth century with 291 families out of a total of 316 (92%) classified under this heading (see table 4.5). It seems probable that the economy of Great Harwood witnessed similar trends of change in the eighteenth century to the townships discussed above.

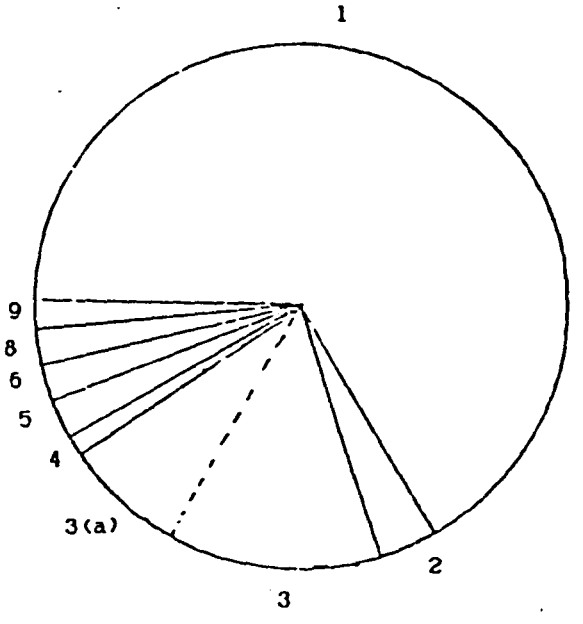
The overall trend of change between 1660 and 1811 is clear, but interesting differences emerge in the extent of change between the townships. The sample of eleven townships (excluding Blackburn) for which occupational data is given in the poll tax of 1660 show a notable spatial grouping (see figure 1.4). One should then consider if the nature of the occupational structure and the extent of change over time revealed differences on this basis. Table 4.4 is indicative of the differences which arise when the occupational structure of the townships is analysed on the basis of the apparent geographical groupings (see figure 4.3). Chatburn, Clitheroe, Downham, Worston and Twiston show the heaviest agricultural bias in 1660, and it is interesting to note that in 1811 the latter three townships stand out as areas having amongst the highest level of families involved in agriculture (see table 4.5). Conversely, this

FIGURE 4.3 THE GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPING OF OCCUPATIONS IN THE POLL TAX OF 1660; THE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD.



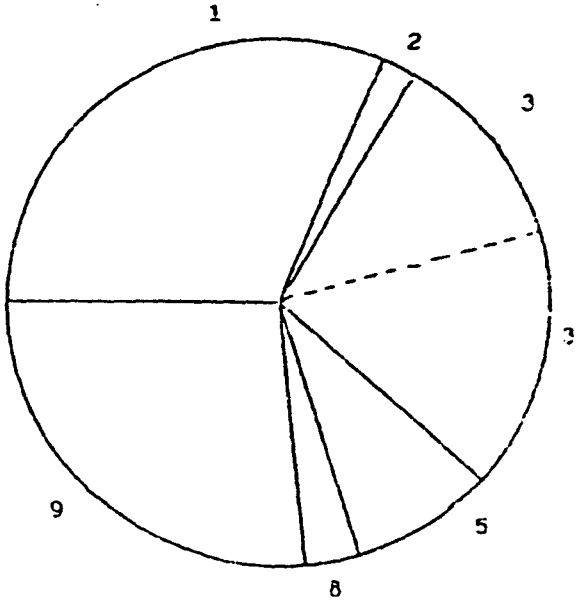
Group 1

Little Mitton
Read
Whalley
Wiswall



Group 2

Chatburn
Clitheroe
Downham
Twiston
Worston



Group 3

Accrington nova
Accrington vetera

FIGURE 4.3

grouping shows the lowest level of involvement in manufacturing activities in 1660, reflected also in the comparatively low level of textile production. Similarly, in the census of 1811 this grouping of five townships also shows the lowest level of involvement in trade, manufacturing and handicrafts as only 324 families out of a total of 580 (56%) were "chiefly employed" in these occupations. Nonetheless, the proportionate level of trade and manufacturing in these townships was still at a substantially higher level in 1811 than the value recorded in 1660 when just 47 out of 205 (23%) male householders were categorised under trade and manufacturing.

The extent of commercial and industrial activity in this first group of townships was substantially lower than the level recorded in the townships of Accrington nova and Accrington vetera, where 516 out of 583 families (89%) were "chiefly employed" in these sectors in 1811. This is again a substantial increase from the level of 37% of male adults involved in manufacturing and dealing in 1660 (32 of 87 male heads of household). Agricultural activity was at a low level in 1811 with only 62 of the 583 families "chiefly employed" in farming (11%). Although both groupings of townships showed a proportionate fall in employments in agriculture and an increasing emphasis on trade and industry, it seems that the level of specialisation had progressed further in Accrington vetera and Accrington nova. These townships showed an earlier and more extensive involvement in textile production as in 1660 over one-fifth of male adults were ascribed the title of weaver or clothier (19 of 87 male heads of household). From the parish register data it would be interesting to assess the extent to which the population was dependent on textile activities in the first half of the

eighteenth century, and to determine whether an increasing shift towards manufacturing was evident in this period.

The third grouping of townships includes Whalley, Wiswell, Read and Little Mitton. This grouping again illustrates a fall in the proportionate level of employments in agriculture from 41% of male householders in 1660 (51 of 125 male heads of household) to 23% of families "chiefly employed" in agriculture in 1811 (86 of 378 families). Similarly trade and manufacturing increased from a level of 40% of male householders in 1660 (50 of 125 male heads of household) to 73% of families in 1811 (277 of 378 families). The emphasis on commercial and industrial activities is not as extensive in this grouping as in Accrington vetera and Accrington nova, but the proportionate shift towards these activities is more pronounced than in Chatburn, Clitheroe, Downham, Worston and Twiston. Each of the township groupings has the common characteristic of a fall in the proportion of employments in agriculture and an increasing involvement in trade and manufacturing. The extent of change varies between the three township groupings with the highest levels of manufacturing and trade in Accrington nova and Accrington vetera. From this analysis it is relevant to establish the nature of the economic structure in each area in the first half of the eighteenth century in order to identify the chronology and causation of economic change.

This type of comparison between the data of the poll tax of 1660 and the census of 1811 has clear limitations. The use of the census data to identify the nature of the division between agriculture and industry within the Hundred of Blackburn raises problems not only of accuracy but also of the timing of change. In

areas which recorded high levels of non-agricultural employment did that development occur mainly after 1760 or even in the final decades of the eighteenth century? Similarly, were areas presented by the census of 1811 as predominantly rural undergoing changes in the period up to 1760, albeit less striking, which such evidence conceals? This is clearly a methodological problem which arises when measuring population change between the two main reference points of the hearth tax of 1664 and the census of 1801.

These problems therefore limit the use of the occupational data in the census returns as a comparative basis from which to pinpoint changes occurring in the period 1660 to 1760. A more detailed analysis of the selected townships must therefore utilise the occupational data contained in parish and chapelry registers in order to survey changes which occurred between 1660 and 1760. Differences revealed in the eighteenth century occupational structure might be indicative of the interplay of social and economic forces operating over a number of decades.

Parish register evidence of a sufficiently detailed nature is available for eight of the twelve townships for which occupational data was provided in the poll tax of 1660. Long runs of occupational data are available for the townships of Accrington nova, Accrington vetera, Chatburn, Downham, Read, Twiston, Whalley and Wiswell. The townships of Blackburn, Clitheroe, Little Mitton and Worston are excluded from further detailed consideration in this chapter, as there is no comparative occupational data from the parish registers in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Occupational data relating to Billington township and Great Harwood

chapelry is available for a number of decades in the eighteenth century and can be used to chart patterns of economic change.

In the detailed analysis of these townships the spatial groupings identified above provide a logical basis of organisation. These geographical groupings are significant as it is clear from the poll tax of 1660 and the census of 1811 that there are important distinctions in the economic structure and patterns of change associated with each of these areas of Blackburn Hundred. In purely practical terms these geographical groupings of townships correspond with the grouping of occupational evidence in the parish and chapelry registers. For example, the occupational data for Whalley, Wiswell and Read townships was derived from the parish register of Whalley, whilst that for Downham, Chatburn and Twiston was derived from the registers of the chapelry of St. Leonard's in Downham. The distinctions in the status of the ecclesiastical units of the parish and chapelry may also have some significance for the quality and accuracy of occupational data provided in the registers.[1]

The townships of Great Harwood and Billington are considered separately from the other townships as they are not amongst the group of townships for which occupational titles were provided in the poll tax of 1660. Also both townships are in the mother parish of Blackburn whereas the other eight townships analysed in detail are in the mother parish of Whalley. An assessment of the economic structure in these townships can be used to determine whether the extent of manufacturing involvement was greater in the parish of

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1 P.E.H. Hair, 'A Query About Chapelries', L.P.S. 42 (Spring 1989), pp. 58-60.
See chapter 4, pp. 191-3, 209-217.

Blackburn which demonstrated a faster rate of population growth in the eighteenth century. There are particular technical problems with the data derived from the chapelry registers for each of these townships, which also provides a theme common to the areas.

Two recent studies, in addition to the work of G.H. Tupling, have pointed to the considerable involvement in industrial pursuits in Colne chapelry, Pendle Forest and Rossendale in the early modern period.[1] It is particularly striking however, that not all areas within the Hundred grew or industrialised at the same pace and this contrast between areas in close geographical proximity is interesting. The evidence of the poll tax and the census returns broadly indicates that in the townships under consideration there was a differential response to economic opportunity according to geographical location. Organising the townships according to these spatial groupings is intended to reveal whether distinctions in the economic profile of the areas were apparent in the first half of the eighteenth century and to examine the type of changes to which the townships were subject during this period. One can investigate whether long term changes were apparent in the economy of Blackburn Hundred or whether the shifts indicated in the census of 1811 were the product of change focused on the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Clearly, the study of employment structure is one means of approaching this differential growth and the changes in economic activity which occurred in the 'pre-industrial' period. A

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[1] Tupling, Economic History of Rossendale, passim; Swain, 'Industry and Economy', passim; King, 'Economic and Demographic Development of Rossendale', passim.

particular concern of this thesis is with areas which appeared relatively unaffected by large scale growth or industrialisation. Of the areas selected for further investigation the Ribble valley townships of Whalley, Wiswell, Read, Downham, Chatburn and Twiston are not readily associated in people's minds with industrialisation, unlike Colne and Rossendale on the eastern side of Blackburn Hundred. Yet these townships were not unaffected by change and development in the period 1660 to 1760 and it seems apparent that the effects of economic change in this period were widely spread, and the historian studying the impact of industrial change should not limit his study to the most notable areas of development.

The expansion of domestic industry was not, as Houston and Snell argue, necessarily confined to pastoral and upland areas and in this study of Blackburn Hundred consideration will be given to the view that "changes attributed to proto-industrial development were happening more widely and in very different contexts".[1] The comparison of economic structure between the poll tax of 1660 and the census of 1811 pointed to a broad trend of decline in the proportionate extent of agricultural activity amongst the sample populations and an increase in the level of trade and manufacture. The detailed parish register evidence can be used to establish the main features of the economic profile in each of the township groupings at different points in the eighteenth century, which can highlight the extent and timing of change. Individual townships can be studied to determine whether particular occupational groups were

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[1] Houston and Snell, 'Proto-industrialization?', p. 484; A similar observation was made by Coleman, 'Proto-industrialization. A Concept Too Many', p. 441.

growing in strength in the eighteenth century, or whether they declined in proportion to all occupations.

The occupational survey will investigate whether the economic experience of these townships in the eighteenth century was one of stagnation with a continued and unchanging reliance on agriculture. Alternatively, did the workforce in the selected townships from Blackburn Hundred show any level of functional redistribution or economic diversification? From the evidence one can also determine whether the patterns of development exhibited were typical of other townships in early modern Lancashire.

2. Whalley, Wiswell and Read townships.

In the townships of Whalley, Wiswell and Read the occupational data available in the poll tax and parish registers allows patterns of change during the course of a century to be measured. The poll tax of 1660 provides a census-type listing which outlines the predominant features of the economy in the mid-seventeenth century. The accuracy and coverage of this source can to some extent be assessed by a comparison with parish register data available between 1653-1660. As full and consistent occupational data is provided in the baptism and burial registers of the parish church of St. Mary in Whalley between 1721 and 1780 some assessment can be made of the extent to which 'industrialisation' affected these small rural townships in north-east Lancashire. The question of whether there was a very widespread change in economic activity in the period preceding the dramatic changes of the industrial revolution can be

answered, according to E.A. Wrigley if use is made of occupational data in parish registers.[1]

Many people followed more than one occupation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the way in which men were described by others in the poll tax and parish and chapelry registers should reflect their main occupation and this information can provide a guide to the relative importance of one economic sector compared with another.[2] The figures based on occupational labels derived from the parish and chapelry registers do not provide a precise picture of economic activity, but they are subject to an unknown margin of error due to weaknesses inherent in the source material. However, the regular listing of occupational descriptions for adult males over a long time period, unobtainable from any other source, can provide a broad guide to the relative importance of agriculture, industry and trade.

Judging by the data in the parish register Whalley township demonstrated clear patterns of change in the relative importance of these sectors between c.1660 and c.1760. In the mid-seventeenth century agriculture was the predominant form of economic activity. The poll tax returns indicated that 26 of the 65 adult male heads of household were referred to as yeomen, husbandmen or labourers (40%). The proportionate levels recorded in the parish register were slightly higher as 33 of the 70 adult males listed in the register of deaths (47%) and 23 of the 43 listed in the register of births

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1 Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', p. 21.

2 There are notable differences however, in the regularity and consistency with which occupational titles were applied in the parish and chapelry registers. See chapter 4, pp. 191-3, 209-217.

between 1653-60 were ascribed to agricultural activities (53%). Comparison between the sources suggests that the poll tax by excluding those in receipt of poor relief underestimated the proportion of those engaged in agricultural activity. Too much emphasis should not however, be placed on the precise differences in percentage levels between each source, but what seems important is that each source highlights the crucial importance of agricultural activity within the economy of the township in the mid-seventeenth century.

The sample from the burial register between 1721 and 1730 indicates that the proportion of male adults ascribed to the agricultural sector had declined to a level of 35% (32 of 91 adult males) even when labourers were included under this heading (see table 4.7, table 4.8 and figure 4.4). In the burial register of 1741-50 this level of agricultural involvement was sustained as those male adults ascribed the occupational labels of yeoman, farmer, husbandman or labourer accounted for 36% of the total (22 of 61 adult males). As illustrated in figure 4.5 the proportionate fall in agricultural employments continued. In the burial register of 1751-60 20 of the 100 adult males listed were ascribed to the agricultural sector (20%). The burial and baptism registers are in broad agreement on this point as 19 of the 85 adult males listed in the latter register were described as yeomen, farmers, husbandmen or labourers (22%). A continuing decline in the proportionate level of agricultural employments is attested in the burial register between 1761-70 when individuals involved in agricultural activity accounted for only 10 of the 69 adult males (14%). The level indicated in the baptism register was higher with almost a quarter of adult males

FIGURE 4.4

THE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST ADULT MALE INDIVIDUALS: CHANGE OVER TIME IN WHALLEY TOWNSHIP.

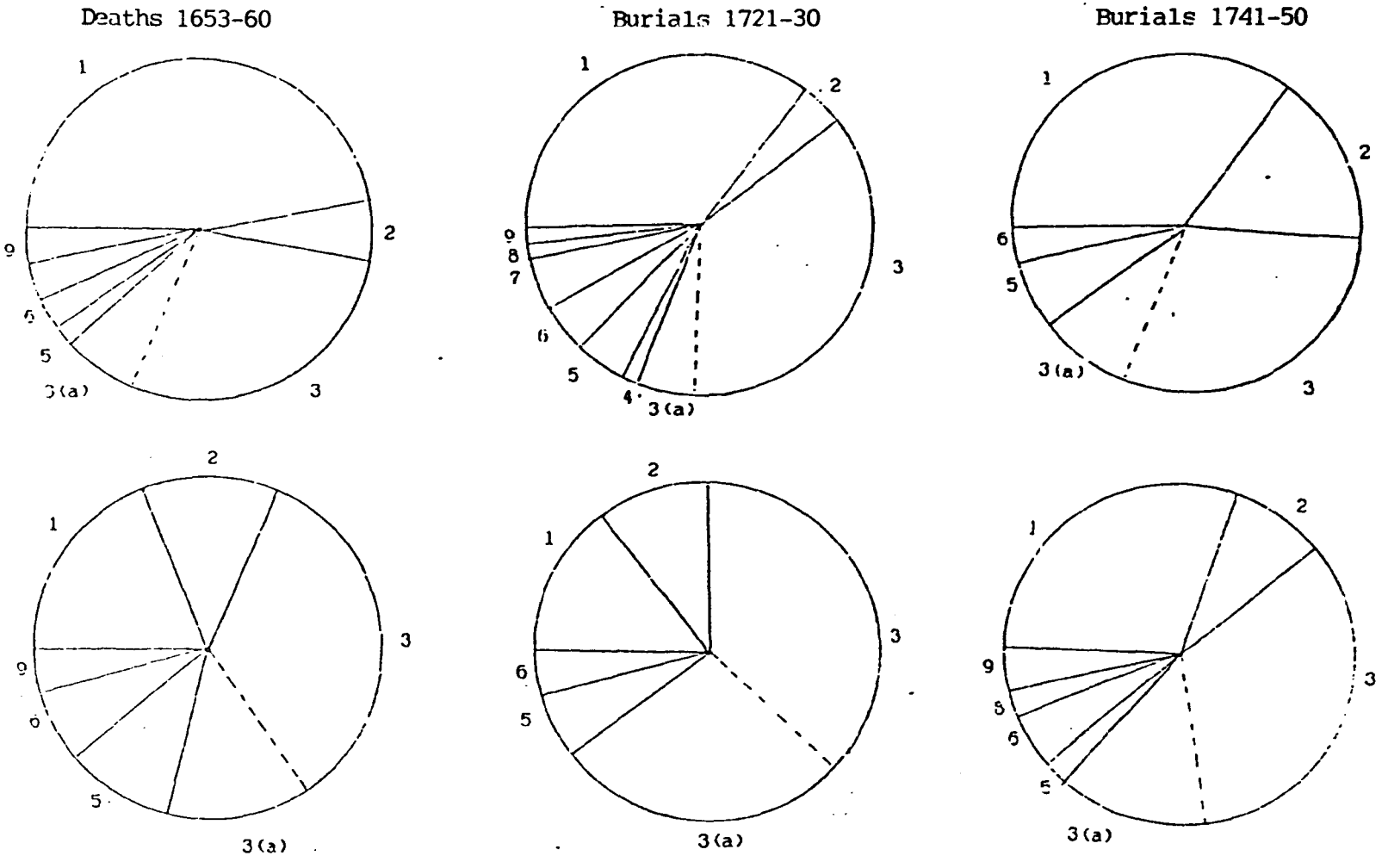

FIGURE 4.5 THE DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALE INDIVIDUALS BETWEEN THE MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS, 1653-1780: WHALLEY TOWNSHIP.

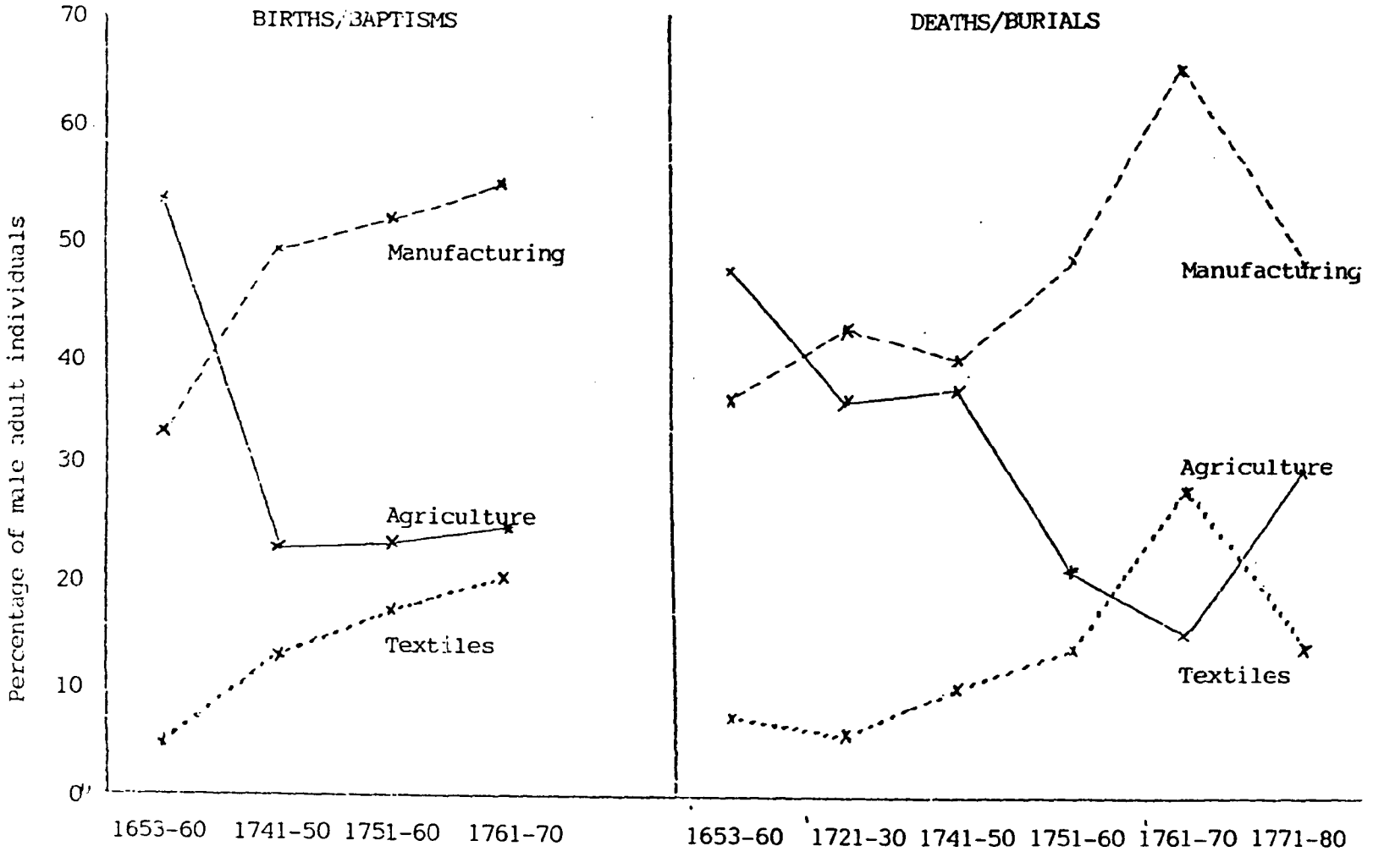

FIGURE 4.5

(21 of 87 adult males) ascribed to the agricultural sector, but this still represents a significant fall in the proportionate involvement from the level of the mid-seventeenth century.

During the course of the eighteenth century agriculture was removed from the position of being the largest single employer. Taking the data in the burial registers between 1653-60 and 1761-70, this represents a proportionate decline from approximately half of the sample involved in agriculture (33 of 70 adult males) to approximately one-seventh (10 of 69 adult males).[1] In the burial register of 1761-70 the proportion of the workforce engaged in textiles alone outstripped that of the agricultural category, as 18 of the 69 adult males were described as weavers and 1 was described as a spinner (28%). An increase of agricultural activity in the burial register of 1771-80 to 29% (22 of 75 adult males) may be linked to a move to bring more land into productive use, as Wadsworth and Mann point out that "after 1770 a large scale enclosure movement began in the north-east, in the Blackburn area and the Ribble valley, and great tracts of moorland were taken in".[2] Despite this increase in the level of agricultural activity, manufacturing still remained the predominant sector accounting for 48% of the sample of adult males (36 of 75 adult males).

The patterns of economic change observed in Whalley township can be compared with the adjacent townships of Read and Wiswell.

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1 This can be compared with Wrigley's survey of Colyton where the proportion involved in agriculture rose from 36% in 1609-12 (81 of 226 entries) to 50% between 1765-1779 (437 of 874 entries). Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', p. 10.

2 Wadsworth and Mann, Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, p. 321.

The occupational evidence derived from these townships needs however, to be viewed with some caution due to the small sample sizes involved. The distribution of individuals from these samples between the various economic categories creates sub-groups of less than ten. Percentage comparison based on samples of this size is unreliable as large changes in proportionate values may in reality represent only marginal changes in absolute levels (In the tables of occupational data samples which are too small to facilitate accurate comparisons over time are indicated by the symbol +). This observation does not completely negate the value of the occupational data derived from Wiswell and Read, but undoubtedly the results derived from the evidence should be viewed cautiously.

Even given the small sample size it is clear that agriculture provided an important source of employment in the township of Read throughout the period under consideration. In the death register of 1653-60 12 of the 20 adult males were ascribed the title of either yeoman or husbandman (60%). In contrast to Whalley township this level was sustained throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the baptism register of 1761-70 indicated that 14 of the 24 adult males were ascribed to the agricultural sector (58%). Similarly, the burial register covering the same decade indicated that 11 of the 18 male adults were involved in agricultural activities (61%). The proportionate level of agricultural involvement did show a fall in the burial register of 1741-50 to just over one-quarter of adult males (5 of 19 adult males), but the small size of the sample makes it difficult to assess the reality of this trend (see tables 4.9 and 4.10). The level of manufacturing fluctuated over the period under consideration, but this may be a

feature of the small sample sizes rather than a definite pattern of change. In the death register of 1653-60 7 of the 20 adult males (35%) could be ascribed to manufacturing, a total which included a miller, a cook, a linenweaver, a cutler and 3 blacksmiths. These occupations point to a fairly traditional village economy in the mid-seventeenth century, a position which had changed little by the mid-eighteenth century as the baptism register of 1761-70 indicated that a miller, a joiner, 2 shoemakers and 2 weavers comprised the manufacturing group (6 of 24 adult males).

The township of Wiswell is situated to the north of Whalley township. The data from the poll tax and parish registers indicates a similar, though less pronounced, pattern of economic change to that of Whalley. The level of agricultural activity in Wiswell fluctuated during the course of the eighteenth century, but showed a proportionate decline from the level of the mid-seventeenth century. In the register of deaths between 1653-60 those individuals ascribed to the agricultural sector represented 15 of the 31 adult males in the sample (48%). This level had fallen marginally in the burial register of 1751-60 as 12 of the 36 adult males were described as farmers, husbandmen or labourers (33%). This level was sustained in the samples from the baptism and burial registers of 1761-70, but the relatively small sample sizes mean that the figures are suggestive evidence for a trend rather than firm proof of its existence. The level of manufacturing fluctuated and it is difficult to establish any clear pattern of change in this economic sector during the period under consideration.

In Whalley township the proportionate fall in agricultural activity was paralleled by an increase in the level of manufacturing

activity. In the poll tax of 1660 manufacturing activity of all types accounted for 25 of the 65 male heads of household (38%). This compares with broadly similar levels in the parish register of 1653-60. In the death register 25 of the 70 adult males were ascribed to manufacturing (36%), and in the birth register 14 of the 43 adult males (33%) can be classified in this sector of the economy. An increase in the proportionate level of manufacturing activity is evident in the burial register of 1721-30, as 38 of the 91 adult males within the sample population (42%) were ascribed to this sector. As indicated this reversed the balance in predominance between the two sectors of agriculture and manufacturing, although it should be stressed that these labels give no indication of the commitment to either agriculture or manufacturing amongst the family members and servants associated with these adult males. As illustrated in figure 4.5 the continuing growth in manufacturing industry was witnessed in both the burial and baptism registers between 1741-50 and 1751-60. The level of manufacturing activity reached a peak between 1761-70 when the burial register recorded that 65% of the sample population (45 of the 69 adult males) were involved in the secondary sector. The proportionate level in the baptism register for the same period was slightly lower with 48 of the 87 adult males ascribed to manufacturing pursuits (55%), but this still represents a significant increase from the level of the mid-seventeenth century.

The figures which show the distribution of adult males between the main economic sectors do not provide a precise quantification of absolute and proportionate levels of employment in these activities. The data highlights the main features of the economic profile and,

in the case of Whalley township, points to a robust pattern of change between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth century. The occupational data from the mid-seventeenth century, for example, demonstrated that agriculture was the main economic activity on which the township was dependent. In contrast the data in the burial register of 1761-70 indicates that involvement in manufacturing activity (45 of 69 adult males) was more than four times greater than the proportion involved in agricultural activity (10 of 69 adult males).

In a survey of Gloucestershire occupations based on the Muster Roll of 1608 A.J. and R.H. Tawney stress the wide distribution of employments other than agriculture and the large proportion of the population engaged in them. The evidence from Gloucestershire indicates that manufacturing activity of all types accounted for 35% of male adults aged between 20 and 60.[1] This value is similar to the proportionate level of manufacturing activity in Whalley township in the period covered by the poll tax and the parish registers of 1653-60. As in Gloucestershire, the occupational data indicates that Whalley township was far from an exclusively agricultural society.

The detailed composition of the secondary and tertiary sectors in Whalley township can be assessed from the occupational data in the poll tax and the parish registers. The series of samples taken from the parish registers between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth century provides a moving picture which indicates changes

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[1] Tawney and Tawney, 'Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', pp. 42, 58, 59-63.

in the extent of, and the characteristics of, the different types of activities encompassed within these broad economic sectors. In the occupational classification it is possible to break down manufacturing into more detailed headings, although not all of them are used in this study (see table 3.1). Manufacturing includes a range of activities which as A.L. Beier indicates "might seem odd to the modern economist, who sees mass production of consumer durables as the norm". In this study of Blackburn Hundred the term 'manufacturing' takes into account the fact that "... transforming raw materials into meat, bread and light were mainstream economic activities of this period".[1] It is important to ask whether the observed increase in the level of manufacturing activity in Whalley township represented an increase in all of the component groups or whether one sector showed a disproportionate growth.

The most noticeable rate of change in Whalley township was observed in the textiles sector of manufacturing, which over the period from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century increased not only its share of the manufacturing group but also of the total workforce. The poll tax of 1660 indicated that 6 of the 65 male heads of household were listed as linenweavers and woollenweavers (9%), although the absence of data for those in receipt of poor relief may underestimate the true level of textile manufacturing. The death register of 1653-60 however, points to a broadly similar level of textile activity as 5 of the 70 adult males

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[1] Beier, 'Engine of Manufacture', p. 146.

were described as textile workers (7%).[1] The data from Gloucestershire in 1608 indicates that 2,637 individuals out of a total of 19,402 were involved in textile production (14%), which is a significantly higher proportion than that observed in Whalley township in the mid-seventeenth century.[2]

The significance of textile production in Whalley is suggested by a Quarter Sessions petition of "some of the Inhabitants within Great Harwood, Billington, Whalley and Rishton being cloathiers". This petition raises a number of interesting questions. It is claimed that "some of them have come to Preston for the market there with cloath to sell of their and theire servants makeinge for the space of 50 years and upwards...". No indication is given of the extent of production in these townships although the claim is made that the hindrance which is the cause of the petition makes "many poor people want work which have been accustomed to worke and bee imployed in such tradinge". The petition which is dated 1667 gives no indication whether the 14 individuals who signed/marked the petition were representative of the full extent of textile activity or just a part of that level of activity. The document is damaged so that all 14 names cannot be fully identified and those that are legible are not identified by township so that it is not possible to establish how many "cloathiers" from each of the four townships signed this petition. Included in the petition however, are Edward

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[1] These values in Whalley township are roughly comparable with that of 8% (19 of 226 entries) in Colyton between 1609-12. Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', p. 11.

[2] Tawney and Tawney, 'Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', p. 36.

Baron and Richard Dobson who were described as weavers in the township of Whalley in the poll tax of 1660.[1] The nature of the petition might suggest a tendency towards exaggeration but the evidence would still seem to indicate a significant level of textile activity in the townships.[2]

Textile occupations in other areas of Blackburn Hundred can be set beside the experience of Whalley. Burnley parish register details occupations between 1653 and 1660,[3] and Swain in an analysis of the registers found that the burial register indicated that 10% of the sample were cloth producers as opposed to 11% in the register of births. This was lower than the value of 16% in Colne and Pendle between 1626 and 1642. This latter figure was based on a sample of Quarter Sessions recognisance rolls which are likely to include two main forms of bias. Those who were accepted as pledges for the good behaviour of others were likely to be of a high status so that gentlemen and yeomen would be over-represented. Additionally, those prosecuted for felonies were likely to be of lower status groups. Swain expresses confidence in the results as the value for cloth manufacture in Burnley from the same source was 9% and such was in broad agreement with the parish register data from 1653-60.[4] This data illustrates how specialisation in the cloth industry was more advanced in certain areas of Blackburn Hundred than others.

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[1] Edward Baron, a woollenweaver, and Richard Dobson, a linenweaver, both paid a capitation charge of 6d. in the poll tax of 1660. P.R.O. E.179/250/4.

[2] L.R.O. QSP 298/2.

[3] L.R.O. PR 3027/1/2 and MF 8/4.

[4] Swain, 'Industry and Economy', pp. 254-255.

Wadsworth and Mann have collated the evidence from a number of other Commonwealth parish registers from Lancashire which facilitate comparison with the Hundred of Blackburn.[1] Data from the marriage register of Rochdale between 1653 and 1657 indicated a high level of agricultural activity accounting for 126 out of 246 entries (51%) but also a considerable degree of textile activity. This aspect of manufacturing accounted for 73 out of 246 entries (30%). In the marriage register of Middleton in the mid-seventeenth century 34 of the 71 male adults listed in marriage entries were involved in agricultural activities (48%), which is similar to the level of 47% indicated in the death register of Whalley between 1653-60 (33 of 70 adult males). The involvement in textiles however, is far higher in Middleton accounting for 22 out of 71 male adults recorded in the marriage entries between 1653-1657 (31%). A similarly high level of cloth production is indicated in the baptism register of Radcliffe between 1656-1659 as 28 of the 80 entries (35%) include the occupational description of webster. In contrast to the parishes of Middleton and Rochdale the level of agricultural activity in Radcliffe is lower than the extent of involvement in textile manufacture, accounting for 22 of the 80 entries (28%). The level of textile activity in Whalley township at the starting point of this survey is therefore minimal compared with Middleton, Radcliffe and Rochdale.[2]

Clearly, what is striking about the economic situation in Whalley township is the change and development over time (see table

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[1] Figure 1.1 shows the position of these parishes.

[2] Wadsworth and Mann, Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, p. 52.

4.7, table 4.8 and figure 4.4). The burial register between 1721-30 shows little advance in the level of textile activity from that of the mid-seventeenth century with only 5 of the 91 adult males ascribed to this economic group (5%), although the small size of the samples of textile workers makes accurate comparison hazardous. The baptism register of 1741-50 records a significant increase in level as 11 of the 86 adult males in the sample can be ascribed to textile manufacturing (13%). This increase continued so that the samples from 1751-60 recorded a proportion of 16% in the baptism register (14 of 85 adult males) and 13% in the burial register (13 of 100 adult males). The absolute number and proportionate level of individuals described as clothworkers peaked between 1761-70. Textile workers accounted for 19 of the 69 adult males in the burial register (28%), as compared with 17 of 87 adult males listed in the baptism register (20%).

In short, then, in Whalley township the proportionate involvement in agriculture showed a significant fall in level in the period 1653 to 1770 from approximately one-half to one-seventh of the adult males identified in the parish register samples (see table 4.7, table 4.8 and figure 4.4). This was accompanied by an increase in manufacturing activity, but in particular textile activity which increased from 7% in the death register of 1653-60 (5 of 70 adult males) to 28% in the sample from 1761-70 (19 of 69 adult males). This trend is interesting and compares favourably with Lindert's observation that "the number of men labelled by a textile trade more than tripled across the second half of the eighteenth century".[1]

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[1] Lindert, 'English Occupations', p.709.

The spread of textile manufacturing in the early decades of the eighteenth century can be traced in other Lancashire parishes. The Middleton baptism register of 1746-50 recorded that 454 entries out of 603 relating to male adults were associated with textile activity (75%), whereas 76 related to agricultural employments (13%). The register of baptisms for Radcliffe between 1742-8 indicated that out of 322 male adult entries 172 related to the textile industry (53%), compared to 38 concerned with agricultural activities (12%). These values illustrate that by the mid-eighteenth century the proportionate level of involvement in textiles had increased substantially from that of the mid-seventeenth century, and Radcliffe and Middleton were areas where the economy was directed primarily towards the production of cloth (see table 4.13). Although there is a difference in scale in the extent of cloth production, a common link can thus be drawn between these areas and the township of Whalley. Radcliffe, Middleton, Oldham and Upholland similarly demonstrate a fall in the proportionate number of individuals ascribed to agricultural activity during the course of the eighteenth century. With the exception of Oldham these areas all show a corresponding increase in the proportion of the workforce involved in the production of textiles (see table 4.13). In this respect they can be categorised with the township of Whalley. In common with Upholland, Walton-le-Dale, Penwortham, Denton, Middleton and Radcliffe the township of Whalley had a strong industrial element in the framework of a small rural township.[1]

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[1] Wadsworth and Mann, Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, pp. 314-5.

The importance of textile activity in Whalley township is broadly confirmed by Dr. Richard Pococke, who on a tour of the area around Blackburn noted in a letter of June 1751 that "Whalley on the Calder" was a village that was "chiefly supported by farming and spinning woollen yarn...".[1] Thomas Pennant in 1773 viewed the area around Whalley and Clitheroe from a high point on Ingleborough Hill and commented on the "rich pastures covered with cattle". Moreover, he noted that the areas were "also enlivened with some degree of commerce; in the multitude of the cattle, the carriage of the lime, and the busy noise of the spinners engaged in the service of the woollen manufacture of the cloathing towns".[2] In the sample from the burial register of 1751-60 agriculture accounted for 20 of the 100 adult males in Whalley township (20%). The textile element was made up of 10 weavers who accounted for 10% of the sample, 1 jerseycomber and 2 dyers who formed 3% of the adult male individuals (see table 4.8). Pococke's reference to the spinning of woollen yarn is not directly supported by the parish register, although there a number of ways in which the data could conceal this activity. If the spinning of woollen yarn was mainly a female occupation this would account for its absence from the occupational data in the parish register. Alternatively, this economic activity would be concealed if individuals described as farmers, husbandmen, yeomen and labourers pursued spinning as a by-employment.[3] One can also pose the question whether the ten individuals described as

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[1] Cartwright, Travels of Dr. Richard Pococke, p. 201.

[2] Pennant, Tour from Downing to Alston Moor, pp. 80-81.

[3] See chapter 6, pp. 400-403.

weavers in the burial register of 1751-60 utilised this local supply of woollen yarn or whether it was used to supply other areas within Blackburn Hundred. It is relevant to ask whether those individuals responsible for spinning the yarn were independent or whether they were paid wages for this economic activity. No evidence is forthcoming from the parish register data so that discussion of these questions must focus on the evidence from probate inventories.

Suffice it to say at this stage that the economy of Whalley township was becoming increasingly diversified in the course of the eighteenth century. Other townships in the Ribble Valley area of Blackburn Hundred seem to have experienced similar trends. Dr. Richard Pococke observed of Clitheroe township that it was a small town "chiefly supported by lime kilns and spinning worsted yarn...".[1] The increasing emphasis on manufacturing activity in the Ribble Valley is highlighted in a survey of Samlesbury in 1799. The observer commented "I don't know any land more capable of improvement: it being a manufacturing country, husbandry is entirely neglected and nearly forgot...".[2]

The general profile of the manufacturing groups altered dramatically in the period under consideration, and it is significant to note the appearance of new occupations that the figures conceal. The occupational evidence from Whalley township in the mid-eighteenth century indicates the presence of a wider range of occupations concerned with metalworking. The data tentatively

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[1] Cartwright, Travels of Dr. Richard Pococke, p. 200.

[2] J. Croston, History of the Ancient Hall of Samlesbury in Lancashire (London, 1871), p. 237.

points to an increase in the proportionate number of individuals ascribed to such activities compared to the level of the mid-seventeenth century, although the small size of the sample groups again dictates caution. In the poll tax of 1660 Richard Hill and William Gelder were described as blacksmiths and they represented the only workers in metal out of the total of 65 male heads of household (3%).[1] William Gelder is mentioned regularly in the Churchwardens' Accounts of Whalley between 1655-1665 and the description of goods provided and work performed gives some indication of the nature of the blacksmith's work.[2]

In the baptism register of 1751-60 6 adult males out of a total of 85 were described as workers in metal (7%), and in the baptism register of 1761-70 these occupations accounted for 9 of the 87 adult males (10%). The appearance of the occupation of nailer accounts mainly for the observed increase in the level of involvement in ironworking. This occupation was first noted in 1723 with the burial of John Curran on 11th October, although the lack of occupational data between 1660 and 1720 means that this occupation may have been present at an earlier date. John Fletcher is the only individual described as a nailer in the baptism and burial registers between 1741-50. The baptism records indicate that he had been present in the township since at least 1742, when a daughter Sarah was baptised. The incidence of this occupation increased markedly

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[1] In the survey of Gloucestershire occupations in 1608 A.J. and R.H. Tawney find that 566 out of 19,402 males (3%) between 20 and 60 could be classed as workers in metal.
Tawney and Tawney, 'Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', p. 60.

[2] L.R.O. PR 8.

in the third quarter of the eighteenth century as the baptism and burial records between 1751 and 1770 indicate that 13 different individuals practised the occupation of nailer in Whalley township for various lengths of time within this period. The increase in the level of workers in metal was also accounted for by a reference to William Clark, a tinner, who was buried on 17th March 1765 and a reference to Rowland Read, a cutler, whose daughter Alice was baptised on 3rd November 1745.

In a study of Halewood in Lancashire, Janet Hollinshead notes the appearance by 1725 of four men who were involved in making tools and parts for the watch and clock industry.[1] Similarly, in Whalley township the first reference to a clockmaker was in the burial register of September 1726 when John Brigg buried a daughter. There are no further references to clockmakers until the burial register of 1751-60 noted the burial of Edward Wright on 28th October 1751 and John Wright on 6th July 1755. The inventory of John Wright dated July 1755 was in the 'infra' series and various entries in the document confirmed the occupation of clockmaker provided in the parish register. These included a "steddy, bellow and two vises", an "engine", "hammers and other small tools" and a quantity of "old and new brass".[2] Clockmaking was not as precise a craft as that of watchmaking and it is suggested by F.A. Bailey and T.C. Barker that "...clockmakers were as widely spread geographically as smiths

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[1] J.E. Hollinshead, 'Eighteenth Century Halewood', T.H.S.L.C. 130 (1981), p. 26.

[2] L.R.O., WCW infra. Inventory of John Wright of Whalley clockmaker, 1755.

themselves, whereas watchmakers were more localised".[1] The appearance of clockmakers as an occupational group in Whalley township is still an interesting development, showing a growing diversification in the economic structure of the area. It points to a growing demand for 'luxury' items which is indicative of a rising standard of living amongst at least part of the population.

In Colyton E.A. Wrigley points to an increase in dealing, retail and service employments in the eighteenth century. Between 1609-12 these occupational groups accounted for only 4 out of 226 entries (2%) but this had increased to 69 out of 874 entries between 1765-1779 (8%). It is argued that if real incomes were rising more diversified forms of employment could be sustained. E.A. Wrigley combined the categories of dealing, retail and services with those for government service, religion, education, law and medicine.[2] Combining the equivalent categories[3] for Whalley township also pointed to a significant increase in tertiary employments by the late eighteenth century.

The range of tertiary employments indicated in the poll tax of 1660 is fairly limited, accounting for 6 of the 65 male heads of household (9%). The dealing component was comprised of Richard Waddington and William Clayton, who were both described as mercers, and Anthony Burton, a chapman. Some indication of the type of

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1 F.A. Bailey and T.C. Barker, 'The Seventeenth Century Origins of Watchmaking in South-West Lancashire', in J.R. Harris, ed., Liverpool and Merseyside (London, 1969), p. 3.

2 Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', pp. 18-19.

3 In order to facilitate comparison with the data from Colyton it was necessary to amalgamate those in the categories of dealing and public and professional service with the number of butchers.

dealing activity in which Anthony Burton was involved can be gleaned from the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary's parish in Whalley. He was paid 3d. for candles in 1651, 2 "ropes for the clocke" cost 5 shillings in 1662 and "wyre for the clocke" accounted for 1s.3d. in 1659. In 1662 Richard Waddington, a mercer, received payment of 3s.9d. for "latt nailes".[1] However, his high wealth ranking indicated by the payment of £2 on an estate valued at £100 p.a. in the poll tax of 1660 and his high status reflected in the title ascription of gentleman in the hearth tax of 1664, suggests that the nature of his dealing activity was, on the whole, more complex and lucrative than that pursued by Anthony Burton. Mr. William Moore, vicar, Jocelin Houghton, clerk, and Robert Dobson, a barber, comprised the category of public and professional service in the mid-seventeenth century.

The expansion in the number and range of service occupations in the eighteenth century is demonstrated particularly in the baptism and burial entries between 1751-60. The baptism entries indicate that 13 of the 85 adult males (15%) were involved in tertiary employments compared with 19 of 100 adult males (19%) in the entries of the burial register. The rise in tertiary employments apparent from the early eighteenth century is accounted for mainly by the appearance of grocers, victuallers, shopkeepers and innkeepers (see table 4.8). Mr. William Bulcock was recorded in the burial register of 1721-30 as a grocer, an occupation that he continued to practise until at least 1747 as he was again ascribed this title on the

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[1] L.R.O. PR 8.

burial of his wife in January of that year. The first appearance of the occupation of victualler was similarly noted in the decade 1721-30 with the burial of Alice, daughter of Richard Medcalfe in September 1725. In the burial register of 1741-50 James Longworth and William Rishton were described as shopkeepers, a number that had increased to 4 in the burial register of 1751-60.

The appearance of these new occupational groups is significant and C.W. Chalklin suggests that the presence of grocers in Kent in the early seventeenth century "...may well be symptomatic of the higher standard of living in Kent at the beginning of the seventeenth century...".[1] In the same respect this increase in the number of grocers, victuallers and shopkeepers in Whalley township may point to a higher standard of living in the mid-eighteenth century. Alternatively, the increase in numbers amongst this occupational group may be the result of a decline in agricultural self sufficiency linked to the increasing proportion of the workforce engaged in manufacturing.

By the 1720s it seems as if the permanent shop was becoming a feature of rural areas. Janet Hollinshead in a study of eighteenth century Halewood notes the presence of a shopkeeper by 1725, which corresponds with the evidence from Whalley township.[2] As in Halewood there are no references to itinerant pedlars during the eighteenth century in Whalley township. This is not to argue that dealing was not conducted in this way in Blackburn Hundred, rather that a certain proportion of dealing activity was assuming a greater

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1 C.W. Chalklin, Seventeenth Century Kent (London, 1965), p. 160.

2 Hollinshead, 'Eighteenth Century Halewood', pp. 23, 26.

permanency in the area. Reference to occupational data from the nearby township of Chatburn shows the overlap between the different forms of trading in the period between 1721-50. Three individuals were referred to as tinkers in this period. Thomas Atkinson was present in Chatburn in 1728 when he and his wife Margaret had a daughter baptised. Thomas Barber and his wife Margaret had a son baptised in September 1723. Richard Denby and his wife Isabel were present in Chatburn between 1725 and 1747 as the parish register recorded the baptism of 5 sons and 4 daughters. John Kendall of the same township represented perhaps dealing of a less itinerant and more settled nature. When Isaac his son was baptised in April 1723 he was referred to as a grocer. The title had changed slightly to that of shopkeeper by December 1725 when a son Abraham was baptised. In September 1728 he was also referred to as a shopkeeper but by December 1738 his occupational title had changed to that of innkeeper. The name of his wife is the same in all four entries so it is likely that the entries relate to the same individual.

The townships of Billington, Read and Wiswell which surround Whalley are noticeable for the almost complete absence of individuals concerned with dealing. This does not take into account those manufacturers such as tailors, shoemakers or butchers who may have sold as well as produced their goods. No shopkeepers, grocers or victuallers were listed in the parish register data for the townships of Billington, Wiswell and Read and there are no references to itinerant salesmen in either the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. In contrast the occupational data from Whalley township indicated the presence of a range of individuals concerned with dealing and it would seem feasible that the

inhabitants of Billington, Read and Wiswell had access to the trading facilities provided. In the burial register of 1721-30, for example, dealing activity is represented by a grocer, a victualler, a mercer, a linendraper and a woollendraper (see table 4.8).

In Billington and Read townships there are no references to innkeepers or alehousekeepers prior to the samples taken from the burial register of 1751-60. In Wiswell no innkeepers were listed prior to the sample from the burial register of 1761-70. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards this occupational group achieved a new prominence in Whalley township with four individuals listed as innkeepers in the burial register of 1751-60. This increase is significant as alehouses were often the focus for trading activity as Daniel Defoe's account of the Yorkshire cloth markets indicated.[1] Also 'The Carriers' Cosmography' of 1637 by John Taylor listed the "Inns, Ordinaries, Hostelries, and other lodgings in and near London, where the Carriers, Waggoners, Foot-posts and Higglers do usually come from any parts, towns, shires and counties of the kingdoms of England, Principality of Wales; as also from the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland".[2] This booklet clearly stressed the role inns had to play in internal trade but the type and extent of this trade in Blackburn Hundred is difficult for the historian to document.

The provision of retail services in the townships under consideration seems to be limited to the more general demands of the

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1 Defoe, Tour, p. 502.

2 John Taylor, 'The Carriers' Cosmography', London, 1637, reprinted in A. Lang, Social England Illustrated (London, 1903), pp. 343 ff.

population. No inventories are available which list the contents of a shop and it is not possible to assess as in the case of the Wigan mercer the type and range of goods available for purchase in the area.[1]

The patterns of purchasing amongst a gentry family can be assessed from two account books relating to the Walmesleys of Dunkenhalgh Hall, which survive for the periods 1685-1704 and 1704-12. Dunkenhalgh Hall lies in the south-western part of the township of Clayton-le-Moors which is in the parish of Whalley.[2] The evidence of the accounts show quite clearly that basic foodstuffs for the household were supplied on a purely local basis, although more unusual or expensive items of consumption were drawn from a wider geographical area. The accounts of January 1695, for example, refer to "Port wine", "9 score of oranges and leamons", "200 of chesnutts" and "300 of red herrings" which were bought at Liverpool. "Dryed sweet meats" were bought from a Mr. Graddyll of Preston in September 1695 and a further transaction of October 1695 referred to "seventy three pound and a half of Brazyll sugar" also bought from Preston. "Sweet soaps" were purchased from York in March 1697 and tea and coffee purchased at London in July 1708.

The range of market contact indicated for this gentry household is clearly far greater than the maximum distance of a twelve mile radius that H.B. Rodgers suggested for Preston. It is normally

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1 J.J. Bagley, ed., 'Matthew Markland. A Wigan Mercer: The Manufacture and Sale of Lancashire Textiles in the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I', T.L.C.A.S. 68 (1958, printed 1959), pp. 48-56.

2 Farrer and Brownbill, V.C.H. Lancs, vol. 6, p. 419.

asserted that a market town in the early modern period could draw trade from the countryside within a days return journey on foot, a distance which has been estimated at between 5 and 8 miles.[1] However, the range of market contact in the Walmesley's account book is certainly untypical of the lower reaches of the social scale. A demand for luxury goods transgressed the normal market zones, particularly in the case of gentry families who would commission carriers to purchase goods for them. An entry of the 5th October 1695 refers to a journey to Preston "to make an agreement with James Knowle the London carrier". An entry of March 1698 referred to payment of "James Bradley the York carrier for severall parcells carrying from York and for a barrel of sweet soaps etc.".[2]

'The Carriers' Cosmography' of 1637 did not list any carriers who visited any location in the Hundred of Blackburn. The author acknowledged the omission of places in his list:

> "others may object and say that I have not named all the towns and places that carriers do go unto in England and Wales. To whom I yield; but yet I answer, that if a carrier of York hath a letter or goods to deliver at any town in his way thither, he serves the turn well enough: and there are carriers and messengers from York to carry such goods and letters as are to be passed any ways north, broad and wide as far or further north than Berwick." 3

The services of carriers facilitated a greater range of market contact than the level of activity indicated by H.B. Rodgers, and it

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1 H.B. Rodgers, 'The Market Area of Preston in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in A. Baker, J.D. Hamshere and J. Langton, eds., Geographical Interpretations of Historical Sources (Newton Abbot, 1970), p. 112.

2 L.R.O., DDPt. 1 (largely uncatalogued collection). 'Receipts and Disbursements, 1685-1704'; 'Accounts of Mrs. Abbot almoner at Dunkenhalgh, 1704-1712'.

3 Taylor, 'Carriers' Cosmography', p. 343.

seems that market contact in Blackburn Hundred was not confined within purely local limits.

From the evidence derived from Whalley township it seems that in the early to mid-eighteenth century there was an expansion at a local level in the facilities for trading. The sources from which shopkeepers and grocers in Blackburn Hundred were supplied with goods is not however, apparent from the available evidence. In particular, it is difficult to establish the internal trading mechanisms by which the population of north-east Lancashire was supplied with grain in the period 1660-1760.[1]

Holt's survey of the state of agriculture in Lancashire in 1795 gives some indication of the sources of grain supplied to the county at the end of the eighteenth century. Holt referred to the "great consumption of grain in this county", although he pointed to "how inadequate the land, in its present state, is to the supply of its inhabitants". As the grain grown in Lancashire could only supply its inhabitants for a quarter of the year, Holt concluded that "the easiest way of obtaining corn, until the county is improved, is to purchase it at other markets".[2] From the Custom-House Books Holt calculates that over the years 1791-3 inclusive, the port of Liverpool imported 399,719 quarters of wheat, barley, British malt, rye, oats, oatmeal and Indian corn, of which 111,822 quarters was "brought coastways". By systematically comparing the export of grain from the county of Norfolk with the imports to Liverpool,

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[1] The low level of crop cultivation amongst testators in north-east Lancashire suggests a dependence on the market economy for corn. See chapter 5, pp. 306-311, 322-329.

[2] Holt, Agriculture of Lancashire, pp. 71, 200.

Holt implies that the port was heavily dependent on the grain production of that county.[1] Holt states that "the corn imported into Liverpool is chiefly for the consumption of Lancashire", although it is not clear how much of this corn was supplied to traders in the north-eastern part of the county. T.S. Willan indicates that from the late seventeenth century onwards the port of Liverpool received supplies of grain from other areas of England and Wales.[2] Such imports were undoubtedly significant to Lancashire in the context of the rapid population growth of the second half of the eighteenth century, but it is not possible to quantify the importance of this trade to Blackburn Hundred throughout the period 1660-1760 or to trace the mechanisms of distribution to the grocers and shopkeepers of the area.

The diversity of occupations within the category of public and professional service also increased in the first half of the eighteenth century. In the samples of male adults from the poll tax of 1660 and the birth and death registers of 1653-60, occupations within this category were confined to those of a vicar, a clerk and a barber. In addition to these occupations the burial register of 1751-60 listed an apothecary, a sexton, a schoolmaster and 2 soldiers. The presence of John Wiglesworth and William Driffield, both excise officers, is recorded in the baptism register between 1741-50. The range of occupations within the category of public and

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1 Holt, 'Table of Comparison between the Imports of the Town of Liverpool and the Exports of the County of Norfolk', Ibid, pp. 206-7.

2 T.S. Willan, The English Coasting Trade, 1600-1750 (Manchester, 1938, reprinted Manchester, 1967), pp. 184-6.

professional service is further extended in the baptism register between 1761-70 as Charles Patefield, a dancing master, is recorded on the baptism of his daughter Ritania on 18th February 1768.

In contrast to the diversity of tertiary occupations in Whalley township the adjacent townships of Read and Wiswell had no individual in any of the samples in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who could be classed under public and professional services (see tables 4.10 and 4.12). Although Billington township recorded an attorney and a surgeon in the burial register of 1741-50 and a schoolmaster between 1761-70, the services available were not as extensive as those in Whalley. This suggests that townships were interdependent and it seems probable that Wiswell, Read and Billington relied on nearby Whalley township for the provision of services. Location quotients based on the poll tax of 1660 indicate that public and professional services were strongly over-represented in Whalley township (see table 4.14).

Building activity in the townships of Whalley and Wiswell showed a marked increase between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth century. In Whalley township the poll tax of 1660 indicates the presence of 4 carpenters in the sample of 65 male householders (6%). Some expansion within the building category is apparent in the baptism and burial registers between 1741-50, although the relatively small size of the samples of building workers in each decade mean that the percentage comparisons over time have no claim to precision. The evidence is however, suggestive of an upward trend as the baptism register lists 3 carpenters, a mason, a housewright, a plumber and 2 paviors amongst a total of 86 male heads of household (9%). This expansion is

similarly indicated in the burial register of 1751-60 as 12 of the 100 adult males can be ascribed to building occupations (12%), a level which was sustained in the baptism register of 1761-70 as 10 of the 87 adult males were involved in building activities (12%). This increased activity can be compared with Wrigley's survey of Colyton. Between 1609-12 building workers accounted for 12 out of 226 entries relating to male adults (5%) and 81 out of 874 (9%) between 1765-1779, values which are broadly similar to the level of change traced in Whalley township.[1]

This upsurge in the number of workers in the building industry in Whalley township could point either to increased prosperity allowing a rebuilding phase or, alternatively, an expansion in population size demanded an increased level of building. The building category can be further broken down into house building and road building. The registers illustrate that from 1741-50 there was a general increase in the proportion of male adults involved in house building activity, which can be linked with the marked upward trend in the population identified in the 1740s. It is interesting to note that the period between 1660 and 1730, which represented a phase of little population change, showed no increase in the number of occupations associated with house building (see table 4.8).[2] In the burial register of 1721-30 2 masons, 1 slater and 1 plumber comprised the building category and represented just 4% of the 91 male adults identified in the register.

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[1] Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', pp. 10, 18.

[2] See chapter 2, passim.

The occupation of pavior was first noted in the baptism and burial entries between 1741 and 1750, and from this point this occupation is regularly recorded in the parish register data (see table 4.8). George Eastwood and Michael Eastwood were described as paviors in the baptism register of 1741-50, a number that had increased to 5 in the burial register of 1751-60. Increased levels of manufacturing in north-east Lancashire would have stimulated a demand for improved transport facilities. John Holt in 1795 referred to "the vast increase of carriage in this county" and to the fact that "great exertions have been made of late years, at very considerable expence, to improve the roads, the effects of which are very apparent, both upon those which are public and parochial".[1] The particular upsurge in the number of paviors in Whalley township in the decade 1751-60 may be associated with the construction of two new lengths of road in the area in 1754.[2]

The change over time in the levels of building activity is demonstrated more clearly in the case of Wiswell township, although the small sample sizes of less than ten again dictate caution in the use of the statistical evidence. In the mid-seventeenth century the death register indicated the presence of two carpenters amongst the sample of 31 adult males (6%). An upward trend is again apparent in the data from the decade 1741-50 as the burial register recorded the presence of 4 masons and 1 housewright who accounted for 18% of the 28 adult male individuals in the register. The extent of building activity increased still further in the decade 1751-60 as the burial

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[1] Holt, Agriculture of Lancashire, pp. 187, 191.

[2] See chapter 4, note 2, p. 230.

register included 5 masons, 3 carpenters and a housewright who formed 25% of the sample of 36 male adults. This level was sustained in the baptism register of 1761-70 which listed 4 masons, 2 house-carpenters, a slater and a carpenter amongst a sample of 32 adult males. Again, the level of building activity showed no change in the period of largely static population between 1660 and 1730 as the burial register in the latter period recorded the presence of just one carpenter in a sample of 31 adult males.

The observed increase in the levels of building activity would have stimulated a demand for lime which was required to make mortar. Dr. Richard Pococke described in 1751 how the lime-kilns were an important source of income to the borough of Clitheroe. He observed that "they send their lime to the distance of twenty miles both for building and manure and sell it for about 3½d. a bushel on the spot".[1] An account book from Stonyhurst covering the period from June 1695 to Lady Day 1699 contains references to payments which were made for lime bought in Clitheroe. In 1697 the purchase was recorded of "3810 load of lime from Cliderowe into the Parke" and in November 1698 the purchase of 1091 loads of lime was recorded "for the New garden wall...".[2] Although amounts of lime purchased are recorded in this particular source no records are available to the historian which would detail the total amount of lime supplied from Clitheroe and to whom it was sold. Clearly one cannot ascertain the amount of lime supplied to builders in Whalley and Wiswell and whether this increased between the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth

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[1] Cartwright, Travels of Dr. Richard Pococke, p. 200.

[2] L.R.O. DDSt. (uncatalogued collection), 'Stonyhurst Day Book'.

centuries. As previously indicated Thomas Pennant in 1773 referred to the "carriage of the lime" in the area around Clitheroe which was one of the ways in which the area was "enlivened with some degree of commerce...".[1] This evidence illustrates the way in which increased activity in one economic sector acted to encourage development in another. It seems clear that the high level of population growth in Blackburn Hundred in the mid/late eighteenth century would have stimulated manufacturing activity through a demand for the basic requirements of food, fuel, shelter and clothing.

3. Downham, Chatburn and Twiston townships.

The three townships of Downham, Chatburn and Twiston are considered together for a number of reasons. The first is that they form a geographically compact unit in Whalley parish and they have the common feature that the northern boundary of each township forms part of the county division between Lancashire and Yorkshire. The chapelry register of Downham presents a number of methodological problems in an occupational survey, problems which are common to each of the three townships.

Downham lies to the north-east of Clitheroe and during the period under consideration it formed a chapelry in the parish of

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[1] Pennant, Tour from Downing to Alston Moor, pp. 80-81.

Whalley. The chapelry of Downham comprised the townships of Twiston and Downham but:

> "the people who came to Downham chapel for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage and burial were drawn not only from Downham itself and the nearby townships and hamlets, but also from a wide area which included Sawley (in particular) and Slaidburn across the neighbouring border with Yorkshire, Whitewell near the Trough of Bowland, and places such as Newchurch on the other side of Pendle Hill." [1]

If individuals crossed the border from Yorkshire into Lancashire it is prooable that a counter-current of movement was established from Lancashire into Yorkshire. For this reason it cannot be argued that the individuals represented in the chapelry register for each of the three townships formed a numerically complete sample.

A further difficulty with these townships is the possibility that non-conformity may have distorted the occupational structure, particularly as consistent data is available only in the baptism register. In 1672 it was reported to the Bishop of Chester that there were monthly conventicles and many Quakers in Downham. [2] It is indicated in the chapelry register that in January 1676 James Whipp, William Bulcock and Elizabeth Croasdall all of Twiston had been buried "at the Quaker buryeing place at Twiston". Also on 22nd September 1701 it was noted that Elizabeth Bulcock, a widow of Twiston was "buryed at the Sepulchre". [3]

If the level of non-conformity was high in these townships then the proportion of adults who brought their children for baptism to

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1 Price, Register of the Parish Church of St. Leonard, Downham, p. vii.

2 Farrer and Brownbill, V.C.H. Lancs., vol. 6, p. 558.

3 Price, Register of the Parish Church of St. Leonard, Downham, pp. 173, 181.

the Anglican church would have been considerably reduced. The impact of Protestant non-conformity on the occupational structure presented in the register of baptisms is unlikely to have been random. Wrightson and Levine amongst others stress the notable social, and consequently occupational, bias amongst non-conformist groups. Non-conformity in Terling was essentially an affair of the middling sort of villager.[1]

In the parish register of Whalley covering the period 1740-1791 a sheet at the end of the register was entitled "A register for the children of Dissenters within the Parish &c.".[2] This sheet made reference to only two individuals and is probably far from complete as the decision to compile such a list suggests a notable presence of non-conformists. The document referred to the birth of children of William Rishton, a shopkeeper of Whalley, and John Fletcher of Whalley, a nailer. However, these two individual cases are not sufficient evidence on which to measure the spread of non-conformity throughout the social scale in Blackburn Hundred.

Lancashire was also a county which was noted for a high level of recusancy. In the 1730s Thomas Cox in Magna Britannia observed that "As to the people of this county, they are many of them Papists, who abound more in this County, than in any in England besides".[3] Christopher Haigh in a study of Lancashire in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries describes Blackburn as a

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1 K. Wrightson and D. Levine, Poverty and Piety in an English Village. Terling 1525-1700 (London, 1979), pp. 164-168.

2 L.R.O. PR 6.

3 T. Cox, Magna Britannia (London, 1738), p. 1,313.

'mixed' deanery. It was an area which contained both Puritans and Recusants:

> "Blackburn was too close to Manchester deanery and the West Riding to avoid Protestant influences, especially as the cloth industry grew in size, but the terrain was difficult and it was not well governed, so that Catholic clergy could work in reasonable safety".[1]

The Kenyon of Peel collection contains a "notebook of recusants who appeared or were convicted at Quarter Sessions..." between April and July 1675. The evidence is interesting as it listed the individuals under townships together with an occupational description. In Downham township James Whipp was described as a husbandman and in Chatburn Richard Loynd and William Bulcock were accorded the same occupational description.[2]

The presence of both Catholics and Protestants in Blackburn Hundred confirms Haigh's statement that Blackburn was a 'mixed' deanery. However, the sources available provide insufficient data to assess in a quantitative fashion the effect that non-conformity had on the occupational structure of each township under consideration. The 'mixed' distribution of Protestant non-conformity and recusancy throughout the deanery is such that according to Haigh it "... almost defies geographical analysis".[3] One can note the presence of non-conformist elements within the townships, but as Buckatzsch points out in his study of Sheffield parish registers no way has been found to estimate the extent to which this factor had altered the sample structure away from the

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1 Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 316.

2 L.R.O. DDKe 7/2.

3 Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 317.

'true' occupational basis.[1] The data drawn from the chapelry register of Downham is therefore, unlikely to provide a precise indication of the distribution of the population between different types of employment but the occupational labels can still be used to reveal the main sectors of economic importance in the townships considered.

During the period 1721-50 290 baptism entries related to 93 male individuals from the township of Downham. During the same period 51 male individuals were listed from the township of Chatburn and accounted for 99 entries. In the township of Twiston 84 entries related to 31 different male adults. The average number of entries per male individual shows values of 3.1 in Downham, 2.7 in Twiston and 1.9 in Chatburn. This points to an underenumeration of recorded baptisms in Chatburn, and it would seem probable that individuals from this township also used the chapelry of St. Mary Magdalene in the adjacent township of Clitheroe.[2] Again it will assumed that the chapelry register of Downham presents a random sample from each township of those individuals who were likely to attend the Anglican church.[3]

As in the townships of Accrington vetera and Accrington nova the register often gave more than one occupational label to an individual. As previously stressed simply counting the frequency of entries would overlook this use of more than one title for the same

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1 Buckatzsch, 'Occupations in the Parish Registers of Sheffield', p. 149.

2 Farrer and Brownbill, V.C.H. Lancs., vol. 6, pp. 370-371.

3 See chapter 4, pp. 218-220.

individual. Grouping the entries into individual case studies was made easier by the added detail of the name of the mother of the child. Initially data was collected into decades to facilitate a study of change over time. The trends identified could then be compared with other townships in the Hundred of Blackburn. This presented a methodological problem of categorising individuals in the occupational table as in many cases there was not a sufficient number of entries to decide which was the more reliable description. Grouping all baptism entries between 1721-1750 provided a greater number of entries per individual and clarified the main economic sector to which the person belonged. This method is not totally satisfactory but individuals were classified according to the occupational description provided in the maximum number of entries.

Out of the 93 adult males listed in Downham township 29 were described as labourers in at least one entry. 16 of these individuals were provided with alternative occupational descriptions. 9 were referred to as husbandmen, 4 as weavers, 1 as a tailor, 1 as a carpenter and 1 as a plasterer. The 29 labourers were therefore redistributed in the occupational table on the basis of this ratio. In Twiston 8 out of 31 male adults were described as labourers. Two of the alternative descriptions related to husbandmen, 3 to weavers, and 1 was described as a carpenter. As in the townships of Downham, Accrington vetera and Accrington nova, the distribution of labourers falls mainly between the categories of agriculture and textiles.[1] The figures in the occupational table are based on the redistribution of the labourers according to the

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[1] See chapter 4, pp. 204-7.

ratio indicated in each township (see table 4.15 and figure 4.6). In Chatburn 15 individuals were given the title of labourer in at least one entry but only 2 of these individuals had an alternative description ascribed to them. This may simply be due to the lower frequency of entries per individual in the parish register.

In reference to the townships of Downham and Twiston William Bennet Price considers that:

> "the area was chiefly agricultural ... but after the beginning of the Industrial Revolution a considerable cottage weaving industry, supported by ancillary trades appears to have grown up, owing to the proximity not far to the south of the main sites of the great Lancashire cotton industry." 1

It is probable that William Bennet Price was referring to the early nineteenth century when the baptism register contained occupational data from 1813-1837 and in fact pointed to a high proportion of weavers. This period is, however, outside the scope of this study but it is worth noting that it stresses the theme that a study of industrialisation should not be limited geographically to the main centres of development. This is certainly true of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the available sources point to relatively high levels of textile manufacture in Downham and Twiston.

In the poll tax of 1660 7 out of 46 adult males in Downham were involved in the manufacture of cloth (15%). In the breakdown of industrial zones in 1600 both Downham and Twiston were located in the area concerned with the production of woollens. However, both townships were close to the boundary with the linen zone,[2] and the

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1 Price, Register of the Parish Church of St. Leonard, Downham, p.vii.

2 Wadsworth and Mann, Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, p. 24.

poll tax indicates that in Downham 2 of the weavers were concerned with the manufacture of woollen cloth and 5 with linen. In Twiston township 14 male heads of household were assessed for payment of the poll tax, including Matthew Calverley, James Calverley and Henry Deane who were described as woollenweavers (21% of male heads of household). The chapelry register data for Downham between 1721 and 1750 indicated a slight increase in the level of textile activity from that of 1660. 18 of the 93 adult males identified in th. register were described as weavers (19%), although no indication is given of the type of cloth produced. At the end of the seventeenth century Downham and Twiston were categorised on the boundary of the fustian and woollen zone and close to that of linen, suggesting a combination of the three types of cloth production.[1] The level of textile activity remained fairly constant in Twiston. In the period 1721 to 1750 7 individuals out of a total of 31 were referred to as weavers (22%), although the small size of the sample groups means that such percentage comparison over time is not very reliable. The occupational data from Chatburn between 1721-50 pointed to a low level of textile activity as only 3 out of 51 male adults were referred to as weavers (6%). This represents no change from the minimal level of textile manufacturing indicated in the mid-seventeenth century, as the poll tax recorded that Robert Taylor and William Kendall were the only individuals described as weavers out of a total of 35 male heads of household (6%).

Agricultural activity accounted for 26 out of 46 individuals in Downham in the mid-seventeenth century (57%). In common with

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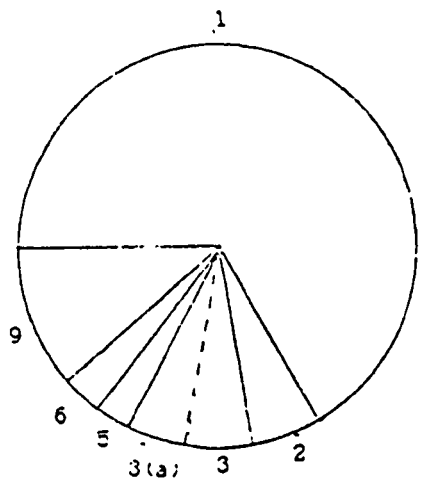
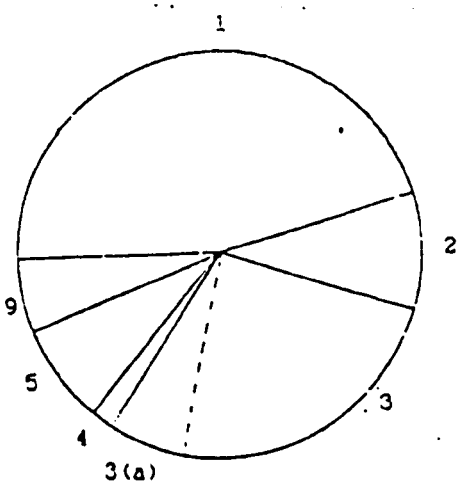
[1] Ibid., p. 79.

FIGURE 4.6

THE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS BETWEEN THE MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS: CHATBURN, DOWNHAM AND TWISTON TOWNSHIPS.

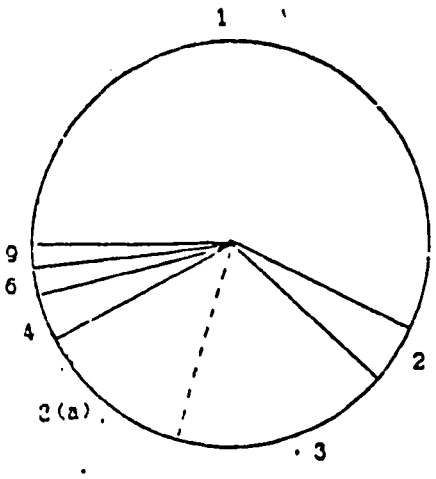


1660

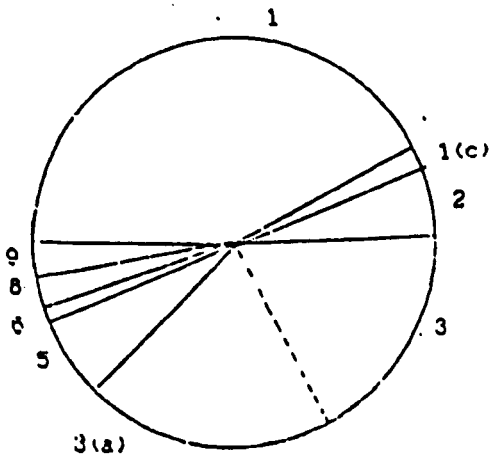


1721-50

CHATBURN

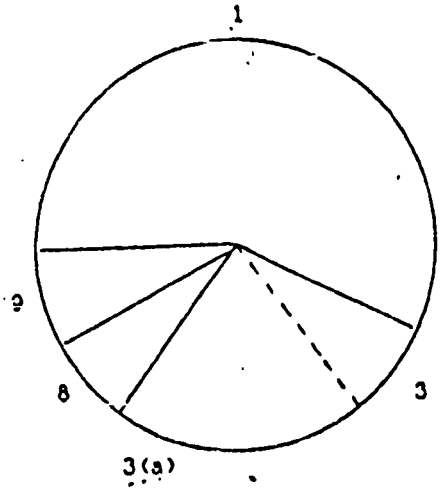


1660

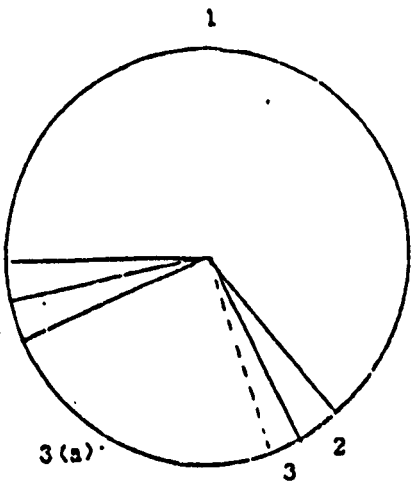


1721-50

DOWNHAM



1660



1721-50

TWISTON

Whalley and Billington townships the proportionate level of employment in agriculture fell by the early to mid-eighteenth century, accounting for 39 of the 93 adult males listed in the baptism register between 1721 and 1750 (42%). Similarly, in Chatburn township the proportionate level of male adults involved in agriculture fell from 66% of the sample in the mid-seventeenth century (23 of the 35 male heads of household) to 45% (23 of 51 adult males) between 1721 and 1750 (see figure 4.6).

A problem of aggregating the data between 1721 and 1750 is that it is not possible to discern changes between decades. In the townships of Whalley and Billington the decade 1761-1770 appeared to be the period when the most pronounced changes in activity occurred.[1] Unfortunately, the occupational data in the chapelry register of Downham does not go beyond 1752.

Expressing the data in tabular form does not give sufficient recognition to the overlap between agriculture and industry which the occupational titles in the chapelry registers suggest. For example, Edward Mercer of Downham was described as a yeoman in September 1742 when his son James was baptised and also in July 1745 when Edward was baptised. Edward Mercer was subsequently described as a weaver when his son William was baptised in June 1749. Linkage between the three entries is confirmed as in each case the mother's name is the same. It is possible that Edward Mercer had changed his economic activity between 1745 and 1749 but as Downham township was a pastoral region situated on the northern slope of Pendle Hill[2] it

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[1] See chapter 4, pp. 150-4, 156-163, 220-225.

[2] Farrer and Brownbill, V.C.H. Lancs., vol. 6, p. 552.

is likely that the two occupations were combined, possibly with the emphasis on each activity varying throughout the year. Edward Mercer is classified in the table as a yeoman which underestimates the level of textile activity. A reverse example is that of James Hargreaves of Downham who was described on three occasions as a weaver, once as a weaver[woollen tradesman] and once as a yeoman. This individual was placed in the occupational table under textile manufacture so that this classification gives no recognition to the dual practice of these occupations. W.B. Crump's use of the term 'yeoman-clothier' may be appropriate in these circumstances[1] but what emerges clearly from this chapelry register data is the practice of more than one type of economic activity by the same individual in a limited time period. The question of whether one economic activity was subsidiary to the other, or of equal importance, cannot be judged from the occupational labels ascribed to individuals in the chapelry register data.

The division between agriculture and textiles is also shown in a number of examples from Twiston township. James Driver of Brownlow in Twiston was described as a weaver on the baptism of his son James in April 1723 but in January 1726 he was accorded the title of husbandman. This involvement in agricultural activity was broadly confirmed when he was described as a yeoman in February 1729 and May 1732. However, on the baptism of a son William in December 1738 James Driver was again accorded the occupational description of weaver. It is certain that the five entries relate to the same individual as the very specific place of residence and the name of

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[1] See chapter 6, pp. 403-407.

his wife are consistent in each entry. The mix between agriculture and textiles is shown conclusively in the case of James Speak of Twiston. In December 1739 he was referred to as a weaver but an earlier entry of February 1739 had given recognition to both activities in one title by referring to him as a 'weaver[husbandman]'.

The division is not simply between agriculture and textiles. Richard Wilson of Downham was described twice as a husbandman in 1724 and 1729, once as a 'husbandman[carpenter]' in 1726 and once as a carpenter in 1736. William Spencer of Downham was referred to as a butcher on the baptism of his son William in May 1736 and as a weaver in February 1740 when John his son was baptised.

This approach shows how single occupational labels can in some instances point to the existence of dual-employments. Detecting this through parish registers depends essentially on studying individuals rather than counting the number of times an occupational description occurred.

4. Accrington nova and Accrington vetera.

The analysis of occupational data from the townships of Accrington nova and Accrington vetera presents a number of methodological problems and consequently the results derived from the samples must be treated with caution. In the poll tax of 1660 data is presented separately for the two townships of Accrington

vetera and Accrington nova.[1] The occupational data in the chapelry registers between 1722-1730 does not however distinguish between the two areas.[2] Linking the evidence from probate inventories (which often gave a specific place of residence) with the entries in the chapelry register indicates that the records of baptisms and burials did in fact relate to individuals from both townships. The data in the poll tax relating to the two townships has therefore, been aggregated in order to facilitate comparability with the chapelry register evidence from the eighteenth century (see table 4.16).

In the poll tax of 1660 and also in the registers of baptisms and burials a significant proportion of the entries relate to 'labourers'. In the poll tax of 1660 16 out of 87 male householders were ascribed this occupational title (18%). There is no other substantial source of occupational data for these townships which might be used to clarify the economic sector to which these labourers belonged. In the absence of data for these townships it will be assumed on the basis of evidence from Whalley, Wiswell and Read that labourers listed in the poll tax were involved in agricultural activity.[3] This decision is somewhat arbitrary, although one could perhaps argue that the use of occupational descriptions would be consistent throughout the same source.

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1 Accrington was composed of two separate townships until 1878. Farrer and Brownbill, V.C.H. Lancs., vol. 6, p. 423.

2 Data relating to the townships of Old and New Accrington was included in the register of the chapelry of Altham, which was in the mother parish of Whalley. L.R.O., PR 2819/2.

3 See chapter 3, pp. 114-115.

A further problem with the poll tax for these townships is that 23 of the 87 male householders (26%) were given no occupational title. Again the lack of other contemporary occupational data allows no precise estimation of the economic sector to which these individuals belonged. As 20 of these 23 entries are in the £5 or more per annum category, the status groups are likely to be under-enumerated in addition to the level of agricultural activity. It is interesting to observe that no yeomen are listed in the remaining entries and this would suggest that the unspecified entries related principally to gentry and yeomen. Nominal linkage between occupational descriptions in surviving probate documentation and entries in the poll tax supports this assumption.

A number of individuals in the poll tax can be traced in the sample of surviving probate records. Of the 23 male householders who paid on estates of £5 or more per annum 7 individuals can be traced in the group of probate records. Each of these 7 individuals was not given an occupational description in the poll tax which presented difficulties in ascribing them to a particular economic sector. However, 6 of these 7 individuals were given an occupational title in either their will or their inventory so that one can make a firmer assumption as to where these individuals should be placed in the occupational table.

The will of William Duckworth was drawn up on 30th December 1662 and includes the occupational description of yeoman. Internal evidence suggests that we are dealing with the same individual as the poll tax and will both refer to Ellin his wife.[1] John Grime was

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[1] L.R.O. WCW supra. Will of William Duckworth of Cowhouses in Accrington yeoman, 1663.

described in his inventory dated May 1689 as a husbandman, again confirming that the 'no description' category tended to underestimate agricultural activity.[1] The inventory of Nathaniel Haworth provides no occupational description but his will dated March 1689 refers to him as a yeoman. Again both the poll tax and will refer to his wife Alice confirming that we are dealing with the same individual.[2] William Kenyon paid tax on an estate of £10 in the poll tax of 1660. Both his will and his inventory dated January 1671 and March 1671 respectively referred to him as a gentleman. Anne his wife listed in the poll tax of 1660 was appointed the sole executrix in his will.[3] This status description conceals the economic sector just as effectively as the term 'labourer'. Reference to his inventory shows an involvement in agricultural activity as 3 'kine' are listed in addition to a horse. A.J. and R.H. Tawney similarly argue that many individuals who were given status descriptions depended for their income on farming land.[4] James Walmesley was described as a yeoman in both his will of March 1684 and his inventory of April 1684.[5] Richard Walmesley was similarly given the title of yeoman in both types of document and

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[1] L.R.O., WCW supra. Inventory of John Grime of Baxtonden in Accrington husbandman, 1689.

[2] L.R.O., WCW supra. Will and inventory of Nathaniel Haworth of Accrington, 1690.

[3] L.R.O., WCW supra. Will and inventory of William Kenyon of Accrington, 1671.

[4] Tawney and Tawney, 'Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', p. 32.

[5] L.R.O., WCW supra. Will and inventory of James Walmesley of Accrington, 1685.

successful nominal linkage is shown by the fact that Anne his wife is mentioned in the poll tax and his will.[1] Simon Walmesley paid tax on an estate of £12 10s. 0d. in the poll tax and although his inventory dated October 1680 survives no occupational description is given.[2]

Evidence from the probate records indicates that four of the seven individuals were yeomen, one was described as a husbandman, one as a gentleman and one where no description was provided in the poll tax or probate documentation.

A number of individuals who paid on estates of less than £5 per annum (a capitation charge) also had surviving probate records. These documents can be used to trace occupational consistency between the two sources. A major difficulty, as in the above exercise, is that the passage of time may clearly have brought changes in a person's occupational activity and status. J.D. Marshall points to this problem in using inventories as a measure of wealth during a person's lifetime as they "...may well have experienced considerable changes in fortune, or disposed of some of their wealth before the inventories were made".[3] Wealth and status may have increased over time in Gloria L. Main's view as a longer life permitted a greater accumulation of wealth.[4] Their

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1 L.R.O., WCW supra. Will and inventory of Richard Walmesley of Accrington, 1672.

2 L.R.O., WCW supra. Inventory of Simon Walmesley of Accrington, 1683.

3 Marshall, 'Agrarian Wealth and Social Structure', p. 517.

4 Gloria L. Main, 'Probate Records as a Source for Early American History', William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series 32 (1975), p. 96.

occupational title may have changed accordingly and was perhaps a causal agent of any increase in the level of wealth. The difficulty arises in deciding which titles represented an equivalent activity or a change of occupation.

Out of a total of 64 male householders who paid a capitation charge in Old and New Accrington 14 can be traced in probate records. Of these 14 individuals 3 were described as labourers in the poll tax of 1660. The inventory of Henry Haworth dated June 1664 does not provide an occupational description which would help to clarify the nature of economic activity concealed by this term.[1] This is the case also with Roger Walch whose inventory of September 1664 provides no occupational description.[2] Richard Hoyle listed as a labourer in the poll tax had an inventory registered in the 'infra' series in which he was ascribed the occupational title of husbandman. Although interesting, this document drawn up on 21st July 1668 cannot in itself prove that individuals listed as labourers in the poll tax were all concerned with agricultural activity.[3]

The documentary sources relating to John Berry are consistent in the occupational description he was accorded. In the poll tax he was described as a linenwebster which is confirmed by the surviving probate documentation. The will dated July 1675 is useful as it provides genealogical information confirming a successful linkage of

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1 L.R.O., WCW supra. Inventory of Henry Haworth of Accrington, 1664.

2 L.R.O., WCW supra. Inventory of Roger Walch of Accrington, 1664.

3 L.R.O., WCW infra. Inventory of Richard Hoyle of Accrington, husbandman, 1668.

documentary sources.[1] The inventory of Henry Emott describes this individual as an innkeeper, which confirms the description of alehousekeeper provided in the poll tax. The will dated March 1668 refers to his wife Isabell and his son Robert, which again matches the information in the poll tax.[2]

Robert Holden described as a husbandman in the poll tax was listed separately and paid a one shilling capitation charge, which suggested he was either unmarried or widowed. His will dated April 1662 confirms the description of husbandman, and although several sons and daughters are listed there is no reference to a wife. The explanation for the one shilling capitation charge is therefore that he was widowed.[3] Consistency is shown also in the records of Henry Walmesley described as a blacksmith in the poll tax of 1660 which is reiterated in his inventory dated June 1682.[4]

Nicholas Worsey described as a webster in the poll tax of 1660 was accorded the title of clothmaker in February 1674. This could perhaps imply a change in the scale of his activities over time but as his inventory refers only to "looms" it is difficult to assess the scale of operation.[5] Even if this information was available we

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1 L.R.O., WCW supra. Will and inventory of John Berry of Accrington, 1676.

2 L.R.O., WCW supra. Will and inventory of Henry Emott of Accrington innkeeper, 1668.

3 L.R.O., WCW supra. Will of Robert Holden of Accrington, husbandman, 1663.

4 L.R.O., WCW supra. Inventory of Henry Walmesley of Accrington, 1682.

5 L.R.O., WCW supra. Inventory of Nicholas Worsey of Accrington, 1674.

do not know the number of looms possessed in 1660 so that comparing scale and output is impossible on the basis of such scant evidence.

In the case of Randle Holker and James Ratcliffe the probate records described these individuals as yeomen whereas in the poll tax they were categorised as husbandmen.[1] James Ratcliffe referred to as a husbandman in the poll tax was clearly the same individual as in the will dated January 1682 as both sources referred to his wife Lettice. This supplementary evidence helps to solve one of the crucial problems of nominal linkage between sources. It is a question of "...knowing when a record about this William Whiston refers to the same man as that William Whiston mentioned in another record".[2] These individuals may clearly have become wealthier over time, although historians debate whether there is a financial difference between those referred to as husbandmen and yeomen.[3]

James Whalley was described as a gunsmith in the poll tax of 1660, perhaps a somewhat unusual occupation for a small township in north-east Lancashire. His will dated June 1680 referred to his wife Anne and his son William who were listed in 1660 confirming a correct linkage between the sources. His inventory although not referring to him specifically as a cutler, listed "workeloomes necessary to the trade of a cutler". It is difficult to judge whether James Whalley was spending his day in a markedly different way in 1680 from that indicated in 1660 or whether the change in

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1 L.R.O., WCW supra. Will and inventory of Randle Holker of Accrington, 1662 and James Ratcliffe of Accrington, 1682.

2 E.A. Wrigley, ed., Identifying People in the Past (London, 1973), p. 2.

3 See chapter 7, pp. 548-550, 553-4, 560, 562-5, 570-6.

occupational title marked an increase or decrease in wealth and status.[1]

Although probate records are available for Roger Hindle and George Ryley, both listed as husbandmen in 1660, no further occupational titles can be derived from the probate records.[2] The will of Giles Whitaker, blacksmith, dated June 1668 provides an occupational title which is useful in providing some insight into the economic sectors covered by those not given an occupational description in the poll tax.[3]

Comparison between the occupational descriptions in the poll tax and the probate records would seem to confirm the reliability of the former. Judging by the case studies presented, the occupational labels in probate records confirm that agricultural groups were under-represented in the poll tax because of the large proportion of entries with no description in the category of those paying on estates of £5 or more per annum.

The evidence from other townships in the poll tax suggested that labourers should be listed under agriculture. Those with no occupational description in Accrington vetera and Accrington nova were also listed in this category. On the basis of these assumptions agricultural activity represented 50 out of 87 male

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[1] L.R.O., WCW supra. Will and inventory of James Whalley of Accrington, 1680.

[2] L.R.O., WCW supra. Inventories of George Ryley of Accrington, 1682 and Roger Hindle of Accrington, 1683.

[3] L.R.O., WCW supra. Will of Giles Whitaker of Accrington, blacksmith, 1668.

householders (57%) in 1660 (see table 4.16).[1] Manufacturing represented 25 out of 87 male heads of household (29%). Within the manufacturing group there is a significant level of textile activity accounting for 14 out of 87 male householders (16%). If the 5 clothiers listed in the poll tax are included under textile manufacturing rather than under dealing, this raises the level to 22% of male householders. This level is significantly higher than in Whalley township at the same date where only 6 of the 65 male householders were described as workers in textiles (9%). The level of textile activity in Accrington is similar to the level of 16% that Swain finds in Colne and Pendle between 1626 and 1642, and is higher than the level of Burnley and Padiham in the Commonwealth period.[2] G.H. Tupling notes this concentration of textile activity in Accrington which was indicated by the poll tax:

> "Of about 96 heads of households in Accrington enumerated in that record, seven were classed as 'clothiers' and thirteen as 'websters'. Of the clothiers, three employed three male servants each living with them, one employed two and a fifth one. Two of the websters also employed a man in their homes. In addition to these, many women and children must have been engaged in carding and spinning to supply the weavers with yarn, and in all probability not a few of the men designated 'husbandmen' performed weaving in their spare time." 3

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[1] This figure is derived from an amalgamation of the numbers of yeomen, husbandmen and labourers and those for whom no occupational description was provided in the poll tax of 1660.

[2] Swain, 'Industry and Economy', p. 254.

[3] The total number of male and female householders in Accrington nova and Accrington vetera in the poll tax was 98. Female householders were excluded from consideration in this survey leaving 87 male heads of household. 13 males were described as 'websters' and 5 as clothiers. The discrepancy between my own figures and those of Tupling is accounted for by my omission of female examples. In Accrington nova for example, Widow Hartley was described as a clothier.

He argues on the basis of evidence from the poll tax that:

> "when we note that numerous households were maintaining three, four and five adults (to say nothing of children under sixteen) on properties stated to be worth less than £5 a year, and that a score of these included one or two men-servants, we cannot avoid the suspicion that the produce of their holdings was supplemented by some non-agricultural employment". [1]

A high level of agricultural activity and textile activity would seem compatible. The marriage register of Rochdale between 1653-1657 indicated that 126 out of 246 entries related to agricultural activity (51%) compared with 73 out of 246 concerned with the production of textiles (30%). In the Middleton marriage register between 1653-7 34 out of 71 entries were concerned with agricultural activities (48%) compared with 22 out of 71 which could be classified in the textile branch of manufacturing (31%). [2] The mix of occupational groupings indicated in the marriage registers of Middleton and Rochdale is not too dissimilar to that of Accrington nova and Accrington vetera.

This apparent bias towards textile activity in the townships of Accrington nova and vetera would seem to support A.J. and R.H. Tawney's view that the textile industry had a strong tendency towards local concentration.[3]

The Protestation Returns of 1642 provide occupational data for 166 males in the "chappel of Accrington". Although R.W. Ambler in a recent note to Local Population Studies refers to the potential value of such information, the data from Accrington provides little

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1 Tupling, Economic History of Rossendale, p. 168.

2 Wadsworth and Mann, Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, p. 52.

3 Tawney and Tawney, 'Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', p. 45.

additional data on the economic make-up of that area in the mid-seventeenth century.[1] Of the 166 references 106 are classified as labourers (64%) in addition to 50 yeomen (30%), 4 gentlemen (2%), 3 clothiers (2%), 2 alehousekeepers (1%) and 1 miner (0.6%).[2]

Before a comparison of the economic situation in 1660 can be made with that of 1722-30 some further methodological problems need to be resolved. The quality of the register between 1722-30 is good in so far as an occupational description is given for the large majority of male adult entries. The total number of entries relating to male adults in the baptism and burial registers amounted to 256 entries which covered 128 separate individuals. Out of the 256 entries only 16 were given no occupational information (6%). The method of identifying separate individuals (by extracting entries on to single slips of paper) reduced the problem still further as in many cases the same individual appeared in the registers again with an occupational title. Nominal linkage between entries is fairly certain as the register gives not only the name of the township but also the christian name of the man's wife.[3]

The register covering the townships of Accrington has two major problems in a survey of the economic basis of the area. The first relates to the problem of 'labourers' and which economic category

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1 R.W. Ambler, 'Note on Protestation Returns', L.P.S. 35 (Autumn 1985), p. 55.

2 L.R.O. MF 1/25.

3 This register is not as detailed as that of Colyton in the 1760s and 1770s. In the baptism register details were given of the occupation and place of residence of the father, the maiden name of his wife and the name, occupation and residence of her father.
Wrigley, 'Occupational Structure of Colyton', p. 14.

they should be placed in. The second concerns a lack of consistency in occupational descriptions for some individuals.

In a joint survey[1] of the baptism and burial registers between 1722 and 1730 it was found that 38 out of a total of 128 individuals were only given the occupational label of 'labourer' (30%). This is a problem which was discussed by A.J. and R.H. Tawney in their survey of Gloucestershire occupations. Out of a total of 19,402 males in the Muster Roll of 1608 1,962 (10%) were described as 'labourers', which is significantly less than the proportion recorded in the townships of Accrington vetera and Accrington nova.[2]

The procedure adopted by A.J. & R.H. Tawney was to place those labourers outside the three main towns of Gloucester, Cirencester and Tewkesbury under agricultural activity whilst those inside the towns were considered to be involved in some non-agricultural employment. As they admit, this distinction is somewhat arbitrary but it raises the interesting point that all labourers should not be assigned without question to the agricultural sector. Assigning all labourers to agriculture in the Forest of Dean, for example, led to an underenumeration of coalminers and iron workers.[3]

The chapelry register evidence relating to the townships of Accrington nova and Accrington vetera between 1722 to 1730

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1 E.A. Wrigley argues that aggregating data from more than one register should generally be avoided. However, it is acceptable where occupational data is available only for a limited time span as more is to be gained than lost by aggregation. Ibid.

2 Tawney and Tawney, 'Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', p. 31.

3 Ibid., pp. 32-3, 36.

illustrates that labourers cannot be put under agricultural activity without exception. As mentioned 38 individuals were classified as labourers and no alternative occupational descriptions were provided in the baptism and burial entries. However, a further 20 males were referred to as labourers in at least one entry but other baptism and burial entries gave them a different occupational description. To use W. King's methodology[1] these 20 individuals were classified in the occupational table on the basis of the alternative description which was provided (see column B, table 4.16).

The evidence regarding these 20 individuals can give some insight into the correct classification of the remaining 38 cases of labourers (see table 4.17). Richard Bertwistle, John Kemp, Raphe Kenion, Thomas Livesay, James Pickop, George Ryley, Henry Ryley, John Ryley, Richard Ryley and William Whittaker have the alternative occupational label of husbandman. Therefore 10 out of 20 cases (50%) can be assigned to the agricultural sector of the economy. The alternative description of woollenwebster was provided in the case of Henry Barns, John Cleg, Richard Cronkshaw, John Kenion, George Ramsbottom, Bernard Walmesley and Richard Whittaker. The title of plodweaver was the alternative description given to John Welsh. This indicates that 8 of the 20 labourers can be assigned to the manufacture of textiles (40%). Of the remaining cases, Richard Ingham was given the alternative title of cooper (5%) and John Holden was listed as a slater (5%).

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[1] Data taken from Haslingden chapelry registers in the first half of the eighteenth century indicates that of the 45 cases in which alternative occupational descriptions were provided for labourers, 38 related to the manufacture of textiles (84%). King, 'Economic and Demographic Development of Rossendale', pp. 195-6.

This evidence suggests three alternative distribution schemes. The first involves treating all the 58 individuals referred to as labourers in any one entry as a separate category. The second involves assigning those 20 individuals who were given an alternative occupational title to the appropriate category of the classification scheme. The third scheme involves the additional redistribution of the 38 unclassified labourers in the ratio outlined above. In the latter scheme 19 of the 38 individuals would be added to the total of husbandmen, 13 to that of woollenweavers, 2 would be listed as plodweavers, 2 as slaters and 2 as coopers (see table 4.16).

This method is based on the rather flimsy assumption that the 20 individuals who were given alternative occupational descriptions were typical of the economic behaviour of the 38 unclassified labourers. What the evidence clearly indicates is that it is not correct on all occasions to simply assume that labourers can be classified under agricultural activity. The evidence when adjusted on this basis would seem to accord more readily with the data in the poll tax. The unadjusted data (see column A, table 4.16) would suggest that between 1660 and 1722-30 the proportionate level of manufacturing activity had fallen from 34% (30 of 87 male heads of household, including clothiers) to a level of 13% of male adults (16 of 128 adult males). If clothiers are included under the category of textile manufacture in the poll tax survey then the unadjusted data would suggest that the level of that activity had fallen from 22% (19 of 87 male householders) to 5% (6 of 128 male adults) between 1722-30. However, an adjustment of the figures based on the redistribution of all those referred to as labourers (see column C,

table 4.16) suggests that 29 of the 128 adult males (23%) were involved in the manufacture of textiles between 1722 and 1730 and overall, a total of 42 of the 128 male adults were involved in manufacturing (33%).

A fall in the proportionate level of agricultural employments can be observed between the two samples, from 57% of male heads of household in 1660 (50 of 87 male heads of household) to 50% of male adult individuals in the chapelry register between 1722 and 1730 (64 of 128 adult males). By 1811 the proportion of families chiefly employed in agriculture had fallen to 15% in New Accrington (60 of 410 families) and 1% (2 of 173 families) in Old Accrington (see table 4.5). Clearly one cannot draw a straight line between 1660 and 1811 and assume that the passage of time brought a relative increase in manufacturing and a proportionate decrease in the level of agricultural employments. However, the data from Whalley township suggested that changes were taking place in the early eighteenth century so that by 1721-1730 the overall level of manufacturing exceeded that of agriculture. The occupational labels ascribed to male adults in Accrington nova and Accrington vetera in the early eighteenth century indicate that one-third of the sample was engaged in manufacturing activity (42 of 128 male adults) and was still therefore, at a significantly lower level than agricultural employments which accounted for 64 of the 128 adult males (50%). Unfortunately, no further occupational data is available which permits a survey of change in Accrington vetera and Accrington nova between 1730 and 1811. It would clearly have been valuable to ascertain whether the peak period of change occurred

between c.1750 and c.1770 as it did in the townships of Whalley and Billington.

The second problem of the register is a lack of consistency in the recording of occupational data for a number of individuals. The fact that the same individual was ascribed two or more occupational titles which represented different forms of economic activity provides an apparent contradiction. The data from the baptism and burial registers provides a number of examples from Accrington. The use of the phrase 'apparent contradiction' is deliberate because this data may in fact highlight an aspect of the economy which historians dismiss on the basis of inconsistency. A problem presented by this interpretation is that certain occupational groups seem less liable to 'inconsistency' than others. If the inconsistency was the fault of a semi-literate clerk, or that of a clerk or curate who lacked familiarity with the area and its inhabitants, then all occupational groups should have been subject to the problem.

In the chapelry registers covering Accrington nova and Accrington vetera the main contradictions occur mainly with those individuals concerned with textiles and farming. Of the eleven examples outlined in table 4.17 where there was a lack of occupational consistency (other than labourers) there are 5 individuals where the split is between agriculture and textiles. Thomas Cowper was described once as a husbandman and once as a woollenweaver. James Walmesley was described twice as a yeoman and once as a clothmaker. This division between agriculture and textiles was shown also in the examples of Hugh Lonsdale, Richard Lund and James Walmesley.

John Denison is accorded the title of yeoman twice and husbandman once. A similar division of terms within the agricultural sector is shown clearly in the case of John Taylor who was described once as a farmer, once as a husbandman, once as a yeoman and additionally as a husbandman(yeoman). Confusion in the scale of agricultural activity is understandable given the overlap between the groupings in terms of wealth and scale of farming.[1] The inconsistency in title ascription in the case of Hugh Duckworth is explained by the concealment of agricultural activity behind a status description. The chapelry register evidence indicated that Hugh Duckworth and his wife Anne had three daughters who were baptised in September 1723, June 1725 and December 1727. A son called Hugh was baptised in December 1726 but was subsequently buried in October 1730. Hugh Duckworth was referred to by the status description of 'Mr.' in four of these entries but on the baptism of his daughter Mary was referred to as a yeoman. The will of Hugh Duckworth dated 1743 referred to the same individual as his three daughters and his wife Anne were mentioned. The will is interesting in this context as Hugh Duckworth was ascribed the status description of gentleman.[2] As no inventory survives the evidence from the chapelry register was useful in highlighting a possible source of income from agriculture. This again draws attention to the value of linking entries relating to individuals in

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[1] See chapter 7, pp. 548-550, 553-4, 560, 562-5, 570-6.

[2] L.R.O., WCW supra. Will of Hugh Duckworth of Accrington gentleman, 1743.

the register rather than simply counting the frequency of references to a given occupation.

It is possible that the ascription of more than one occupational title to an individual is an accurate reflection of economic activity in an area of by-employment. Historians have long recognised the existence of dual occupations. In an area where time was split between agricultural activities and textile manufacture it would seem reasonable to expect a reflection of this in the parish register. On the basis of evidence in the poll tax of 1660 G.H. Tupling argues in the case of Accrington that "...in all probability not a few of the men designated 'husbandmen' performed weaving in their spare time".[1] The clerk may have had difficulty in deciding the principal economic activity of an individual if his time was split fairly evenly between the different economic pursuits. Additionally, the individual may have changed his occupation according to the season of the year. As A.J. and R.H. Tawney indicate the ironworkers and coalminers in the Forest of Dean might change between agriculture and industry throughout the year.[2]

The occupational titles ascribed to James Whalley draw attention to a further methodological problem. This individual was referred to as a linenweaver on five separate occasions in the chapelry register and also in his inventory dated 5th May 1726.[3] However, he was also referred to as a chapman in December 1725 when

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1 Tupling, Economic History of Rossendale, p. 168.

2 Tawney and Tawney, 'Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', p. 33.

3 L.R.O., WCW supra. Will and inventory of James Whalley of Slate-pits in Accrington, linenwebster, 1726.

his son George was buried, suggesting that he was trading in goods as well as the production of goods. The chapelry register evidence indicates that James Whalley fulfilled a dual economic function, but no indication can be obtained from this evidence as to the type of goods involved, the geographical range of his activities or the amount of time that was involved throughout the year. Reference to the inventory provides little additional evidence. The presence of "2 pair of loomes" gives some indication of the scale of production but no other entry relates to the manufacture of cloth. With the possible exception of £4 in debts owing to the testator there is absolutely no evidence to support the trading activity indicated in the chapelry register. This evidence clearly raises the question of whether it is realistic in pre-industrial society to draw a rigid distinction between those who produced goods and those who sold them.

In a survey of London occupations between 1500 and 1700 A.L. Beier argues that the "distinction between occupations involved in production versus exchange is admittedly somewhat artificial, since many producers themselves sold their products and many traders probably made the goods they sold". [1] In John Langton's occupational categorisation tailors and shoemakers were placed under the broad heading of manufacturing. John Patten argues in a similar fashion to A.L. Beier that "there is no guarantee that a shoemaker, tailor, or cordwainer was purely a maker of things and did not also trade in them direct with the consumer".[2]

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[1] Beier, 'Engine of Manufacture', p. 146.

[2] Patten, 'Urban Occupations', p. 305.

The occupational surveys which are based on the poll tax of 1660 and the parish register data do not for the most part, allow the historian to penetrate the range of activities encompassed by a single occupational label. Probate wills and inventories can go some way towards remedying this problem, giving some indication of the scale of economic activity and the existence of by-employments. What they cannot usually indicate beyond broad generalisations is the nature of their work and how the individuals spent their time.

In an apprenticeship indenture dated 1st June 1742 John Barns of Samlesbury was referred to as a checkweaver. This description, if taken from a parish register entry could simply imply a producer of goods. However, the indenture specified that Henry Osbaldeston of Blackburn was to be apprenticed for 7 years to John Barns "to learn the skills of cloth weaving, buying cotton, wool and yarn, and selling cotton cloth...".[1] Similarly, Robert Ainsworth the younger of Blackburn was described in an apprenticeship indenture as a "dealer in and maker of tin vessels...".[2] A source which gave individuals only a single occupational label would probably have described this individual as a tinner or tinman which would have placed him in the category of manufacturing rather than dealing.

Comparing the occupational data from Whalley township with that from Accrington raises a number of interesting questions relating to the categorisation of labourers and the problem of title consistency. In the township of Whalley labourers varied from 33% (20 of 61 adult males) of the total number of male adults in the

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1 L.R.O., PR 1558/1/37.

2 L.R.O., PR 1558/1/141.

burial register between 1741-50 and 7% (5 of 69 adult males) in the burial register between 1761-70 (see table 4.8). Placing labourers under agricultural activity was based on two main criteria, the first of which is fairly subjective. As outlined, Dr. Pococke in June 1751 commented that Whalley was chiefly supported by farming and spinning woollen yarn. The evidence from the parish registers between 1741-50 showed that if labourers are excluded from this sector then agricultural activity accounted for only 2 out of 61 males in the burial register (3%) and 5 out of 86 (6%) in the register of baptisms. Similarly, in the burial register between 1751 and 1760 the exclusion of labourers meant that only 6 out of 100 (6%) male adults were involved in agriculture. The baptism register provides a slightly higher level of 10 out of 85 individuals accounting for 12% of the male adult workforce. Including labourers in this economic sector certainly accords more readily with Pococke's comment.

All the entries from Whalley township in the baptism and burial registers between 1741 and 1770 were aggregated together with the burial entries between 1771 and 1780 to study occupational consistency over time. This is a sizeable sample accounting for 880 entries relating to adult males and 107 entries relating to adult females. The data was broken down into individuals, which produced 321 different males and 96 females. Out of a total of 321 male individuals in this sample 47 were referred to as labourers on at least one occasion. In the case of 35 of these individuals the parish register data was absolutely consistent in referring to them as labourers. Of the remaining 12 examples 7 individuals were given alternative descriptions which related to agricultural activities,

1 was described as a weaver, 1 as an innkeeper, 1 as a carpenter, 1 as a housewright and 1 as a pavior. In Whalley township therefore, the labouring category mainly under-represented the agricultural category and confirms the decision of placing labourers within this economic sector.

Out of the sample of 321 adult males a further 18 individuals showed inconsistency in the recording of occupational titles. This stresses the absolute necessity of extracting occupational data relating to individuals. A number of examples from Whalley township illustrates how counting entries would falsely expand the range of occupations recognised in the community. In many cases it is clear that a number of different occupational titles related to the same person and the same type of economic activity. For example, John Borrowdale was referred to as an excise officer on the baptism of his son John on 31st May 1767. On the burial of the same son on the 8th March 1768 John Borrowdale was given the alternative description of gauger. Clearly this is a different title for what was probably the same job, and M.B. Katz stresses the necessity for an occupational categorisation to take account of this problem.[1] The use of different yet essentially equivalent titles is particularly apparent in the case of those individuals working with wood in the building industry. 7 of the 18 individuals listed illustrated the same type of variation in the descriptions applied to them. Peter Harrison was described as a carpenter on 6 occasions, a house-carpenter on one occasion and a wright on another. John Etough was

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[1] Katz, 'Occupational Classification in History', p. 64.

similarly described as a carpenter on four occasions, a housewright in one entry and a wright on another. The same tendency can be noted with Jonas Browne(1), Jonas Browne(2), John Blezard, John Hill and Moses Kendall.

The occupational data concerning the remaining 291 male examples is consistent throughout multiple entries which provides confidence in the reliability of the data. This raises the question of why there was a difference between the relative title consistency of Whalley parish register and the inconsistency of the data drawn from Altham chapelry which related to the townships of Accrington nova and Accrington vetera. It is possible that the status of the ecclesiastical unit may have affected the quality of recording of demographic and occupational information. In a recent contribution to Local Population Studies P.E.H. Hair indicates that chapelries were liable to be served by lesser clergy, whereas each parish would be served by "a beneficed and possibly lifelong incumbent...".[1] The fluctuation in occupational labels observed in Accrington nova and Accrington vetera could, therefore, be linked to the presence of short-term curates who lacked familiarity with the area and its inhabitants. Alternatively, the difference between the two areas might suggest that Whalley was not as extensively involved in by-employments which would avoid confusion in the occupational descriptions. Of the 18 examples where an individual was given more than one occupational description there are no examples where the division in entries is between agriculture and textiles. This can

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[1] Hair, 'A Query About Chapelries', p. 58.

be contrasted with the evidence from Accrington where the main overlap was in these two economic sectors. John Swain argues that between 1558-1640 the production of cloth in the Ribble Valley chapelries of Downham, Whalley and Clitheroe was at a very low level. The small proportion of 'supra' testators with cloth instruments was in his view explained by the fact that "good arable land and a more labour intensive economy removed the need for extensive dependence on textile by-employments".[1]

The question of whether consistency in occupational descriptions in the parish register is linked with a low level of by-employments, or whether it is a feature related to the status of the parish or chapelry, must remain a matter for conjecture. Such factors should be given consideration in an analysis based on parish or chapelry register data but above all the individual and not the entry should be made the point of reference. One can then move from the more general economic study achieved through parish register surveys to a more detailed focus on economic activity that is facilitated through the use of probate inventories.

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[1] Swain, 'Industry and Economy', pp. 220-221.

5. Billington township and Great Harwood chapelry.

Billington is the northernmost township in the parish of Blackburn. This township, which lies to the west of Whalley township, is far closer to the parish church of Whalley than it is to that of Blackburn. This can be explained by the exceptionally large size of the parishes of Blackburn and Whalley,[1] a feature which was remarked on by Aikin in 1795.[2] This explains why a significant proportion of entries in Whalley parish register between 1653 and 1770 relate to the inhabitants of this township. Reference to the parish registers of Blackburn illustrates the infrequency with which this parish church was used by the occupants of Billington for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage and burial.[3]

The number of entries in the parish register of Whalley which related to Billington township was considered to be sufficiently large to extract occupational data to compare with other townships within Blackburn Hundred. These entries relate to a sample of individuals from Billington township rather than a complete record

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1 The parish of Blackburn was 48,281 acres and Whalley parish covered 106,395 acres. Farrer and Brownbill, V.C.H. Lancs., vol. 6, pp. 235, 349.

2 Aikin commented that "the parish of Blackburn is one of the two parishes which comprehend almost the whole hundred of that name". In reference to the parish of Whalley he commented that "this large parish, comprising a great portion of Blackburn Hundred, contains fifteen chapelries".
Aikin, Description of the Country round Manchester, pp. 270, 273.

3 H. Brierley, ed., The Registers of the Parish Church of Blackburn, 1600-1660, L.P.R.S. 41 (Cambridge, 1911); R. Dickinson, ed., The Registers of the Parish Church of Blackburn, Part II, 1653-1680, L.P.R.S. 90 (Preston, 1953).

of all those who were buried or baptised from this township during the periods studied.

Within Billington a chapel at Langho dedicated to St. Leonard was built in the mid-sixteenth century. There was no curate until 1717 when the chapel was only served every other Sunday.[1] This explains the continued use of Whalley parish for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage and burial. The relatively poor standard of recording in the chapelry registers may be explained by its obviously subsidiary role to that of the nearby parish church of St. Mary's in Whalley. The registers for Langho chapel survive from 1733 although burials are not recorded until 1765 in the register.[2] The quality of the registers of this chapelry is variable but the baptism register from 1761-70 provides useful occupational data which can be added to that taken from Whalley parish register for the same date. The method of studying individual cases rather than counting entries is particularly useful in this instance as it eliminates the problem of double counting between registers.

The occupational survey for Billington is therefore based on the parish register of Whalley with the exception of 1761-70, which is a combination of the data from Whalley parish register and Langho chapelry register. As indicated, none of the samples can be regarded as numerically complete because inhabitants of Billington used not only Langho chapel and Whalley parish church but also the nearby chapel of Great Harwood.[3]

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[1] Farrer and Brownbill, V.C.H. Lancs., vol. 6, pp. 333-334.

[2] L.R.O., PR 2965/1/2.

[3] Sparke, Parish Register of Great Harwood, passim.

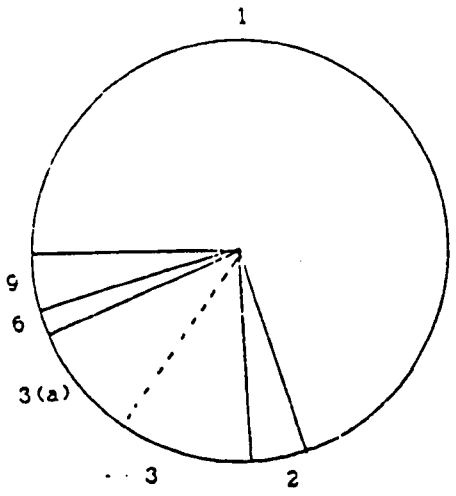
It is considered however, that the number of entries available for Billington township from these sources is sufficiently large to give an indication of the range of occupations recognised in the township. This is considered to be a fairly representative sample as it is unlikely that any form of bias operated which caused any one occupational group to frequent a given church. Assuming that an individual was going to attend an Anglican church it is unlikely that certain occupational groups chose one particular church in preference to another. It seems probable that distance was the most influential factor in their choice. As a result the data taken from Whalley parish registers is unlikely to over/under-represent any one occupational grouping.

The poll tax of 1660 does not provide any occupational information for the township of Billington. Consequently, evidence of economic divisions in the mid-seventeenth century must be obtained from the registers of the parish of Whalley. In the period between 1653-1660 33 of the 47 adult males in the births register (70%) and 38 of the 61 adult males (62%) in the death register were ascribed to agricultural activities (see table 4.18, table 4.19 and figure 4.7). The proportionate involvement in agriculture is significantly higher than for Whalley township at the same date, where 23 of the 43 male adults in the births register (53%) and 33 of the 70 adult males (47%) in the death register were involved in agricultural activity (see table 4.7).

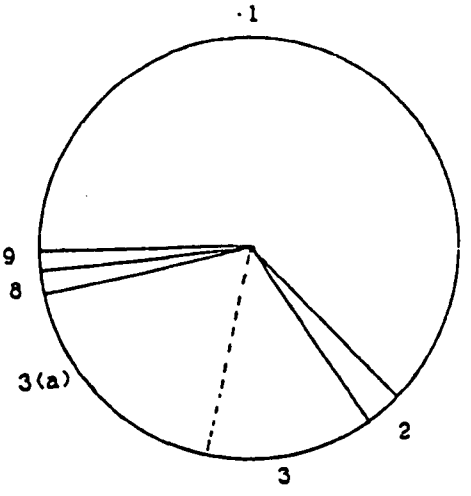
The birth and death registers in the Commonwealth period give significantly different estimates for the proportion of individuals involved in manufacturing in Billington township. The register of births placed 9 out of 47 males (19%) in the manufacturing category

FIGURE 4.7

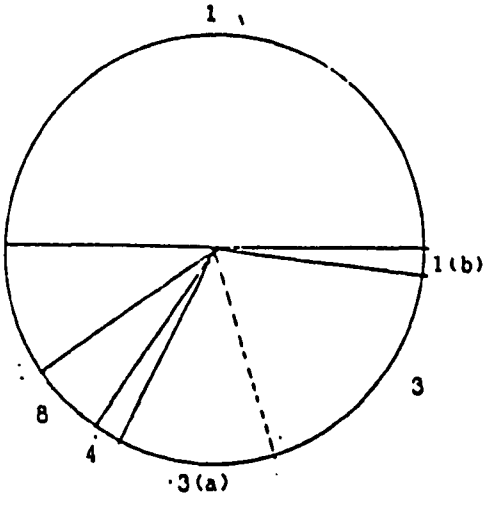
THE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST ADULT MALE INDIVIDUALS: CHANGE OVER TIME IN BILLINGTON TOWNSHIP (BASED ON PARISH REGISTERS).



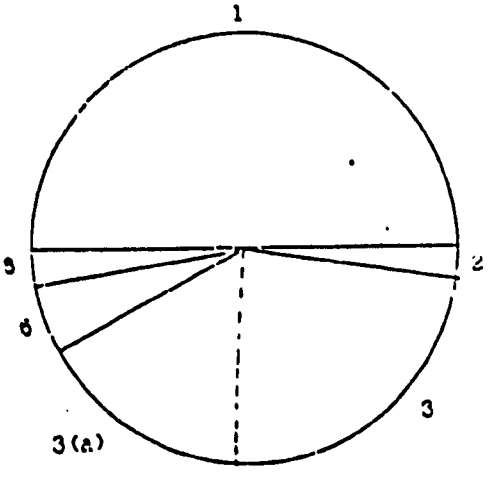
BIRTHS 1653-60



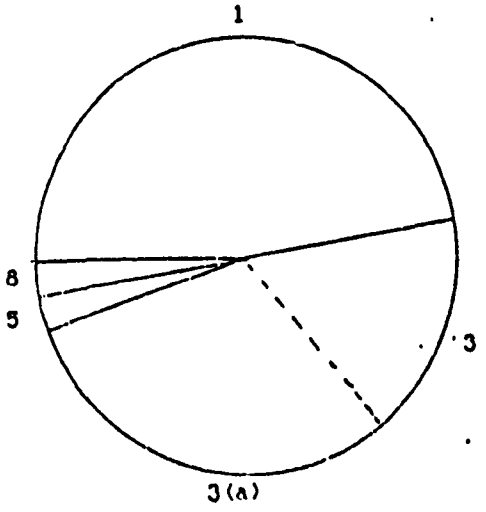
DEATHS 1653-60



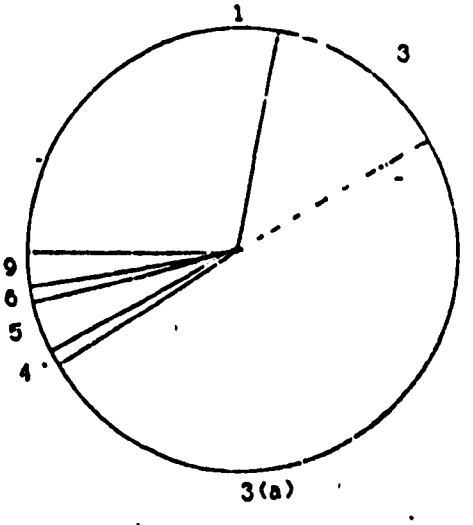
BURIALS 1721-30



BURIALS 1741-50



BURIALS 1751-60



BAPTISMS 1761-70

whereas in the death register the value was 19 out of 61 adult males (31%). Both sources agreed, however, that textiles formed the most significant element within the manufacturing category. Wadsworth and Mann provide a map which illustrates the division between areas in Lancashire which produced linen and woollen cloth at the start of the seventeenth century. Billington township is located just on the boundary of this division.[1] Consequently, one would expect some overlap in the type of cloth production. The death register of 1653-60 indicates the nature of this division as 5 linenweavers and 2 woollenweavers were listed. In addition 4 individuals were described as shearmen indicating that Billington was involved in the finishing processes of cloth manufacture. However, this source can provide no indication of the scale of production with which each individual was concerned.

The industrial divisions indicated by Wadsworth and Mann at the end of the seventeenth century placed Billington within the zone of fustian production, but again this township was close to the line of division with linen cloth production.[2] The burial register between 1721-30 classified 2 of the 6 weavers as woollenweavers, 1 as a linenweaver and 3 as plodweavers.[3]

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1 Wadsworth and Mann, Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, p. 24.

2 Ibid., p. 79.

3 'Plodweaver': A possible interpretation of this occupation is that it related to the manufacture of 'plaid' (also 'ploud', 'plod' or 'ploid') which is a long piece of twilled woollen cloth usually having a chequered or tartan pattern. Alternatively, the description could refer to linen cloth production as the V.C.H. outlines that in the adjacent township of Great Harwood "the manufacture of rough linen cloths, checks or plaids was conducted in the houses here 250 years ago".
Farrer and Brownbill, V.C.H. Lancs., vol. 6, p. 338.

The level of textile production indicated between 1721-30 at 12% (6 of 50 adult males) is lower than the proportionate value of 18% shown in the death register between 1653-60 (11 of 61 adult males). Although the relatively small sample sizes make it difficult to judge the reliability of this evidence, the pattern does correspond with the evidence from Whalley township where there was a marginal fall in the proportionate level of textile manufacturing over the same period. The townships show a similar trend in that the levels of textile activity showed a significant increase in the sample from the burial register of 1751-60. By this decade the proportion of male adults involved in textile activity in Billington had risen to 31% (12 of 39 adult males), whilst the combined sample from the baptism registers of Whalley and Langho in the decade 1761-70 indicated that in Billington township 39 out of a total of 79 male adults (49%) were described as weavers (see figure 4.8). Again the evidence from Billington township can be directly paralleled with that of Whalley township as in both areas textile activity increased reaching a peak level between 1761-70.

As indicated in figure 4.8 this increase in the level of textile activity in Billington township was accompanied by a significant drop in the proportionate level of employments in agriculture. The burial register of 1721-30 recorded that 25 of the 50 adult males (50%) were described as husbandmen or labourers, which represented a significant decrease from the proportionate level shown in the registers of the Commonwealth period. This lower level recorded in the burial register of 1721-30 remained fairly constant, as the burial register of 1741-50 showed that 19 of 38 adult males were involved in agriculture (50%) and the burial

FIGURE 4.8

THE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUALS BETWEEN THE MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS, 1653-1770: BILLINGTON TOWNSHIP.

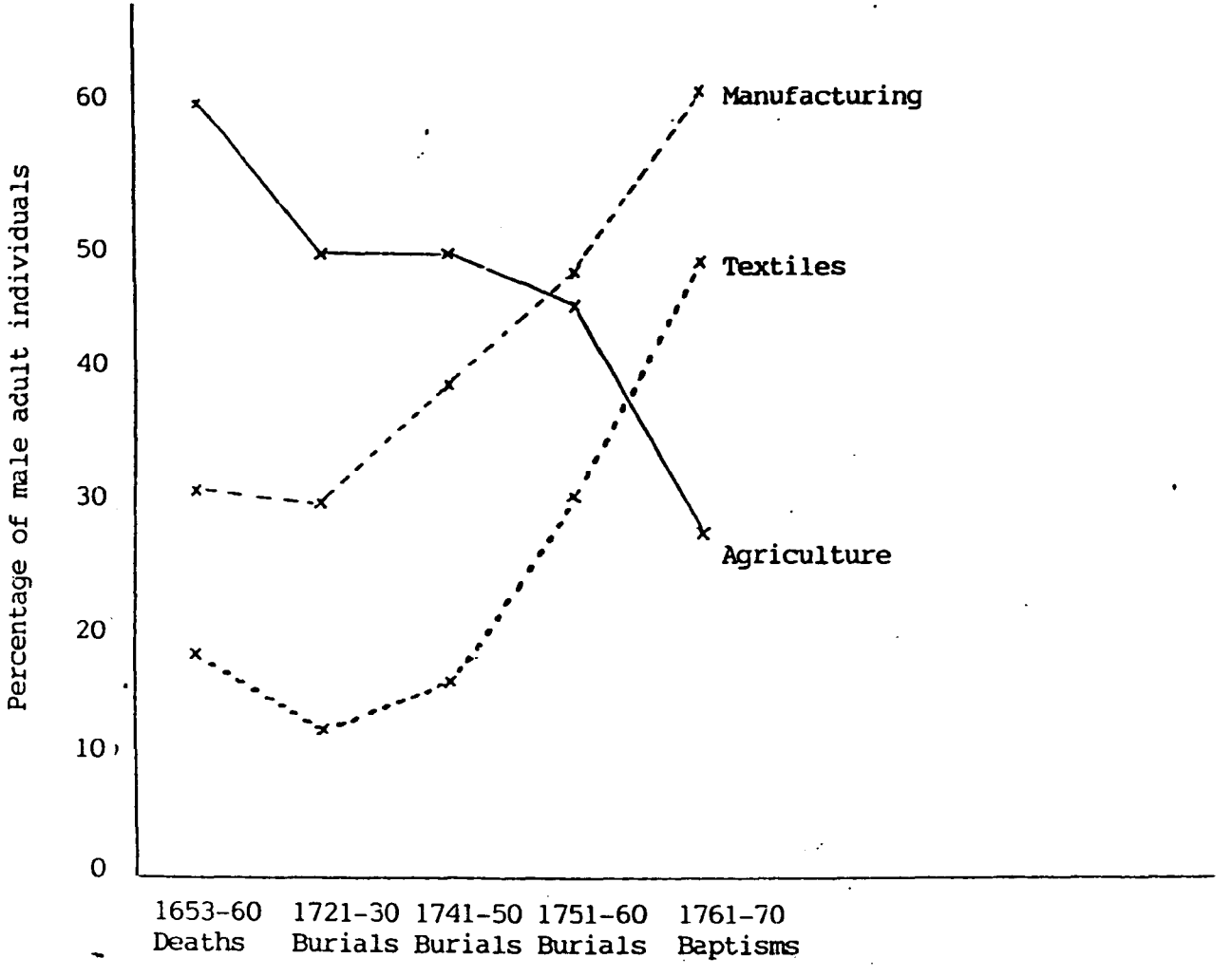

FIGURE 4.8

register of 1751-60 indicated that 18 of the 39 adult males (46%) were ascribed to agricultural activities. This pattern can be contrasted with Whalley township where the balance between agriculture and manufacturing was reversed as early as 1721-30. The proportionate level of involvement in agricultural activity in Billington did not drop markedly until 1761-70 when the data from Whalley and Langho baptism registers indicated that the proportion had fallen to 28% of male adults (22 of 79 adult males). This level is close to the figure of 24% of male adults (21 of 87 adult males) involved in agriculture in Whalley township between 1761-70.

To compare the eighteenth century data extracted from the parish and chapelry registers with the occupational distribution indicated by the census of 1811 presents a number of methodological problems. The percentage values derived from the two sources are not directly comparable as they used different units of measurement. The 1811 occupational data indicates that 32 of the 152 families (21%) in Billington township were chiefly employed in agricultural work which is very similar to the proportion of male adults involved in this sector between 1761-70 (see table 4.5). The data therefore, indicates that the economic structure of Billington township underwent significant changes between 1750 and 1770.

A clear contrast can be drawn between the townships of Whalley and Billington in one important respect. As indicated both showed a notable expansion of the textile sector during the course of the eighteenth century. However, the township of Billington showed little diversification in other forms of manufacturing activity whereas Whalley township showed the development of industrial sectors other than textiles. The baptism and burial registers

indicate that between the years 1751-70 13 different individuals practised the occupation of nailer in Whalley township, whereas this occupational group was not indicated in the data from the mid-seventeenth century. In Whalley one can also note the presence of a cutler, a tinner and two clockmakers in the later eighteenth century. In Billington the same concentration on textiles and on the provision of basic manufacturing needs continued throughout the eighteenth century. As previously indicated, manufacturing can be further broken down into 13 sub-groups. With the exception of textiles the manufacturing group in Billington township was composed of crafts which were directly connected with farming and the processing of agricultural materials. The workers in iron were comprised essentially of blacksmiths and they would have manufactured agricultural equipment. Millers and maltsters were involved in the processing of agricultural goods and with the notable exception of textiles the township of Billington showed no divergence from the basic village occupations.

The inhabitants of Billington township were therefore heavily reliant on textile occupations by the mid-eighteenth century, with between one-third and one-half of adult male individuals categorised in this economic group. Similarly, the occupational evidence recorded in the chapelry registers of Great Harwood between 1731-70 also points to high levels of involvement in textile manufacturing.

The parochial chapelry of Great Harwood was part of the mother parish of Blackburn, and judging by the entries in the registers was used principally by the inhabitants of the townships of Great Harwood and Rishton. The use of the occupational data from the chapelry registers of Great Harwood to assess the characteristic

features of the economic structure presents a number of methodological difficulties.[1]

The main problem is the high proportion of entries without an occupational description. In the baptism register between 1731-40 52 of the 194 entries relating to adult males had no occupational description appended (27%), and the 'not stated' entries accounted for 109 of the 425 entries (26%) in the baptism register of 1751-60. In the decades 1741-50 and 1761-70 the proportion was higher still with 39% (112 of 285 entries) and 46% (219 of 480 entries) of the entries respectively with no occupational data appended. There was also a failure to record township of residence for a significant proportion of entries so that linking the entries to individual cases is very difficult. Therefore, in this analysis the occupational survey will rely on the less satisfactory technique of determining the proportion of entries relating to certain economic groups. As a result of this failure to record place of residence the data can only be analysed at the level of the chapelry rather than for the township of Great Harwood. Therefore the occupational data will strongly reflect features of the occupational structure of Rishton which is contiguous with the township of Blackburn. As occupational evidence is not recorded in the poll tax of 1660 for either Great Harwood or Rishton township there is no comparative basis from the seventeenth century from which to trace long term change in the economic structure. The assessment of economic change in Great Harwood chapelry is based on evidence from the baptism

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[1] Sparke, Parish Register of Great Harwood, passim.

registers of the eighteenth century, as there are fewer 'not stated' entries than in the burial registers.

In the baptism register of 1731-40 textile occupations accounted for 77 out of a total of 194 entries which related to male adult individuals (40%). Of these entries 2 related to woollenweavers, 4 to sergeweavers, 5 to linenweavers and 66 to plodweavers. There is some confusion in the use of the term 'plodweaver', but as Wadsworth and Mann categorised the area around Blackburn as part of the fustian zone at the end of the seventeenth century this title may relate to the production of cloth with a linen warp and cotton weft.[1] Although there was a mixture of different types of cloth production, the evidence still emphasises the importance of textile manufacturing as a basis of support for the population of the chapelry. In the decade 1741-50 the proportion of weavers recorded was slightly lower as 84 entries out of a total of 285 (29%) related to plodweavers and sergeweavers. In addition 11 entries referred to whitsters (4%) who were involved in the process of whitening linen yarn and cloth. The presence of James Barn, a fuller of Rishton, indicates that facilities were available for the finishing processes of woollen cloth production. The lower level of involvement in textile activities is unlikely to reflect an actual decline in the extent of this industrial pursuit, but is probably accounted for by the significantly higher proportion of 'not stated' entries in this decade of 39% (112 of 285 entries).

The heavy reliance on textile manufacturing is again stressed in the baptism register of 1751-60 as 187 entries out of a total of

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1 Wadsworth and Mann, Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, p. 79.

425 related to plodweavers (44%). An increase in the number of entries relating to whitsters is also apparent as this occupational group accounted for 22 of the 425 entries (5%). The proportion of weavers and whitsters showed a decline in level in the period between 1761-70 to 33% (157 of 480 entries), but again this is explained by the increased proportion of 'not stated' entries which accounted for almost half of all the entries.

Throughout the period between 1731 and 1770 the proportion of entries with a description relating primarily to agriculture is low. The highest recorded level is in the decade 1731-40 as 29 entries related to husbandmen and 1 to a farmer, and overall these entries accounted for 15% of the total of 194 entries. In the period between 1741-50 the proportion of entries relating to husbandmen and crofters was low, accounting for just 28 of 285 entries (9%). In the decade 1751-60 the proportion was lower still with only 28 of 425 entries (7%) recording an occupational title relating to agriculture. The proportion declined still further as in the decade 1761-70 only 3% of entries (15 out of 480) were ascribed to agriculture. This trend of a proportionate decline in employments in agriculture accords closely with the townships discussed above. However, in the case of Great Harwood chapelry it is difficult to quantify this trend precisely as it is not clear whether the 'not stated' entries concealed significant levels of involvement in agriculture.

It is clear nonetheless that in the chapelry of Great Harwood the single most important economic activity was textile manufacturing, as in the period 1731-70 between one-third to one-half of entries in the registers relate to weavers, whitsters and

fullers. The population of Billington township and Great Harwood chapelry demonstrated a far heavier reliance on textiles in the mid-eighteenth century than is apparent in Whalley township at the same date. The closer proximity of these areas to Blackburn, which was described by Pococke in 1750 as "a town which thrives by the cotton and woollen manufacture", may explain the higher levels of industrial activity.[1]

An increased level of trading associated with this expanding textile manufacturing is evidenced in the chapelry registers of Great Harwood by the increased proportion of entries relating to the occupation of carrier. In the decade 1731-40 only 2 entries out of a total of 194 referred to carriers (1%) compared with 17 entries out of a total of 425 (4%) in the decade 1751-60. The 17 entries related to 8 separate individuals who would undoubtedly have been in regular contact with the Blackburn market, although there is no evidence available to assess the types of goods carried and the frequency of trade.[2] Their activities were not confined within purely local horizons however, as Mr. George Howworth from the Lower Town of Great Harwood was referred to as the York carrier on the baptism of his son James on 4th March 1752.

The parish of Blackburn, of which Great Harwood chapelry was a component part, showed an earlier and more extensive rate of

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1 Cartwright, Travels of Dr. Richard Pococke, p. 11.

2 The increased number of carriers evident by the decade 1751-60 may clearly be linked to the extension and improvement of the road network in north-east Lancashire during the 1750s. In 1754 two lengths of road connected Preston and Skipton, one passing through Burnley and Blackburn and the other through Clitheroe. T.W. Freeman, H.B. Rodgers and R.H. Kinvig, Lancashire, Cheshire and the Isle of Man (London, 1966), pp. 58-62.

population growth than the parish of Whalley.[1] The availability of textile employments may clearly have acted as a "pull" factor encouraging inward migration to the areas surrounding Blackburn. The increased opportunity for textile manufacturing is significant therefore, as it provided income for a larger number of households than could perhaps have been supported by the predominantly pastoral system of farming in the area. If we accept David Levine's thesis that industrialisation could affect levels of fertility through altering the age at marriage this may provide a further explanation for the higher rates of population growth apparent in the parish of Blackburn in the eighteenth century.[2]

The evidence from Billington township and Great Harwood chapelry points to an expanding base of rural industry in the early/mid-eighteenth century. By the middle of the eighteenth century these areas in Blackburn Hundred appeared "as mainly industrial, with the agricultural designations of farmer and husbandmen in the minority, greatly outnumbered by the weavers".[3]

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[1] See chapter 2, pp. 38-71.

[2] Levine, 'Demographic Implications of Rural Industrialization', passim.

[3] This observation by Wadsworth and Mann relates to the parishes surrounding Manchester which showed an extensive dependence on textile activities. However, this comment on patterns of economic development is equally applicable to certain areas of Blackburn Hundred by the mid-eighteenth century.
Wadsworth and Mann, Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, p. 314.

6. Conclusion.

With the exception of Billington and Great Harwood all the townships considered in the occupational survey have the unifying characteristic that male heads of household were given occupational descriptions in the poll tax of 1660. The analysis of different sources relating to the group of townships in Blackburn Hundred has highlighted further characteristics and themes which the areas have in common.

A principal aim of this occupational survey was to investigate whether any widespread changes in economic activity characterised this area of north-east Lancashire in the eighteenth century. The evidence from Blackburn Hundred has clearly confirmed Maxine Berg's observation that "...industrial growth took place over the whole of the eighteenth century, not just in the last quarter of it".[1] Each of the townships under consideration demonstrated some degree of change between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth century. Similar patterns of change were common to a number of townships, although the magnitude of that change differed between areas.

Initially, the occupational data from the poll tax and parish registers can be used to comment on the structure of the economy of north-east Lancashire in the mid-seventeenth century. This picture can be profitably compared with Gregory King's survey of the social structure provided in his well-known 'Scheme of the Income and Expence of the Several Families of England calculated for the year 1688'. However, on the basis of occupational data in 26 local

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[1] Berg, Age of Manufactures, p. 316.

censuses dated between 1676 and 1705 and 41 parish registers covering the period 1685 to 1714, Lindert and Williamson suggest marked revisions of King's estimates. Lindert and Williamson question King's view of the occupational structure in the late seventeenth century as the country "was even more rural, less industrial, and filled with more common labourers than was Gloucestershire back in 1608".[1]

The occupational data in the poll tax of 1660 suggests that in 11 townships in north-east Lancashire (excluding Blackburn) agriculture employed 213 out of 417 male householders (51%). Of these householders 84 were ascribed the title of labourer which represents 20% of the total male householders enumerated in the 11 townships. In King's 'Scheme' the agricultural category (freeholders and farmers) comprised 330,000 heads of families out of a total of 1,390,586 (24%), in addition to 364,000 'labouring people and outservants' (26%). The agricultural sector in King's 'Scheme' represents 50% of total family heads, although Lindert and Williamson suggest a revised estimate of 512,437 family heads or 37% of the total.

The evidence from the 11 townships in Blackburn Hundred corresponds very closely to King's figure of 50%. However, the poll tax evidence pre-dates King's survey by more than a quarter of a century. As no occupational data is available for north-east Lancashire in the 1680s it is not possible to directly compare the data. Judging by the occupational evidence the townships of Whalley, Billington, Wiswell, Accrington nova and Accrington vetera

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[1] Lindert and Williamson, 'Revising England's Social Tables', p. 387.

experienced a fall in the proportionate level of agricultural activity by the decade 1721-1730. It therefore seems feasible that the value of 51% of male householders identified in the mid-seventeenth century may be an unrealistically high figure to apply to 1688. If this trend of change was a feature of the years between 1660 and 1720, the true level of agricultural involvement in north-east Lancashire in the 1680s may in fact be closer to the value of 37% suggested by Lindert and Williamson.[1]

In his 'Scheme' King suggests that 4% of family heads could be classed under 'Artisans and handicrafts' (60,000 out of 1,390,586). Lindert and Williamson suggest that this value is absurdly low and provide a revised estimate of 256,866 family heads, which represents 18.5% of the total. The evidence from 11 townships in north-east Lancashire would suggest that King's assessment of manufacturing and the building trades was far too low, as building occupations alone represented 3% of male householders in 1660 (14 out of 417). In addition the manufacturing occupations accounted for 114 male heads of household or 27% of the total. Overall, 31% (128 out of 417) of male heads of household in these 11 townships can be classified under the heading of manufacturing and building, a level which is significantly higher than the revised estimate suggested by Lindert and Williamson. It is however, difficult to directly compare the estimates as the data in the poll tax provides no information regarding those in receipt of poor relief. The number of those in receipt of poor relief is very difficult to estimate in this area as there are few listings of the poor. Nonetheless, the data from

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[1] Ibid., table 1, pp. 388-9, 390.

Blackburn Hundred still confirms Lindert and Williamson's observation that all of King's "guesses for artisans seem too low...".[1]

It appears that a full understanding of economic trends cannot be derived from King's survey of the social structure in the late seventeenth century. The picture presented by King is a static one, which also conceals local variations. Moreover, the table is inaccurate in certain respects as it conceals the fact that "the English society of 1695-6 was already in a state of flux...". In an important review of King's work G.S. Holmes argues that the country:

> "was already beginning to witness important changes in the landowning sector, the rise of a new 'monied interest' in the city, the rapid expansion of the civil service and of the armed forces, vital new stimulii to certain branches of industry and distributing trades, and the inauguration of a period of steady urban growth in some parts of the provinces...".[2]

A study of the occupational data in the parish and chapelry registers of Blackburn Hundred shows the extent and nature of economic change in this 'pre-industrial' period. The evidence from a selected group of townships in north-east Lancashire confirms Holmes's observation that development and diversification were characteristic features of this period.

The pattern was perhaps most striking in the case of Whalley and Billington townships. A marked decrease in the proportion of individuals concerned with agriculture together with an increase in the overall level of manufacturing was common to both areas. In

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[1] Ibid.

[2] G.S. Holmes, 'Gregory King and the Social Structure of Pre-Industrial England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series 27 (1977), p. 53.

Whalley township the proportion of individuals involved in agriculture declined from a mid-seventeenth century level of 47% (33 of 70 adult males) to 14% (10 of 69 adult males) in the burial register of 1761-70. The level of manufacturing showed a corresponding increase from 36% of the workforce in the death register of 1653-60 (25 of 70 adult males) to 65% (45 of 69 adult males) in the burial register of 1761-70. In Billington township the level of manufacturing increased from 31% (19 of 61 adult males) of the sample in the death register of 1653-60 to a level of 63% (50 of 79 adult males) in the burial register of 1761-70. In this decade textile manufacture alone at 49% (39 of 79 adult males) outstripped agricultural activity which accounted for 28% of the sample (22 of 79 adult males). Similarly, in Whalley township the proportion of 28% of male adults ascribed to textile manufacturing (19 of 69 adult males) in the burial register of 1761-70 was higher than the proportion of 14% involved in agriculture (10 of 69 adult males). This evidence corresponds with E.A. Wrigley's assertion that:

> "In certain rural areas in the eighteenth century the growth in non-agricultural employment was so great as to dwarf the remaining agricultural population ... In much of south Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, the textile industry, whether cotton or wool provided income for many more men and women".1

It is difficult to provide an explanation for economic change that is specific to each of the townships considered, but a number a factors might be posited to explain the observed shifts in the economic structure in Blackburn Hundred in the eighteenth century.

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[1] Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change', p. 696.

Joan Thirsk stresses that an abundance of labour in an area would, in the context of demand for manufactured goods, provide an important stimulus to industrial development. In many cases the availability of labour is linked to a pastoral system of farming which fails to meet the subsistence needs of an economy.[1] Hudson illustrates this connection between the farming system and industrial development in the West Riding of Yorkshire as she argues that:

> "the inability of land in the Halifax area to support anything other than livestock grazing and the cultivation of a few oats coupled with the small size of agricultural holdings, meant that it became the earliest site of extensive proto-industrial development in the West Riding".[2]

Similarly, Swain emphasises that the nature of the pastoral economy in the Colne area explains the widespread incidence of clothmaking in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[3]

Such arguments do have a relevance to the western edge of Blackburn Hundred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although the land was relatively low-lying and fertile compared with the eastern side of the region.[4] Swain argues that in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the Ribble valley chapelries of Whalley, Downham and Clitheroe did not show an extensive dependence on textile manufacturing as the good arable land meant that there was less seasonal under-employment and more opportunities for

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1 Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside', pp. 71-3.

2 Hudson, 'West Riding Wool Textile Industry', pp. 41-3.

3 Swain, Industry before the Industrial Revolution, pp. 199-208.

4 Freeman, Rodgers and Kinvig, Lancashire, Cheshire and the Isle of Man, p. 47.

agricultural wage labour.[1]

However, the changing structure of the economy in Whalley and Billington townships in the eighteenth century suggests that the opportunities in agriculture were no longer sufficient to meet the needs of the population. Opportunities in wage labour would have been reduced if the falling grain prices between 1650-1750 encouraged farmers in areas not ideally suited to crop cultivation to concentrate on livestock rearing and dairy farming.[2] A study of probate inventories in this period indicates that in the townships under consideration crop cultivation was in fact evident amongst a lower proportion of testators in the first half of the eighteenth century.[3] This is significant as the position of labourers in the mid-seventeenth century was already precarious as these groups formed a substantial element amongst those exempt from payment of the hearth tax. Such individuals fluctuated between economic independence and dependence on intermittent charitable help from the poor stock of Whalley.[4] Whalley township demonstrated a sharp polarisation in wealth in the mid-seventeenth century so that a decline in the opportunities for wage labour would have accentuated still further the economic marginality of the group of labourers.

The occupational data from Whalley township illustrates a marked decline in the proportion of labourers in the eighteenth century economic structure. Labourers accounted for more than

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[1] Swain, 'Industry and Economy', pp. 220-221.

[2] Jones, 'Agricultural Origins of Industry', pp. 69-70.

[3] See chapter 5, pp. 323-6.

[4] See chapter 7, pp. 507-511, 591-3.

one-fifth of adult male householders in the poll tax of 1660 (14 of 65 adult males) but in the burial and baptism registers of 1761-70 labourers represented between 7% (5 of 69 adult males) and 11% (10 of 87 adult males) of the adult male individuals. Moreover, labourers declined relative to the numbers of yeomen, husbandmen and farmers. In the burial register of 1721-30 there were 22 labourers compared with 10 husbandmen which represents a ratio of 2 labourers to each husbandman. The ratio fluctuated but in the baptism and burial registers between 1761-70 the ratio was on a one to one basis. In the decade 1771-80 there were 7 labourers recorded compared with 14 yeomen, husbandmen and farmers which represents a ratio of one labourer to two farmers. Therefore, during the course of the eighteenth century the number of labourers declined in relation to the total occupational sample, but also in relation to the other farming groups which would support the argument that there was a reduction in the proportionate extent of involvement in arable farming during this period (see tables 4.7 and 4.8).

In the context of a growing population the increased emphasis on pastoral farming in these townships would have meant that there was a surplus of labour, and increasing numbers of male adults would have had to look to industry as a means of making a livelihood. In Whalley township the population growth combined with a shift away from arable agriculture would explain why an increasing proportion of the population was involved in textile production in the eighteenth century. This argument is strengthened by the timing of the growth in population and the changes in the economic structure. The upswing in the level of textile manufacturing in Whalley and Billington in the period between 1750 and 1770 follows a significant

period of population growth. In Whalley township for example, the population increased from c. 530 in 1740 to c. 630 in 1760.

The availability of labour is obviously an important requirement for industrial expansion in the early modern period, when few labour saving devices were applied to production. However, labour surpluses are only of value to industrial development if demand exists for manufactured products. Also, as Swain points out, it is essential that those who required additional income should be aware of the existence of that demand.[1] The proximity of Whalley and Billington townships to Blackburn, which according to Pennant had developed links with the Manchester and London markets by the 1770s, would have been important in the spread of industrial activity to those areas. The improvement of road communications within Blackburn Hundred in the early 1750s points to increased road use by the mid-eighteenth century, and is significant as it would have facilitated further industrial development within the region. The extensive involvement in textile production which is apparent in Great Harwood chapelry by the mid-eighteenth century would probably have been closely linked to the emergence of Blackburn as a market centre for manufactured goods.

The spread of industry in north-east Lancashire did not occur at a uniform rate and had a differential impact within the Hundred. Certain areas of Blackburn Hundred such as Colne chapelry and Pendle Forest showed an extensive reliance on textiles as early as the sixteenth century. The much later spread of textile occupations in a number of the Ribble valley townships in the eighteenth century

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[1] Swain, Industry before the Industrial Revolution, p. 205.

seems to have been prompted by the insufficiency of agriculture in the context of a growing population and an increased emphasis on pastoral farming. This evidence seems to support Hudson's conclusion that:

> "the extent of agricultural self-sufficiency, as well as the seasonality and regimes of farming ... made for different chronologies and different mixes of agriculture and industry".[1]

In common with Whalley and Billington the townships of Wiswell, Downham, Chatburn, Accrington vetera and Accrington nova had proportionately fewer individuals involved in agriculture in the eighteenth century samples than in the poll tax of 1660. However, the level of manufacturing remained fairly constant in Downham, Twiston, Accrington nova and Accrington vetera. In particular the proportionate numbers of individuals involved in the manufacture of textiles was very similar in the early eighteenth century samples to the levels indicated in the poll tax of 1660. A problem common to Downham, Chatburn, Twiston, Accrington nova and Accrington vetera is that the occupational data in the parish registers is not as extensive as in Whalley and Billington. This means that it is not possible to assess whether the critical period of change was taking place in the decades 1751-60 and 1761-70 as in the townships of Whalley and Billington.

The marked expansion in the level of textile manufacture in Whalley and Billington during the eighteenth century can be compared with other areas of Lancashire. The data presented by Wadsworth and Mann illustrates a marked fall in the proportionate levels of involvement in agriculture in Radcliffe, Middleton, Oldham and

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[1] Hudson, 'West Riding Wool Textile Industry', p. 41.

Upholland in the mid-eighteenth century. This relative decline was accompanied by a marked growth in the level of textile manufacturing in Radcliffe, Middleton and Upholland (see table 4.13). The extent of involvement in textile manufacturing in these areas far outstripped the levels observed on the western edge of Blackburn Hundred in the mid-eighteenth century. This is undoubtedly linked to their closer proximity to Manchester. A map of Lancashire drawn in 1760 by Emanuel Bowen described how the trade of textiles in Manchester "have rendered both the town and its neighbourhood rich and populous".[1]

In a study of economic and demographic change in the mid-Wharfedale area of Yorkshire, May Pickles similarly observes distinct patterns of change in the period between 1740 and 1770. Occupational data in a series of good parish registers permitted a survey of change in the parish of Otley, and also in eight surrounding rural parishes and chapelries. The group of eight rural parishes demonstrated a fall in the proportionate number of employments in agriculture from 56% (including landless labourers) in the period 1721-40 to 43% between 1761-80. There was a corresponding increase in the proportion of the male adult workforce engaged in leadmining from 4% in 1721-40 to 19% in 1761-80, and also in textiles which increased from 7% to 11% in the same period. In Otley parish there was a similar fall in the proportionate extent of agricultural activity and an increase in manufacturing during the second half of the eighteenth century. May Pickles concludes that

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[1] L.R.O., DDPr. 144/8.

"practically all additional labour that accrued after c.1740 eschewed land work for other types of employment, particularly industrial employment". This area of Yorkshire therefore demonstrates economic trends similar to those displayed in north-east Lancashire, as May Pickles finds that "agricultural employments decline almost everywhere, at the same time employments in industry grow sensationally in the rural parishes...".[1]

Diversification is a characteristic feature of Whalley township in the eighteenth century. The economy of this township shows an expansion in the number of textile workers and metalworkers, and also an increase in the proportion of the population involved in dealing, retail and service occupations. This is in contrast to the township of Billington which, with the exception of textile manufacture, shows a continued reliance on basic village crafts.

All the townships under consideration have one important feature in common. Although there is a marked variation in extent between townships, they each demonstrate a strong and developing industrial element in the framework of a small rural township and with the exception of Read they all demonstrated a decreasing reliance on agriculture. A number of the townships became increasingly 'industrialised' during the course of the eighteenth century and indicate that a study of economic change should not be confined to areas which subsequently developed into large centres of population and industry in the nineteenth century. The processes of economic change in the eighteenth century had a wide ranging impact on communities in north-east Lancashire. Perhaps D. Coleman and

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[1] Pickles, 'Mid-Wharfedale, 1721-1812', pp. 20-21.

K.D.M. Snell and R.A.B. Houston are right to question the drawbacks of forcing such communities into the proto-industrial mould.[1]

The single occupational labels derived from the parish registers indicate that proportionately fewer individuals were ascribed to agricultural activities by the mid-eighteenth century. However, such labels provide little indication of the type of agriculture practised in the townships. On the basis of evidence in probate inventories it is relevant to establish the extent of crop cultivation in the region, which would provide a broad indication of whether this area was dependent on the market economy for the supply of grain. If there was a dependence on the market for grain in the second half of the seventeenth century did this increase in the first half of the eighteenth century with the growth of population in the region and the increasing involvement in manufacturing activities? The single occupational labels suggest that this may have been the case, as in Whalley township there is a significant expansion in the number of shopkeepers, innkeepers and victuallers from the 1740s. Also the evidence of the probate inventories can be used to determine whether the increased numbers of textile workers were supplied with wool from locally kept flocks of sheep or whether this raw material was transported to the region.

The occupational evidence from a number of townships indicated the practice of by-employments in north-east Lancashire. Joan Thirsk suggests that such by-employments were "not accidental or subsidiary, secondary or a miserable makeshift", but they were in

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[1] Houston and Snell, 'Proto-industrialization?', pp. 473-492. Coleman, 'Proto-industrialization: A Concept Too Many', pp. 435-448.

fact "an integral part of the pastoral way of life".[1] The single occupational labels cannot reveal the full extent of by-employments in north-east Lancashire, but in chapter six a consideration of the evidence contained in probate inventories highlights the importance of this form of economic organisation. Although the proportion of male adults ascribed an occupational title which was related primarily to agriculture declined over time, it is apparent from this evidence that the increased numbers of textile workers would probably have retained a connection with agricultural production of some form. Similarly, those individuals described as yeomen, husbandmen and farmers may have supplemented their income from textile manufacturing.

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[1] Thirsk, 'Seventeenth Century Agriculture', pp. 171-2.

Table 4.1 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD: THE POLL TAX OF 1660.

OCCUPATION	Acc. vetera		Acc. nova		Chatburn		Clitheroe		Downham		Little Mitton		Read		Twiston		Whalley		Wiswell		Worston	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I PRIMARY																						
A. Agriculture																						
Yeoman	-	-	-	-	9	25.7	18	19.1	2	4.3	-	-	1	5.2	3	21.4	3	4.6	5	15.1	5	31.2
Husbandman	3	11.5	8	13.1	9	25.7	16	17.0	16	34.8	3	37.5	4	21.0	5	35.7	9	13.8	6	18.2	4	25.0
TOTAL AGRICULTURE	3	11.5	8	13.1	18	51.4	34	36.2	18	39.1	3	37.5	5	26·3	8	57.1	12	18.4	11	33.3	9	56.2
II BUILDING																						
A. Houses																						
1. Freemason	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mason	-	-	-	-	1	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Slater	-	-	1	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Waller	1	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Carpenter	-	-	-	-	1	2.8	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	6.1	-	-	-	-
Plasterer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Plumber/glazier	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Limeburner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL BUILDING	1	3.8	1	1.6	2	5.7	2	2.1	2	4.3	-	-	2	10.6	-	-	4	6.1	-	-	-	-

TABLE 4.1

Table 4.1(Cont.) DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD: THE POLL TAX OF 1660.

OCCUPATIONS	Acc. vetera		Acc. nova		Chatburn		Clitheroe		Downham		Little Mitton		Read		Twiston		Whalley		Wiswell		Worston	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
III MANUFACTURING																						
A. Tools and Instruments																						
Gunsmith	1	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C. Clothing																						
1. Tailor	-	-	1	1.6	-	-	3	3.2	3	6.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	6.1	5	15.1	2	12.5
2. Shoemaker	-	-	1	1.6	-	-	2	2.1	2	4.3	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	4	6.1	-	-	-	-
D. Victualling																						
1. Miller	2	7.7	-	-	1	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.1	-	-	-	-
2. Butcher	2	7.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E. Iron																						
Blacksmith	-	-	2	3.3	-	-	3	3.2	2	4.3	-	-	1	5.3	1	7.1	2	3.1	1	3.0	2	12.5
Cutler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	1	3.0	-	-
I. Furs and Leather																						
1. Currier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
Skinner	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.1	-	-	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	1	3.0	-	-
Tanner	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	3	4.6	-	-	-	-
2. Sadler	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.1 (cont.) DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD: THE POLL TAX OF 1660.

OCCUPATIONS	Acc. vetera		Acc. nova		Chatburn		Clitheroe		Downham		Little Mitton		Read		Twiston		Whalley		Wiswell		Worston	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
K. Wood																						
Cooper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.0	-	-
Joiner	-	-	1	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
Wheelwright	1	3.8	-	-	1	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.1	-	-	-	-
L. Textiles																						
1. Weaver	4	15.4	9	14.7	2	5.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feltmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Woollenweaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.3	-	-	1	5.3	3	21.4	3	4.6	5	15.1	-	-
3. Linenweaver	-	-	1	1.6	-	-	-	-	5	10.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4.6	2	6.1	-	-
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	10	38.5	15	24.6	4	11.4	15	15.9	15	32.6	-	-	6	31.6	4	28.5	25	38.4	16	46.5	4	25.0
IV TRANSPORT																						
B. Land																						
Carrier	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.1 (cont.) DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD: THE POLL TAX OF 1660.

OCCUPATIONS	Acc. vetera		Acc. nova		Chatburn		Clitheroe		Downham		Little Mitton		Read		Twiston		Whalley		Wiswell		Worston	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
V DEALING																						
A. Specialist Retail																						
1. Alehousekeeper	1	3.8	1	1.6	1	2.8	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Mercer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.1	-	-	-	-
Woollendraper	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. Specialist Wholesale																						
2. Clothier	2	7.7	3	4.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C. Itinerant																						
Chapman	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
TOTAL DEALING	3	11.5	4	6.5	1	2.8	4	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4.6	-	-	-	-

Table 4.1 (cont.)

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD: THE POLL TAX OF 1660.

OCCUPATIONS	Acc. vetera		Acc. nova		Chatburn		Clitheroe		Downham		Little Mitton		Read		Twiston		Whalley		Wiswell		Worston	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
VI PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE																						
B. Professional Service																						
1. Attorney	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vicar	-	-	-	-	1	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
Clerk	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
2. Barber	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
TOTAL PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE	-	-	-	-	1	2.8	2	2.1	1	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4.6	-	-	-	-
VII MENIAL OCCUPATIONS																						
Labourer	-	-	16	26.2	5	14.3	32	34.0	8	17.4	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	14	21.5	5	15.1	3	18.7
TOTAL MENIAL OCCUPATIONS	-	-	16	26.2	5	14.3	32	34.0	8	17.4	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	14	21.5	5	15.1	3	18.7

Table 4.1 (cont.) DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD: THE POLL TAX OF 1660.

OCCUPATIONS	Acc. vetera		Acc. nova		Chatburn		Clitheroe		Downham		Little Mitton		Read		Twiston		Whalley		Wiswell		Worston	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
VIII STATUS DESCRIPTIONS																						
1. Gentleman	1	3.8	2	3.3	-	-	4	4.2	-	-	4	50.0	-	-	1	7.1	3	4.6	1	3.0	-	-
Esquire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baronet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
TOTAL STATUS	1	3.8	2	3.3	-	-	4	4.2	-	-	4	50.0	1	5.3	1	7.1	4	6.1	1	3.0	-	-
IX NO DESCRIPTION	8	30.8	15	24.6	4	11.4	-	-	1	2.2	-	-	5	26.3	1	7.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
OVERALL MALE	26	100	61	100	35	100	94	100	46	100	+ 8	100	19	100	14	100	65	100	33	100	16	100
FEMALES	3	-	8	-	10	-	35	-	6	-	-	-	7	-	3	-	15	-	7	-	7	-

+ Unreliably small sample size of less than ten.

Table 4.2

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE HOUSEHOLDERS BETWEEN THE MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS: THE POLL TAX OF 1660.

OCCUPATION	Acc. vetera.		Acc. nova		Chatburn		Clitheroe		Downham		Little Mitton		Read		Twiston		Whalley		Wiswell		Worston	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Agriculture (including labourers)	3	11.5	24	39.3	23	65.7	66	70.2	26	56.5	4	50.0	5	26.3	8	57.1	26	40.0	16	48.5	12	75.0
2. Building	1	3.8	1	1.6	2	5.7	2	2.1	2	4.3	-	-	2	10.6	-	-	4	6.1	-	-	-	-
3. Manufacturing (excluding textiles)	6	23.1	5	8.2	2	5.7	12	12.7	8	17.4	-	-	5	26.3	1	7.1	19	29.2	9	27.3	4	25.0
3a. Textile Manufacture	4	15.4	10	16.4	2	5.7	3	3.2	7	15.2	-	-	1	5.3	3	21.4	6	9.2	7	21.2	-	-
Total Manufacturing	10	38.5	15	24.6	4	11.4	15	15.9	15	32.6	-	-	6	31.6	4	28.6	25	38.4	16	48.5	4	25.0
4. Transport	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Dealing	3	11.5	4	6.5	1	2.8	4	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4.6	-	-	-	-

Table 4.2 (cont.) Distribution of male householders between the main economic sectors.

OCCUPATIONS	Acc. vetera		Acc. nova		Chatburn		Clitheroe		Downham		Little Mitton		Read		Twiston		Vballey		Viswell		Worston	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
6. Public and Professional Service.	-	-	-	-	1	2.8	2	2.1	1	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4.6	-	-	-	-
7. Menial (excluding labourers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Status	1	3.8	2	3.3	-	-	4	4.2	-	-	4	50.0	1	5.3	1	7.1	4	6.1	1	3.0	-	-
9. No description	8	30.8	15	24.6	4	11.4	4	-	1	2.2	-	-	5	26.3	1	7.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	26	100	61	100	35	100	94	100	46	100	+8	100	19	100	14	100	65	100	33	100	16	100

+ Unreliably small sample size of less than ten.

TABLE 4.3

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS IN BLACKBURN TOWNSHIP: THE POLL TAX OF 1660.

OCCUPATION	Number of male householders	Percentage of male householders
I PRIMARY		
A. Agriculture		
Yeoman	-	-
Husbandman	16	10.3
TOTAL AGRICULTURE (exc. labourers)	16	10.3
II BUILDING		
A. Houses		
1. Mason	1	0.6
3. Plumber/glazier	1	0.6
TOTAL BUILDING	2	1.3
III MANUFACTURING		
C. Clothing		
1. Hosier	1	0.6
Hatter	4	2.6
Tailor	5	3.2
2. Shoemaker	4	2.6
D. Victualling		
1. Miller	3	1.9
2. Butcher	5	3.2
E. Iron		
Smith	5	3.2
I. Furs and Leather		
1. Skinner	1	0.6
2. Sadler	1	0.6

Table 4.3 (continued)

OCCUPATION	Number of male householders	Percentage of male householders
K. Wood		
Wheelwright	3	1.9
L. Textiles		
1. Weaver	28	18.1
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	60	38.7
IV TRANSPORT		
B. Land		
Carrier	3	1.9
TOTAL TRANSPORT	3	1.9
V DEALING		
C. Itinerant		
Badger	4	2.6
TOTAL DEALING	4	2.6
VI PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE		
B. Professional Service		
1. Sexton	1	0.6
TOTAL PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE	1	0.6

Table 4.3 (continued)

OCCUPATION	Number of male householders	Percentage of male householders
VII MENIAL OCCUPATIONS		
Labourer	1	0.6
TOTAL MENIAL OCCUPATIONS	1	0.6
TOTAL STATUS	-	-
IX NO DESCRIPTION	68	43.9
OVERALL MALE	155	100
FEMALES	32	-

Table 4.4 OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS:

GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPING IN THE POLL TAX OF 1660.

OCCUPATION	Group 1 Little Mitton Read Whalley Wiswell		Group 2 Chatburn Clitheroe Downham Twiston Worston		Group 3 Accrington nova Accrington vetera)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Agriculture (including labourers)	51	40.8	135	65.8	27	31.0
2. Building	6	4.8	6	2.9	2	2.3
3. Manufacturing (excluding textiles)	33	26.4	27	13.2	11	12.6
3a. Textile Manufacture	14	11.2	15	7.3	14	16.1
Total Manufacturing	47	37.6	42	20.5	25	28.7
4. Transport	-	-	2	0.9	-	-
5. Dealing	3	2.4	5	2.4	7	8.0
6. Public and Professional Service.	3	2.4	4	1.9	-	-
7. Menial (excluding labourers)	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Status	10	8.0	5	2.4	3	3.4
9. No description	5	4.0	6	2.9	23	26.4
TOTAL	125	100	205	100	87	100

TABLE 4.5.

NUMBER OF FAMILIES 'CHIEFLY EMPLOYED' IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY: BLACKBURN HUNDRED 1811.

Place	Number of Families	Chiefly Employed in agriculture		Chiefly Employed in trade, manufactures and handicrafts		All other Families not comprised in the two preceding classes	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Whalley parish:							
New Accrington	410	60	14.6	347	84.6	3	0.7
Old Accrington	173	2	1.2	169	97.7	2	1.1
Chatburn	96	7	7.3	88	91.7	1	1.0
Clitheroe	313	60	19.2	208	66.4	45	14.4
Downham	109	29	26.6	22	20.2	58	53.2
Little Mitton	12	8	66.7	3	25.0	1	8.3
Read	75	27	36.0	48	64.0	-	-
Twiston	34	14	41.2	6	17.6	14	41.2
Whalley	205	24	11.7	168	81.9	13	6.4
Wiswell	86	27	31.4	58	67.4	1	1.2
Worston	28	10	35.7	-	-	18	64.3
Blackburn parish:							
Billington	152	32	21.0	114	75.0	6	4.0
Blackburn	3,090	45	1.4	2,861	92.6	184	6.0
Great Harwood	316	24	7.6	291	92.1	1	0.3

Source: Abstract of the Answers and Returns. Preliminary Observations, Enumeration Abstract, Parish Register Abstract, 1811 (London, 1812), pp. 150-152.

TABLE 4.6

Distribution of occupations in Blackburn Hundred in the Poll Tax of 1660 and the Census of 1811.

Township	Agriculture		Trade, Manufacture and handicrafts		All other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No	%
New Accrington:						
1660 Poll Tax	24	39.3	19	31.1	18	29.6
1811 Census	60	14.6	347	84.6	3	0.7
Old Accrington:						
1660 Poll Tax	3	11.5	13	50.0	10	38.5
1811 Census	2	1.1	169	97.7	2	1.1
Chatburn:						
1660 Poll Tax	23	65.7	5	14.3	7	20.0
1811 Census	7	7.3	88	91.7	1	1.0
Clitheroe:						
1660 Poll Tax	66	70.2	19	20.2	9	9.6
1811 Census	60	19.2	208	66.4	45	14.4
Downham:						
1660 Poll Tax	26	56.5	15	32.6	5	10.9
1811 Census	29	26.6	22	20.2	58	53.2
+ Little Mitton:						
1660 Poll Tax	4	50.0	-	-	4	50.0
1811 Census	8	66.7	3	25.0	1	8.3

+ Unreliably small sample size of less than ten.

TABLE 4.6 (continued)

Distribution of occupations in Blackburn Hundred in the Poll Tax of 1660 and the Census of 1811

Township	Agriculture		Trade, Manufactures and handicrafts*		All other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Read:						
1660 Poll Tax	5	26.3	6	31.6	8	42.1
1811 Census	27	36.0	48	64.0	-	-
Twiston:						
1660 Poll Tax	8	57.1	4	28.6	2	14.3
1811 Census	14	41.2	6	17.6	14	41.2
Whalley:						
1660 Poll Tax	26	40.0	28	43.1	11	16.9
1811 Census	24	11.7	168	81.9	13	6.4
Wiswell:						
1660 Poll Tax	16	48.5	16	48.5	1	3.0
1811 Census	27	31.4	58	67.4	1	1.2
Worston:						
1660 Poll Tax	12	75.0	4	25.0	-	-
1811 Census	10	35.7	-	-	18	64.3
OVERALL:						
1660 Poll Tax	213	51.1	129	30.9	75	18.0
1811 Census	268	17.4	1117	72.5	156	10.1

* The figure for trade, manufacture and handicrafts in the poll tax of 1660 is an amalgamation of the manufacturing and dealing categories.

\+ Unreliably small sample size of less than ten.

Table 4.7 DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALE INDIVIDUALS BETWEEN THE MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS, 1653-1780: VHALLEY TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATION	Poll Tax		Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Baptisms 1741-50		Burials 1741-50		Baptisms 1751-60		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70		Burials 1771-80	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Agriculture (including labourers)	26	40.0	23	53.5	33	47.1	32	35.2	19	22.1	22	36.1	19	22.3	20	20.0	21	24.1	10	14.5	22	29.3
2. +Building	4	6.1	2	4.6	4	5.7	4	4.4	8	9.3	9	14.7	10	11.8	12	12.0	10	11.5	7	10.1	7	9.3
3. Manufacturing (excluding textiles)	19	29.2	12	27.9	20	28.6	33	36.2	31	36.0	18	29.5	30	35.3	35	35.0	31	35.6	26	37.7	26	34.7
3a. Textile Manufacture	6	9.2	2	4.6	5	7.1	5	5.5	11	12.8	6	9.8	14	16.5	13	13.0	17	19.5	19	27.5	10	13.3
Total Manufacturing	25	38.4	14	32.5	25	35.7	38	41.7	42	49.0	24	39.3	44	51.8	48	48.0	48	55.2	45	65.2	36	48.0
4. +Transport	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. +Dealing	3	4.6	1	2.3	1	1.4	5	5.5	3	3.5	4	6.5	6	7.0	9	9.0	6	6.9	3	4.3	1	1.3
6. +Public and Professional Service.	3	4.6	1	2.3	2	2.8	4	4.4	5	5.8	2	3.3	4	4.7	7	7.0	2	2.3	3	4.3	4	5.3

+ Sample sizes which consistently fall below ten.

Table 4.7 (continued) Distribution of adult male individuals between the main economic sectors: Whalley township.

OCCUPATION	Poll Tax		Births 1653-60		Deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Baptisms 1741-50		Burials 1741-50		Baptisms 1751-60		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70		Burials 1771-80	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
7. + Menial (excluding labourers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5.5	2	2.3	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. + Status	4	6.1	2	4.6	3	4.3	1	1.1	2	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.4	2	2.7
9. No description	-	-	-	-	2	2.8	1	1.1	4	4.6	-	-	1	1.2	4	4.0	-	-	-	-	3	4.0
TOTAL	65	100	43	100	70	100	91	100	86	100	61	100	85	100	100	100	87	100	69	100	75	100

+ Sample sizes which consistently fall below ten. Comparison of percentage levels over time within these economic categories should, therefore, be viewed with caution.

Table 4.8 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE INDIVIDUALS IN THE PARISH REGISTERS: WHALLEY TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATION	Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Baptisms 1741-50		Burials 1741-50		Baptisms 1751-60		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70		Burials 1771-80	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I PRIMARY																				
A. Agriculture																				
Yeoman	3	7.0	4	5.7	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.6	1	1.2	1	1.0	1	1.1	1	1.4	1	1.3
Husbandman	20	46.5	29	41.4	10	11.0	2	2.3	-	-	5	5.9	2	2.0	4	4.6	2	2.9	12	16.0
Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	1	1.6	4	4.7	3	3.0	6	6.9	2	2.9	2	2.7
TOTAL AGRICULTURE	23	53.5	33	47.1	10	11.0	5	5.8	2	3.3	10	11.8	6	6.0	11	12.6	5	7:3	15	20.0
B. Fishing																				
Fisherman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
II BUILDING																				
A. Houses																				
1. Freemason	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mason	-	-	-	-	2	2.2	1	1.2	2	3.3	1	1.2	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.4	-	-
Slater	2	4.6	1	1.4	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.0	1	1.1	-	-	1	1.3
Waller	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Carpenter	-	-	3	4.3	-	-	3	3.5	4	6.5	3	3.5	4	4.0	3	3.4	2	2.9	2	2.7
House-carpenter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	1.4	2	2.7
Plasterer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Housewright	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Plumber/glazier	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	1.2	-	-	2	2.3	-	-	2	2.3	1	1.4	1	1.3
4. Limeburner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. Roads																				
Pavior	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	2	3.3	3	3.5	5	5.0	3	3.4	2	2.9	1	1.3
TOTAL BUILDING	2	4.6	4	5.7	4	4.4	8	9.3	9	14.7	10	11.8	12	12.0	10	11.5	7	10.1	7	9.3

Table 4.8 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: WHALLEY TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		Deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Baptisms 1741-50		Burials 1741-50		Baptisms 1751-60		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70		Burials 1771-80	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
III MANUFACTURING																				
A. Tools and instruments																				
1. Clockmaker	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gunsmith	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Jackmaker	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C. Clothing																				
1. Hosier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hatter	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tailor	2	4.6	2	2.8	5	5.5	5	5.8	2	3.3	4	4.7	5	5.0	4	4.6	4	5.8	2	2.7
2. Cordwainer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shoemaker	3	7.0	2	2.8	7	7.7	3	3.5	4	6.5	4	4.7	8	8.1	4	4.6	4	5.8	7	9.3
Cobbler	-	-	1	1.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Clogmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	-	-	1	1.1	2	2.9	-	-
Heelmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	1.4	-	-
D. Victualling																				
1. Miller	-	-	1	1.4	2	2.2	1	1.2	-	-	2	2.3	2	2.0	1	1.1	2	2.9	-	-
Maister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Baker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Butcher	1	2.3	2	2.8	1	1.1	3	3.5	1	1.6	3	3.5	3	3.0	2	2.3	3	4.3	3	4.0
Breadmaker	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.8 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: WHALLEY TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Baptisms 1741-50		Burials 1741-50		Baptisms 1751-60		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70		Burials 1771-80	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
E. Iron																				
Blacksmith	1	2.3	2	2.8	4	4.4	2	2.3	3	4.9	2	2.3	3	3.0	4	4.6	-	-	-	-
Farrier	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cutler	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nailer	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	1.2	-	-	4	4.7	4	4.0	5	5.7	4	5.8	3	4.0
F. Non-ferrous metals																				
2. Tinner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.4	-	-
G. Earthenware																				
Potter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dishthrower	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.3	1	1.2	-	-	1	1.1	2	2.9	1	1.3
Piginmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
I. Furs and Leather																				
1. Currier	1	2.3	1	1.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Skinner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tanner	1	2.3	2	2.8	1	1.1	4	4.6	2	3.3	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.3	1	1.4	-	-
2. Sadler	1	2.3	1	1.4	-	-	3	3.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4.0
Packsadler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
J. Glue, Tallow, Wax, Bone, Horn.																				
Tallowchandler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.3

Table 4.8 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: WHALLEY TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		Deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Baptisms 1741-50		Burials 1741-50		Baptisms 1751-60		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70		Burials 1771-80	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
K. Wood																				
Cooper	-	-	1	1.4	3	3.3	1	1.2	-	-	2	2.3	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.9	2	2.7
Chairmaker	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.3
Joiner	2	4.6	2	2.8	4	4.4	4	4.6	2	3.3	2	2.3	1	1.0	1	1.1	-	-	-	-
Turner	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.0	5	5.7	-	-	-	-
Wheelwright	-	-	3	4.3	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.6	1	1.2	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.3
Woodsawyer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.7
L. Textiles																				
1. Weaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	9.3	5	8.2	12	14.1	10	10.1	16	18.4	18	26.1	9	12.0
Feltmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sergeweaver	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Woollenweaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jerseycomber	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Knitter	1	2.3	2	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spinner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.4	-	-
Plodweaver	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shiftweaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Linenweaver	1	2.3	3	4.3	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ropier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	1	1.3
4. Dyer	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	1.2	1	1.6	1	1.2	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sheareman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clothdresser	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	14	32.5	25	35.7	38	41.7	42	49.0	24	39.3	44	51.8	48	48.0	48	55.2	45	65.2	36	48.0

Table 4.8 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: WHALLEY TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Baptisms 1741-50		Burials 1741-50		Baptisms 1751-60		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70		Burials 1771-80	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
IV TRANSPORT																				
B. Land																				
Carrier	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Horse-rider	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
V DEALING																				
A. Specialist Retail																				
1. Alehousekeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Innkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	1	1.6	3	3.5	4	4.0	4	4.6	1	1.4	1	1.3
Grocer	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	1	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Victualler	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Haberdasher	1	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mercer	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Linendraper	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Woollendraper	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Apothecary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.0	1	1.1	1	1.4	-	-
Shopkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	2	3.3	2	2.3	4	4.0	-	-	1	1.4	-	-
B. Specialist Wholesale																				
2. Clothier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C. Itinerant																				
Chapman	-	-	1	1.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Badger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.8 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: WHALLEY TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Baptisms 1741-50		Burials 1741-50		Baptisms 1751-60		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70		Burials 1771-80	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
D. Indefinite																				
Salter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-
TOTAL DEALING	1	2.3	1	1.4	5	5.5	3	3.5	4	6.5	6	7.0	9	9.0	6	6.9	3	4.3	1	1.3
VI PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE																				
A. Public Service																				
Exciseman/gauger	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	1	1.6	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	1.4	1	1.3
B. Professional Service																				
1. Attorney	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vicar	1	2.3	2	2.8	1	1.1	1	1.2	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.3
Schoolmaster	-	-	-	-	2	2.2	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.4	-	-
Clerk	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.4	-	-
Sexton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.3
Soldier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Barber	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.6	1	1.2	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.3
Surgeon	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Dancing master	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-
TOTAL PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE	1	2.3	2	2.8	4	4.4	5	5.8	2	3.3	4	4.7	7	7.0	2	2.3	3	4.3	4	5.3

Table 4.8 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: WHALLEY TOWNSHIP

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		Deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Baptisms 1741-50		Burials 1741-50		Baptisms 1751-60		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70		Burials 1771-80	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
VII MENIAL OCCUPATIONS																				
Labourer	-	-	-	-	22	24.2	14	16.3	20	32.8	9	10.6	14	14.0	10	11.5	5	7.2	7	9.3
Servant	-	-	-	-	3	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gardener	-	-	-	-	2	2.2	2	2.3	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL MENIAL OCCUPATIONS	-	-	-	-	27	29.7	16	18.6	20	32.8	10	11.8	14	14.0	10	11.5	5	7.2	7	9.3
VIII STATUS DESCRIPTIONS																				
1. Armiger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gentleman	2	4.6	3	4.3	1	1.1	2	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.7
Esquire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.4	-	-
Knight	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baronet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
+ TOTAL STATUS	2	4.6	3	4.3	1	1.1	2	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.4	2	2.7
IX NO DESCRIPTION	-	-	2	2.8	1	1.1	4	4.6	-	-	1	1.2	4	4.0	-	-	-	-	3	4.0
OVERALL MALE	43	100	70	100	91	100	86	100	61	100	85	100	100	100	87	100	69	100	75	100
FEMALES	4	-	15	-	33	-	4	-	15	-	5	-	28	-	10	-	26	-	17	-

+ Sample sizes which consistently fall below ten. Comparison of percentage levels over time within these economic categories should, therefore, be viewed with caution.

Table 4.9

DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALE INDIVIDUALS BETWEEN THE MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS, 1653-1770: READ TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATION	Poll Tax		Births 1653-60		Deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Agriculture (including labourers)	5	26.3	6	50.0	12	60.0	14	53.8	5	26.3	10	55.5	14	58.3	11	61.1
1(c) Mineral Extraction	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	5	26.3	1	5.5	-	-	-	-
2. Building	2	10.6	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	-	-	1	5.5	2	8.3	1	5.5
3. Manufacturing (excluding textiles)	5	26.3	4	33.3	6	30.0	3	11.5	5	26.3	3	16.7	4	16.7	-	-
3a. Textile Manufacture	1	5.3	1	8.3	1	5.0	4	15.4	2	10.5	1	5.5	2	8.3	3	16.7
Total Manufacturing	6	31.6	5	41.7	7	35.0	7	26.9	7	36.8	4	22.2	6	25.0	3	16.7
4. Transport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4.2	-	-
5. Dealing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.5	-	-	1	5.5
6. Public and Professional Service.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.9 Distribution of adult male individuals between the main economic sectors: Read township.

OCCUPATION	Poll Tax		Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
+ 7. Menial (excluding labourers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	7.7	-	-	-	-	1	4.2	-	-
+ 8. Status	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	1	5.3	1	5.5	-	-	2	11.1
9. No description	5	26.3	1	8.3	1	5.0	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	19	100	12	100	20	100	26	100	19	100	18	100	24	100	18	100

+ Sample sizes which consistently fall below ten. Comparison of percentage levels over time within these economic categories should, therefore, be viewed with caution.

Table 4.10 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE INDIVIDUALS, 1653-1770: READ TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATION	Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I PRIMARY														
A. Agriculture														
Yeoman	1	8.3	3	15.0	-	-	2	10.5	2	11.1	1	4.2	-	-
Husbandman	5	41.7	9	45.0	10	38.4	-	-	1	5.5	2	8.3	2	11.1
Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.3	1	5.5	6	25.0	6	33.3
+ TOTAL AGRICULTURE	6	50.0	12	60.0	10	38.4	3	15.8	4	22.2	9	37.5	8	44.4
+ I C. Mineral Extraction														
Collier	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	5	26.3	1	5.5	-	-	-	-
II BUILDING														
A. Houses														
1. Mason	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	-	-	1	5.5	1	4.2	1	5.5
2. Carpenter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4.2	-	-
Housewright	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
+ TOTAL BUILDING	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	-	-	1	5.5	2	8.3	1	5.5

Table 4.10 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: READ TOWNSHIP

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		Deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
III MANUFACTURING														
C. Clothing														
1. Tailor	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	10.5	1	5.5	-	-	-	-
2. Shoemaker	1	8.3	-	-	1	3.8	1	5.3	2	11.1	2	8.3	-	-
D. Victualling														
1. Miller	1	8.3	1	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4.2	-	-
2. Cook	-	-	1	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E. Iron														
Blacksmith	1	8.3	3	15.0	1	3.8	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cutler	-	-	1	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
I. Furs and Leather														
1. Skinner	1	8.3	-	-	1	3.8	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
K. Wood														
Joiner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4.2	-	-
L. Textiles														
1. Weaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8.3	3	16.7
Sergeweaver	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jerseycomber	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	-	-	1	5.5	-	-	-	-
Plodweaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	10.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Linenweaver	1	8.3	1	5.0	2	7.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
+ TOTAL MANUFACTURING	5	41.7	7	35.0	7	26.9	7	36.8	4	22.2	6	25.0	3	16.7

Table 4.10 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: READ TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
IV TRANSPORT														
B. Land														
Carrier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4.2	-	-
+ TOTAL TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4.2	-	-
V DEALING														
A. Specialist Retail														
1. Innkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.5	-	-	1	5.5
+ TOTAL DEALING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.5	-	-	1	5.5
VII MENIAL OCCUPATIONS														
Labourer	-	-	-	-	4	15.4	2	10.5	6	33.3	5	20.8	3	16.7
Servant	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	-	-	-	-	1	4.2	-	-
Gardener	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
+ TOTAL MENIAL OCCUPATIONS	-	-	-	-	6	23.1	2	10.5	6	33.3	6	25.0	3	16.7

Table 4.10 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: READ TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
VIII STATUS DESCRIPTIONS														
1. Gentleman	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	-	-	1	5.5	-	-	-	-
Esquire	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	2	11.1
+ TOTAL STATUS	-	-	-	-	1	3.8	1	5.3	1	5.5	-	-	2	11.1
IX NO DESCRIPTION	1	8.3	1	5.0	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
OVERALL MALE	12	100	20	100	26	100	19	100	18	100	24	100	18	100
FEMALES	1	-	2	-	12	-	3	-	4	-	4	-	7	-

+ Sample sizes which consistently fall below ten. Comparison of percentage levels over time within these economic categories should, therefore, be viewed with caution.

Table 4.11

DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALE INDIVIDUALS BETWEEN THE MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS, 1653-1770: VISVELL TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATION	Poll Tax		Births 1653-60		Deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Agriculture (including labourers)	16	48.5	6	40.0	15	48.4	12	38.7	14	50.0	12	33.3	12	37.5	9	32.1
2.+ Building	-	-	-	-	2	6.4	1	3.2	5	17.9	9	25.0	8	25.0	3	10.7
3. Manufacturing (excluding textiles)	9	27.3	8	53.3	11	35.5	10	32.3	5	17.9	10	27.8	5	15.6	9	32.1
3a. Textile Manufacture	7	21.2	1	6.7	1	3.2	5	16.1	3	10.7	3	8.3	5	15.6	4	14.3
Total Manufacturing	16	48.5	9	60.0	12	38.7	15	48.4	8	28.6	13	36.1	10	31.2	13	46.4
4.+ Transport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6.2	1	3.6
5.+ Dealing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.6
6. Public and Professional Service.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.11 Distribution of adult male individuals between the main economic sectors: Wiswell township.

OCCUPATION	Poll Tax		Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
7. Menial (excluding labourers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. [+] Status	1	3.0	-	-	-	-	1	3.2	1	3.6	2	5.5	-	-	1	3.6
9. No description	-	-	-	-	2	6.4	2	6.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	33	100	15	100	31	100	31	100	28	100	36	100	32	100	28	100

[+] Sample sizes which consistently fall below ten. Comparison of percentage levels over time within these economic categories should, therefore, be viewed with caution.

Table 4.12 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE INDIVIDUALS, 1653-1770: VISVELL JOYSSHIP.

OCCUPATION	Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I PRIMARY														
A. Agriculture														
Yeoman	1	6.7	2	6.4	-	-	1	3.6	-	-	-	-	1	3.6
Husbandman	5	33.3	13	41.9	8	25.8	3	10.7	7	19.4	7	21.9	1	3.6
Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	7.1	1	2.8	3	9.4	3	10.7
+TOTAL AGRICULTURE	6	40.0	15	48.4	8	25.8	6	21.4	8	22.2	10	31.3	5	17.9
II BUILDING														
A. Houses														
1. Mason	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	14.3	5	13.9	4	12.5	1	3.6
Slater	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.1	1	3.6
2. Carpenter	-	-	2	6.4	1	3.2	-	-	3	8.3	1	3.1	1	3.6
House-carpenter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5.2	-	-
Housewright	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.6	1	2.8	-	-	-	-
+ TOTAL BUILDING	-	-	2	6.4	1	3.2	5	17.9	9	25.0	8	25.0	3	10.7

Table 4.12 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: WISWELL TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
III MANUFACTURING														
C. Clothing														
1. Tailor	2	13.3	2	6.4	3	9.7	2	7.1	3	8.3	4	12.5	4	14.3
2. Shoemaker	2	13.3	2	6.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Clogmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
D. Victualling														
1. Miller	-	-	-	-	1	3.2	-	-	1	2.8	-	-	-	-
2. Butcher	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.6	-	-	1	3.1	2	7.1
E. Iron														
Blacksmith	1	6.7	1	3.2	1	3.2	-	-	1	2.8	-	-	1	3.6
Cutler	-	-	-	-	2	6.4	1	3.6	3	8.3	-	-	1	3.6
G. Earthenware														
Potter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.8	-	-	-	-
I. Furs and Leather														
1. Skinner	1	6.7	1	3.2	1	3.2	-	-	1	2.8	-	-	1	3.6
Tanner	-	-	-	-	1	3.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.12 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: VISVELL TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
K. Wood														
Cooper	1	6.7	3	9.7	1	3.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wheelwright	1	6.7	2	6.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L. Textiles														
1. Weaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	10.7	3	8.3	4	12.5	4	14.3
Sergeweaver	-	-	-	-	1	3.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Woollenweaver	1	6.7	1	3.2	1	3.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jerseycomber	-	-	-	-	1	3.2	-	-	-	-	1	3.1	-	-
3. Linenweaver	-	-	-	-	2	6.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	9	60.0	12	38.7	15	48.4	8	28.6	13	36.1	10	31.2	13	46.4
IV TRANSPORT														
B. Land														
Carrier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6.2	1	3.6
+ TOTAL TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6.2	1	3.6
V DEALING														
A. Specialist Retail														
1. Innkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.6
+ TOTAL DEALING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.6

Table 4.12 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: VISVELL TOWNSHIP.

OCCUPATIONS	Births 1653-60		deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70		Burials 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
VII MENIAL OCCUPATIONS														
Labourer	-	-	-	-	4	12.9	8	28.6	4	11.1	2	6.2	4	14.3
+ TOTAL MENIAL OCCUPATIONS	-	-	-	-	4	12.9	8	28.6	4	11.1	2	6.2	4	14.3
VIII STATUS DESCRIPTIONS														
1. Gentleman	-	-	-	-	1	3.2	1	3.6	2	5.5	-	-	-	-
Esquire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.6
+ TOTAL STATUS	-	-	-	-	1	3.2	1	3.6	2	5.5	-	-	1	3.6
IX NO DESCRIPTION	-	-	2	6.4	2	6.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
OVERALL MALE	15	100	31	100	31	100	28	100	36	100	32	100	28	100
FEMALES	2	-	5	-	7	-	10	-	9	-	4	-	12	-

+ Sample sizes which consistently fall below ten. Comparison of percentage levels over time within these economic categories should, therefore, be viewed with caution.

TABLE 4.13.

PROPORTIONS OF THE ADULT MALE WORKFORCE ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE AND THE MANUFACTURE OF TEXTILES.*

Place	Date	Register	Agriculture		Textiles	
			No.	%age of total entries	No.	%age of total entries
Rochdale	1653-57	Marriages	126	51.2	73	29.7
Radcliffe	1656-59	Baptisms	22	27.5	28	35.0
	1742-48	Baptisms	38	11.8	172	53.4
	1776-82	Baptisms	38	7.4	357	69.3
Middleton	1653-57	Marriages	34	47.9	22	30.9
	1730-34	Baptisms	61	17.0	230	64.1
	1746-50	Baptisms	76	12.6	454	75.3
Oldham	1725-27	Baptisms	101	18.5	303	55.4
	1745-47	Baptisms	30	5.1	353	59.6
	1765-67	Baptisms	30	3.6	438	52.4
	1779-81	Baptisms	36	3.3	610	55.4
Upholland	1700-03	Baptisms	91	47.9	36	18.9
	1720-23	Baptisms	80	31.3	77	30.1
	1730-33	Baptisms	44	20.9	48	22.8
Walton-le-Dale						
	1704-8	Baptisms	23	13.8	84	50.3
	1724-28	Baptisms	19	17.4	47	43.1
Penwortham	1725-28	Baptisms	112	56.6	37	18.7
Denton	1723-26	Baptisms	12	15.6	34	44.1

* The distribution of the workforce between agriculture and textile manufacture is based on data presented by Wadsworth and Mann. The figures relate to the number of entries for adult males in the register rather than individuals.
A.P. Wadsworth & J. de L. Mann, The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780 (Manchester 1931, reprinted Manchester, 1965), pp. 52, 314-315.

Table 4.14

LOCATION QUOTIENTS: THE POLL TAX OF 1660.
(Any figure above 1.0 shows a concentration of the group)

OCCUPATION	Accr. vetera	Accr. nova	Chatburn	Clitheroe	Downham	Little Mitton	Read	Twiston	Vhalley	Viswell	Vorston
1. Agriculture (including labourers)	0.2'	0.8	1.3	1.4	1.1	1.0	0.5	1.1	0.8	0.9	1.5
2. Building	1.1	0.5	1.7	0.6	1.3	0	3.2	0	1.8	0	0
3. Manufacturing (excluding textiles)	1.3	0.5	0.3	0.7	-1.0	0	1.5	0.4	1.7	1.6	1.5
3a. Textile Manufacture	1.5	1.6	0.5	0.3	1.5	0	0.5	2.1	0.9	2.0	0
4. Transport	0	0	0	2.5	5.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
5. Dealing	3.3	1.6	0.8	1.2	0	0	0	0	1.3	0	0
6. Public and Professional Service.	0	0	1.7	1.3	1.3	0	0	0	2.9	0	0
7. Menial (excluding labourers)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8. Status	0.9	0.7	0	1.0	0	11.6	1.2	1.6	1.4	0.7	0
9. No description	3.8	3.0	1.4	0	0.2	0	3.2	0.9	0	0	0

Table 4.15

DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALE INDIVIDUALS IN THE TOWNSHIPS OF DOWNHAM, CHATBURN AND TWISTON: 1721-1750

OCCUPATION	Downham		Chatburn		Twiston	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I PRIMARY						
A. Agriculture						
Yeoman	3	3.2	2	3.9	5	16.1
Husbandman	36	38.7	21	41.2	15	48.4
Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL AGRICULTURE	39	41.9	23	45.1	20	64.5
I						
C. Mineral Extraction						
Miner	2	2.1	-	-	-	-
II BUILDING						
A. Houses						
1. Mason	1	1.1	1	2.0	-	-
2. Carpenter	2	2.1	2	3.9	1	3.2
Plasterer	2	2.1	2	3.9	-	-
+ TOTAL BUILDING	5	5.4	5	9.8	1	3.2
III MANUFACTURING						
C. Clothing						
1. Tailor	6	6.5	4	7.8	-	-
2. Shoemaker	2	2.1	3	5.9	-	-
D. Victualling						
1. Miller	2	2.1	1	2.0	-	-
2. Butcher	2	2.1	-	-	-	-

Table 4.15 (continued) Distribution of adult male individuals in Downham, Chatburn and Twiston.

OCCUPATION	Downham		Chatburn		Twiston	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
E. Iron						
Blacksmith	3	3.2	1	2.0	1	3.2
Cutler	-	-	-	-	-	-
I. Furs and Leather						
1. Skinner	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Sadler	-	-	1	2.0	-	-
K. Wood						
Cooper	2	2.1	-	-	-	-
Joiner	-	-	2	3.9	-	-
L. Textiles						
1. Weaver	18	19.4	2	3.9	7	22.4
Sergeweaver	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jerseycomber	-	-	-	-	-	-
Plodweaver	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Linenweaver	-	-	1	2.0	-	-
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	35	37.6	15	29.4	8	25.8
IV TRANSPORT						
B. Land						
Carrier	-	-	1	2.0	-	-
TOTAL TRANSPORT	-	-	1	2.0	-	-
V DEALING						
A. Specialist Retail						
1. Innkeeper	4	4.3	-	-	-	-
3. Shopkeeper	1	1.1	1	2.0	-	-

Table 4.15 (continued). Distribution of adult male individuals in Downham, Chatburn and Twiston.

OCCUPATION	Downham		Chatburn		Twiston	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
C. Itinerant						
Tinker	-	-	3	5.9	-	-
Maltcarrier	1	1.1	-	-	-	-
+ TOTAL DEALING	6	6.5	4	7.8	-	-
VI PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE						
B. Professional Service						
1. Schoolmaster	1	1.1	-	-	-	-
+ TOTAL PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE	1	1.1	-	-	-	-
VII MENIAL OCCUPATIONS						
Labourer	*Re-distributed throughout main economic sectors.					
TOTAL MENIAL OCCUPATIONS	-	-	-	-	-	-
VIII STATUS DESCRIPTIONS						
1. Gentleman	-	-	-	-	1	3.2
Esquire	2	2.1	-	-	-	-
+ TOTAL STATUS	2	2.1	-	-	1	3.2
IX NO DESCRIPTION	3	3.2	3	5.9	1	3.2
OVERALL MALE	93	100	51	100	31	100

+ Unreliably small samples which do not facilitate accurate comparisons between townships.

Table 4.16

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE ADULT INDIVIDUALS: ACCRINGTON

OCCUPATION	Poll Tax		BAPTISM AND BURIALS 1722-1. 0					
			A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I PRIMARY								
A. Agriculture								
Yeoman	-	-	18	14.1	18	14.1	18	14.1
Husbandman	11	12.6	17	13.3	27	21.1	46	35.9
TOTAL AGRICULTURE	11	12.6	35	27.4	45	35.2	64	50.0
II BUILDING								
A. Houses								
1. Mason	-	-	1	0.8	1	0.8	1	0.8
Slater	2	2.3	1	0.8	2	1.6	4	3.1
2. Carpenter	-	-	3	2.3	3	2.3	3	2.3
+TOTAL BUILDING	2	2.3	5	3.9	6	4.7	8	6.2
III MANUFACTURING								
A. Tools and instruments								
Gunsmith	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
C. Clothing								
1. Tailor	1	1.1	4	3.1	4	3.1	4	3.1
2. Shoemaker	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cordwainer	-	-	1	0.8	1	0.8	1	0.8
D. Victualling								
1. Miller	2	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Butcher	2	2.3	2	1.6	2	1.6	2	1.6
E. Iron								
Blacksmith	2	2.3	2	1.6	2	1.6	2	1.6
I. Furs and Leather								
Skinner	-	-	1	0.8	1	0.8	1	0.8

Table 4.16 (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE ADULT INDIVIDUALS: ACCRINGTON

OCCUPATION	Poll Tax		BAPTISMS AND BURIALS 1722-1730 A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
K. Wood								
Cooper	-	-	-	-	1	0.8	3	2.3
Joiner	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wheelwright	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
L. Textiles								
1. Weaver	13	14.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Woollenweaver	-	-	3	2.3	10	7.8	23	17.9
Plodweaver	-	-	1	0.8	2	1.6	4	3.1
3. Linenweaver	1	1.1	2	1.6	2	1.6	2	1.6
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	25	28.7	16	12.5	25	19.5	42	32.8
V DEALING								
A. Specialist Retail								
1. Alehousekeeper	2	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Innkeeper	-	-	2	1.6	2	1.6	2	1.6
B. Specialist Wholesale								
2. Clothier	5	5.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
+TOTAL DEALING	7	8.0	2	1.6	2	1.6	2	1.6
PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE								
B. Professional Service								
Schoolmaster	-	-	1	0.8	1	0.8	1	0.8
Soldier	-	-	1	0.8	1	0.8	1	0.8
+ TOTAL PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE	-	-	2	1.6	2	1.6	2	1.6

Table 4.16 (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE ADULT INDIVIDUALS: ACCRINGTON

OCCUPATIONS	Poll Tax		BAPTISMS AND BURIALS 1722-1730 A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
VII MENIAL OCCUPATIONS								
Labourer	16	18.4	58	45.3	38	29.7	-	-
TOTAL MENIAL OCCUPATIONS	16	18.4	58	45.3	38	29.7	-	-
VIII STATUS DESCRIPTIONS								
Gentleman	3	3.4	1	0.8	1	0.8	1	0.8
Mr.	-	-	1	0.8	1	0.8	1	0.8
+TOTAL STATUS	3	3.4	2	1.6	2	1.6	2	1.6
IX NO DESCRIPTION	23	26.4	8	6.2	8	6.2	8	6.2
OVERALL MALE	87	100	128	100	128	100	128	100
FEMALES	11	-	22	-	22	-	22	-

Note: The table includes three schemes for the distribution of occupations shown in the parish register between 1722 and 1730. The variation in each is based on the criteria used to classify those individuals referred to as labourers.

A: The 58 individuals referred to as labourers in at least one entry are treated as a totally separate category.

B: Those 20 individuals who were given an alternative occupational description to that of labourer were re-distributed throughout the classification scheme on this basis.

C: The remaining 38 labourers were re-distributed in the classification scheme according to the ratio indicated by the 20 individuals who were given an alternative occupational title.

+ Sample sizes which consistently fall below ten. Comparisons of percentage levels over time are, therefore, unreliable.

Table 4.17 INCONSISTENCY IN OCCUPATIONAL LABELS ASCRIBED TO MALE ADULTS: ACCRINGTON VETERA AND ACCRINGTON NOVA

NAME		WIFE	OCCUPATIONAL TITLE																
			YEOMAN	HUSBANDMAN	FARMER	HUSBANDMAN(YEOMAN)	SLATER	TAILOR	TAILOR(HUSBANDMAN)	COOPER	WOOLLENWEAVER	PLODWEAVER	CLOTHMAKER	LINENWEAVER	INNHOLDER	CHAPMAN	LABOURER	MR.	NO DESCRIPTION
BARNS	Henry	Mary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1
BERTWIZLE	Richard	Ellen	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
CLEG	John	Alice	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
CROWKSHAW	Richard	Jenet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
HOLDEN	John	Jenet	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
INGHAM	Richard	Elizabeth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
KEMP	John	Agnes	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
KENION	John	Alice	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
KENION	Raphe	Jenet	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
LIVESAY	Thomas	Sarah	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
PICKOP	James	Anne	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
RAMSBOTTAM	George	Anne	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-
RYLEY	George	Isabel	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
RYLEY	Henry	Margaret	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
RYLEY	John	Agnes	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
RYLEY	Richard	Ellen	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
WALMESLEY	Bernard	Elizabeth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
WELSH	John	Elizabeth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
WHITTAKER	Richard	Mary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
WHITTAKER	William	Mary	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-

Table 4.17 (continued) Inconsistency in occupational labels in Accrington vetera and Accrington nova.

NAME		WIFE	OCCUPATIONAL TITLE																
			YEOMAN	HUSBANDMAN	FARMER	HUSBANDMAN(YEOMAN)	SLATER	TAILOR	TAILOR(HUSBANDMAN)	COOPER	WOOLLENWEAVER	PLODWEAVER	CLOTHMAKER	LINENWEAVER	INNHOLDER	CHAPMAN	LABOURER	MR.	NO DESCRIPTION
COWPER	Thomas	Alice	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DENISON	John	Alice	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DUCKWORTH	Hugh	Anne	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
KEMP	Joseph	Jenet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
LONSDALE	Hugh	Grace	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
LUND	Richard	Dorothy	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
TAYLOR	James	Sarah	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TAYLOR	John	Anne	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WALMESLEY	James	Alice	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WALMESLEY	James	Anne	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
WHALLEY	James	Elizabeth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	1	-	-	-

Table 4.18

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE INDIVIDUALS BETWEEN THE MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS, 1653-1770: BILLINGTON TOWNSHIP.

	OCCUPATION	Births 1653-60		Deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	Agriculture (including labourers)	33	70.2	38	62.3	25	50.0	19	50.0	18	46.1	22	27.8
+ 1(b)	Fishing	-	-	-	-	1	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
+ 2.	Building	2	4.2	2	3.3	-	-	1	2.6	-	-	-	-
3.	Manufacturing (excluding textiles)	5	10.6	8	13.1	9	18.0	9	23.7	7	17.9	11	13.9
3a.	Textile Manufacture	4	8.5	11	18.0	6	12.0	6	15.8	12	30.8	39	49.4
Total	Manufacturing	9	19.1	19	31.1	15	30.0	15	39.5	19	48.7	50	63.3
+ 4.	Transport	-	-	-	-	1	2.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.3
+ 5.	Dealing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.6	3	3.8
+ 6.	Public and Professional Service.	1	2.1	-	-	-	-	2	5.3	-	-	1	1.3
7.	Menial (excluding labourers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
+ 8.	Status	-	-	1	1.6	3	6.0	1	2.6	-	-	-	-
9.	No description	2	4.2	1	1.6	5	10.0	-	-	1	2.6	2	2.5
TOTAL		47	100	61	100	50	100	38	100	39	100	79	100

+ Sample sizes which consistently fall below ten. Comparison of percentage levels over time within these economic categories should, therefore, be viewed with caution.

Table 4.19

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONGST MALE INDIVIDUALS, 1653-1770: BILLINGTON TOWNSHIP

OCCUPATION	Births 1653-60		Deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I PRIMARY												
A. Agriculture												
Yeoman	4	8.5	5	8.2	-	-	1	2.6	2	5.1	5	6.3
Husbandman	29	61.7	33	54.1	17	34.0	5	13.2	11	28.2	3	3.8
Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	16.8	1	2.6	7	8.9
TOTAL AGRICULTURE	33	70.2	38	62.3	17	34.0	12	31.6	14	35.9	15	19.0
B. Fishing												
Fisherman	-	-	-	-	1	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
II BUILDING												
A. Houses												
1. Waller	1	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Carpenter	1	2.1	2	3.3	-	-	1	2.6	-	-	-	-
TOTAL BUILDING	2	4.2	2	3.3	-	-	1	2.6	-	-	-	-
III MANUFACTURING												
C. Clothing												
1. Tailor	1	2.1	-	-	2	4.0	1	2.6	-	-	2	2.5
2. Shoemaker	1	2.1	-	-	2	4.0	2	5.3	4	10.2	2	2.5
3. Clogmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.3
D. Victualling												
1. Miller	-	-	1	1.6	1	2.0	1	2.6	1	2.6	3	3.8
Malster	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.6	-	-	-	-
2. Butcher	1	2.1	1	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E. Iron												
Blacksmith	-	-	1	1.6	1	2.0	1	2.6	-	-	1	1.3
Spurrier	-	-	1	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G. Earthenware												
Piginmaker	-	-	-	-	1	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.19 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: BILLINGTON TOWNSHIP

OCCUPATION	Births 1653-60		Deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Furs and Leather												
1. Tanner	1	2.1	1	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
K. Wood												
Cooper	1	2.1	3	4.9	-	-	1	2.6	1	2.6	1	1.3
Joiner	-	-	-	-	2	4.0	2	5.3	1	2.6	1	1.3
L. Textiles												
1. Weaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	15.8	12	30.8	39	49.4
Woollenweaver	2	4.2	2	3.3	2	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Plodweaver	-	-	-	-	3	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Linenweaver	-	-	5	8.2	1	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Sheareman	1	2.1	4	6.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clothdresser	1	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	9	19.1	19	31.1	15	30.0	15	39.5	19	48.7	50	63.3
IV TRANSPORT												
B. Land												
Carrier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.3
Horse-rider	-	-	-	-	1	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
+ TOTAL TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	1	2.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.3
V DEALING												
A. Specialist Retail												
1. Innkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.6	3	3.8
+ TOTAL DEALING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.6	3	3.8

Table 4.19 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS: BILLINGTON TOWNSHIP

OCCUPATION	Births 1653-60		Deaths 1653-60		Burials 1721-30		Burials 1741-50		Burials 1751-60		Baptisms 1761-70	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
VI PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE												
B. Professional Service												
1. Attorney	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.6	-	-	-	-
Schoolmaster	1	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.3
2. Surgeon	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.6	-	-	-	-
+ TOTAL PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE	1	2.1	-	-	-	-	2	5.3	-	-	1	1.3
VII MENIAL OCCUPATIONS												
Labourer	-	-	-	-	8	16.0	7	18.4	4	10.2	7	8.9
+ TOTAL MENIAL OCCUPATIONS	-	-	-	-	8	16.0	7	18.4	4	10.2	7	8.9
VIII STATUS DESCRIPTIONS												
1. Gentleman	-	-	1	1.6	3	6.0	1	2.6	-	-	-	-
+ TOTAL STATUS	-	-	1	1.6	3	6.0	1	2.6	-	-	-	-
IX NO DESCRIPTION	2	4.2	1	1.6	5	10.0	-	-	1	2.6	2	2.5
OVERALL MALE	47	100	61	100	50	100	38	100	39	100	79	100
FEMALES	-	-	8	-	11	-	7	-	12	-	11	-

+ Sample sizes which consistently fall below ten. Comparison of percentage levels over time within these economic categories should, therefore, be viewed with caution.