Community and neighbourliness: the geographic spread of the socioeconomic relationships in an early modern market town, Preston c. 1660-1740

by

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ABSTRACT

Given the availability of source material produced within the town, it is remarkable that early modern Preston has never been the subject of a comprehensive review or survey. The town had a functioning corporation that generated a large amount of correspondence in addition to numerous accounts which have survived. There are also a unique series of maps dated to 1684 which provide a geographic reconstruction of the town's streets, properties and its household-heads. By properly examining this material, an insight into the economic activity occurring within the town can be gained. Firstly, the findings from this analysis, in contrast to existing studies, will suggest that the town did not undergo significant changes in economic activity in the period 1684-1732. Rather than registering movements to towards a more diverse service base, the occupation structure of the town experienced remarkable continuity over the period. The 1684 maps also allow for the geographic distribution of the household-heads (and their interrelationships) to be studied. Previous studies of early modern interrelationships have not been able to explore geographic variables in the detail that is available here. Consequently, the results of this study will, secondly, show that close proximity was a crucial factor in determining interrelationships between household-heads.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

Tables

Figures

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ABBREVIATIONS

LRO, Lancashire Record Office

THSLC, Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire

EEBO, Early English Books Online

LPS, Local Population Studies

INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this thesis is to better appreciate the function of, and internal socio-economic relationships within, early modern Preston. The following chapter will therefore review the existing historiography on early modern towns and related themes. This is to establish the context for the research, and will also provide a benchmark against which Preston's findings can be measured.

Understanding and defining the urban economic environment

The early modern urban environment has been the subject of several scholarly revisions in the last few decades. Recent debates have contended that early modern towns were "engine rooms" that drove innovation, culture and, even more broadly, the enlightenment. It has been argued that urban space was both a nexus in the supply and the consumption of goods.[1] As a consequence of this informal brokerage, urban environments are thought to have been developing an autonomous exceptionalism from their respective hinterlands.[2] Several historians propose that after the Civil Wars the newly aspirational gentry drove consumer spending. Scholarly consensus also agrees that the principal beneficiaries of this spending growth were towns, or urban inhabitants. Within the urnan environment, the local gentry would gather and exchange ideas.[3] Borsay has identified this period as an English

[1] J. Stobart, *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption: Leisure and shopping in the English town, c.1660-1830* (Routledge, 2007) 4-9.
[2] J. Stobart, 'Regional structure and the urban system: North west England, 1700-1760', *THSLC*, 145 (1996) 45-73. Here at 54.
[3] A. Everitt, 'The food market of the English town, 1660-1760', *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference of Economic History* (Munich, 1965) as cited in N. Goose, 'In search of the urban variable: Towns and the English economy, 1500-1650', *The Economic History Review*, 39, 2 (May, 1986) 165-85. Here at 167. See also K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village, Terling 1525-1700* (Clarendon Press, 2001) 6. R. B. Outhwaite, 'Dearth and government intervention in English grain markets, 1590-1700', *Economic History*

urban renaissance, suggesting that this consumer spending initiated a proliferation and improvement in urban retailing, services and leisure activities. Beginning after the Restoration, Borsay believed that these transformations within the urban environment, buoyed by the economic upward spiral, continued unabated until the 1760s.[4] This perpetual cycle shaped both the urban environment and developed a common language of architectural and social expression.[5] Towns were increasingly required to offer "a choice of good inns, clubs, playhouses, libraries and the chance to consult reputable attorneys and physicians".[6] The urban improvements can, therefore, be subdivided into two categories; the physical improvements within the urban environment and the transformation in economic activities that incorporated "a more diverse retail and service base".[7] The extent to which these can be identified within late Stuart Preston will be addressed in the subsequent sections.

The review begins by examining the works which investigate the urban structural developments that have been noted within the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of these works predominantly focus on certain classifications of towns, and logically, those towns in which this aspect of the urban renaissance was most prevalent. Much of this evidence is sourced from the leisure and spa towns such as Bath, Tunbridge, Epsom,

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Review: New series, 33 (1981) 389-406. L. Wetherill, *Consumer behaviour and material culture in Britain, 1660-1760, 2nd edition* (Routledge, 1996) 67.

[4] P. Borsay, *The English urban renaissance: Culture and society in the provincial town, 1660-1770* (Oxford University Press, 1989) 80-3.

[5] P. Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance: The development of provincial urban culture, c.1680-1760', *Social History*, 2,5 (May, 1977) 581-603. Here at 589-97. Stobart *et al*., *Spaces of consumption,* 33-6 and 193. I. Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing, 1700-1815', in P. Clark, (ed), *The transformation of English provincial towns* (Hutchinson Library, 1985) 259-83. Here at 264-5.

[6] Clark (ed), *The transformation of English provincial towns*, 20.

[7] Stobart, *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, 36.

Harrogate and Leamington Spa, in addition to the thriving industrial-commercial towns like Liverpool, Manchester and London. The universality of this phenomenon is then demonstrated through anecdotal glimpses from other early modern towns. Stobart's examples of these, for instance, ranged from the promenading on Dudley Castle's walls, Preston's installation of street lighting, Liverpool's Royal Exchange to Sir Roger Bradshaigh's commission of Wigan Town Hall.[8] Borsay also used a similar methodology, using larger urban centres such as Newcastle, Norwich, Liverpool, Sheffield, Worcester and Bristol to illustrate the existence of grand schemes. Smaller urban environments, like Preston and Hereford, were then highlighted to illustrate that the urban renaissance was not confined to the larger settlements.[9]

Arguably, the few improvements that occurred in the smaller settlements have not been properly surveyed, which risks misrepresenting their participation in the urban renaissance. To illustrate this, Stobart's commentary of the commonalities in building design compares the features of the grand designs of Birmingham's New Street Theatre and the Liverpool Athenaeum with the more humble structures of the Preston Assembly rooms and Chester's Tablot Inn. Borsay similarly brackets the attempts by Preston Corporation to place restrictions on the new housing stock with the erection of squares and the grand building projects within Manchester, Bristol and Liverpool.[10] Uncovering commonalities between the architecture of the larger towns and the provincial centres is understandable, as the latter emulating the former is central to their arguments. However, to group towns as

[8] Stobart *et al*., *Spaces of consumption*, 126, 88, p20, p72.
[9] Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance, 586-9.
[10] Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance, 583-8.

economically disparate as Preston and Birmingham without acknowledging their respective rates of development, potentially misrepresents the improvements within the smaller towns and risks undermining the theory of urban renaissance by not observing due methodological process.

There are only a handful of studies that detail the structural developments within one specific town. Although many attribute these improvements to the urban renaissance, they crucially place caveats on their conclusions. Spence noticed that although fashionable brick townhouses had replaced London's characteristic haphazard timber buildings in the 1690s, they were practical measures in the wake of the Great Fire. Their construction, therefore, was confined to the areas which were destroyed by the Fire, and many older quarters of the metropolis still endured decaying, squalid housing stock.[11] Despite repeated attempts to renovate Stockport's market place throughout the eighteenth century, it was not until the 1820s that a concerted effort was made when the area was levelled to make way for a new corn exchange.[12] This first development within the town was over fifty years after the urban renaissance period ended. Hey adopts a more acute view of Sheffield's meagre urban improvements and argues that there was little or no evidence that the Yorkshire town ever participated in the English urban renaissance. This, he believes, was due to the lack of a rich patrician merchant class. Instead, St Paul's church built in the Baroque style was an exception and the period was characterised by piecemeal buildings being erected according to functional demands.[13] Urban improvements were adopted and manifested themselves at

[11] C. Spence, *London in the 1690s: A social atlas* (Institute for Historical Research, 2000) 54-61.
[12] Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing', 266.
[13] D. Hey, *A history of Sheffield* (Carnegie Publishing, 2005) 69-70.

different rates, and this was undoubtedly due to the prevalence of localism during this period. Hey's perceptions of Sheffield's improvements seem to indicate that these could have been piecemeal attempts made by an extremely small minority. Even in central London, many still lived in undeveloped housing stock while the better sort built their shrines to Georgian splendour. It is important, therefore, to accept the presence of an urban renaissance. However, it is the responsibility of each researcher to assess its extent on their town of study.

The physical manifestations are not the only developments within early modern Preston which may require a greater degree of attention. Many histories have suggested urban tradesmen were increasingly offering "a more diverse retail and service base".[14] Preston's developments in these regards have been noted by several historians.[15] The town is even used as a focal case study by Borsay, who observes that there was a rise in newer trades in the eighteenth century. In 1702, for example, there was one barber, and in 1742 there this figure had increased to 33.[16] Quantitative studies of trade compositions are available for a diverse range of towns, from the metropolis of London, the Shropshire town of Shrewsbury, to the "leisure town" of Chester, which have shown a similar rise in newer trades.[17] Stobart points to examples of professional traders who attracted custom from a geographically broad but socially exclusive consumer base, like the Chester upholsterer Abner Scholes and

[14] Stobart *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, 33-6.
[15] C. B. Phillips and J. Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540* (Longman, 1985) 36. A. Crosby, *The history of the Preston Guild: Eight hundred years of England's greatest carnival* (Lancashire County Books, 1991) 35
[16] Borsay, 'The English urban renaissance', 585-7.
[17] J. Stobart, 'Shopping streets as a social space: leisure, consumerism and improvement in an eighteenth century town', *Urban History*, 25, 1 (1998) 3-22. Here at 10-20. G. D. Ramsey, 'The recruitment and fortunes of some London freemen in the mid-sixteenth century', *The Economic History Review*, 31, 4 (November, 1978) 526-40. Here at 534-9.

the Liverpool haberdasher Mr Cottam, to argue that the service trades were becoming increasingly more specialised.[18] Numerous investigations into urban inventories have suggested that there was a great diversity in tradesmen's fortunes, wealth and quality of goods, even between those operating within the same trade. This naturally would infer that tradesmen were diversifying, and servicing different social groups.[19]

These developments in retail reflected a change in consumer demands. There were many attempts by market towns like Chester, Macclesfield, and Stockport to remove the traditional markets that were considered a "nuisance".[20] Consumer tastes required that the traffic and noise from cattle and meat markets were succeeded by new exchange buildings. The demand for the latest fashions was evident from the distances that itinerant pedlars would travel from urban centres to provincial capitals. London and Manchester traders advertised their arrival in Chester for the fairs.[21] This is echoed in several studies which suggest that traditional trading occupations, methods and even the market regulations were increasingly strained by more intricate and diverse retailing practices.[22] As argued above, the demand for newer trades was apparently enabled by the gentry's greater levels of

[18] Stobart *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, 50 and 117.
[19] B. Trinder and S. Cox (eds), *Yeoman and colliers in Telford* (Whitstable Ltd, 1980) 32. See also, J. A. Johnson (ed), *Probate inventories of Lincoln citizens, 1661-1714* (Lincoln Record Society, 80, 1991) xlix. W. G. Hoskins, *Old Devon* (David & Charles, 1966) 90. D. G. Vaisey, 'Probate inventories and provincial retailers in the seventeenth century', in P. Riden (ed), *Probate records in the local community* (Alan Sutton Publishing, 1985) 91-11. Here at 96-7. A. D. Dyer, *The city of Worcester in the sixteenth century* (Leicester University Press, 1973) 121. C. B. Phillips, 'Probate records and Kendal shoemakers in the seventeenth century', in Riden (ed), *Probate records*, 29-51. Here at 47. J. Ellis, 'A dynamic society: Social relations in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1600-1760', in Clark (ed), *The transformation of English provincial town*, 197-218. Here at 204.
[20] D. Garrioch, 'Sounds of the city: the soundscape of early modern European towns', *Urban History*, 30, 1 (2003) 5-25. Here at 24. Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing' 266.
[21] Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing' 264, 266-9. Stobart, 'Shopping streets as a social space', 7-17.
[22] J. Miller, *Cities divided: Politics and religion in English provincial towns, 1660-1722* (Oxford University Press, 2007) 82 and 89. See also, A. Everitt, 'The market towns' in P. Clark (ed), *The early modern town* (Longman, 1977) 168-204. Here at 198.

disposal wealth. A greater demand for consumables led to a more diverse urban service sector.

Although developments in retailing were taking place to match the tastes of consumers, the impact on the traditional market functions has not been sufficiently explored. Stobart believes that butchers were effectively squeezed out of prime retailing locations by these more diverse tradesmen in "high status shops"; a process which he describes as a "clean up".[23] The quantitative element of this analysis is conducted on Chester's tradesmen, in which he insists that the greater presence of the "leisure sector" is evidenced by the greater number of certain trades in the later period. However, a significant number of these newer leisure trades seem to be just newer descriptions used by the contemporary recorders of older trades. For example, wine coopers, tea merchants, tobacconists and cooks apparently constitute leisure activities, whereas the established descriptions of coopers, merchants, grocers and bakers are categorised in groups which are associated with traditional industries. The noted rise in the leisure trades is exaggerated by a combination of periodic shifts in fashions and a more accurate recording of trades. There are other criticisms that may be directed at this analysis. An increased demand for services would also benefit inn keepers, grocers and haberdashers, yet these are categorised as traditional trades.[24] The analysis is therefore not robust enough to propose a fundamental shift from a traditional economy to a service orientated one.

[23] Stobart, 'Shopping streets as a social space', 16-7.
[24] Stobart, 'Shopping streets as a social space', 10-12 and 21.

Similar developments in non-agricultural services during the Stuart period, Clark contends, constituted a new classification of settlement, which he terms "gentry town". These were "less specialist", but comparable to the spa and leisure towns, and included Preston, Bury St Edmund's, Shrewsbury, Warwick and others.[25] There are, however, only the more diverse retail developments which he uses to support this apparent transformation in Preston's principal function. There is no comprehensive survey of early modern Preston's tradesmen available which could illuminate the economic character of the town. Preston's administrative and other non-agricultural functions are accepted in many studies, but these usually describe this Lancastrian settlement as a "second rank town" or provincial capital.[26] Methodological flaws in Borsay's study of Preston's guild rolls (mentioned above) further questions these claims that Preston was developing as a minor resort town. His review of the rise in newer trades omits the fact that *every* occupation in the eighteenth century Preston guild rolls was recorded in greater numbers. In 1702, only sixteen per cent of the total individuals on the guild rolls had an occupation entered, whereas the figure had increased to 55 per cent in 1742.[27] This would therefore account for a number of the remarkable rises that Borsay notes in his research.[28]

To summarise, across early modern England, cattle markets and retailing shambles were displaced by Georgian exchange buildings. However, no assumptions should be made about the demand for the traditional trades without measuring a town's occupational structure and geographic distribution across the period. There is no doubt that consumer tastes were

[25] Clark (ed), *The transformation of English provincial towns*, 20.
[26] Goose, 'In search of the urban variable, 169.
[27] LRO, M/F, CNP.
[28] Borsay, 'The English urban renaissance', 585-7.

diversifying. Nevertheless, as Sweet contends, "the open market still underpinned the economy of exchange in England".[29] The findings of this thesis should clarify the extent of this change from traditional trades to more diverse services. As a consequence, it will test the supposition that early modern Preston's main economic function could be defined by the broad term, "gentry town".[30]

By providing a complete study of Preston's occupational structure, this thesis can bring greater clarity to early modern Preston's specialised function within Lancashire's complex economy. Specialisation developed either in response to competition from a town's hinterland, as noticed in Kendal, or to fulfil a role within regional structure, like the relationships between Chester, Macclesfield, Stockport and Manchester.[31] Norwich provides a case study that displays the two main manifestations of urban specialisation. The town became a specialist producer of worsted cloth which encouraged trade from both the locality, and more importantly, its specialised industry attracted London wholesalers who would redistribute the cloth internationally. In addition to servicing both the locality and region with worsted cloth, Norwich also had a significant number of peripheral 'maintenance trades' to serve the tradesmen and visitors from its immediate hinterland. During the periods in which textile demand declined, the city fell back on these and more traditional market town functions in order to compete with the local area.[32] In Miller's

[29] R. Sweet, *The English town. 1680-1840*: Government, society *and culture* (Longman, 1997) 16-7.
[30] Clark (ed), *The transformation of English provincial towns*, 20.
[31] C. B. Phillips, 'Town and country: Economic change in Kendal, 1550-1700', in Clark (ed), *The transformation of English provincial towns*, 99-132. Here at 124. Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing', 265-8. See also, Stobart, 'Shopping streets as a social space', 19-20. J. Harland (ed), *The house and farm accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall* (Chetham Society, xxxv, 1856)
[32] P. Cornfield, 'A provincial capital in the late seventeenth century: The case of Norwich', in Clark (ed), *The early modern town*, 233-272. Here at 252-7.

investigation of urban politics, he painstakingly categorises and distinguishes the functions of five towns which he uses for his study.[33] It is prudent to note that each early modern town was characterised by localism, and therefore, they cannot be defined by broad universal templates such as gentry town, leisure town, or even perhaps market town.

In Lancashire, the above model of specialism has not been observed. Everitt postulates that strict specialisation, for example Norwich's role as a worsted producer, was a distinctly southern experience. Northern market towns, he said, were integrated within a more complex pattern of shared specialisation.[34] Stobart concurs with this assessment of northern towns, and suggests that regional structure in Lancashire and Cheshire was central to specialisation. Towns were therefore not "spectators" in the economy, tailoring their services to fit temporary gaps in the market, but "interconnecting nodes" in an intricate system.[35] Investigations have attempted to categorise early modern towns, and even apply ranking mechanisms. Stobart, for example, ordered northern towns into various categories.[36] In another work, he further subcategorised northern towns using the respective 'retail score' and market catchment area.[37] Therefore, when classifying Preston's economic activity, function and role within the county's economy, it is important to avoid such broad descriptive town categorisation.

[33] Miller, *Cities divided*, 15-33.
[34] Everitt, 'Market towns', 184, 187-9.
[35] Stobart, 'Regional structure and the urban system', 72. See also, J. Barry (ed), *Tudor and Stuart town, 1550-1688* (Longman, 1990) 9.
[36] Stobart, 'Regional structure and the urban system', 60.
[37] Stobart *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, 40.

Urban interrelationships, demography and occupational composition

Attempts to define the urban environment have concentrated on population, socio-economic composition, and, in addition, the social interactions between individuals and groups. Like the majority of an urban environment's attributes, a settlement's interrelationships between its residents were subject to regional variations. Wrightson and Levine's seminal work evaluates Terling in Essex. It uses record linkage and quantitative methods to reconstruct the social and demographic structures of the community. The results suggested that society remained polarised, with each social group maintaining a distance between themselves and their lesser neighbours. This was despite the control of local affairs effectively passing from the traditional, though largely absent, landlords to the resident yeoman class during this same period.[38] There was some noted interplay between social groups, but Wrightson and Levine attributed this to individuals displaying deference to their social betters when acquiring a signature on their probate.[39]

Other works have investigated similar aspects of early modern social interactions. Spufford's thesis on several Cambridgeshire parishes suggests a similar polarisation existed both within and between communities, and importantly, this was further increasing across the period.[40] D'Cruze's study on Colchester focuses entirely on the connections between individuals gleaned from contemporary material. These connections were meticulously gathered from a variety of sources ranging from a testator and their signatories, Assembly books and Quarter

[38] Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village*, 182-4. Wetherill, *Consumer behaviour and material culture in Britain,* 40, 67-81 and 200. A. Everitt, 'Social mobility in early modern England', *Past and Present*, xxxiii (1966) 72. E P Thompson, *Customs in common* (Penguin, 1991) 71.
[39] Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village*, 100.
[40] M. Spufford, *Contrasting communities: English villages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Cambridge University Press, 1974) 44.

Sessions.[41] The links between Colchester's residents were arranged in such a way to suggest that independent social networks were formed around common trades, "neighbourhood, religion and politics".[42] Only community brokers, such as the Tory lawyer William Mayhew, punctuated these social conventions and interacted with several groups. In these communities, the community brokers fulfilled an integral social function and made, "connections that gave social cohesion to the middling sort".[43]

This social rigidity was a common theme that was observed in many studies. It seemingly permeated every aspect of societal structure. In London, for example, the entrance to guilds was restricted to certain wealth and status groups.[44] Holmes believed that separate social clubs indicated the presence of an almost sectarian or at least isolationist attitude between those individuals with different political affiliations.[45] Some studies even believe that local government showed similar signs of a rigid societal structure, with their "seldom public spirited and often corrupt" membership chosen from an exclusive minority.[46] Herrup, Kent and French's more scientific approaches similarly establish that selection was based on religious and wealth commonalities within the names of the parish and courts leet officials.[47]

[41] S. D'Cruze, 'The middling sort in eighteenth-century Colchester: Independence, social relations and the community broker', in J. Barry and C. Brooks (eds), *The middling sort of people: Culture, society and politics in England, 1550-1800* (MacMillan, 1994) 181-207. Here at 193.
[42] D'Cruze, 'The middling sort in eighteenth-century Colchester', 191-3.
[43] D'Cruze, 'The middling sort in eighteenth-century Colchester', 193-6 and 207.
[44] Ramsey, 'The recruitment and fortunes of some London freemen', 531-60.
[45] G Holmes, *British politics in the age of Anne* (London, 1967) 20-6.
[46] J. L. Hammond and B. Hammond, *The rise of modern industry* (Routledge, 2005) 225. See also, P. Clark 'Civic leaders of Gloucester, 1580-800' in Clark (ed), *The transformation of English provincial towns,* 311-346. Here at 311. Dyer, *The city of Worcester,* 190. S. J. Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653* (Smith Settle, 2003) 4.
[47] C. Herrup, 'The counties and the country: Some thoughts on seventeenth century historiography', in G. Eley and W. Hunt (eds), *Reviving the English Revolution: Reflections and elaborations on the work of Christopher Hill*

The above research mentioned that there were only limited interactions between the various social groups within an early modern settlement. Some studies consider these exceptional interactions as a significant development within social structure. French insists that the urban environment, unrestricted by the conventional perceptions between land ownership and wealth, allowed for more inclusiveness to develop. Those who were permitted to socialise with the nobility, however, still had to display "genteel trappings".[48] Spufford and Takahashi used a similar method to measure social interactions as Wrightson and Levine did in Terling. They argued that the small number of social interactions between individuals was significant.[49] Stobart used a very similar methodology to D'Cruze in his study of Chester. Here, he notes the same restricted interplay between independent social networks in his quantitative research. However, there are crucial differences between the conclusions of D'Cruze and Stobart. D'Cruze argued that these independent social networks were a gathering of commonalities, centralised around brokers. Stobart concurs with this, but importantly touches on the fact that such a system would be "temporal" and "illusory" in nature, as it relies on the centrality of finite individuals. His study even concludes by even expressing scepticism over the use of quantitative methods to investigate social capital in

(Verso Publications, 1988) 289-304. Here at 300. J. Kent, 'The rural "middling sort" in early modern England, c.1640-1740. Some economic, political and socio-cultural characteristics', *Rural History*, x (1999) 19-54. Here at 31. H. R. French, 'Social status, localism and the 'middle sort of people' in England, 1620-1750', *Past & Present*, 166 (Feb, 2000) 66-99. Here at 83. H. R. French, *The middle sort of people in provincial England, 1600-1750* (Oxford University Press, 2007) 168-75.

[48] French, *The middle sort of people*, 263-4.

[49] M. Spufford and M. Takahashi, 'Families, will witnesses and economic structure in the Fens on the chalk: sixteenth and seventeenth century Chippenham and Willingham', *Albion*, 28 (1994) 379-414. Here at 414.

this way, insisting that it can over represent the degree of exclusivity in early modern society. [50]

Contemporary accounts and diaries portray social and business interactions as more fluid than those measured in quantitative analyses. The accounts of Henry Prescott, notary and registrar of the diocese of Chester, are used by Stobart to this end.[51] Similarly, Smail uses Beauforth to illustrate how the middling sort would converse with his servants and even his coalman in the 1720s. As the century wore on, such examples of social cohesion became less evident. In a later case study used by Smail, George Stansfield junior's substantial wealth removed him from his employees. Even his mansion was designed to incorporate these social divisions; with clear distinctions between public and private, servants and master.[52] The ambitious Stansfield represented an emerging entrepreneurial class who have been commented on in several histories and wished to propel themselves from the lower orders.[53] The diminishing interplay between the humbler sort and their betters is not a finding which is unique to more qualitative forms of research. Levine and Wrightson's work on industrial Whickham came to similar conclusions. Compared to the earlier case study in

[50] J. Stobart, ''A settled little society?' Networks and trust in eighteenth century provincial England' in E. Bargent and R. J. Mayhew (eds), *English geographies, 1600-1950: Historical essays on English customs, cultures and communities in honour of Jack Langton* (St John's College Research Centre, 2009) 58-70. Here at 70.
[51] Stobart, ''A settled little society?', 64.
[52] J. Smail, *Origins of middle-class culture, Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780* (Cornell University Press, 1995) 107-10.
[53] Smail, *Origins of middle-class culture*, 107-116. Studies may adopt different approaches and use different terminology, but many reach the same conclusion regarding the existence of two separate distinct groups within the 'middle sort'. "Genteel" and "ungenteel", P. Earle, *The making of the English middle class: Business, society and family life in London, 1660-1730* (Methuen & Company, 1991) 291-331. "Clean" and "Dirty", H. R. French, 'The search for 'the middle sort of people' in England, 1600-1800', *Historical Journal*, 43, 1 (March, 2000) 283-4. See also, D. V. Glass, 'Socio-economic status and occupations in the City of London at the end of the seventeenth century', in Clark (ed), *The early modern town*, 216-232. Here at 224-5. C. Horner, *Proper persons to deal with: Identification and attitudes of middling society in Manchester, c1730-c1760* (Unpublished PhD Thesis at Manchester Metropolitan University, 2001) 48 and 265.

Terling, the social interactions in Whickham were geographically wider. Wrightson and Levine argue that this was due to traditional kinship and communal networks being less relevant as society moved towards industrialisation.[54] Indeed, Laslett argues that the extended family units were intrinsic to early modern society. This, however, notably diminished with industrialisation, wage payment and the modern notion of "power of consequence".[55]

Three main topics have been highlighted concerning interrelationships in early modern England. Firstly, social interactions were restricted, and usually formed around socio-economic, political and religious commonalities. Secondly, as the period progressed into the mid eighteenth century, these few interrelationships that transcended social conventions were even more diminished; presumably as the community became less cohesive. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, there is little mention of the impact of geography on interrelationships in these studies. The few instances where this dynamic has been considered, such as the works in Whickham, Colchester and Cambridgeshire, the evidence has only supported an investigation of the relationships between communities. The only study in which interrelationships are considered at the household level, is in Stobart's review of social networks in Chester. However, its findings are limited by the only available evidence; a sketch map of the householders living on one street.[56] The research is further limited because Eastgate Street was largely occupied by textile traders. As a consequence, the results cannot properly distinguish between the effects that geography alone had on

[54] D. Levine and K. Wrightson, *The making of an industrial society, Whickham 1560-1765* (Clarendon Press, 1991) 341-2 and 333-5.
[55] P. Laslett, *The world we have lost* (Methuen & Company, 1971) 1-25. See also, P. Laslett (ed), *Household family in past time* (Cambridge University Press, 1972) 49.
[56] Stobart, ''A settled little society?', 64-6.

interrelationships, as this factor cannot be separated from other commonalities like wealth and occupation. The impact of geography can only be assessed in a study that spans across an entire early modern town, where spatiality, shared occupation and wealth can be assessed in isolation. Within this study of Preston, a significant proportion of the town is surveyed by the 1684 maps which allows for a more comprehensive analysis to be performed on the spatiality of interrelationships. If geography is proven to be a significant factor within early modern social interactions, then it potentially challenges the predominating belief that social capital was held by a minority who were sanctioned to do so by a combination of wealth and social status. This would also explain why contemporary accounts have always presented a more harmonious image of social interactions compared with the results from quantitative studies by D'Cruze, Wrightson and Levine and others. Social relationships appear to have been more complex than the quantitative studies have so far portrayed. This complexity was effectively summarised by Caunce in his study of the memoirs of Thomas Wright. The only certainty, he says, is that, "no simplistic analysis can adequately explain West Yorkshire society".[57] By including a geographic component within these methods of study, the results may clarify certain aspects of early modern interrelationships.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the review has identified areas of urban study in which this thesis can contribute. In particular, there are two major areas of scholarly debate. Firstly, an

[57] S. A. Caunce, 'Not sprung from princes: Middling sort in eighteenth-century West Yorkshire', in D. Nicholls (ed), *The making of the British middle class? Studies in regional and cultural history since 1750* (Stroud, 1998) 19-41. Here at 36.

investigation of Preston's occupational composition and insights into the daily activities occurring will illustrate the economic function of the town. This analysis could also illuminate the extent of improvements to Preston's service trades and physical spaces associated with the urban renaissance. Secondly, the plotting of the various household-heads' interrelationships on a geographic map will allow for the impact of space to be investigated for the first time across an entire town. If geographical proximity is proven to be an influential aspect within the formation of associations, this may have implications on our understanding of interrelationships, and perhaps even social structure. These two areas must be the foundation on which the following chapters can then build. The chapters will logically progress through the stages of the investigation. Chapter I details the methodological approach and appraises the sources. Chapter II builds on the general analysis of the urban environment that is presented in this introduction and looks at the scholarly and contemporary views of the town of Preston. Chapter III will provide keen insights into the first area of scholarly debate that this thesis can contribute to: Preston's occupational composition. Chapter IV addresses the second major area of debate by charting the geographic spread of interrelationships.

CHAPTER I- METHODOLGOGICAL APPROACH AND SOURCE APPRAISAL

To properly understand the market town of Preston during this period, the thesis attempts to measure the contemporary view of the town. The written perceptions of contemporaries have therefore been consulted. Using these commentaries can risk presenting the natural bias or any prevailing misconceptions by the authors, so the analysis will also adopt a more quantified appraisal of the town's residential patterns, interrelationships and court proceedings. Ultimately, the criticism that quantified methods dehumanises historical research may only be rebutted by combining simulation with storytelling.[58] Spufford contends that supplementary evidence relating to the spiritual mind-set of populations enhances the authority of demographic study as, "man did not live on bread alone".[59] This thesis strives to hold close to these tenets. The quantified analysis forms one section of this thesis and serves to complement the testimonies from Preston's administrative accounts, diarists and contemporary commentators.

Understanding the two core sources: 1684 maps and the 1732 poor ley

This thesis investigates the socio-economic interrelationships of the individuals mentioned in two central pieces of source material: a series of maps from the 1684 and the 1732 poor ley. Each source, despite some fundamental differences, plots the position of Preston's household heads at the time when each one was created. The 1684 maps are part of a series that detail the principal road sections of central and northern Lancashire. At the point in which the roads arrive at the two key towns of Lancaster and Preston, the details of the

[58] P. Hudson, *History by numbers: An introduction to quantitative approaches* (Arnold, 2000) 211.
[59] Spufford, *Contrasting communities*, x.

maps change into a survey of the properties which line their streets. Crucially, each property is designated with a name which presumably relates to the head of the household. As will be detailed below, the authorship of these maps remains a mystery as they contain no accreditation. The date of its production has only been established by two inclusions within the household-heads; John Kellet, who was Preston's mayor in 1684, and Sergeant Edward Rigby, Lancashire sergeant-in-law 1675-86, are both entered on the source with their respective titles.[60] The poor ley of Preston similarly details the properties within Preston with their occupiers, owners and rent values. As a flat-file layout, this source contains no property dimensions, but has proven to be a useful source for comparative purposes. By providing a means of assessing distribution within Preston over a length of time, the dates of these two sources have defined the project's time period.

Investigation of the sources

Before the material gleaned from the 1684 maps can be analysed and then presented, an investigation into the provenance of the source should be conducted. This investigation into the explicit structure will also reveal which social group that the names on the 1684 maps may belong. Hartland and Harvey advise that it is important to establish the, "systematic administrative effort" used to construct the original source.[61] Similarly, Schurer

[60] LRO, DDX/194/2.
[61] P. Hartland and C. Harvey, 'Information engineering and historical databases' in P. Denley, S. Fogelvik and C. Harvey (eds), *History and computing II* (Manchester University Press, 1989) 44-62. Here at 47.

and Arkell insist that the "form and structure" of a document must be appreciated in order to comprehend and analyse any of its information.[62]

The 1684 maps, it is argued, are an example of the "inadequate cataloguing of the later seventeenth-century taxation records" by local record offices.[63] The maps have no accompanying notes, distinguishable identifying marks or signatures by the author or authors so their exact origin is purely speculation. Their authorship has been traditionally attributed to the seventeenth century antiquarian Dr Kuerden. The Kuerden accreditation has been repeated in several histories across the years from Hewitson, Hardwick, Clemesha and even in a recent survey text of Preston by Hunt.[64] The label has apparently been unchallenged in Lancashire Record Office as the archivists still refer to the sources as the *Kuerden Maps*. The principal reason for suggesting that Kuerden was the author rests on the maps being discovered in the Towneley Hall collection.[65] Christopher Towneley was, "a paineful gatherer and lover of antiquities" and actively researched his family's heritage. Towneley chose Kuerden to transcribe many of the estate papers and deeds which was to form part of his own history of Lancashire. He also commissioned Kuerden to write a *Description of Preston* which is used extensively in chapter II.[66] In short, Christopher Townley was effectively Kuerden's patron at the time of the maps' production. The 1684

[62] K. Schurer and T. Arkell (eds), *Surveying the people: The interpretation and uses of document sources for the study of population in the later seventeenth century* (Local Population Studies, 1992) 4.
[63] Schurer and Arkell (eds), *Surveying the people*, 5.
[64] A. Hewitson, *History of Preston* (Republished by S R Published Ltd, 1969. First published 1883). C. Hardwick, *A history of the borough Preston and its environs* (1857). H. W. Clemesha, *A history of Preston in Amounderness* (Manchester University Series, 1912). D. Hunt, *A history of Preston* (Carnegie Publishing, 1992)
[65] The maps were investigated by Hewitson and Clemseha in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1952 the maps were "discovered" in a clearance of Towneley Hall's basement according to Docton. This was in fact a rediscovery, K H Docton, *A directory of Lancaster, 1684* (Lancaster, 1954)
[66] The Townley family tree which is based largely on Christopher's findings is available at, http://www.towneley.org.uk/downloads/TTv4_web.pdf (24/10/2012). Quotation and Kuerden's relationship with Townley is from, Hunt, *A history of Preston*, 78.

maps were thought to have been created as a part of this history of Lancashire, penned by Kuerden.

An inspection of the documents reveals some possible explanations as to why the 1684 maps have been attributed to Kuerden. The initials "RJ" appear on one of the Preston maps.[67] The real name of Dr Kuerden was Richard Jackson, which would support this theory that he was the author.[68] Moreover, the apparent route travelled by the author of the maps resembles similar journeys through early modern Lancashire made by other writers. The maps plot the route of the Scotland to London road through central and northern Lancashire and the position of the major settlements along its path. The maps also highlight Lancashire's family estates. These include the larger properties that still remain such as Astley and Winmarleigh Halls, to the smaller properties such as Mains and Breck Hall.[69] When the maps' author arrived at the larger settlements of Lancaster and Preston, they provided a more detailed plan of each street and each subsequent property across a series of several documents.[70] There are many examples of a similar route travelled through the region and documenting these landmarks and towns in the accounts by Fiennes, Defoe and Arthur Young.[71]

[67] LRO, DDX/194/2.
[68] Hunt, *A history of Preston*, p78.
[69] LRO, DDX/194/40. DDX/194/39. DDX/194/42.
[70] Lancaster: LRO, DDX/194/11-19. Preston: DDX/194/1-8.
[71] C. Fiennes, *Through England on a side-saddle* (Penguin, 2009. Originally published 1698). D. Defoe, *A tour through the whole island of Great Britain- revised ed. with 'The tour through Scotland'* (1962, originally published 1724). C. Hardwick, *History of the borough of Preston and its environs* (1857) 383.

Despite some indications to suggest the maps were a survey of the county, the maps include extra details that a historian like Kuerden would not have been concerned with. Firstly, the maps provide the dimensions of several fields and moorland which surrounded the roads and two major towns.[72] Measurements of some of the road sections are also given in feet and chains (see figure 1.1). Secondly, each property in Lancaster and Preston has an accompanying non-sequential numerical value. In most cases, the figure is between fifteen and 60, with some of the larger properties being well over 100.[73] The figures were not financial amounts, as they were whole numbers and not in pounds, shillings and pence. They may have been a measurement carried out for a forthcoming frontage fine, but without additional evidence this is only a postulation. More relevant to this discussion is that depicting features with such meticulous detail would not concern an author recording Lancashire's history. Almost certainly, then, the original purpose of the 1684 maps was a survey of the County. Perhaps they were created for a forthcoming levy or tax, but the popular Kuerden theory must be ruled out.

Further evidence substantiates this tax assessment theory; for instance, there are a large number of properties with no householder attributed to them. These could have been vacant properties, but the sheer number of these properties suggests that they were more likely householders who may have been exempt from the levy. There are twenty 'vacant' properties each on Main Sprit Wiend and St John's Wiend, Fishergate has fifteen, Churchgate six, Churchyard five and Friargate has four. Theoretically, then, the individuals

[72] One of the Lancaster maps even lists the fields' usage, for example "arable", LRO, DDX/194/18. Others are exclusively moorland, DDX/194/46-48.
[73] LRO, DDX/194/1.

on the 1684 maps were Preston's more affluent household heads and subsequently subject to this particular levy fine, a possibility which is also supported by the high number of individuals named on the map who left wills. Consistory courts usually only took charge of the probate process when the most affluent members within early modern society passed, those that were valued at £5 or more.[74] As a large number of the household-heads left wills (tables 1.1) this could indicate that these were the more financially secure and a taxable group. The overwhelming evidence suggests that the original purpose of the 1684 maps was to form part of a tax assessment rather than a plan of Lancashire which was drawn up by the antiquarian Dr Kuerden.

Figure 1.1: An example of the 1684 maps' details

Source: LRO, DDX/194/1 (Reverse)

[74] T. Arkell, 'The probate process', in T. Arkell et al (eds), *When death do us part: Understanding and interpreting the probate records of early modern England* (Local Population Studies, 2004) 3-13. Here at 11.

To establish that the 1684 maps appear to indicate a tax assessment rather than an account by a Lancashire antiquarian, as previously thought, does not entirely reveal the explicit structure of the source. A greater examination must be conducted. The maps appear to be a unique source and not comparable with the accounts of any known national levy. This does not exclude the possibility that they were produced for a national tax as local interpretations of their collection produced a great diversity of documentation.

Figure 1.2: The route of the c.1684 maps

Sources: LRO, DDX/194/1-53

The investigation will begin by ascertaining the maps' boundaries to establish the administrative body that may have produced such a document. The maps cover Lancashire's major thoroughfare through the county (see figure 1.2). The route moves from Standish, through central Lancashire and Preston to northern Lancashire towards Westmorland, finishing where the route line in figure 1.2 becomes dotted. It also records the route

through the Fylde; passing the market town of Kirkham, Treales and stopping at the River Wyre port of Skipool. This excludes the possibility that they were tenants and under-tenants' lists that have been found in some manorial court leets or corporation records as they cross several manorial boundaries.[75] Elimination of all other possibilities, suggests that this was produced on a county level.

The date of this document's production by the county officials would coincide with Christopher Towneley's appointment as a justice of the peace in 1685. As a Catholic, Christopher had been excluded from official office until the succession of James II to the throne.[76] As has already been established the 1684 maps were not originally produced personally for Towneley, although, the possibility still remains that these maps were simply "collected" by Towneley in an effort to create a history of Lancashire. [77] It was not unusual for officials in Towneley's position to have access to such information. Yet, despite the maps detailing the boundaries at the county level and being found in the residence of a serving justice of the peace at the time of production, there is no evidence in the quarter sessions rolls, petitions, Lieutenancy or Palatine records that they were commissioned by a county body. For example, the numerical value attached to each property in combination with the highway measurements on the maps could imply that this was an assessment of the highways. However, the only mentions of Lancashire's highways in the 1684 petitions were a presentment of the Amounderness supervisors for "ye neglect of their duties" and a reimbursement of costs to the highway supervisor Hamnet Clare for the repair of a bridge in

[75] W. J. King, 'Untapped resources for social historians: Court leet records', *Journal of Social History*, 15, 4 (Summer, 1982) 699-705. Here at 700.
[76] http://www.towneley.org.uk/downloads/TTv4_web.pdf (24/10/2012)
[77] Clemesha, *A History of Preston in Amounderness*, 147.

Rixton in 1682.[78] Such a significant undertaking would have incurred costs that would have been reimbursed at a quarter session or some other meeting. The only definitive conclusion is that the 1684 maps were produced as an assessment of the county rather than a manorial, corporation or parish initiative.

Without any direct evidence indicating that the 1684 maps were commissioned by a local or county body, the requirements of each national tax commission should also be explored. A series of tax assessments during this period was the Poll Taxes. The Poll Tax imposed fines based on land ownership and their capital yields which would explain the inclusion of field systems and their usage on the 1684 maps. Moreover, Arkell suggests that in practice these taxes were paid almost exclusively by the tenants, rather than landowners.[79] Again, this further supports the maps' potential use for the Poll Tax, as it was the tenants who were detailed on them. The Poll Tax fine also varied according to occupation and sergeants-at-law, physicians, attorneys and public officials were selected to pay sums based on their wages.[80] The 1684 maps distinguish the serving Lancashire sergeant-at-law, Edward Rigby, and several county and Corporation officials. However, the date of 1684 does not coincidence with any known Poll Tax assessment. The dates for these were 1667, 1678, 1689/90 and quarterly ones between 1692-9.[81]

[78] LRO, QSP/585/17, Midsummer, Preston, 1684. LRO, QSP/586/1, Midsummer, Ormskirk, 1684
[79] T. Arkell, 'An examination of the Poll Taxes of the later seventeenth century, the Marriage Duty Act and Gregory King', in Schurer & Arkell (eds), *Surveying the people*, 142-80. Here at 143.
[80] Arkell, 'An examination of the Poll Taxes of the later seventeenth century', 150-3.
[81] Arkell, 'An examination of the Poll Taxes of the later seventeenth century, 155.

Another possibility is that the maps were produced for the 1684 Hearth Tax. The Hearth Tax collections over the 1660s and 1670s were renowned for inconsistencies in their record keeping which also led to irregularities in the revenues raised. The first year of the tax raised only one third of the estimated £30,000.[82] In an attempt to address these issues and manage the Tax's excise, a special commission in 1684 printed a new set of instructions. Although the revenues were significantly increased by these measures in 1684, there was still "a great diversity in the quantity and condition of the material" that each county produced.[83] The only returns that have survived in Lancashire were the 1664 returns. The 1664 documents epitomize the problems that afflicted the excise of the Hearth Tax, such as the total omission of those householders who were exempt from the tax. It is reasonable to assume that the Lancashire 1684 assessors were, as a consequence, more meticulous in recording householder names and locations for the local Hearth Tax collector, Joseph Holden, to follow. This may have entailed drawing the maps to fulfil the demands of the 1684 instructions which required the names be in strict topographical order, and moreover, to record parishes, places and names that had previously been omitted from other returns.[84] Therefore, the 1684 maps' route through Lancashire (outlined in figure 1.2) may have therefore been a topographical guide written by the Hearth Tax assessors for the collectors. For the purpose of the 1684 Hearth Tax commission was to raise revenues and enable the collectors to ensure a greater yield. Although these instructions still produced a diverse range of excise documentation, they crucially ensured more accurate recording by

[82] T. Arkell, 'Printed instructions for administering the Hearth Tax', in Schurer and Arkell (eds), *Surveying the people*, 31-64. Here at 40-41.
[83] Arkell, 'Printed instructions for administering the Hearth Tax', 44.
[84] Arkell, 'Printed instructions for administering the Hearth Tax', 49 and 48.

the assessors and the subsequent collection produced a better yield. The national return rose from £150,000 to £216,000.[85]

Despite this convincing evidence, there are details on the maps that would not be included in a document made for the 1684 commission. The numerical values included on each property well exceed the number of hearths or even the Hearth Tax's financial fine on a property. The detailed measurements of the highways that surrounded the larger towns of Lancaster and Preston (figure 1.1) would surely not concern the creator of such a topographical study, which casts doubt on the maps' creation for this particular purpose. Moreover, few examples of the 1684 Hearth Tax returns have survived to draw any comparison to the Lancashire maps.[86] In the absence of similar maps produced elsewhere for the Hearth Tax, it is difficult to confidently argue that the 1684 maps were created for this tax. Ultimately, the 1684 maps may have been a response to the Hearth Tax commission to that year, although without any clear substantial evidence that the maps formed part of such an undertaking, it remains simply another possibility.

Another name that has been recently attributed to the 1684 maps' authorship is Gregory King, one of the individuals associated with *political arithmetick* in the seventeenth century. The theory is founded on King's appointment as the Lancaster Herald of Arms in Ordinary from 1688 until his death in 1712. As a member of the Herald's office (King held various posts here from 1677 to 1712), he had access to official documents and often

[85] Arkell, 'Printed instructions for administering the Hearth Tax', 44.
[86] Arkell, 'Printed instructions for administering the Hearth Tax', 53.

communicated them to his friends.[87] It is therefore plausible that such a document, in this case these 1684 maps, found its way to Christopher Towneley.

The maps, in this theory, would have formed part of King's seminal work, *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions Upon the State and Condition of England*. Written in about 1696, this work was an assessment of both the taxable and the natural resources available to England in 1688 using information gleaned by the Hearth Tax and other sources. It was penned in order to measure how finite England's resources were had the war with France in 1689, and the subsequent King William's War, continued. William's wars were a contributing factor to public expenditure rising from £2,000,000 to £5,000,000 per annum during William and Mary's reign.[88] The taxation workings were based on multiplications of the smallest unit of measurement available to him, the household. There is evidence that King made thorough assessments (which may have looked like the Lancashire 1684 maps) on the settlements of London and Colyton.[89] The theory therefore fits the description of the 1684 maps; a tax assessment which unusually includes field usage, highway measurements and one which highlights Lancashire's Heraldic seats. Although this is another plausible possibility, there is no direct evidence linking Gregory King with Christopher Towneley or even King with the maps. Moreover, King only attained the Lancashire herald role in 1688, four years after their production. He did some informal work for Francis Sandford, the then

[87] P. Laslett, 'National and political observations on the population of late seventeenth-century England: Reflections on the work of Gregory king & John Graunt' in Schurer and Arkell (eds), *Surveying the people*, 6-30. Here at 13 and 19.
[88] Arkell, 'An examination of the Poll Taxes of the later seventeenth century, 155.
[89] Laslett, 'National and political observations on the population of late seventeenth-century England', 21-3. See also, Spence, *London in the 1690s,* 64-5.

Lancaster Herald, in the 1680s but the exact nature of the work remains undetermined.[90] Therefore, although it may explain its use by King, there is no verifiable reason for King to have launched such a survey in 1684. The Gregory King theory appears to be wild speculation.

Putting the authorship debate aside, another important task before presenting the analysis is to establish whether the household heads named on the 1684 maps were occupants or owners of the properties. There were several names that appeared in more than one property. One example was "Sarg. Ed. Rigby" who was mentioned a total of four times. The title of sergeant referred to his appointment as Lancashire's Sergeant-at-law, and such a unique title undoubtedly removes the possibility that these were four different men. The fact that there were several properties under one name would presumably suggest that these were owners rather than occupiers. However, further research suggests that this was not the case. On the 1684 maps there were only a handful of names listed in adjacent properties. A brief study of the 1732 poor ley, which lists both the owner and occupier, shows that landlords more commonly owned adjacent properties in dense clusters and, moreover, an occupier could be listed in several properties across the town.[91] The evidence

[90] D. V. Glass, 'Two papers of Gregory King' in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Everley, *Population in history: Essays in historical demography* pp159-220 (Edward Arnold Publishing, 1969) 160.

[91] Owner example: The late Joseph Shaw (listed as executive of) whose portfolio included 29 properties in 1732. 26 of which were on Churchgate, 10 of which were adjacent to one another. Occupier example: The unmistakable "Mr Alderman Asheton" is entered as the occupant of five separate properties across the town. His wife, Lucy, is also listed on one occasion, LRO, CNP/3/1/11. This couple must have been simply listed on six properties, rather than representing six distinctive household-heads. The fact that they were listed as occupiers six times probably reflects their wealth; they even commissioned the Preston artist Arthur Devis to paint their portrait. Portrait in, *Polite society by Arthur Devis: Portraits of the English country gentleman and his family, 1712-1787* (The Harris Museum, 1983) 82.

suggests that these household heads were occupants who held multiple properties rather than owners, or several individuals with identical names.

To summarise the investigation into the 1684 maps' provenance, in the absence of any conclusive evidence, such as a definite author's signature, a reimbursement of expenditure or an order to produce such an assessment, its exact purpose will continue to remain uncertain. The investigation has ruled out several theories concerning these maps' origin. The date excludes the Poll Tax. The explicit structure of the maps favours their use for a forthcoming tax rather than a geographic guide of Lancashire pencilled by Kuerden. Although the 1684 date coincides with an important Hearth Tax commission, many of the maps' details relating to the field, property and road measurements would not be required for a Hearth Tax assessment. The extra details on the maps could be attributed to an overzealous assessor, but this seems implausible. The possibility that they were produced by Gregory King has not been definitely disproven, yet similarly, there is little evidence to support this theory. Unfortunately, the only certainties are that the maps were found in Towneley Hall and date from the year before Christopher Towneley was reappointed as a Lancashire Justice of the Peace. More relevantly, the investigation has determined that the names on the maps are property occupiers or tenants. To ensure that the thesis procures a consistent set of results, this had to be first established.

The 1732 poor ley

The poor ley of 1732 does not require the same analysis, as, unlike the 1684 maps, its origin is well documented. The Preston 1732 poor ley rate book is an example of local authorities assuming more control over the poor law assessment after the 1723 Work House Test Act. The Act, which was a forerunner of the 1782 Gilbert's Act, was deemed necessary due to the growing costs of workhouses and, "changing beliefs about the value of property".[92] Usually, the reassessment of the Poor Law was the responsibility of parishes, although some parochial bodies were considered, "too small, and their administration was haphazard".[93] In Preston's case, the corporation took charge of the, "Regulation of the Poor… By the order of Sr Edward Stanley".[94] The 1732 poor ley book is the first available complete record of its corporation attempting to assess the housing stock. As such, this year has been selected for study. It is hoped that the 1732 date is close enough to 1684 to draw meaningful comparisons and identify differences between the two householder lists.

Several studies have used poor ley rate books from this period for similar purposes. Kent and Horner both concur that the cohort mentioned within a poor ley represents, "those of the middling wealth who were taxed for poor relief".[95] Although this is a summary of this cohort rather than an exact definition, the poor ley does exclude the poorest members of early modern society. The Preston poor ley was a "survey of the Land and Housing and Incomes within the said Burrogh and Liberties." It adds, "should Persons that have neither

[92] S. Mencher, *Poor Law to poverty program: Economic security policy in Britain and the United States* (Pittsburgh, 1954) 101.
[93] K. Jones, *Makin of social policy in Britain: From the Poor Law to New Labour* (Continuum, 2006) 4.
[94] LRO, CNP/3/1/11.
[95] Kent, 'The rural "middling sort"', 21. Horner, 'Proper persons to deal with', 49.

Land Nor Housing… that [they] are Assessed for their Personalities".[96] The broader inclusiveness of the poor ley (including those who did not necessarily own property) probably explains the lower proportion of probate connections that were made in comparison to the 1684 maps (see tables 1.1). There is little doubt that the 1684 maps had a higher wealth threshold to warrant a household-head's inclusion compared with the 1732 poor ley. This must therefore be considered when drawing conclusions on based on the respective household-heads mentioned.

Tables 1.1: Wills linked to household-heads, c.1684 and 1732

1684

Street name	With wills	Without wills	Total	% with wills
Churchgate	34	51	85	40
Fishergate	28	12	40	70
Market Area	19	10	29	65.5
Friargate	52	54	106	49
Misc.	29	41	68	43
Total	162	166	328	49

1732

Street name	With wills	Without wills	Total	% with wills
Churchgate	18	142	160	11.2
Fishergate	19	49	68	28
Market Area	18	79	97	18.5
Friargate	37	77	114	32.4
Misc.	38	177	215	17.7
Total	130	524	654	19.9

Source: LRO, DDX/194/1-8 & CNP/3/1/11

[96] LRO, CNP/3/1/11.

The 1684 Preston survey map

The 1684 maps have an accompanying, more detailed map which appears to be created with the information contained in the original maps. The *1684 survey map* was discovered with the 1684 original maps and has therefore also been traditionally attributed to the same author, Dr Kuerden.[97] To group these maps together in such a way is an understandable mistake, as the original 1684 maps seem like a series of sketches which were later compiled to form the final draft; or 1684 *survey map* (Figure 1.3). However, the cartographer's shorthand, such as the precision in which the properties are meticulously ordered in a plan view arrangement, suggests that the maps were not drawn using seventeenth century methods. Moreover, there is an absence of the watermark and paper matrix track lines which are ubiquitously present on the original 1684 maps. The evidence suggests that the Preston 1684 *survey map* was produced at a later time. The explicit structure and quality of detail on this *survey map*, such as the cross hatching being reserved for important parish and public structures, is more akin to the maps of Lancaster and Blackburn from the 1820s.[98]

The author of the Preston *survey map* undoubtedly consulted the 1684 originals. The number of properties in this map, their relative size and geographic relationship to one another is faithful to the original frontage measurements. However, the intricate dimensions of each property and the inclusion of outhouses on this *survey map* is

[97] The survey map was first presented in, Clemesha, *A history of Preston in Amounderness,* 150-1. It was subsequently printed in Hunt's work with its authorship attributed to Dr Kuerden, Hunt, *A history of Preston*, 112.

[98] Both the Blackburn map, by W. Gillies, and the Lancaster map, by J. Atkinson, are available in the LRO search room. They are both reprinted in, E. Baines, *History directory and gazetteer of the county palatine of Lancaster, vol II* (1825).

information which was not included in the original documents. These extra details can therefore be attributed to the author's artistic licence. It is reasonable to assume that the Preston *survey map* was made by an antiquarian or other historic researcher as part of an exercise to reconstruct the town as it was during the seventeenth century. The map has been recorded digitally and cleaned (Figure 1.3) and will be used to plot the socio-economic distribution of the household-heads in chapter III. The purpose of plotting the occupations in the manner described above will create a visual account of settlement patterns in a seventeenth century town. As such, it will be the first plan of its type made at the household level. It should be remembered that the analysis that is presented on the *survey map* can only present general spatiality. The *survey map* is not a true representation each property's exact shap

Figure 1.3: The 1684 survey map of Preston

Source: LRO, DDX/194/9

Processing and inputting the data

This section of the chapter provides an account of the processes that have been used to analyse the data. It will firstly discuss how the data was entered into the relational database. There will also be a discussion of the record linkage procedures in this study. It is vital that the record linkage is performed with meticulous care in order to ensure the integrity of the data.

The relational database

Despite their value as fascinating sources, the information which the 1684 maps and 1732 poor ley contain is difficult to utilise. In order to make the data more conducive to a quantitative analysis, the material must first be gathered, organised and sorted. There are also further impediments to the process. The sources themselves are two different data-sets which were explicitly structured in distinctive ways. Issues regarding the process of making them compatible and how it was achieved will now be discussed. The model consisted of two separate databases; a 1684 database centred on the household heads on the maps and a 1732 database using those entered onto the poor ley. Additional information on the household heads was then fed into the database sourced from other historical documents such as the Preston guild rolls and Richmond probate material. Queries were then performed on the database to reveal the condition of early modern Preston.

The structure of the 1732 poor ley was is a flat-file document similar to a spread sheet. This meant that the organisation of this data could adopt a source orientated model approach.

This method of input is preferable, as Hudson warns that manipulation of the data's layout can present problems; "in enthusiasm for modelling, it is too easy to give too little consideration to how and why the original material was gathered".[99] Unlike the 1732 poor ley, the integration of the 1684 maps into the relational database required that the data's attributes had to be restructured. Here, the method orientated model for their recording was adopted, as the household head, the property and its location would have to be transferred from a geographical layout into a searchable database. In order to ensure that the two datasets were comparable, the information was recorded into the database with the same attributes.

Table 1.2: The Householder table fields

Field name	Data type
HHUID (key)	Autonumber
Householder surname	Text
Householder forename	Text
Householder title	Text
Householder occupation	Text
Notes	Memo

The benefits of converting this information to a database allows for a more accurate analysis of Preston's householders to be performed. Through record linkage with other documents each householder's wealth, number of properties, occupation and the amount of times they appear on probate as signatories can be quickly searched. Crucially, the database can relate several mentions of a particular household head to one another, even if these entries are spread across several sources. This creates a single reference point (made unique by the

[99] Hudson, *History by numbers*, 206.

primary key) for each household head.[100] In the case of the *Householder Table* (table 1.2) this is the Householder Unique Identifiable Digit (HHUID). If the data was to be kept in its original flat-file format, a search of 'James Harrison', for example, would yield three names occupying three properties. However, the distinction of 'Mr' that is given on two of the James Harrisons within the original poor ley, suggests that there were two different men living in Preston at this time. One occupied two properties (HHUID 289), the other had one (HHUID 288). In short, the results of a database query are more coherent and distinguish one individual from another. Furthermore, a database can relate a householder to another record, such as a Hearth Tax or Probate document, easily.

Table 1.3: The Testator table fields

Field name	Data type
Probate UID	Autonumber
HH UID	Number
Probate Testator Surname	Text
Probate Testator Forename	Text
Probate Testator Title	Text
Will Year	Number
Probate Occupation	Text
Will amount	Text
Will amount £	Number
Marital Status	Text
Partner	Text
Probate_Appraiser UID	Number
Probate_Witness UID	Number
Probate_Executor UID	Number
Probate_Admin UID	Number
Probate_Inventory UID	Number
Notes	Memo

[100] The relational database layout is presented in Appendix Figure 1.

Nominal record linkage: Discussion & approach

The information required to reconstruct the household heads' levels of wealth, occupation and their associations are not provided sufficiently within either the 1684 maps or the 1732 poor ley. Therefore, information available on the household heads from other source material must be included within the database. Nominal record linkage has been investigated in studies by King and Hudson, who maintain that this process "form[s] a more detailed reconstruction of the circumstances and life cases of people".[101] Others have argued that historical evidence is unreliable, politically biased or not sufficiently complete to endure such procedures.[102] It has been said that historical subjects have been, "tamed, dehumanised and scientificated", by such quantitative studies.[103] Similar discussions have transpired concerning the use of databases as a tool in linking records. Even the proponents of nominal record linkage admit that strict algorithms cannot replace the experience of a scholarly researcher.[104] However, even the researcher's methods must show consistency, and as the Cambridge group insist, "if the historian's judgement has any claim to intellectual respectability, the principles on which it is based must be capable of being specified in algorithmic form".[105] When quantitative studies of this type are carefully employed, the results can further our historic understanding.

[101] Hudson, *History by numbers,* 228. See also, S. King, 'Reconstructing lives: The poor, the Poor Law and welfare in Caverley, 1650-1820', *Social History*, 22, 3 (Oct, 1997) 318-38.
[102] Hudson, *History by numbers*, 206.
[103] R. Cobb, 'Historians in white coats', *Times Literary Supplement* (3 December, 1971) as cited in Hudson, *History by numbers*, 221.
[104] P. Admon *et al.*, 'Computer assisted record linkage: Or how to best optimise linking without generating errors', *History and Computing*, 4, 1 (1992) 21-5. Here at 1.
[105] K. Schurer, J. Oeppen and R. Schofield, 'Theory and methodology: An example from historical demography', in Denley, Fogelvik and Harvey (eds), *History and computing*, 130-41. Here at 138.

The Preston 1684 and 1732 databases have used the Cambridge group's sequential approach to resolve ambiguities of "descending confidence scores". The method requires that all links which are deemed incompatible are deleted when attributes clash, regardless of any intuitions from the researcher.[106] Similarly, an excessive amount of time between their mention as a household-head within the two core sources and the creation of the probate (specifically fifty years) would remove the potential record linkage.

Several sources were linked to the 1684 maps and the 1732 poor ley to create a more robust dataset. Preston's guild rolls were used to establish occupation distribution. The inclusion of annual rents on the 1732 poor ley created a street by street insight into wealth levels that the 1684 maps did not possess. Linking the 1664 Preston Hearth Tax could allow a similar distribution of wealth to be established in the earlier period. The twenty year gap between its creation and the 1684 maps caused several issues in forming links between these sources. Even with family reconstitution, there was no guarantee that a property in 1664 was owned by an individual's progenitor in 1684. The only solution was to adopt the same algorithmic methodology as was used in the other linkages. For example, Sergeant Edward Rigby, who occupied three properties in Preston in 1684, was not mentioned on the 1664 Hearth Tax. As the Member of Parliament for Preston when the tax was levied, Edward may have been entered in the Westminster returns. The three properties that Edward possessed in 1684 were probably still held by his father, Alexander, who had fifteen taxable hearths in 1664. This meant that no link could have been made between Edward Rigby, 1684 household-head, and a name on the 1664 return. The twenty year gap between the

[106] Schurer, Oeppen and Schofield, 'Theory and methodology, 140.

two sources almost certainly attributed to the relatively low number of connections, only 87 of the 395 names on the 1664 Hearth Tax were identified. A consistent methodological approach was consequently adopted across the database that could stand up to academic scrutiny. Moreover, the thesis crucially adopts a methodology that matches the accepted Cambridge model used in other studies, such as Terling and Whickham.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has analysed the quantitative elements of this thesis. The issues involved in nominal record linkage and database management have been appraised to avoid any potential criticisms regarding source manipulation. The provenance of the 1684 maps has been explored and although their exact purpose has not been established, the explicit structure of the maps has been confirmed. The data that these sources bestow can now be properly scrutinized.

CHAPTER II- EARLY MODERN PRESTON: THE PERSPECTIVES OF HISTORIANS AND CONTEMPORARIES

In order to place the research in context, a study of Preston and its environs should be conducted. The following chapter is separated into two distinct sections. The first section, 'The historians' view of Preston', draws together the secondary material concerning the town's commercial activities and administrative bodies. Due to the general lack of material available concerning Preston's administrative bodies, there has been additional research included within this section. The second section, 'The contemporary view of Preston', uses contemporary accounts to provide a greater insight into the town's economic activities and socio-economic relationships. Both sections attempt to address the two major scholarly debates outlined in the introduction. Furthermore, this chapter will attempt to contextualise the findings in the subsequent chapters.

(i) The historians' view Preston

Throughout the medieval period, Preston had maintained a pre-eminent position as a centre for unregulated trade in central Lancashire.[107] This label was probably due to the absence of a single patron within Preston. Although the town had long associations with several families, such as the Hoghtons, the Charnocks of Cuerden, the Fleetwoods of Penwortham, the Rigbys, the Stanleys and Molineuxs, none could claim patriarchal control.[108] In 1732, the three largest property owners were the Molineux family (An influential family in Lancashire), the Borough and the Church, but these three combined

[107] Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540,* 31. E. Baines, *History directory and gazetteer of the county palatine of Lancaster, vol II* (1825) 472-3.
[108] M. Mullet, ''To dwell together in unity', the search for agreement in Preston politics, 1660-1690', *THSLC*, 125 (1975) 61-82. Here at 61-4.

only accounted for only sixteen per cent of the total properties.[109] The families that were of local importance (for example- the Stanleys, Houghtons, Pattens and the Fleetwoods), do feature on the list but are surprisingly of little significance. Preston's development and character did not encounter interference from a patron, but ebbed and flowed according to economic factors and its natural topography.[110] For instance, no walls or other defensive structures were ever constructed. Therefore, Preston's natural and economic features will be discussed to appreciate the functions of the town.

An early modern market town's relative success was determined by several key topographical factors; its rural hinterland and the road network and waterways which surrounded the town.[111] Preston was furnished with the River Ribble (see figure 2.1) which intersected Lancashire from the higher Pennine area and navigated a direct route to the Irish Sea. Studies have found that early modern Prestonians used the river for trade, and that the town was even active in the infamous slave trade.[112] These activities were negligible as, in reality, Preston's port had dwindled since the medieval period vis-à-vis Lancaster and Liverpool and would not fulfil that role again until improvements were made to the Ribble in the nineteenth century.[113] Furthermore, there is an orientation towards

[109] "Molyneux", "Burrugh" and "Glebe" own 5.8, 5.4 and 4.7 per cent of properties respectively, LRO, CNP/3/1/11 (See Appendix Table 2).
[110] Hunt. *A History of Preston*, 18. J. K. Walton, *Lancashire: A social history, 1558-1939* (Manchester University Press, 1985) 14. A. Crosby, *A history of Lancashire* (Phillimore, 1998) 48-50. Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540*, 12.
[111] Everitt, 'The market towns', 179-80. P. Abrams, 'Towns and economic growth: Some theories and problems', in P. Abrams and E. A. Wrigley, *Towns in societies* (Cambridge University Press, 1978) 9-3. Here at 11.
[112] M. M. Schofield, 'The slave trade from Lancashire and Cheshire ports outside Liverpool, 1750-1790', *THSLC*, cxxvi (1976) 30-72. Here at 43. M. M. Schofield, 'Shoes and ships and sealing wax: Eighteenth-century Lancashire exports to the colonies', *THSLC*, cxxxv (1986) 61-82. Here at 79.
[113] Baines, *History directory*, 500-4. Hewitson, *History of Preston,* 214.

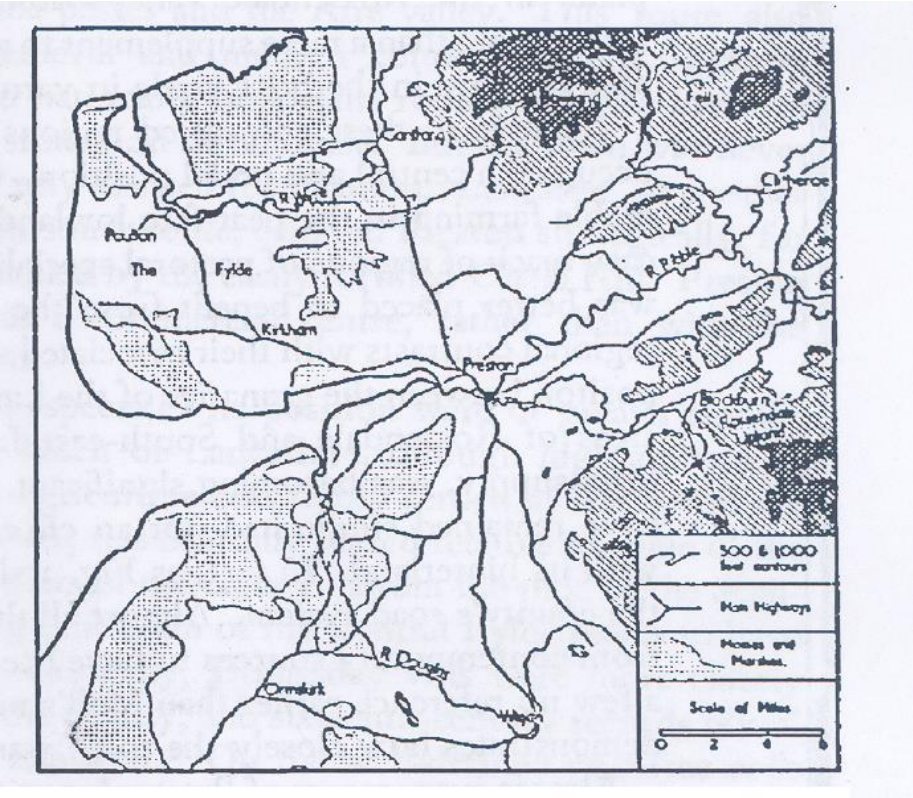
Liverpool detected in the source material.[114] This orientation could suggest that there was relationship between the two towns within an intricate pattern of regional urban structure, with imported goods shipped via Liverpool and then sold in the markets of Preston and elsewhere. If the Preston grocer William Harrison's accounts were typical, much of the international wares were imported via Liverpool or Lancaster.[115] In short, unlike many other early modern towns, Preston's river was largely benign as an economic feature and was more effective as an inconvenient barrier for physical growth.

The functionality of Preston was not assisted by the availability of a waterway. Therefore, its other topographical features must be investigated to establish the noted trading success of this town. Preston was situated within a topographical bottleneck. Rodger's reconstruction of central Lancashire's road networks (Figure 2.1) shows that Preston was the most convenient route across the Ribble and Calder for any traveller following the north/south trajectory. Moreover, the map also shows that the surrounding network of traversable roads converge on Preston. Direct road access to the town extended into the mosses of the Amounderness and the Fylde, to the north. Its easterly network projected into the Pennine range including Chipping, Hurst Green and into Yorkshire as far as Whitewell, an area dominated by cattle farming.[116] To the south, much of Leyland Hundred was covered by this road network. The extent of the roadways meant that Preston was centred in a large elaborate web, which almost certainly represented its hinterland. Preston's fortunes were further improved by Lancashire's hour glass shape that tapered at the Ribble Valley.

[114] For example, in 1732 five of the twelve property owners living outside of Preston were from Liverpool. Five were from Liverpool (See Appendix table 2).
[115] LRO, William Harrison's account book, letter undated to Johnson and Crosfield, Merchants in Lancaster. At the time of writing no catalogue number had yet been designated.
[116] Walton, *Lancashire: A social history, 1558-1939,* 9.

Lancashire's central thoroughfare, the London to Scotland highway, was a vital route for the coastal moss lands of the Fylde and Leyland hundreds to the west, and the higher Pennine lands to the east formed obstructions to the traveller.[117] The ribbon settlements that punctuated its path benefitted from this passing trade, none more than the central hub of Preston.[118]

Figure 2.1: Rodger's map of early modern Lancashire's road network



Source: Rodgers, 'The market area of Preston, p48

As a market town, Preston's fortunes were therefore interdependent with its market area. Rodgers suggests that Preston was the most prominent market centre in this region of

[117] A. Winchester, 'Field, wood and forest: Landscape of medieval Lancashire', in A. Crosby (ed), *Lancashire local studies* (Carnegie Publishing, 1993) 7-28. Here at 17.
[118] Crosby, Crosby, *A history of Lancashire,* 48.

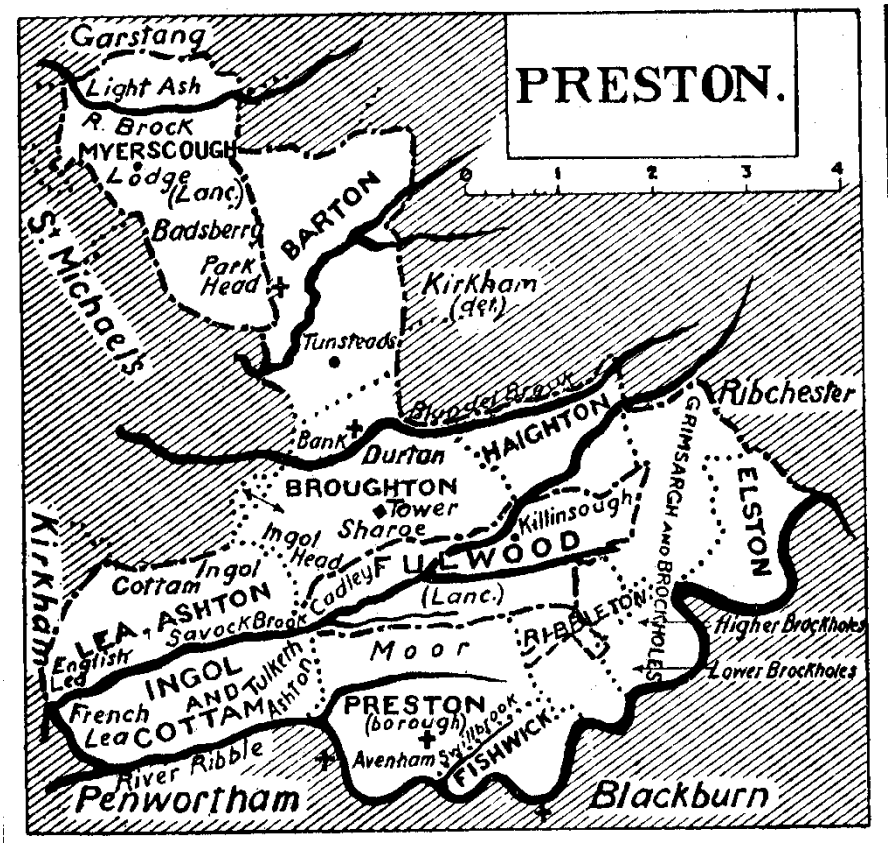
Lancashire. Many of the neighbouring satellite market towns organised their own market days around Preston's calendar.[119] Moreover, by plotting the hometowns of the out-burgesses, Rodgers proposes that Preston's market influence extended an extraordinary 15 miles in some directions.[120] Preston, therefore, was the significant conduit for the commercial activity in this largely agricultural locality. Crosby's analysis concurs with this, as he found that the seventeenth century out-burgesses were largely occupied in agrarian pursuits.[121]

The town's role as an agricultural market also sustained a vibrant retail sector. Preston has been identified and used as an example to record the developments within retailing and the broader diversity of trades that were synonymous with this period.[122] Preston's influence increasingly extended beyond its hinterland, as it began to function as a "gateway town". The town effectively connected the sellers from its immediate market area with those in Manchester, Liverpool, London and Bristol.[123] In short, economic activity flowed through this town which generated a "social political unit into which the growing cohorts of the gentry had tended to loosely coalesce".[124] Accordingly, Preston developed a range of fashionable shops and luxury trades. However, this picture of a vibrant market town should not conjure images of a burgeoning proto-metropolis. Lancashire's towns were small and compact and displayed few developments noticed in other counties.[125] Despite the progress

[119] Rodgers, 'The market area of Preston', 44.
[120] Rodgers, 'The market area of Preston', 55.
[121] Crosby, *The history of the Preston Guild,* 35.
[122] Borsay, *The English urban renaissance*, 80-83. Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540*, 36. Crosby, *The history of the Preston Guild*, 35. Stobart *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, 40. Clark (ed), *The transformation of English provincial towns*, 20.
[123] J. Stobart, 'Regional structure and the urban system', 60 and 69.
[124] Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance', 585 and 592.
[125] Walton, *Lancashire: A social history, 1558-1939,* 12 and 24. Crosby, *A history of Lancashire*, 51-2.

outlined by advocates of urban renaissance, the evidence (furthered in the next section of this chapter) seems to indicate that Preston was still reliant on agricultural trade.

Figure 2.2: The Preston Parish boundaries



Source: W Page (ed), *The Victoria history of the Counties of England*, p72

The structures of authority within Preston

At first glance, Preston's mechanisms of government appear similar to those of other corporation towns in early modern England. All of its facets were commonplace; the town had a Corporation body with an annual electoral system to appoint its officials. Preston's Corporation had also been sanctioned with recognizable powers which were progressively endowed by several charters. There was a Guild Merchant which ensured that its traders were protected from unlicensed practitioners which had endured throughout the medieval

period. The town lacked a single dominant landowner, but this however was not unique to Preston. The expansive franchise of the parliamentary voting system was, on the face of it, the town's only peculiarity. In order to find the subtle differences in Preston's authoritative bodies the devil was in the detail, or more specifically, the more technical detail of the charters. One of the key aims of this section will be to investigate Preston's political bodies and to establish the extent of each respective body's jurisdiction.

In the absence of a powerful central government which created broad legislation, the privileges conferred to incorporated towns lacked uniformity and varied in detail.[126] The investigation shall therefore begin by outlining the respective roles of Preston's administrative bodies. The administration of Preston was apparently divided between four familiar bodies; the parliamentary borough, the Guild Merchant, the Court Leet and the Parish. The Parish of Preston extended beyond the town's boundaries (see figure 2.2), and as a consequence, its influence was presumably less manifest within the town. The jurisdiction of the other bodies was unusual, and are best detailed by the successive charters. Preston's charter sanctioned the existence of its own autonomous court as early as 1179.[127] The Elizabethan charter solidified this authority and recognised the existence of Preston's Corporation. It enabled the civic leadership to choose its own officers, to form a Guild Merchant, to hold its own court and the right was conferred to hold their own fairs.[128] Importantly, this meant that by the Tudor period the Guild was an extension of the Corporation's power and not an autonomous body. The officers of the Guild were simply the serving mayor and bailiffs of Corporation. The very title of *Guild Mayor* was simply the

[126] Sweet, *The English town*, 33-4.
[127] Hunt, *A history of Preston*, 22.
[128] Baines, *History Directory*, 491.

individual who happened to be Preston's mayor at the time of the twenty year Guild celebrations.[129] To clarify, the Preston Guild Merchant ensured that trading practices *were* regulated, but it lacked the identity and the political autonomy compared with the guilds in other early modern towns.[130]

The town famously had one of the first open parliamentary franchises in the country. Universal male suffrage was not an altruistic endeavour designed to give a political voice to the majority. In actuality, the franchise was only expanded to ensure the return of Tory candidates. When a parliamentary candidate, Dr William Fyffe, was returned by Preston's more traditional and narrower franchise in 1661, the result was contested by the Corporation. The decision was subsequently overturned and the Tory candidate Dr Geoffrey Rishton was selected. After this incident, the franchise was expanded to include all members of the town's Guild. The decision importantly excluded the out-burgesses, even if "he lives within the Corporation".[131] The voters consisted exclusively of the common townsmen of Preston whose voting could be directed. The result of this was that the "informal trading oligarchy" noticed in the Corporation institutions would be replicated in the ballot box.[132] The Member of Parliament was not answerable to this urban oligarchy, but as it was only native Guild members who could cast a vote their selection must have reflected the Corporation's own political persuasion.

[129] W. Page (ed), *The Victoria history of the Counties of England: A history of Lancashire, volume VII* (Dawson's of the Pall Mall, 1966) 74.
[130] Sweet, *The English town*, 37.
[131] LRO, DDX/123/9, as cited in, Mullet, 'To dwell together in unity', 64. See also, Miller, *Cities divided*, 7.
[132] Crosby, *History of the Preston Guild*, 11. See also, Clark, 'Civic leaders of Gloucester, 1580-800', 322-3.

Preston's Corporation was therefore the central administrative body from which the other aspects of its civic government were derived. For instance, the officials of both the Guild Merchant and the Court Leet were the same serving members of the Corporation in that year. To define and understand the administration of Preston, we must study its Corporation which lay at the town's heart. The Corporation enjoyed an increasing level of autonomy from the central and county governance endowed by progressive charters. The 1674 charter granted powers to raise £200 annually, which was increased to £500 later in the same year.[133] Examples in other towns suggest that such funds may have been raised by Preston's Corporation to action urban improvements for its population and, ultimately, to entice traders.[134] The ability to shape the town without parliamentary approval in this way, along with its indirect authority over the Guild Merchant and parliamentary borough, undoubtedly served to reinforce the Corporation's sense of self-governance.

The electoral procedures of the Corporation officials are best described by the contemporary commentator and Prestonian, Dr Kuerden. The mayor along with two bailiffs and two sergeants were elected annually on St. Wilfred's Day by the previous year's jury numbering 24, "twelve of which shall be out of the capitall Burgess, and the other twelve to be chosen out of the common Burgesses of the Burrough".[135] French's investigations into the capital burgesses' inventories suggest they represented a more affluent group than the common burgesses.[136] The jury, as a consequence, represented a mixed membership. These

[133] Baines, *History Directory*, 491.
[134] Clark, 'Civic leaders of Gloucester, 1580-800', p329-35. Stobart *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, 88-9.
[135] J. Taylor (ed), *Dr Kuerden: A brief description of the Burrugh & Town of Preston and its government and Guild, 1682-1686* (1818) 27.
[136] French, *The middle sort of people*, 169.

ranged from Preston's tradesmen, the twelve common burgesses, to the better sort, the twelve capital burgesses.

The mayor's first duty would be to appoint two electors for that year. These two men in turn elected the 24 jury for the same forthcoming year who, according to the Elector's oath, should be, "honest and discreet Burgesses… of the last Gyld Merchant".[137] This process relied on an outgoing administration affectively electing their successors. As a consequence, it shared many attributes with the election procedures of other incorporated towns. Sweet believes that they commonly created a "self-selecting oligarchy" within the towns' office-holding.[138] Within this paradigm, Preston's most influential administrative body was an exclusive organisation.

At first glance, the findings appear to support the view that urban office-holding was not egalitarian, as a small number of families were continually re-elected to these posts.[139] Almost one half of the 249 surnames appeared only once, 59 just twice, 41 appeared 3 to 5 times and only 21 appeared between 6 and 9 times (table 2.1). Mullet also studied the same sources, and commented that Preston Corporation's administrative bodies were never without complements of Walls, Hodgkinsons, Werdens and Suddells.[140] The continual re-election of a small oligarchy should not be entirely attributed to corruption because, in actuality, the election process effectively encouraged the continual presence of a ruling

[137] Taylor (ed), *Dr Kuerden*, 28.
[138] Sweet, *The English town*, 36. Hammond and Hammond, *The rise of modern industry*, 225. Clark, 'Civic leaders of Gloucester, 1580-800', 311. Dyer, *The city of Worcester,* 190. Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village*, 109. French, *The middle sort of people*, 169. Crosby, *History of the Preston Guild*, 11. Mullet, 'To dwell together in unity', 70.
[139] See Appendix table 7.
[140] Mullet, 'To dwell together in unity', 68.

class. A close scrutiny of the numbers suggests that there was also an element of inclusion, in addition to the continual re-election of this oligarchy. Of the 249 surnames mentioned, 115 were elected only once. As the period progressed, the proportion of surnames mentioned once increased (See table 2.1).[141] The evidence suggests that not only was the oligarchy less apparent within the corporation positions than previously thought, but that this decreased over time.

Table 2.1: The number of times each surname is mentioned

Count of surname	Total number	17th cent. Number	18th cent. Number
1	115	62	94
2	59	39	34
3 to 5	41	23	35
6 to 9	21	8	10
10+	13	5	2
Total	249	137	175

Sources: LRO, CNP/3/2/1, CNP/3/2/3 & CNP/3/2/4

Within this environment, it would have been difficult for the Corporation's regulations to be overtly influenced, or even subtly coerced, by such a small section of the officials. In relation to modern electoral procedures, Preston did have an "informal trading oligarchy", in which certain families appeared to be foremost.[142] This language however, particularly the insinuations that the process was corrupt, misrepresents the culture that the quantitative results have revealed. The core oligarchy within Preston did not form a substantial proportion of officeholders, and moreover, the duration of their representation was finite.

[141] A contributing factor to this increase may have been the breakdown in the dominance of Preston's oligarchy. Only two families were mentioned a total of ten times in the eighteenth century compared with five in the seventeenth century (See appendix tables 8 and 9).
[142] Crosby, *History of the Preston Guild*, 11. Mullet, 'To dwell together in unity', 68.

(ii) The contemporary view of Preston

Preston's important geographical position within central Lancashire was matched by, and almost certainly contributed to, a substantial quantity of written evidence from the early modern period. As a principal commercial centre it attracted the attention of many of Lancashire's prominent citizens who have left detailed accounts of the market town. Moreover, a large number of written diaries and descriptions from Preston residents still survive, perhaps due to the presence of administrative and legal services within the town.[143]

The amount of written contemporary evidence has been noted in other histories. In Clemesha's extensive review of the town's history, for instance, he commented that: 'The historian of Preston is favoured by fortune when he reaches the latter half of the seventeenth century for the material at his disposal is both rich and various'.[144] By making use of this evidence, the following section of the chapter can deliver a more intimate reconstruction of early modern activities. The section will firstly look at the reconstruction of seventeenth and eighteenth century Preston. After that, there will be an investigation of the contribution of diary evidence to the understanding of early modern interrelationships. Such a study will be an invaluable foundation for the more quantitative investigations in chapter IV.

Diary testimony is most commonly employed to illuminate early modern daily life. Such reconstructions are unique to this type of evidence, as they can illustrate exactly how the services and spaces in early modern England were utilised. To this end, to determine how

[143] H. B. Rodgers, 'The market area of Preston in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Geographical Studies*, 3, 1 (1956) 46-55. 53.
[144] Clemesha, *A history of Preston in Amounderness,* 146.

Preston's town plan (Figure 1.3) was used during the late seventeenth century, historians have regularly consulted the Preston antiquarian Dr Kuerden's *Brief description* from 1682. Despite Kuerden's obvious enthusiasm for the town and its aesthetics, it is accepted as a true account and an excellent virtual tour through this early modern market town.[145] He writes, "The first street as you enter upon the south-side from the bridge, is Fenkell-street, unto the barrs; and the barrs proceeding to the town's hall, is styled the Church-street". He continues,

> From the Church-street, in a straight line proceeding westward, the whole street is called the Fishergate-street… From the end of Vicarage-street or lane, a specious street past westward, and is called St. John's-street; and from thence a back –lane passing beside the town, falling into the Fryergate below Fryergate barrs.
>
> Another passage southward about the midst of Church Street…Cockshutts backside…against the Shambles…and leadeth by the Minspit well, and over Avenham to Rible side, passing along the boate or ferry of Penwortham; and this is called Minspitt-lane or Pettycoat-alley…from the Almes house to the aforesaid boat at Penwortham, and this is called the Almes house-lane… at the ford over the Rible…is called Broadgate.[146]

As well as detailing a street map, Kuerden's chaotic and colourful description illustrates how Preston's plan developed organically. Back Lane, for example, is described as a by-pass used to avoid the bustling Market Place. In another section of writing, Kuerden describes Main Sprit Wiend as being formed, "by reason of the frequent carrying of water from this well by

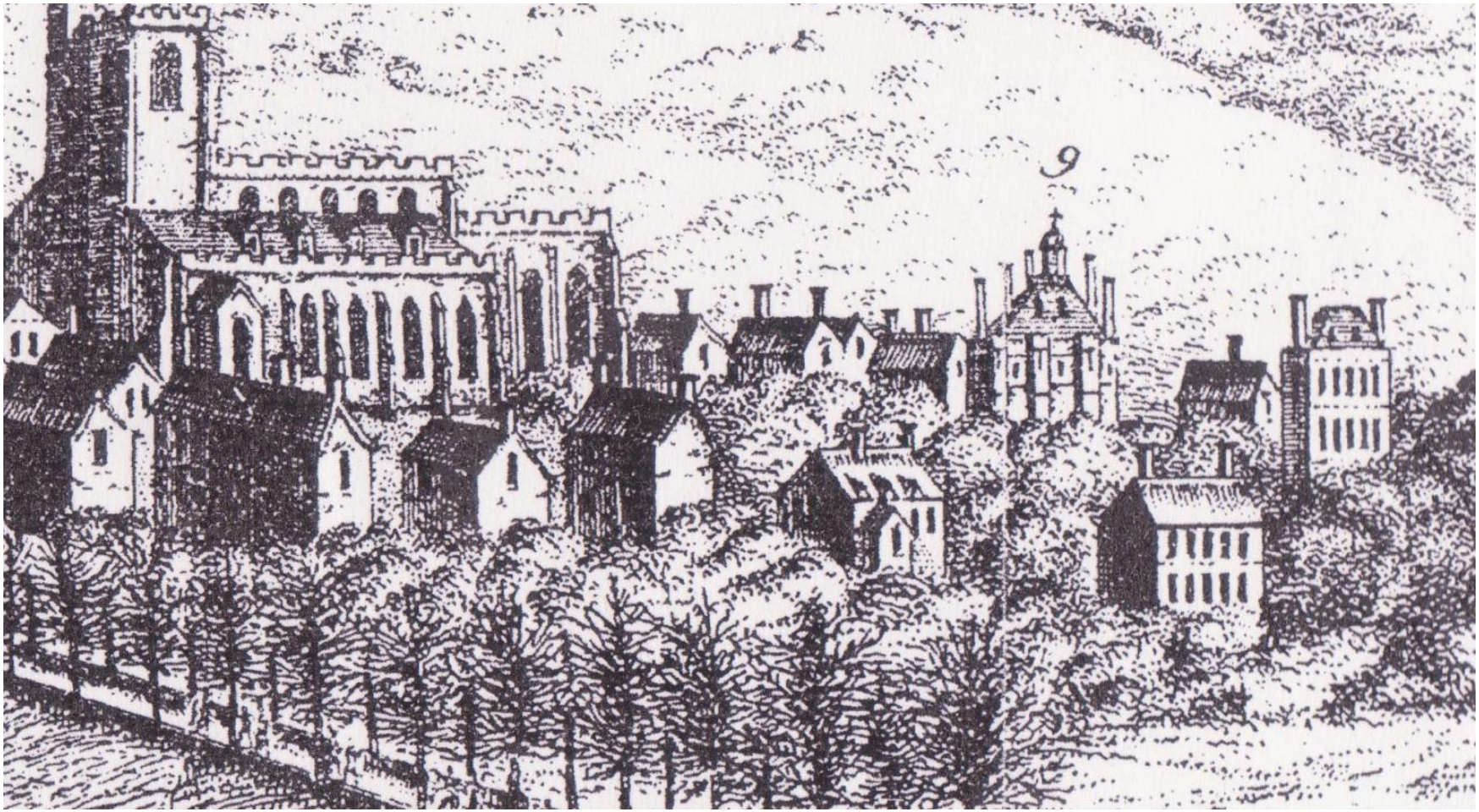
[145] Hunt, *A history of Preston*, 78-83. Clemesha, *A history of Preston in Amounderness*, 148-155.
[146] Taylor (ed), *Dr Kuerden,* 4-8.

woemen, and milk maids bringing dayly their milk and butter to the town this way". With the further establishment of a ferry to Penwortham at the end of Main Sprit Wiend, the pathway became lined with houses, developing into the street that Kuerden depicted. In this way, glimpses into the activities of this thriving market town can be gleaned. The town, although constructed around the medieval three street plan, was a maze of interconnecting desire-lines, alley ways and passages formed as a result of commercial activity bursting from the crowded market square. Preston, therefore, provides a prime example of how communities were shaped by their economic activity; in this vibrant market town much of the spatiality was determined by its mercantile heart.

Due to the prominence of Preston's later industrial activity, the buildings of late Stuart and Georgian period have made way for later, grander developments. The unwitting testimony of Daniel Defoe offers an explanation for the lack of surviving pre-industrial architecture. He writes, "Preston is a fine town, and tolerably full of people, but not like Liverpool or Manchester… Here's no manufacture; the town is full of attorneys, proctors, and notaries".[147] Preston was apparently untouched by the proto-industrial activities that were occurring in southern Lancashire. A similar view of the market town was expressed by Celia Fiennes twenty years earlier, when she says Preston was, "…better than most country towns". [148] An opinion echoed by Edward Leigh who said it was "A great fair town, and well inhabited".[149] It appears that to the travelling chroniclers of early modern England that Preston was an impressive market town, with a greater array of amenities. However, it was just that - an exceptional market town.

[147] Defoe, *A tour through the whole island of Great Britain*, 268.
[148] Fiennes, *Through England on a side-saddle*, 14-15.
[149] E. Leigh, *England Described: Or several Counties and shires thereof Briefly handled* (1659) EEBO.

Figure 2.3: The Buck Brothers depiction of Preston, Patten House



Source: The South Prospect of Preston, 1728 in D Hunt, *A history of Preston*, p140

Contemporary evidence can also provide insights in early modern Preston's aesthetic qualities. Celia Fiennes wrote of one notable property, "…a very good house which was a Lawyers, all stone work 5 windows in the front and high built according to the eastern building neer London, the ascent to the houses was 14 or 15 stone stepps large and a handsome court with open iron pallasadoes… which discover'd the gardens on each side of the house neately kept flowers and greens; there was also many steps up to the house from the court…" she further adds "there was 2 or 3 more such houses in the town and indeed the generallity of the buildings especially in 2 or 3 of the great streetes were very handsome".[150] The house mentioned, from the description and its position, was almost certainly Patten House.

The dominance of Patten House over the neighbouring properties is supported by the Buck brothers' prospect of Preston in 1728 (see figure 2.3). They show this property in fantastic detail; its gabled roof and two ranges reflected the style during this period, and the six chimneys implied that it had several hearths. In 1684 Patten House was owned by Colonel Patten and in 1732 by Sir Edward Stanley. Sir Edward gained the property because his father, Thomas, married a member of the Patten family, witnessed by both Bellingham and Rawsthorne in 1688.[151] This handover of property also symbolises the handover in power from one family to the other. The Stanleys would later affirm their position by winning several elections to Parliament in the 1690s.[152] Captain Bellingham was present when the grandfather of Sir Edward Stanley, William, came to "blowes" with Mr Hoghton. In another incident, Sir Edward's father, Thomas, was stabbed on Avenham Walk by a Danish soldier

[150] Fiennes, *Through England on a side-saddle*, 14.
[151] A. Hewitson (ed), *Diary of Thomas Bellingham: An officer under William III* (1908) 86. D. Harrison (ed), *Diary of Thomas Bellingham, 1687-89* (Lancashire Record Office Transcript) 5.
[152] Mullett, 'To dwell together in unity', 61.

who was stationed in Preston before sailing to Ireland to fight against James II.[153] This illustrates that the Stanleys were perhaps as much a colourful family as they were an important one. Their notoriety aside, the Stanleys' impressive property stood as a symbol of their importance within Preston which received Fiennes' attention. Kuerden's account supports Fiennes' conviction that Preston's properties were acceptably fashionable to contemporaries. In his words, they were constructed from, "fabricks of brickbuilding after the modish manner".[154] It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the aesthetics of Preston's buildings were, at least for its principal inhabitants, fashionable.

The previous section of the chapter found that Preston's primary role during this period was as a market town, albeit one of exceptional importance to a large hinterland. Further contemporary evidence seems to support that Preston was centred within a region dominated by agrarian activity. All of the non-native commentators agree that this region was unsophisticated and backward. Defoe says that the further north that he travelled in the county the more it loses appeal, or in his words "grows narrow".[155] For Fiennes, the highlight of her journey through Amounderness Hundred was being served a plate of oatcakes, which she admits to rushing through to avoid having to stay the night in Garstang.[156] Preston was the essential commercial hub where the produce cultivated in this region could be exchanged. This is evident in the testimony of the villagers of Marton, now within the Blackpool conurbation, in a petition to the Quarter Sessions 1655 asking for essential maintenance work to be carried out on the road to Preston. They say that they have, "many tymes in the winter debarred from the benefitt of the Marquette at

[153] Hewitson (ed), *Diary of Thomas BellIngham,* 5, 25 and 106.
[154] Taylor (ed), *Dr Kuerden*, 8.
[155] Defoe, *A tour through the whole island of Great Britain*, 268.
[156] Fiennes, *Through England on a side-saddle*, 15-6.

Preston".[157] Although the market towns of Kirkham and Garstang were closer and more accessible to the people of Marton, they preferred to travel the greater distance to Preston. Saturday market day, for example, was when the Chipping based Reverend Walkden and his family would journey into the town. Walkden's weekly visits testify that Preston was a dominant market centre in the area, as he made them despite living thirteen miles north east of the market town. Walkden conducted his business in several settlements across the Fylde, for example, when he got his knife re-bladed in Poulton-le-Fylde. But overwhelmingly his visits or mentions of Preston dwarf any other settlement. Preston is mentioned a total of 35 times, and in comparison, Lancaster appears only 15.[158]

The reasons why Walkden embarked upon so many of these journeys to Preston can be typified by one such diary entry on 12th May 1733, Walkden "se[n]t my Love and Henry my son, towards Preston… took butter and chickens to sell". When his wife arrived back in the evening she communicated that Mrs Sympson of Preston was selling a "desireable morning gown… she was to reserve it for 11 shillings".[159] It is apparent from this testimony that although the result of the trip was the purchase, or reservation, of a "desireable" item of non-essential clothing the primary purpose was to sell food stuffs. The journey time invested, in what was usually the best part of a day, appears to have been an acceptable sacrifice to ensure a good price for his goods. On the 9 June 1733, the need to maximise their return on livestock was the clear motive for the trip to Preston. He sent his wife and his son to sell a heifer. However, they returned with the cow as he records, "she thot it too little" a price. The testimony's emphasis on securing the correct price is of even more

[157] As cited in, Rodgers, 'The market area of Preston' 51.
[158] P. Walkden, *The diary of the Reverend Peter Walkden for 1733-1734* (Chipping Historical Society, Smith Settle, 2000)
[159] Walkden, *The diary of the Reverend Peter Walkden*, 112-3.

significant when the extraordinary context of this sale is revealed. The funds from this sale were to be used to pay an imminent debt to Edward Abram, a debt that must have concerned Walkden as he confesses that the sale would have put his mind at rest.[160]

Further evidence exists indicating that market towns had substantial pull, and price justified the cost of travel. For example, the Shuttleworth's of Gawthorpe Hall near Padiham, chose to sell their beans and wheat in Preston, their meal at Padiham and their cattle in the Blackburn and Wigan markets.[161] For a family with greater resources, it seems that several journeys could be initiated in order to conduct business in the respective specialised towns. More importantly, each journey was justified as it secured a greater profit yield.

An image of Preston's bustling market spilling over several streets is reconstructed by Dr Kuerden. He writes, "Wednesday, Saturday, and Friday being ever a market for fish, butter and cheese, as likewise in the evening for yarn… And upon Saturday, as soon as light appeare, is the market bell for linen cloth". There were "shoemakers stalls…leather cutters…earthen vessells… wooden vessells… wheat, rye and groats… hydes and skinns". He continues by describing the topography of the market; Cheapside market for fish, Churchgate for cattle, Fishergate held a horse market, the swine market took place against the Church and sheep were sold on the west side of Market Square. Many of these were exclusively held on the Saturday session only.[162] The Preston market days appeared to be largely agricultural from this, and in fact, a majority of the accounts. The contemporary testimony portrays a town with substantial activity which represented a large proportion of

[160] Walkden, *The diary of the Reverend Peter Walkden*, 146.
[161] Harland (ed), *The house and farm accounts of the Shuttleworths.*
[162] Taylor (ed), *Dr Kuerden*, 7-8.

commerce within central Lancashire. The journeys to Preston were undoubtedly necessary for many visitors intending to secure a healthier price than they could within their locality. Ironically, as the Walkden example shows, this migration on market day itself generated the customer base to which produce could attain a higher return: those who came to sell also came to buy. As a consequence, the contemporary testimonies also provide evidence that other service trades operated within the town. Crucially though, these were supplementary to the agricultural markets.

The above analysis supports the idea that Preston also offered a broad range of services which supplemented the cattle and grain markets. The contemporary view of these services will now be further explored. Elizabeth Shackleton's diary provides evidence that specialised goods, which were unattainable locally, were available in Preston. Shackleton would make her everyday purchases in Colne, Barrowford, Burnley or Bradford, but used Preston amongst other fashionable towns for luxury goods.[163] William Stout of Lancaster, Nicholas Blundell of Crosby and Ireland's Tomas Bellingham all record visits to the bi-annual fairs, essentially to purchase goods from Preston's greater range of vendors.[164] The availability of specialist goods within Preston was illustrated when Walkden's neighbour asked him to get a copy of a rare tome, Mr Baxter's *Missery of Self Ignorance*, on his next visit to the town. The book was unavailable in all "ye station[er]s and booksellers in the Town", when finally "A man yt sells Books in ye street" promised to order it from London for him, the central

[163] As cited in, Stobart et al, *Spaces of consumption*, 47.
[164] Ellison (ed), *Crosby records: Blundell's diary*, 24. J. Harland (ed), *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, wholesale and retail grocer and ironmonger as member of the society of friends AD. 1665-1752* (Simpkin Marshall, 1851) 34. Hewitson (ed), *Diary of Thomas Bellngham.*

nexus in early modern England. [165] These non-agricultural services, albeit supplementary, represented a considerable segment of the town's economy.

The above evidence shows how the local economy, from retailers to inn keepers, would benefit from this influx of the wealthy in what was no doubt a bustling town. By offering rare and exotic wares Preston's mercers ensured that the town remained the preferable destination for central and northern Lancastrians. It should be stressed though that this only served to enhance the already large number of visitors, for the evidence overwhelming suggests that the availability of essential produce and practical commercial motives appear to have been the Preston's greatest draw. From the dresses bought by Elizabeth Shackleton to the secondary purchases by Walkden, Preston definitely offered the exotic, but was sustained by the practical.

Contemporary evidence from early modern Preston has recently been employed to highlight the newly fashionable leisure activities that were constructed during this period. Some histories even suggest that the market town was also favoured as a centre for polite leisure activities.[166] A significant proportion of the contemporary evidence that has been used is presented below, along with some found during the investigation conducted for this thesis. What has been uncovered is that this type of contemporary testimony was often guilty of sentimentalizing about Preston. For instance, an antiquarian history of the Great Rebellion written in 1758 records that Preston was, "one of the prettiest retirements in England". The author continues in his praise, noting the town contained, "beautiful and agreeable ladies…

[165] Walkden, *The diary of the Reverend Peter Walkden*, 440.
[166] Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance'. Stobart *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption.*

a large number of gentry" and was unexcelled "for the politeness of its inhabitants".[167] The claims that Preston was amongst the better retirements in England should not be accepted without question. Consequently, the improvements will be appraised in order to assess their role in attracting visitors.

Avenham Walk was one of the first purpose built promenades in northern England. This Preston feature took advantage of the vista formed by the southern ridge overlooking the River Ribble (its tree lined promontory features on figure 2.3). It was designed for promenading by Preston's better sort, from the Preston based Captain Bellingham to visitors like Ralph Thoresby of Leeds.[168] In addition, Preston had a number of bowling greens, regular hunts, races, and an assembly room. These have all been recorded in diaries of the gentry from across Lancashire, suggesting the leisure facilities were indeed impressive. The well-travelled Eliza Parker of Brownsholme Hall near Whitewell remarked that the Preston Assembly rooms had, "a great deal of Genteel company".[169] Another visitor in 1742 also commented on the draw of Preston's Assembly Rooms that attracted, "good Company".[170] The opportunities to network that Preston provided was also highlighted by Liverpool based attorney John Plumbe. Plumbe chose to attend Preston's Races, despite the journey time which was incurred.[171] Colonel Lawrence Rawsthorne often went hunting and shooting on Preston's surrounding field systems.[172]

[167] *Ray's history of the Great Rebellion, 1758*, as cited in, Hewitson, *History of Preston,* 35.
[168] Hewitson (ed), *Diary of Thomas Bellingham.* J. Hunter (ed), *The diary of Ralph Thoresby… (1677-1724) Now published on manuscript, volume I* (2007) 74.
[169] A. Vickery, *The gentleman's daughter: Women's lives in Georgian England* (Yale University Press, 1998) 241.
[170] M. Richardson, Brierley, to M Warde, Hooton Pagnell, as cited in, Stobart *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, 45.
[171] LivRO, 920 PLU PT9, Account book of John Plumbe (1697-1757).
[172] Harrison (ed), *The Rawsthorne diary*, 110.

All of the above examples have one common characteristic; they were attempts to modernise from the top down. The Assembly Rooms, Walk, races and other symbols of eighteenth century progress remained the reserve of those who could afford a subscription to such pleasures. There is no doubt that these improvements were extraordinary in such a small market town in central Lancashire. As such, it justifies the attention that these improvements have received from both contemporaries and historians. However, this thesis is interested in understanding the socio-economic condition of Preston. The pleasure activities did not define the town, but were an interesting side issue. Within Preston, these improvements were the expressions implemented by a minority, and therefore, not indicative of those made by a leisure or spa town such as Bath, Tunbridge, Epsom, Harrogate or Leamington Spa. Sweet's categories of early modern towns are relevant in this portion of study. She carefully distinguishes the leisure town from the market towns which may have had a season centred around the bi-annual fairs or Guild Celebrations. "Despite the increase in specialist shops and retailing", she says, "the open market still underpinned the economy of exchange in England".[173] Sweet's description fits Preston's economic activities perfectly; this was a market town primarily, albeit one that offered exceptional services. Perhaps the intensive agricultural practices of Preston's hinterland, that Defoe dismissed as "narrow", required that Preston diversified.[174] Within this paradigm, the provision of legal, professional and leisure services were required by its location. It was therefore the combination of offering the "desireable" in addition to traditional commodities that ensured a broad and enduring consumer base for Preston.[175]

[173] Sweet, *The English town*, 15-16 and 23.
[174] Defoe, *A tour through the whole island of Great Britain*, 268.
[175] Walkden, *The diary of the Reverend Peter Walkden*, 112-3.

Contemporary insight into interrelationships

Diary evidence can provide a firm insight into an individual's private life and social relationships. Even the connections within diaries, however, cannot be grouped by a single definition. They were chaotic and each individual's milieu was formed for different reasons. In Walkden's diary, for example, the contacts were apparently concentrated on his business dealings. His diary records several instances when he dined or shared ale with several of Preston's shopkeepers including the Suddells, Seeds, Mr Knott and the inn keeper John Greenwood. Walkden's associations with these characters often transcended the simplistic characterisation of business contacts. Although his relationship with innkeeper John Greenwood was forged during Walkden's frequent visits to the Flying Horse alehouse, for instance, he had a much more complex relationship with this landlord. Walkden even expressed sadness at the death of Greenwood's wife in his diary in 1733.[176] Nicholas Blundell's diary also recounts associations in which the social and economic is blurred. When, after buying a livery suit from Mr Cottam, Blundell said that Cottam "treated me at his Hous and gave me a dooble Snuff Box".[177] Here, the personal and the professional cannot be delineated, and Blundell's association with Cottam potentially represents both. The diary of Manchester based Edmund Harrold indicates that there was a similar blurring between the social and the economic as much of the wigmaker's social time was spent with men within the same occupation.[178] William Harrison, the Preston grocer, reveals that he openly discussed business and profit margins with Mr Butler, Mr Watson and other grocers in the Black Bull.[179] These humbler tradesmen desired the company of men pursuing

[176] Walkden, *The diary of the Reverend Peter Walkden*, 237.
[177] As cited in, Stobart et al, *Spaces of consumption*, 133 and 117.
[178] Horner (ed), *The diary of Edmund Harrold*, ppxiv and xvii.
[179] LRO, William Harrison's account book, letter dated 3rd June, 1764. At the time of writing no catalogue number had yet been designated.

occupations similar to their own. As a consequence, the contacts of early modern diarists cannot be defined as fulfilling either a distinctly personal role or professional one. The social and the economic appear to have been indistinguishable, and in these examples, both attributes were required to form a friendship.

Being a member of the same profession was not the only shared commonality that ensured association. Nicholas Blundell's contacts were generally fellow Catholics. A social gathering held after the Ormskirk quarter session meeting was restricted to "we Catholicks that got of our convictions dined alltogether". This was echoed in his Preston acquaintances; in his frequent visits to the town he developed a friendship with the catholic inn keeper Richard Jackson.[180] Another catholic man, George Hilton based in Cumbria, was writing in the same period. When Hilton passed through Preston he also used Richard Jackson's White Bull.[181] Shared commonality in these ways was not always a prerequisite to familiarity. Although Blundell's distant contacts were largely fellow Catholic members of the gentry class, the existence of local Anglican acquaintances in his diary illustrates that commonalities had less relevance within his closer contacts. In actuality, Blundell "sharply reprimanded the Superior of the Jesuits for insisting that local Jesuit priests must cease to meet with Anglican clergy and gentry in a social club".[182] The accounts of William Harrison also include a letter from William Rawlinson, his London merchant, who had recently encountered fellow Prestonians from two very disparate social groups. In the letter, Rawlinson says he had encountered the apprentice Mr Threfall and Mr Hoghton of Hoghton Tower, and that both had expressed a

[180] The meeting was held on the 25th August 1708 and coincided with the attempted landing on the Firth of Forth of James II, Ellison (ed), *Crosby records: Blundell's diary*, 63.
[181] One such instance, Tuesday 20th June, 1704, G. Hilton, *The rake's diary: The Journal of George Hilton* (Curwen Archives Texts, 1994) 54.
[182] F. Tyrer (ed), *The great diurnal of Nicholas Blundell of Little Crosby, vol I: 1702-11* (Lancashire Record Society, 1968) 6-7.

wish that Rawlinson should pass on their greetings to Harrison.[183] Despite their different backgrounds, both claimed familiarity with the Harrison family.

The milieus of Bellingham and Rawsthorne (See tables 2.2 and 2.3) were largely restricted to Preston's more distinguished members of society. However, even though these two close friends were living in the same town and writing at the same time, they had only few overlapping associations. The interrelationships of these two individuals are revealed in more detail below, and show that despite their protestant beliefs they would overtly fraternize with Catholics and various distinctions of nonconformists. Moreover it is revealing that these two diarists were close friends, as their different political views should have polarised the men during this period; Whiggish Thomas Bellingham supported William III and Tory Lawrence Rawsthorne was loyal to James II.

It seems then, that although early modern interrelationships were somewhat based on shared occupation, religious affiliation or wealth, differences in these areas did not necessarily represent barriers to association. The way in which interrelationships were formed varied from one individual to the next. However, this in itself is revealing. For Catholic Nicholas Blundell and George Hilton, relatively long-distance friendship was influenced by commonality of wealth and status, or religious belief. There are a greater number of examples, though, which show that interrelationships in early modern Lancashire were more fluid. Genteel men did prefer the company of their equals, but this did not restrain or confine their contacts. Early modern Preston's inter-household relationships can

[183] LRO, William Harrison's account book, letter dated 27th April, 1769. At the time of writing no catalogue number had yet been designated.

only be defined by one word, pragmatic. Within this apparent chaos there was reason, a sense of pragmatism that ensured relationships were not based solely upon commonalities. When individuals were mentioned in a diarist's entries, there is some uncertainly to the nature of their association. As a consequence, when using these connections for quantifiable analysis, the historical researcher has only the frequency of contact as a measure of the familiarity between the two parties.

The next section of the study will take a more quantitative approach to interrelationships gleaned from early modern diaries. The subjects of this examination are Colonel Lawrence Rawsthorne and Captain Thomas Bellingham. The diaries of these two men are remarkable; they wrote during the same period and actually attended the same events, socialised with the some of the same characters, and were even close friends. Unlike the journals of Walkden and Harrison, the two diarists omit their chance encounters and rarely divulge any details of purchases. Instead, the two men record only scheduled meetings or noteworthy encounters and those who were present. Consequently, as this evidence records only individuals who were directly engaged with the diarists in social gatherings, these can be better used to reconstruct social milieus within Preston's better sort. Tables 2.2 and 2.3 list the number of times selected surnames are mentioned in either Lawrence Rawsthorne or Thomas Bellingham's diary between 14th August and 14th October 1688. Using just a two month period, the potential of diary evidence in establishing the social dynamism within Preston's urban elite is apparent.

Table 2.2: The surnames mentioned by Bellingham, August-October, 1688

Surname	No times mentioned	Residing
Rawsthorne	11	Churchgate

Fleetwood	10	Churchgate
Patten	9	Churchgate
Springhouse	9	N/A
Rigby	9	Churchgate
Hoghton	6	Churchgate
Johnson	5	Churchgate
Hodgkinson	5	Churchgate
Chaddock	*5*	*Fishergate*
Winckley	*4*	*Main Sprit Wiend*
Lemon	*3*	*Fishergate*

Source: Hewitson (ed), Diary of Thomas Bellingham & DDX194/1-8[184]

Bellingham's list of social contacts (Table 2.2) contains the leading gentry, from the Springhouse family of Walton-le-Dale, the Fleetwoods of Penwortham Hall to the Hoghtons of Hoghton Tower, in addition to the urban leaders who dominated the Corporation office holder lists, such as the Pattens, Lemons and Hodgkinsons (see Appendix tables 7, 8 and 9 for more detail). The street of residence of the family head has been given to show how geographic proximity, or in reality neighbourliness, was important to the formation of social relationships within early modern Lancashire.[185] A majority of Bellingham's wealthier cohorts resided on Churchgate, which suggests that seventeenth century Preston was subject to informal social zoning. There were three names that did not live on Churchgate, and interestingly, had fewer mentions than the other names. These three names have been highlighted as they appear to form a different milieu to the Churchgate names. The names appear exclusively together, for example on 17th August, "…and was att night with Mr. Winkly, Lemon, Chaddock".[186] The three neighbours lived in close proximity (opposite the

[184] Names mentioned once or twice have been excluded.
[185] 'Family head' refers to the household-head of each particularly family. Here, their street of residence is gleaned from the 1684 maps, made only four years before the diaries were written.
[186] Hewitson (ed), *Diary of Thomas Bellingham*, 6.

Market Place) and removed from the other names mentioned, indicating that geography had such an affect upon the construction of milieus that these were sometimes enclosed within a small number of adjacent properties.

Table 2.3: The surnames mentioned by Rawsthorne, August-October, 1688

Surname	No times mentioned	Residing
Hodgkinson	13	Marketplace
Bellingham	10	N/A
Patten	7	Churchgate
Winckley	6	Churchgate
Fleetwood	6	Churchgate
Lemon	6	Fishergate
Parker	5	Cheapside
Johnson	5	Churchgate
Rigby	5	Churchgate
Farrand	5	Fishergate
Cowps	3	N/A
Langton	3	Cheapside
Stanley	3	Churchgate
Croston	3	N/A
Atkinson	3	Marketplace
Standish	3	N/A

Source: Harrison (ed), The Rawsthorne diary & DDX194/1-8[187]

Another interesting feature of this particular milieu is revealed when the political leanings of the participants are investigated. Bellingham was a serving officer of William III and was only "quartered" in Preston before he embarked on a voyage to Ireland where he served in the Battle of the Boyne.[188] The rest of this enclosed group were exclusively strong Tory names, and therefore represented a group who would oppose the succession of William III. Lemon's

[187] Names mentioned once or twice have been excluded.
[188] Hewitson (ed), *Diary of Thomas Bellingham*, xxxiii.

revulsion of the succession of William III is even recorded in a letter from the period.[189] Bellingham's relationship with this particular cohort apparently transcended enmities. The division of these men from Bellingham's Churchgate contacts further indicates that proximity was the primary factor in forming relationships in the early modern urban environment. The impact of other factors on Bellingham's milieu, such as shared political and religious affiliation, was decidedly varied.

As a native of Preston, Colonel Lawrence Rawsthorne's contacts were more numerous than those of Bellingham (See table 2.3).[190] Although there were some similarities between the two friends' respective milieus, there were also many differences. This was conceivably a result of the two men's differing political persuasions. Rawsthorne spends more social time with "Preston's Tory political boss" Thomas Hodgkinson, and other Tory names like the Winckley and Lemon families, than Bellingham does.[191] In contrast, Bellingham preferred the company of the Whiggish Rigby and Hoghton lineages. Both of these were less familiar with Rawsthorne. The latter name, an important family in the locality, is completely absent on Rawthorne's list. To a visiting Whig like Bellingham, Preston was not inhospitable, although he seemingly sought the companionship of other Whigs. The two diarist's political beliefs were not, however, irreconcilable as they were apparently close friends, with each frequently mentioning the other in his diary. Perhaps they found solace in shared Anglican beliefs, or more compelling, political tensions did not pose a barrier to pursuing friendships.

[189] The letter by Lemon is detailed later in the chapter.
[190] Rawsthorne mentions sixteen surnames three or more times, Bellingham only eleven over the same period.
[191] "Tory political boss" in, Mullet, 'To dwell together in unity', 71.

Within the diaries, there are many other examples of friendships existing crossing socio-political boundaries. In another example, religious differences were apparently put aside for a game of bowls. Bellingham records after "Ye beast fair" a bowling match was held that involved Mr Edward Fleetwood of Penwortham, Benjamin Hoghton and Mr Blundell of Sefton.[192] The religious persuasions of these men were Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic respectively. This noteworthy circumstance provides an example of associations that occurred despite the participants being of radically different political and religious affiliations. Both Rawsthorne and Bellingham themselves regularly frequented the White Bull and had a noted dialogue with its landlord and reputed Catholic Richard Jackson. On the one hand, the similarities between the two men's lists (Tables 2.2 and 2.3) are ample enough to suggest that Preston's social groupings were largely a product of social status. On the other hand, the similarities also suggest that diversity existed; as although these two men were politically opposed at such a critical time in history, they were friends and socialised with several of the same Prestonians. The general themes appear continuously in this research; people sought shared values, but were not constrained by them.

In summation of this section, the use of contemporary evidence has provided an excellent recreation of the daily life within Preston. Details of milieus and cultural impressions are more accessible, and even the daily material transactions are expressed. Diary evidence, however, produces a misrepresentation of early modern society which favours the wealthy and literate. For a comprehensive study of interrelationships within Preston more evidence is required. This is the subject of subsequent chapters. The study of contemporary material has established that shared values may have determined some of an individual's

[192] Hewitson (ed), *Diary of Thomas Bellingham*, 5.

relationships, but prejudice and subsequent social exclusion appeared to be merely rhetoric espoused by politicians and preachers. In a similar vein, spatially the town was moulded by the same practical rhythms. As, ultimately, the draw of Preston was not the bowling greens, horse racing or the assortment of inns; regular visitors came to ensure the best price on their agricultural produce and the availability of goods. In the absence of pretension both socially and spatially, and with distinct geographic advantages Preston appears to be a malleable society prepared to adapt to changing fashions. The next section of this chapter will analyse the breakdown of cases within Preston's Corporation Court Leet to provide more measureable results concerning the town's economic activities than the diarist evidence can provide.

The insights into daily life provided by the Court Leet

This section will make use of Preston's Corporation Court proceedings to better understand the types of economic activity that occurred within the town. As Lancashire was both religiously and politically conservative, the delay in which directives from central government and prevailing national sensibilities were adopted must have been considerable.[193] For the rule of statute law was a "potent fiction", which in the "golden age of discretionary justice" the practice of local courts deviated considerably from central policy.[194] Therefore, as regionalism was a dynamic in the implementation of law, popular opinions and perceptions, Preston's Corporation Court Leet should reflect mostly local

[193] Walton, *Lancashire: A social history, 1558-1939,* 7, 24 and 60. Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540,* 5. Crosby, *A history of Lancashire,* 51.
[194] J. Brewer and J. Styles (eds), *An ungovernable people: The English law in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Hutchinson, 1980) 21-46. Here at 13-14. P. King, *Criminal justice and discretion in England, 1740-1855* (Oxford University Press, 2000) 355.

attitudes.[195] By measuring the priorities of this community court, it makes the source an ideal device to quantify the daily exchanges of Preston's market. In addition to this function, the following section of this chapter will also attempt to gain a sense of the prevailing moral and social conduct.[196]

The contribution of courts leet to social history is not unique to this thesis.[197] King's research on the removal of household waste in Prescot uses a similar statistical approach.[198] The analysis of Preston's court will attempt to reproduce the work of King to reveal the activities and the nuisances which troubled the community. The ultimate and more ambitious goal of the research is to provide an insight into the daily socio-economic activity within Preston. Existing studies have approached the production of food from the changing use and yields of field systems, but provide little information on their importance to the urban community.[199] This research on Preston's urban court can illustrate the areas of commerce that received the greatest regulative attention, and by implication, which areas that were most significant to the town's economy. The discussion of the results will address each type of court case in turn. It concentrates on two decades used for this study, 1680-9 and 1730-9, because the years between 1680 and 1760 are said to have seen the most fundamental

[195] K. Wrightson, 'Two concepts of order: Justices, constables and jurymen in seventeenth century England', in J. Brewer and J. Styles (eds), *An ungovernable people: The English law in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Hutchinson, 1980) 21-46. Here at 36. See also, J. A. Sharpe, 'Crime and delinquency in an Essex parish, 1600-40', in J. S. Cockburn, *Crime in England, 1550-1800* (Methuen & Co, 1977) 90-109. Here at 90.
[196] Sharpe, 'Crime and delinquency', 97.
[197] Miller, *Cities divided*, 33-44. Wrightson, 'Two concepts of order', 41-46. Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety*, 119. J. A. Sharpe, 'The history of crime in the late medieval and early modern England: A review of the field', *Social History*, 7, 2 (May, 1982) 187-203. Here at 193.
[198] W. King, 'How high is too high? Disposing of dung in seventeenth century Prescot', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, xxiii, 3 (1992) 443-57. Here at 454.
[199] H. R. French, 'Urban agriculture commons and commoners in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: The case of Sudbury, Suffolk', *Agricultural History Review*, 48, 2 (2000) 171-99. Here at 176-7.

cultural shifts within the urban environment.[200] Surely then, this study would register substantial changes in priorities within the Court Leet to reflect the community's changing sensibilities.

The analysis shall begin with some comments concerning the change in number of cases dealt with by Preston's Corporation Court in the later period. The number of individuals who were presented before the court was 563 in the 1680s (Table 2.6), a significant proportion of the estimated population.[201] Between 60 and 67.9 per cent of offenders would appear only once, with between 16.2 and 16.6 per cent offending twice. An insignificant number were frequent reoffenders for these types of offences, with less than one per cent of individuals appearing twelve or more times. The analysis indicates that Preston's Corporation Court Leet addressed misdemeanours, and was designed to cajole behaviour rather than punish crimes. These findings only serve to strengthen the claims that courts leet represented the concerns and activities of the community.

Table 2.4: Breakdown of Preston Court Leet cases, 1680-9

Case Type	Total no	% of total
Dung-heaps/general waste	328	26.3
Watercourse	307	24.6
Property regulation/repair	113	9.1
Cattle issue	101	8.1
Trade infringement	99	10.3
Industrial waste	94	5.5
Miscellaneous antisocial	85	6.5
Highway repair	61	4.9
Trimming of hedges	58	4.7
Total	1246	100

Source: LRO, CNP/3/2/3

[200] The uncategorised caseloads, based solely upon those made by the court recorder, are available in Appendix Tables 3 and 4.
[201] See Appendix table 1.

Table 2.5: Breakdown of Preston Court Leet cases 1730-9

Case Type	Total no	% of total
Dung heaps/general waste	313	47.3
Industrial waste	114	17.2
Watercourse	94	14.2
Building regulation/repair	70	10.6
Ashes	19	2.9
Trade infringement	17	2.6
Highway repair	16	2.4
Trimming of hedgerows	9	1.4
Miscellaneous antisocial	9	1.4
Total	661	100

Source: LRO, CNP/3/2/4

Another noticeable trend was the dramatic fall in cases heard across the period (see tables 2.4 and 2.5).[202] By comparing Preston's case numbers with the work on Prescott and Rishton, it is possible to measure the Lancashire market town's relative reliance on its Court Leet. Prescott's Court Leet averaged 100 presentments per annum, with an estimated population of 500. Rishton's population was 200 and its Court Leet dealt with twelve cases per annum.[203] In comparison, Preston's mean annual presentments figures were 124 in the 1680s and 61 in the 1730s. The population though had increased over the period; it was 1,845 in 1664 and 4,568 in 1773. The analysis reveals that the Court Leet represented a significant functional element of community life in the 1680s, hearing a typical number of cases vis-à-vis the two towns studied by King. In the 1730s, the figure had fallen, whereas the population had grown significantly. It seems that the Court Leet's importance was diminished across the period. A fall in cases during this period was not uncommon;

[202] Total cases during the 1680s; 1246. During the 1730s; 661.
[203] King, 'Untapped resources for social historians', 699.

Sheffield's manorial court was exercising the greatest range of responsibilities in the third quarter of the seventeenth century.[204]

Table 2.6: Frequency in which individuals appear in the Preston Court Leet, 1680-9:1730-9

	1680-9		1730-9	
Cases	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
12+	7	0.9	1	0.3
6 to 11	39	6.8	20	5.6
3 to 5	88	16.1	34	9.6
2	91	16.2	59	16.6
1	338	60	242	67.9
Total	563	100	356	100

Sources: LRO, CNP/3/2/3 & LRO, CNP/3/2/4

The reduction of the Court Leet's influence can also be seen in the fall in the number of prosecutions relating to violent crime, specifically affray. In one session in 1662 ten cases were brought to court. The figure steadily reduced with only eleven heard between 1680 and 1688, with none heard after 1688. The lack of such offences suggests that individuals were referred to the higher county courts. King's observations lead him to a similar conclusion, and argues that progressively the role of courts leet were to address community nuisances compared with their more official role within medieval society.[205] The deferral by the populace to a community court to deal with nuisance matters was apparently dwindling, which was perhaps a symptom of a less cohesive society.

[204] Hey, *A history of Sheffield*, 58.
[205] King, 'Untapped resources for social historians', 699.

By studying the nature of the offences committed in Preston's Corporation Court Leet it is expected that inferences can be made about the type of economic activity that was prevalent within the town.

The most striking observation of the study is that, despite the fall in total cases across the period, there was a remarkable consistency in the types of offences being addressed by the court across the period. One obvious example of this is that the most common case type was the same in both periods. *Dung heaps/general waste* included cases involving middens, dung heaps and soil and sods. *Dung heaps* remained the most common presentment at 313 cases, which was a similar figure of 328 in the 1680s. Similarly, *Watercourse* offences remained an issue across the period and represented 24.6 and 14.2 per cent of the caseload respectively. *Property regulation/repair* was remarkably consistent at 9.1 and 10.6. Although there are exceptions (discussed below), the general impression is that much of the case load remained unchanged. The Corporation Court Leet almost certainly reflected public sentiment and activity, consequently, the town experienced remarkable continuity over the period. A change in services would have been reflected in the Court Leet's caseload. Yet, the same types of offences were of the largest concern to the early eighteenth century Prestonian as those some fifty years earlier. The town still had problems with dung left by humans and cattle, still required frequent regulation of their watercourses and still had the same attitude to their buildings, highways and hedgerows. The Court Leet suggests that the town and its trade were unchanged.

The total number of cases actually halved over the intervening time, which meant that *Dung heaps/general waste* represented a more significant proportion of the court agenda. The

1730s *Dung heap waste* figure represented 47.3 per cent of court cases compared with only 27.3 per cent in the 1680s. *Industrial waste* also rose in the intervening fifty years, and as a consequence, the evidence would suggest that waste issues in general were being addressed by the Court. This inflation is almost certainly explained by an emerging intolerance to waste practices, and in particular "severally laying and continueing of Dunghills" which appears frequently during the decade.[206] There was also a greater use of order fines in tackling waste management and a proportionate drop in presentment fees during the later period. The mean average of fines in the 1680s was 6s 4d, compared with £1 9s 2d in the 1730s. The amount of the higher value order fines, as opposed to a licensed privilege or presentment fee, had remarkably increased from 43 out of 328 to 127 out of 313 in the 1730s.[207] The short term rise in specific regulative prosecutions implies a new moral imperative was being applied to the locality, perhaps even imposed by external influences. As common values were usually only adopted when they agreed with local customs, the aesthetic concerns of unsightly streets would suggest that the new concepts of cleanliness were shaping the community's view of their own town, and ultimately the Court proceedings.[208] Within Preston, a market town that relied on in-migration into its market centre, the aesthetics were almost certainly of great concern.

Although there is continuity across the period, there were signs that subtle shifts were occurring in the later period. Perhaps these movements in the caseload denote a change in

[206] LRO, CNP/3/2/4 (1701-46) Preston Court Leet proceedings.
[207] 'Order fines' are distinguished by King as a high value order by the Leet, and therefore represented an exceptional penalty. The 'presentment fee' was a regular instalment that permitted the continuation of activity. The 'order fine' was established by calculating the modal figure. The modal figure theoretically represented the regular instalment amount. Any fine above this was therefore an 'order fine' rather than a 'presentment fee'. In Preston, the figure was 6s,8d for the 1680s, and 6s,0d for the 1730s. King, 'How high is too high?', 446.
[208] J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in early modern England, 1550-1750* (Longman, 1984) 15. Wrightson, 'Two concepts of order', 34-8. King, 'How high is too high?', 453-4.

the public sensibilities, or even a shift in economic activity. The rise in *Industrial waste* has been mentioned, but its startling rise in comparison with other cases warrants further investigation. In the seventeenth century sample, these offences were the sixth most common charge, whereas in the eighteenth century they were the second. Although the proportional rise in both *Industrial* and *Dung heaps/general* waste appears to be symptomatic of rising hygiene standards, the greater rise in the former vis-à-vis the latter reveals another trend. The offences relating to the waste from traditional practices rose from 26.3 to 47.3 per cent of the total cases. The waste indicating industrial or craft-based activities rose from 5.5 to 17.2 per cent of the court proceedings. *Industrial waste* cases had leapt from 22 per cent of 'total *waste'* cases to a more sizeable 27 per cent.[209] Or, expressed in other terms, the number of *Industrial waste* cases made a real term rise of almost one quarter. The evidence suggests that industrial activity was experiencing faint growth at the expense of traditional practices. In this regard, there is evidence to suggest that there was growth in the service trades that occurred within Preston on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, albeit a limited movement. Importantly, this rise in *Industrial waste* cases were not comparable to the remarkable several fold increases in service tradesmen noted within Borsay's analysis of the Preston's guild rolls.[210]

Another stark difference between the two periods reinforces a slight movement away from agricultural practices. The seventeenth century records suggest that the Corporation Court was concerned with the management of the droves of cattle that traversed the central areas on market days, for *Cattle Issues* was the fourth most common case type. In the

[209] The 'total *waste'* figure was calculated by added *Industrial waste* and *Dung heaps/general waste* together. In the 1680s it was 94/422, in the 1730s it was 114/427.
[210] Borsay, 'The English urban renaissance'585-7.

eighteenth century, however, there was a notable absence of these offences. Maintenance and regulation of those individuals with livestock had been presumably the responsibility of the Corporation Court Leet for some time, as these cases had been established from the earliest recorded cases in the Preston White Book. Edward Eccles of Main Sprit Wiend was brought to account as he, "hath not moved his swine… to the annoyance of others".[211] Edward's offence, like many others, occurred in or around the location of the swine market on Churchgate. The innkeepers John Greenwood and Richard Jackson, acquaintances of several diarists, were presented when their pigs trespassed onto St John's churchyard "contrary to a guild order".[212] Alexander Swansey in 1667 was fined for setting his dog upon the town's bull, "causing great confusion and discorde to the cattle bellonging to the Burgesses".[213] Watering their horses at the well along with allowing various animals on restricted common areas were common infringements for Preston's citizens. These included Lawrence Cowper's several offences attaining to the release of his goats on the Moor, and several instances of geese found wandering on Spittle Moss in the 15 Mar 1683 and 1 August 1684 sessions. Also, in the cases of Henry Barnes and William Bayley, their crime was in dereliction of their duties as pinders.[214] The evidence from the seventeenth century, in short, indicates that there were attempts to contain the cattle within the allocated areas.

Conversely, the eighteenth century records no similar incidents of cattle disorder. It is reasonable to assume that the cattle were still led into the town for sale as there is evidence from contemporaries that the markets still operated. Cattle must still have escaped periodically and disturbed other residents. As a consequence, these cases, rather than not

[211] LRO, CNP/3/2/1 (1653-73) Preston Court Leet proceedings.
[212] 4th Oct 1683, CNP/3/2/3 (1673-1701) Preston Court Leet proceedings.
[213] LRO, CNP/3/2/1 (1653-73) Preston Court Leet proceedings.
[214] LRO, CNP/3/2/3 (1673-1701) Preston Court Leet proceedings.

occurring, were no longer heard within the Court Leet. The reasons why they were no longer recorded is purely conjecture, such as spot fines executed by the court appointed officials, but it almost certainly suggests that there had been a transfer of resources away from cattle interests.

Despite this absence of *Cattle issue* cases, other traditional case types remained consistent. Consequently, this change of priorities within the diminished Court Leet might simply infer that *Cattle Issues* were considered less pressing. Preston can be considered a market town which owed much of its success to agricultural resale, a fact that did not substantially change across this period. However, the evidence shows that Borsay, Stobart et al were correct, and during the later preindustrial period that there were subtle changes in commercial activities. Overall though, the evidence suggests that the community mind-set was still geared towards similar practices, and the breakdown of offences suggests that the economic pursuits were largely based in the same traditional practices. These changes were subtle and not on the scale proposed by the aforementioned historians. The consistency across the period would in fact suggest the contrary: continuity was the most remarkable feature.

Conclusion

The Corporation Court proceedings and the diarist testimony indicate that Preston was a town that experienced, rather than change, remarkable continuity over the period. Public sentiment, as testified by the Court Leet caseload, was largely unchanged. The implication is that traditional services, such as the buying and selling of food produce, were maintained. The caveat to this was the subtle changes noticed from the late seventeenth to early

eighteenth century. The cattle issues disappeared from the Corporation Court Leet's agenda, and there was a slight elevation in ancillary services and their associated waste. Although this thesis accepts the findings which suggest post Restoration Preston was displaying a growth in sophistication and a movement towards industrial activities, the overwhelming evidence suggests that Preston still had an economic grounding in agricultural commerce.

Preston's traditional label as a centre for unregulated trade has been thoroughly investigated to reveal that in the absence of a dominant landowner, all of the urban administration rested on its Corporation body. Membership of its famous Guild Merchant bequeathed trading rights, common pasture and suffrage in the open franchise. Despite these privileges, the evidence suggests that the Guild Merchant was a politically latent body, and moreover, membership did not bestow the same identity to its freemen as in other towns. The Guild Merchant, it is argued, was purely an extension of the Corporation. This does not necessarily challenge the preconceived studies of the Preston Guild, for the membership to this organisation ensured participation within an important economic hub. However, it does imply that the Corporation was the principal authoritative body within the town. Unlike the observations made on other towns, Preston Corporation's officeholders could not exercise absolute power.

In the eyes of contemporaries, Preston was still an agricultural and service based town serving its dependant network of towns. Although it was undergoing enforced reconstructions in order to harmonise with the tastes of their visitors, such as the Avenham Walk and the Assembly Rooms, it was primarily a market town which still serviced its

hinterland and arguably beyond. The largest attraction was the traditional markets, and although Blundell, Thoresby, Shackleton and Parker would take advantage of the specialist traders and attractions, the majority came for practical concerns. Walkden, Stout, the Shuttleworths, Kuerden and the tradesmen of Marton all testify that this was a town which was based on the exchange of agricultural produce. In short, the other attractions and industries appear to have been supplementary, and designed to cater to the more sophisticated tastes of southern and eastern industrialising Lancashire. Preston appeared to have been a town experiencing some change but contemporary perceptions, at least, exhibited remarkable continuities.

CHAPTER III- SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISTRIBUTION

One of the primary objectives of this thesis is to reconstruct the economic activity that was occurring within early modern Preston. In arguing for the existence of an urban renaissance, which has been observed nationally across the period, recent histories have been selective in the material that they have used in Preston. In doing so, they have potentially misrepresented the town's function.[215] Specifically, these studies have focused on Preston's leisure activities, amenities and the growth of "a more diverse retail and service base".[216] This study will examine Preston's economic activities using the guild roll and probate evidence. By plotting these occupational results on the 1684 maps, a more complete survey of Preston's distribution of trades will emerge.

Studying the residential patterns of an early modern town's occupational groups is nothing new to historical study. Sjoberg's early survey work identified that an early modern urban environment, compared with the modern industrial town, had a different pattern of residency. Early modern towns were shaped by a quartered system or "burgess model" in which the town was divided into distinct areas each dedicated to a single occupation.[217] In Spence's analysis on London's occupational distribution in the 1690s, he comments that "locational distinctions were… clearly evident".[218] The boroughs of London apparently replicated quarters in this sense; Coleman Street and Broad Street wards were more associated with traditional professions, Billingsgate and Tower housed the merchants, financial and gentry groups and the manufacturing groups were located in the more remote

[215] Borsay, *The English urban renaissance*, 80-3. Stobart *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, 2.
[216] Stobart *et al*., *Spaces of consumption*, 33-6
[217] G. Sjoberg, 'The pre-industrial city', *American Journal of Sociology*, 60, 439 (1955) 20-31. Here at 22-3.
[218] Spence, *London in the 1690s*, 146.

areas such as Farrington.[219] The quantitative work of Diederick and van Deijk on preindustrial Leiden recognises the existence of specialist zones and suggests that within these quarters wealth and occupation would determine an individual's placement.[220]

The observations within these studies are made on capital cities which were geographically large and therefore able to support business quarters. Investigations on provincial capitals rarely have the same wealth of source material at their disposal. As a consequence, they tend to present more piecemeal surveys that are usually based on a single social group, or wide-ranging wealth groupings. Using the order of the names entered on the Hearth Tax returns for Cambridge, for example, Goose determines that the rich congregated within a town's market centre, the poorer elements around its outskirts.[221] By studying the social distribution within Chester, Stobart reveals an increasing polarisation as 'shopping streets' formed. Over time, these streets effectively monopolised retail trade.[222] Similar social zoning was observed in seventeenth and eighteenth century Newcastle; as Westgate and Pilgrim Street became desirable other districts were abandoned by the well to do.[223] In Manchester too, King Street's transformation in the 1720s created a noticed movement of the higher poor rate payers to this fashionable thoroughfare.[224] In Frome and Selwood, newly erected and more fashionable properties were usually retained by a small number of

[219] Spence, *London in the 1690s*, 135-41.
[220] H. Diederiks and F. van Deijk, 'Social segregation in eighteenth-century Leiden', in P. Denley, S. Forgelvik and C .Harvey (eds), *History and computing II* (Manchester University Press, 1989) 170-80. Here at 172 and 179.
[221] N. Goose, 'Household size and structure in early Stuart Cambridge', *Social History*, 5, 3 (October, 1980) 347-85. Here at 358.
[222] Stobart, 'Shopping streets as a social space', 3-19.
[223] Ellis, 'A dynamic society: Social relations in Newcastle-upon-Tyne', 198-9.
[224] Horner, 'Proper persons to deal with', 66.

dynasties across several generations.[225] All the above studies of smaller towns in early modern England have a common theme; they employ fragmentary source material that favours the urban better sort and construct theories using this limited evidence. Therefore, the contribution of this thesis is of particular importance as it presents a complete picture of the distribution within post-Restoration Preston.

Occupational distribution

The chapter is divided into two distinct sections. This first section will present the findings from the analysis of occupational distribution with the subsequent section focussing on wealth distribution. The geographic distribution of the various occupations has been plotted on the 1684 survey map (see figure 3.1).

The study will begin by considering the occupational distribution results in their entirety. Within this study, Preston's occupational distribution (table 3.1) has been divided using Wrightson and Levine's categories. These were used in both the Whickham and Terling studies.[226] The redrawing of categories to suit the construction of a particular thesis can lead to data manipulation. It is for this reason that an existing categorisation has been used. There are a large number of ways to organise the occupational divisions that are available for this study. Wrightson and Levine's categories arguably better assess the nature of commercial activity within the town, as they are categories based largely on a tradesman's

[225] Everitt, 'The market towns', 183.
[226] Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village*, 22. For the uncategorised occupations, see Appendix Tables 10 and 11.

economic function. As with any categorisation, criticisms of the arbitrary grouping of occupations can be found.

Figure 3.1: The 1684 survey map of Preston

Source: LRO, DDX/194/9

From the contemporary sources, the previous chapter found that Preston was primarily a market town selling agricultural produce. This market town serviced an exceptionally large

area and offered additional wares and professional services, but these served to supplement its agrarian trades. Preston's occupational structure further supports this (Table 3.1). The most striking feature is the symmetry between the occupational structures of the household-heads from the 1684 maps and those in the 1732 poor ley. Apparently the coomposition of Preston's tradesmen was unchanged across this entire period. Perhaps this indicates that the town's guild was an effective body despite their apparent lack of autonomy. More importantly, Preston's unchanged occupational structure differs with the findings from Chester and Shrewsbury where an "eighteenth-century growth of… the 'leisure sector'" and a decline in traditional industries was recorded.[227] An examination of the occupational structure of the household-heads reveals that Preston was primarily a town dedicated to retail and services.

The occupations that Stobart identified as *leisure sector* trades were not in the majority. Table 3.1 largely consists of established retailers, from victuals to shoemakers. The barbers, apothecaries and lawyers who are associated with the more diverse servicemen were in a minority in Preston across the entire period. In actuality, when a counting the number of Stobart's *leisure sector* trades*,* their proportion in Preston, rather than rising, actually fell from 35.6 per cent of tradesmen in 1684 to 20.2 per cent in 1732.[228] These observations are made on a town that Borsay, Stobart and Clark supposed was renowned for offering a diverse range of services comparable to the larger towns of Manchester, Liverpool and the leisure towns of Leamington Spa, Harrogate or Tunbridge Wells. The eighteenth century

[227] Stobart, 'Shopping streets as a social space', 10-12.
[228] The "leisure sector" is a combination of Stobart's *Leisured, Luxury* and *Professional and service* subcategories. In Chester, they experienced a rise from 12.7 to 24.7 from the years 1650-75 and 1750-75, Stobart, 'Shopping streets as a social space', 10-12 and 21.

sample does show an increase in miscellaneous servicemen (from 4.3 to 10.9 per cent), which acknowledges that a change in consumer demands is evidenced within these results. Their presence alone does not define the town's primary economic activity as the newer trades never represented a significant or dominant proportion within Preston across the period. The results suggest that Preston would be best described as a humble market town. The town was offering a broader diversity of trades during this period, but the newer trades still appeared to have been marginal activities.

Table 3.1: Occupation structure, Preston, 1684 and 1732

Category	**1684**	**Percent.**	**1732**	**Percent.**
Clothing	57	24.8	118	23.8
Manufacture	44	19.1	84	16.9
M/ture group A	*31*	*13.4*	*49*	*9.9*
M/ture group B	*13*	*5.7*	*35*	*7.1*
Retail	57	24.8	123	24.9
Status	53	23	93	18.8
Building	8	3.5	23	4.7
Miscellaneous	11	4.3	54	10.9
Total	230	100	495	100

Sources: LRO, CNP/3/1/11 & LRO, M/F, CNP

Some studies have suggested that urban settlements in this period were becoming centres of culture where the "gentry had tended to loosely coalesce".[229] Both the evidence in chapter II and table 3.1 support that there was a significant number of the better sort locate in the town. The status group (i.e. those described as 'gent', esquire etc) numbered 23 per cent of the seventeenth century sample and 18.8 of the eighteenth century. Some of the

[229] Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance', 585 and 592.

members of this group were names from some of Lancashire's most affluent lineages. On just a short stretch of Fishergate examples of these wealthy out-burgesses include Thomas Werden, Christopher Nowell, John Molyneux esquire and John Forrey esquire.[230] In short, the evidence supports the theory that the county's gentry chose to coalesce within Preston.

Despite the large number of the status group, they represent only one part of Preston's diverse economy. The congregation of the gentry was an important aspect of the town, but to focus on the economic contribution of this social group risks misrepresenting the organisation of exchanges within Preston. In actuality, although this group may have helped to perpetuate trade, their presence would be better described as a peripheral or supplementary section of economy. The evidence of the diarists in chapter II showed that visitors primarily came to Preston to buy and sell produce in the conventional or traditional sense. The evidence presented within table 3.1 can be used to support this theory, as the majority of Prestonians were tradesmen. The numerical majority that these tradesmen form suggests that they were not simply providing a service to an affluent elite, but effected high volume sales in food, supplies and desirables to an extensive customer base. When examining the town of Preston and its economic activity it would be prudent, therefore, to view the presence of more diverse servicemen and the better sort as a supplementary branch of market activity rather than a dominant one.[231] To extend this argument, the literature that professes Preston was an example of a "gentry town" should also be

[230] LRO, DDX/194/5. DDX/194/5 (reverse).
[231] 'More diverse servicemen' paraphrased from, Stobart et al, *Spaces of consumption*, 36.

regarded with apprehension.[232] People primarily came to Preston to attend the bustling markets, and consequently, these market goers also sustained the more diverse services.

The geography of occupational distribution

The distribution results presented in figures 3.2 show that an individual's economic function was a fundamental factor in determining their geographic position within a town. Generally, these results support the survey analysis by Sjoberg when he identified that the early modern urban environment was formed by factors unfamiliar to modernity. The late nineteenth and twentieth century industrial town was exclusively orientated around employment such as manufacturing or financial areas, whereas, the early modern town's spatial distribution was more subtly determined by occupation and family ties.[233] In Preston, this theory is substantiated by residential patterns being determined by two factors. Primarily, residents were formed accordingly around Preston's one notable industry, the market centre. The results also show that although each area of the town contained several trades, each individual section could claim an element of distinctiveness. Therefore, this would suggest that even in such a small town specific crafts congregated around one another. The following analysis has been divided into the occupational groups to present an ordered account of the results.

[232] Clark (ed), *The transformation of English provincial towns*, 20.
[233] Sjoberg, 'the pre-industrial city', 22-3. Diederiks and van Deijk, 'Social segregation in eighteenth-century Leiden', 170.

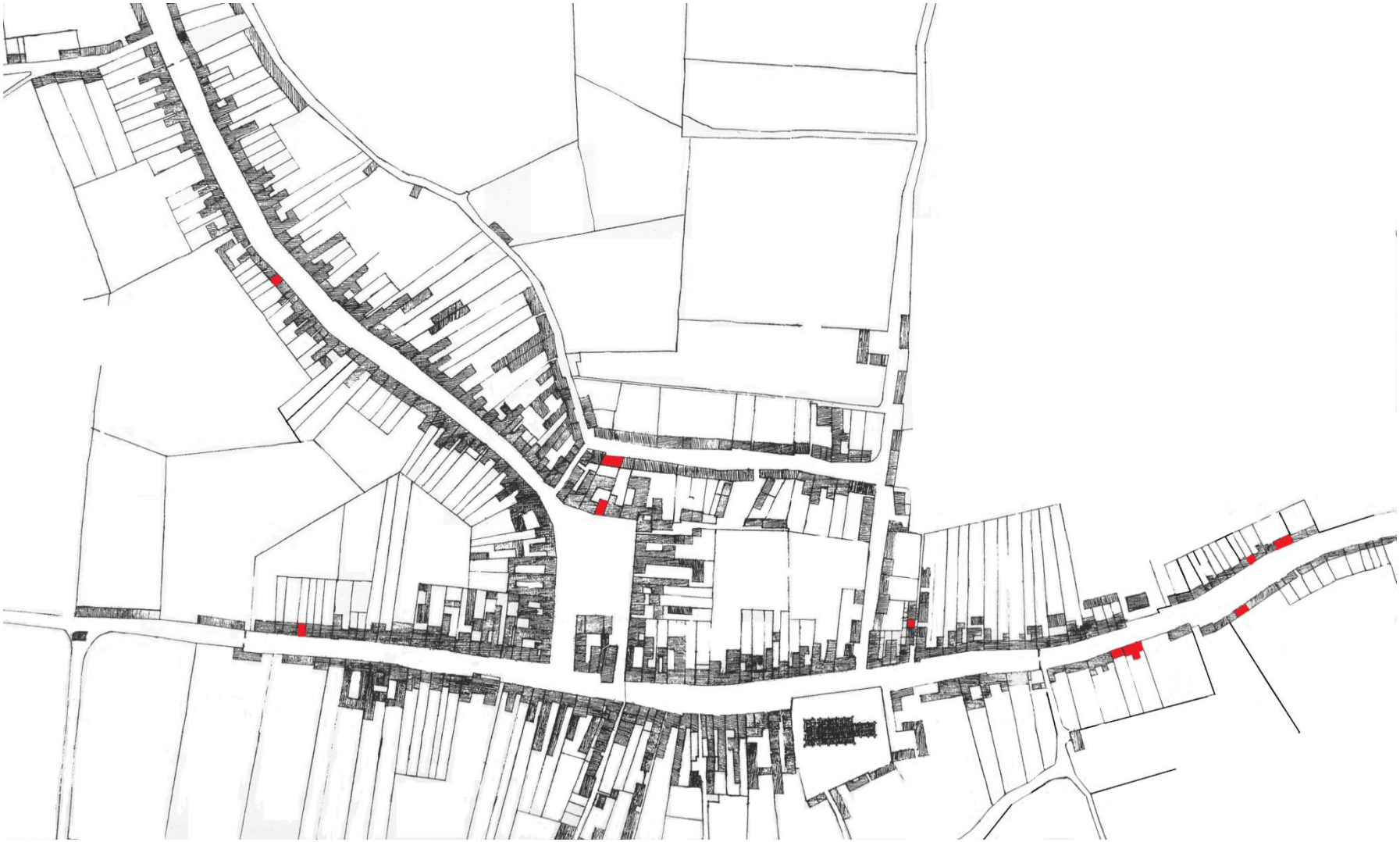
Figures 3.2: The geographic distribution of the occupational groups **(Retail group)**

(Status group)

(Manufacture group)

(Clothing group)

(Building group)



(Miscellaneous group) - *Sources: LRO, DDX/194/9 &* M/F, CNP

Retailers

Before the various concentrations of the retail group are detailed, some general observations will be made on their distribution patterns. Unsurprisingly, the properties in Preston's market centre were largely occupied by retailers. In 1684, the streets of Friargate and Churchgate also contained a large number of the retail tradesmen. Although there were sixteen retailers in Friargate compared with twelve in Market Street (see table 3.2), the latter had the largest concentration. [234] Forty per cent of the residents of Market Street were in retail occupations, compared with just over 21 per cent for Friargate and Churchgate. The large numbers of retailers on Friargate, Churchgate and to a lesser extent Fishergate would rather suggest that activity may have spilt onto these streets from the Market Place, as the testimony from Kuerden in chapter II colourfully depicted. As a broad feature, we should think of Preston as an assembly of several streets which were all created for exchange rather than a market square with outlying domiciliary streets.

The central market streets were subtly different to the outlying areas of the town. The inventories of the grocers, watchmakers, innkeepers and drapers who resided within the central areas of Preston detail luxury stock. John Ravald's grocer shop, for example, contained a varied selection of consumables including buttons, varnish, Warrington pins, London pins, horn combs, books, looking glasses, spectacles, leaf gold, leaf silver, bath soap, ginger powder, honey and old figs.[235] The watchmaker Robert Maire had found that demand for his extravagant wares was so great he was able to conduct his business in a prime

[234] The 'Market Streets' are Market Place, Shambles, Cheapside and Gin bow Entry.
[235] LRO, WRW/Ravald, John of Preston, A, Admon, 1688.

location. Maire's large property almost certainly reflected his success and was located in the northwest corner of the Market Place, next to Mary Sumner's Anchor Inn. The woollen draper Richard Taylor of Market Place had an extensive stock of cloth spread across several pages ranging from "half thicks… of blue, yellow, broad & plain flannel", kersey, canvas and "fyne black" broad cloth.[236] The merchant William Cottam's extensive 'shop' inventory included a cloth section, a large quantity of stools and exotic herbs.[237] The central areas were clearly an attraction for affluent visitors who wished to find fashionable or exotic items that may not have been available from their local vendors. It would appear that the more diverse servicemen observed in Borsay's study of the Preston guild rolls is evidenced within the Market Place residents.[238] This would suggest that there was not only a demand for the more diverse consumables, but that this demand subsequently positioned them in the most desirable locations within the town. On the other hand, these more diverse retailers did not exclusively sell lavish products; their inventories included larger stocks of essential or more modest items. Richard Taylor, for instance, stocked larger quantities of poorer quality cloth.[239] Furthermore, these central retailers represented one section of Preston's retail economy. To provide a complete account of the town's services, more areas must be examined.

[236] LRO, WRW/Taylor, Richard of Preston, A, 1688.
[237] LRO, WRW/Cottam, William of Preston, A, 1697.
[238] Borsay, 'The English urban renaissance', 585.
[239] For example, a "small measure" of fine broad cloth was available and there was 133 yards of the plainer 3/4 canvas, LRO, WRW/Taylor, Richard of Preston, A, 1688.

Tables 3.2: Occupation types on the main streets

1684 maps

Property street	Building	Percentage of Street	Percentage Of Group	Clothing	Percentage of Street	Percentage Of Group	Manufacture	Percentage of Street	Percentage Of Group	*Man/ture group A*	*Percentage of Street*	*Percentage Of Group*	*Manu/ture group B*	*Percentage of Street*	*Percentage Of Group*	Misc.	Percentage of Street	Percentage Of Group	Retai	Percentage of Street	Percentage Of Group	Status	Percentage of Street	Percentage Of Group
Market Streets	1	9.1	12.5	4	36.4	7.02	6	54.5	13	*3*	*27*	*23*	*3*	*27*	*9.7*	1	9.1	9.1	12	40	21.1	6	54.5	11.3
Churchgate	3	5.8	37.5	14	26.9	24.6	5	27.8	11.4	*1*	*5.6*	*7.7*	*4*	*22*	*13*	3	5.8	27.3	11	21.2	19.3	16	30.8	30.2
Fishergate	1	3.8	12.5	3	10.7	5.3	4	14.3	8.7	*1*	*3.6*	*7.7*	*3*	*11*	*9.7*	0	0	0	8	28.6	14	12	42.9	22.6
Friargate	2	5.3	25	23	30.3	40.4	19	25	41.3	*6*	*7.9*	*46*	*13*	*17*	*42*	6	7.9	54.5	16	21.1	28.1	10	13.2	18.8
St. John's Street	0	0	0	6	28.6	10.5	6	28.6	13	*1*	*4.8*	*7.7*	*5*	*24*	*16*	1	4.8	9.1	4	19	7.02	4	19	7.5

1732 Poor Ley

Property street	Building	Percentage of Street	Percentage 0f Group	Clothing	Percentage of Street	Percentage of Group	Manufacture	Percentage of Street	Percentage of Group	*Man/ture group A*	*Percentage of Street*	*Percentage of Group*	*Man/ture group B*	*Percentage of Street*	*Percentage of Group*	Misc.	Percentage of Street	Percentage of Group	Retail	Percentage of Street	Percentage of Group	Status	Percentage of Street	Percentage of Group
Market Streets	1	1.3	4.4	18	24	15.3	8	10.7	9.5	*6*	*8*	*12*	*2*	*2.7*	*5.7*	4	5.3	7.4	36	48	29.3	8	10.7	8.6
Churchgate	1	1.2	4.4	16	18.4	13.6	15	17.2	17.9	*12*	*3.4*	*4.1*	*3*	*3.5*	*8.6*	6	6.9	11.1	23	26.4	18.7	25	28.7	26.9
Fishergate	3	5.1	13	8	13.6	6.78	8	13.6	9.5	*2*	*3.4*	*4.1*	*6*	*10*	*17*	3	5.1	5.6	9	15.3	7.3	28	47.5	30.1
Friargate	11	8.3	47.8	32	24.1	27.1	27	20.3	32.1	*15*	*11*	*31*	*12*	*9*	*34*	20	15	37	26	19.5	21.1	17	12.8	18.3
St John's Street	0	0	0	15	42.9	12.7	7	20	8.3	*7*	*20*	*14*	*0*	*0*	*0*	1	2.9	1.9	7	20	5.7	5	14.3	5.4
New streets	5	3.9	21.7	18	14.1	15.3	13	10.2	15.5	*6*	*4.7*	*12*	*7*	*5.5*	*20*	11	8.59	20.4	16	12.5	13	5	3.91	5.3

Sources: LRO, DDX/194/1-8, LRO, CNP/3/1/11 & LRO, M/F, CNP

Figure 3.3: The Churchgate retailers, 1684

Sources: LRO, DDX/194/1-10 & M/F, CNP

Stobart's more diverse retailers have been noticed within the central market areas, but there is evidence that they gathered around one other feature of the town. On Churchgate (which housed 19.3 per cent of the town's retailers in 1684- see table 3.2), retailers congregated around a series of larger properties which were chiefly owned by the status group. As figure 3.3 shows, retailers and clothing tradesmen encompassed this particular *genteel belt*, choosing to conduct their business in properties adjacent to the better sort.[240] Like the retailers of Market Street, these tradesmen were more exclusive retailers who left inventories detailing well-furnished inns and shops. Arguably, then, the presence of these genteel belts sustained such specialist tradesmen.

[240] For further discussion of the status group and genteel belts, see below.

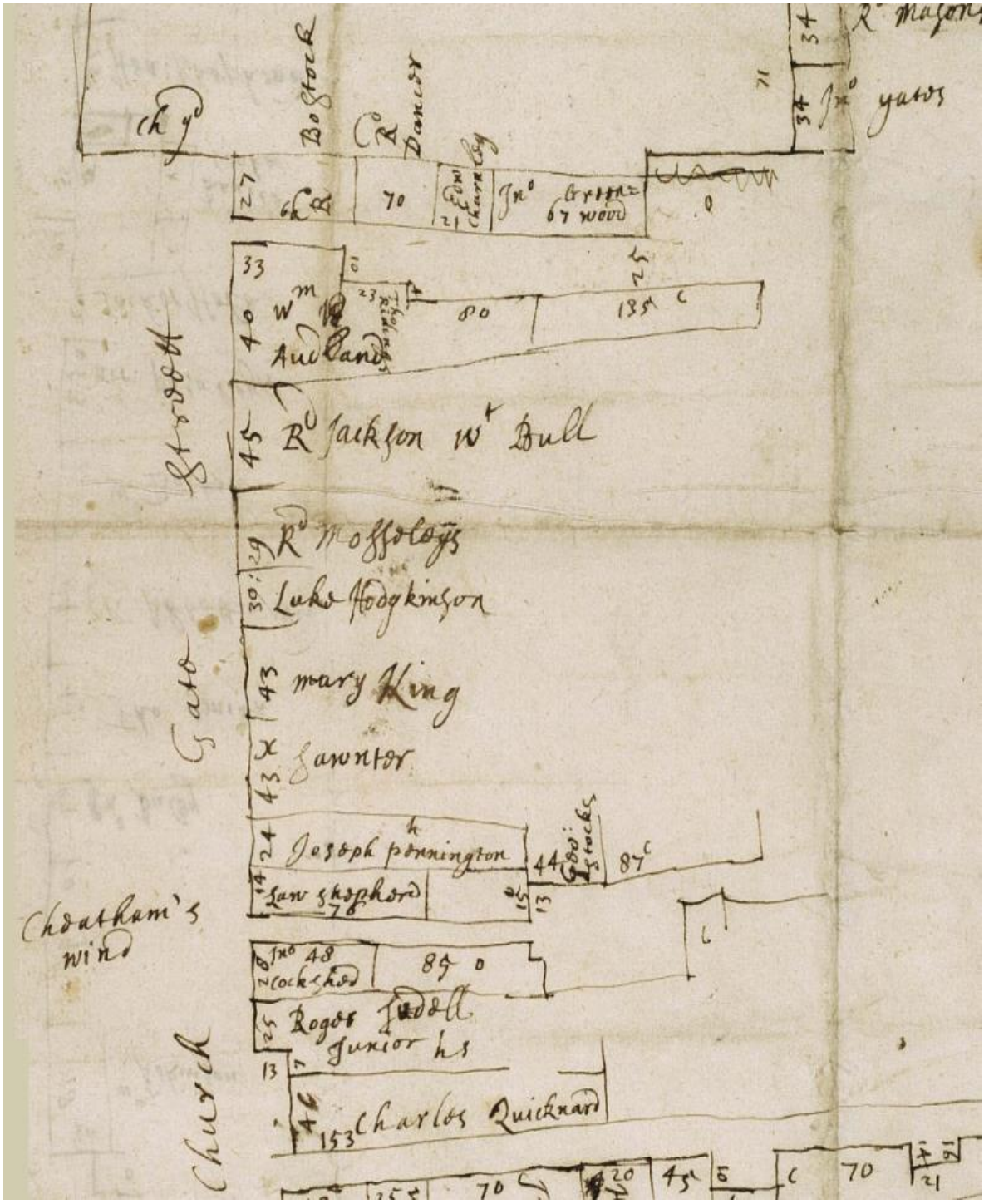
Figure 3.4 shows the retailers who lived adjacent to the Church. Their number included a stationer, barber, several tailors, shoemakers and inn keepers. Amongst them was Richard Jackson's White Bull, the associate of the diarists Nicholas Blundell, Lawrence Rawsthorne, William Bellingham and George Hilton. Thomas Bostock's inn, nestled at the furthest end of this row, was furnished to serve affluent clientele. Patrons could expect to drink from silver tankards and enjoy a large selection of books. His extensive property included four entertainment rooms and four guest rooms. One of the entertainment rooms a secluded back parlour furnished with candlesticks and picture hangings.[241] William Lambert's stationer's shop provided Preston's literate with an access to a wide range of books. His inventory listed "law books… arbarter books… Quarter maps… Latin oraters… Catholic books… Latin arbarters… guilted Bibles… Common prayer books… Whole duties of Men", several dictionaries including Goldman's and school books.[242] In 1732, this street section still included a large number of inns; the Black Bull, the White Bull, the Dog, the Sun Inn and the Flying Horse. Facing these inns was a row of attorney's offices, woollen drapers, barbers, upholsterers, a cabinet maker and another series of inns; the Red Lyon, the White Lyon and the Wool pack.

The evidence suggests that in early modern Preston the distribution of retailers was conspicuously ordered. The placement of specialist retailers, who offered the latest in chic, set up their stall in proximity to the better sort's properties or the central Market Place. The presence of these specialist retailers ultimately supports the claims that certain areas of

[241] LRO, WRW/Bostock, Thomas of Preston, A, Admon, 1699.
[242] LRO, WRW/Lambert, William of Preston, A, Admon, 1688.

Preston were developing a more diverse retail trade. However, in a market town where market activity was ubiquitous, the study must assess the town in its entirety.

Figure 3.4: The Churchgate retailers detailed on the original documents, 1684



Source: LRO, DDX/194/6

The retailers who operated on the furthermost end of Churchgate were quite different to those who surrounded the genteel belts. Out of the eight members of the group that lived on the more remote section of Churchgate (see figures 3.2), two were chapmen, three were maltsters, one was a butcher and two were innkeepers. The more remote position of these more traditional retailers should not diminish their contribution to Preston's character. The implication is that the more diverse traders were in a minority, and moreover, their presence was restricted to the central areas.

The traditional retailers, on the other hand, were not restricted to the extremities of Friargate and Churchgate. Within the central Market Place, traditional retailers maintained a presence alongside the more diverse services. Their number included the butchers John Chorley and John Hodginkson who operated from the Shambles opposite the Town Hall. In 1732, of the 36 names in Market Street who were from the retail group, many could be defined as traditional retailers; nineteen were butchers, four were innkeepers, one was a chapman and one was a sadler. Of the remainder, four were grocers, one a haberdasher, one a mercer and another was a merchant. Only three occupations were from the *leisure sector*; an upholsterer, a book seller and a toyman.[243]

The evidence presented here, and in the testimony presented in chapter II, suggests retailers offered a wide and varied range of goods. The geographical distribution has furthered these findings by illustrating that Stobart's more diverse servicemen were confined largely to the central areas. The overall findings disclose that positioning within the

[243] Stobart, 'Shopping streets as a social space', 10-12 and 21.

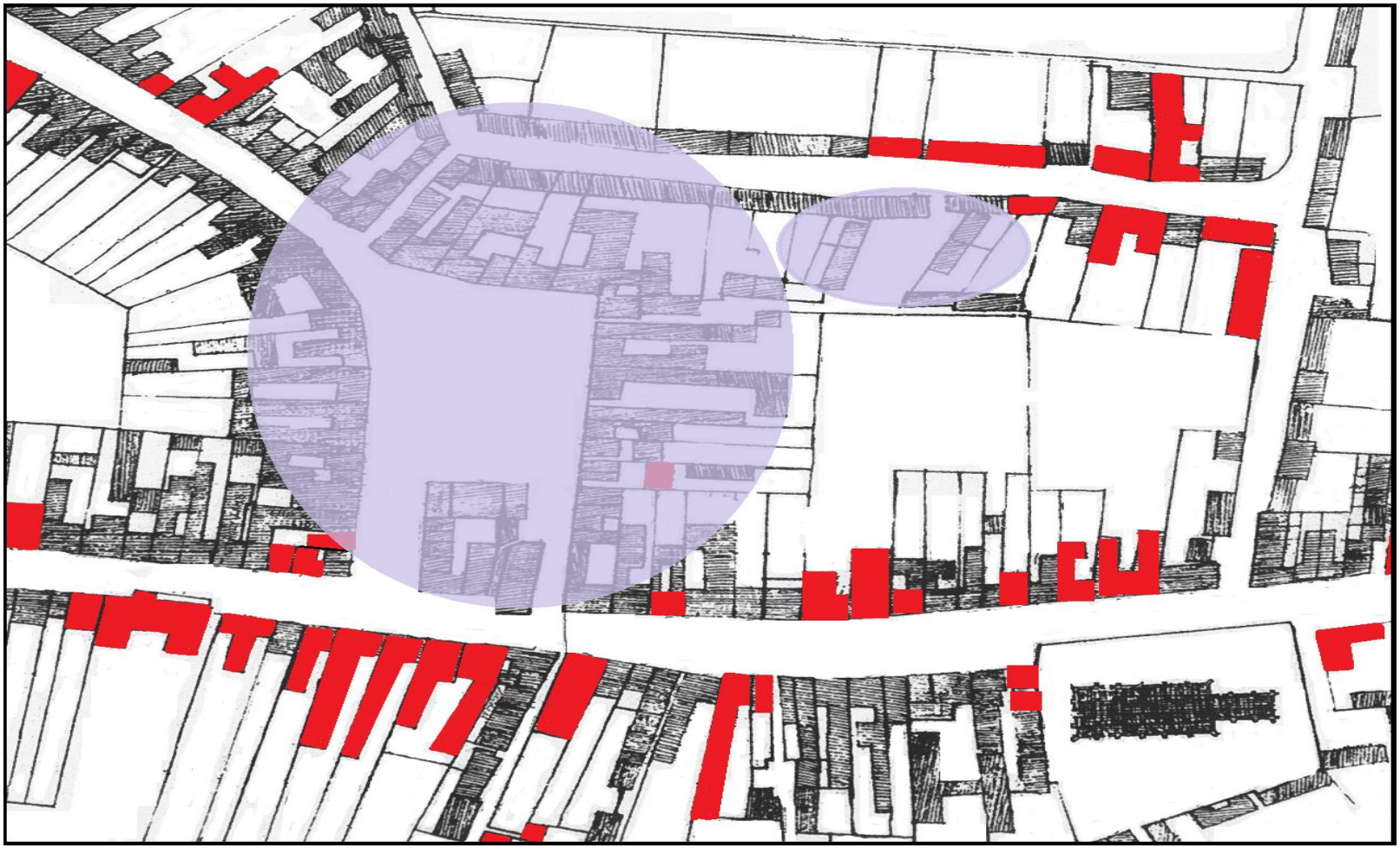
town's geography was ordered according to an individual's occupation. This ordering echoes the wealth hierarchy of retailers made within other historical works.[244]

The better sort

The spatial distribution of the status group within early modern Preston (figure 3.2) largely supports the existing investigations concerning the residency patterns of this social group. Although Goose convincingly demonstrated that the better sort congregated in the centre of the early modern Cambridge, it appears that, in Preston, these householders preferred to be slightly removed from the congested central market areas.[245] It has already been revealed that commercial exchanges were conducted across the entire urban environment. The more concentrated activity undoubtedly occurred in the central areas; the streets of Market Place, Cheapside, Gin Bow Entry. To further illustrate this, the extent of this imaginary zone has been superimposed onto the status group distribution results (figure 3.5). It encompasses the areas highlighted by Kuerden; the shoe and pottery stalls that spilt onto Friargate and St John's Street, the Cheapside fish and meat markets and the cattle and horse markets that overlapped onto Churchgate and Fishergate. This area was virtually free from the status group. It appears that the better sort preferred to be removed from market activity, but close enough to enjoy its benefits.

[244] Trinder and Cox (eds), *Yeoman and colliers in Telford*. Johnson (ed), *Probate inventories of Lincoln citizens*. Hoskins, *Old Devon*. Vaisey, 'Probate inventories and provincial retailers in the seventeenth century'. Dyer, *The city of Worcester*. Phillips, 'Probate records and Kendal shoemakers in the seventeenth century'.
[245] Goose, 'Household size and structure in early Stuart Cambridge', 358.

Figure 3.5: The market area's effect on residential patterns of the better sort



Sources: Sources: LRO, DDX/194/1-9 & M/F, CNP

The status group's settlement pattern was not an exact concentric circle around the Market Place, as they resided in small gatherings or genteel belts. The principal belt faced the market on Fishergate (figure 3.6) and housed eleven of the town's most prominent citizens which included William Shaw, Roger Walshman, George Piggott esquire, Daniel Chaddock, Sir John Molyneux, Thomas Winckley, Thomas Werden and William Lemon. William Shaw's will details his many land interests across the Fylde, and his inventory describes an extensive fourteen-roomed property. This included a well-furnished dining room decorated with elaborate paintings and silver ornaments which was undoubtedly used to entertain many guests.[246] Another genteel belt was situated on the corner of St John's Street and adjacent to an area of the market activity; the small square named Gin Bow Entry. The final genteel belt (discussed above, see figure 3.3) faced the Church and contained the diarist Lawrence Rawsthorne, Richard Dancer, Richard Bostock, Christopher Greenfield, Mr Hoghton esquire and George Rigby esquire. From the distribution results, it seems that Preston's thoroughfares were punctuated by exclusive areas of the better sort. The genteel belts were spaces in which the town's affluent inhabitants coalesced in groups of large properties. Kuerden's testimony supports the distribution results. He highlights the same section of Churchgate as an area which contained "many stately houses".[247]

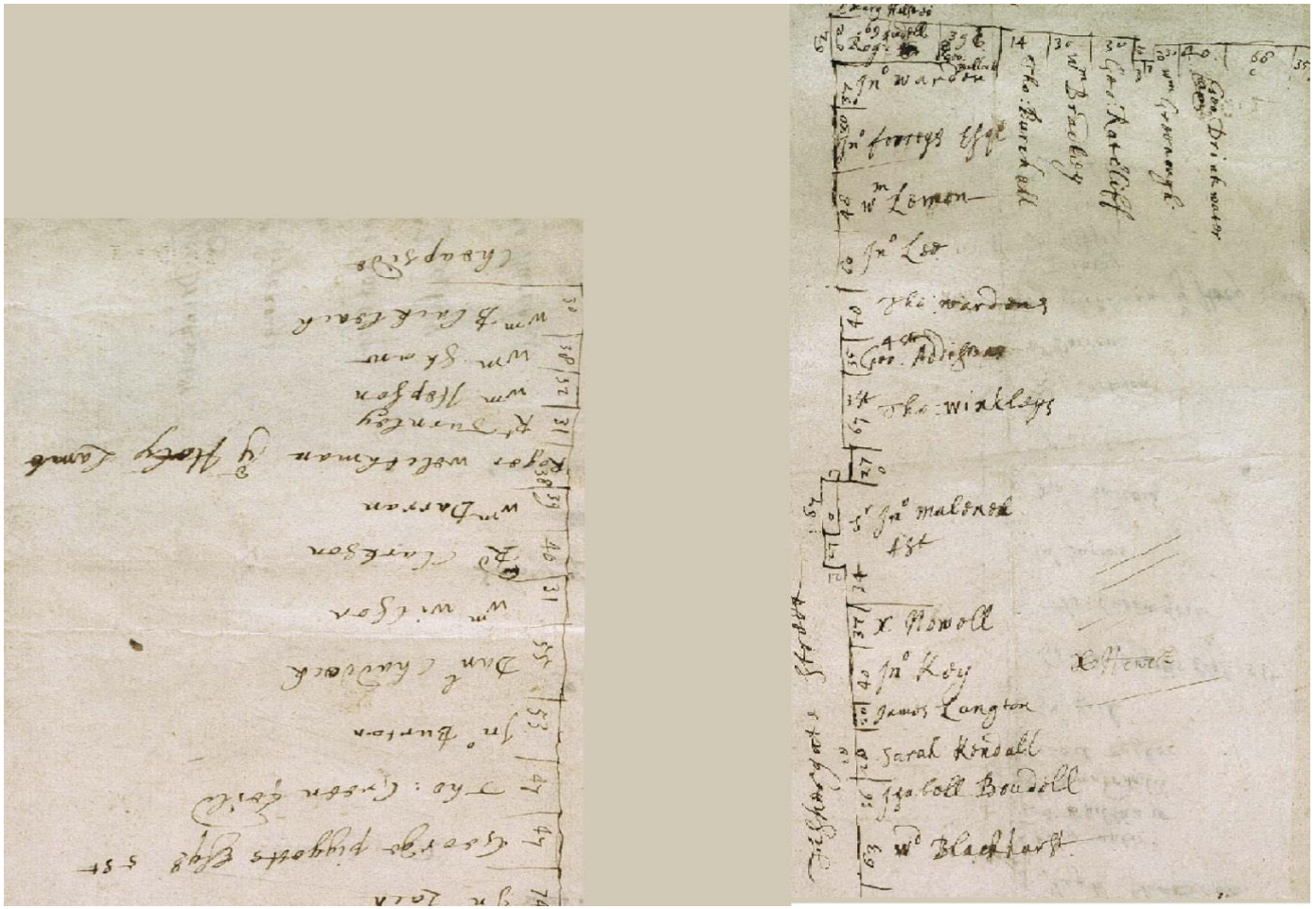
In contrast, the furthermost areas of the town were not inhabited by the town's better sort. These, as will be discussed later, remain the reserve of more humble tradesmen. Friargate epitomises the geographical divisions between occupational groups. This street was filled with properties relating to the manufacture and food production trades. The status group

[246] LRO, WRW/Shaw, William of Preston, A, 1681.
[247] Page (ed), *The Victoria history*, 76.

represented only 13.2 per cent of the street's residents (see tables 3.2). The better sort either preferred not to reside with the dirty tradesmen or displaced Preston's poorer citizens through a system of graded rents.[248] This affirms the observations that geographic considerations, even in such a small market town, affected occupational residential patterns. Despite this noted social segregation, within Preston, compared with the larger cities of London and Leiden, the divisions were less pronounced. Figure 3.7 illustrates this pattern; the furthermost end of Friargate was inhabited by Sergeant at law Edward Rigby and Preston Hall, in addition to the humble homesteads of the gardener Richard Bray and the labourers James Short and Thomas Fisher.

[248] 'Dirty' and 'clean' delineations are themselves are constructs made by historians, see French, 'The search for 'the middle sort of people', 283-4.

Figure 3.6: Fishergate genteel hub, 1684



Sources: LRO, DDX/194/5 & 5 (Reverse)

Figure 3.7: The extremities of Friargate, 1684

Source: LRO, DDX/194/7

The manufacturing group

Like all of the categories of occupations within this study, the manufacturing group was an invention by Levine and Wrightson. The group consisted of craftsmen who were chiefly engaged in production. The original grouping used in Terling and Whickham was a wide-ranging group designed to characterise early modern England's primary producers. For this study, Wrightson and Levine's broad manufacturing group was further subdivided into groups A and B. Manufacture group A includes only craftsmen such as glaziers, smiths, wheelwrights, carpenters and coopers. Importantly, although many of these manufacturers were almost certainly engaged in selling their wares, they were distinct from the retail group. The distinction rests on their respective positions within the supply chain; those who were included in the manufacture generally crafted or fashioned the items themselves. Manufacture group B includes husbandmen and yeomen whose occupation was devoted solely to agricultural production, but not necessarily its sale. Within these were other crafts, like skinners and millers, who were closely associated with agriculture. In both tables 3.1 and 3.2, the figures have been given for both the entire manufacture group and the subcategorised ones. To provide an example, in 1732 there were eight members of the manufacturing group on Market Street (see figure 3.2); six belonged to group A and two belonged to group B. Another alteration from the Wrightson and Levine studies has been the removal of labourers and journeymen from the manufacturing group into the miscellaneous group.

In a similar vein to the other occupational groups, denser concentrations of the manufacture group gathered within certain areas of Preston. In both 1684 and 1732, those who belonged to the manufacture group were most likely to set up residence on Friargate. Tables 3.2 reveal that 41.3 per cent of this group lived on Friargate in 1684, which represented 46 per cent of the total manufacture group A and 42 of manufacture group B. In 1732, 32.1 per cent of the manufacture group resided there, 31 per cent of group A and 34 per cent of group B. The correspondence in the results suggests that Friargate was a busy hive of production throughout the period. In comparison, the presence of the other occupational groups on Friargate was sparse. The two manufacture subgroups were more densely gathered in the extremity of the street; the end removed from the market activity. Again, the distribution results render an image of a town whose economic activity was defined by geography. As the businesses became increasingly removed from the market area, their occupations were more grounded in the fabrication of wooden items, barrels and glass.

The clothing group

The clothing group represented several links in the supply chain. Their grouping by Levine and Wrightson brought these particular urban tradesmen together because of their participation in the textile industry, which was of huge significance in early modern England. The clothing group includes preparatory, manufacturing and finishing trades (such as combing, spinning, weaving, bleaching, dyeing). It also includes the clothing trades; the retailers of cloth (haberdashers) and makers of clothes (dressmaker, tailor), who range from effective labourers to artisans.

As a result of it including several links in the supply chain, the distribution of the clothing group is fairly widely spread. However, there are sharp contrasts in the types of clothing occupations between those in the central areas and those in the outskirts of Preston. At one end of the clothing spectrum, there were those who, in addition to manufacturing of cloth and clothing, would usually sell their wares. The shoemaker Henry Miller and the tailor Thomas Cottam, for example, lived in the Market Place. In addition to these, there was a significant number of clothing retailers who surrounded the genteel belts of Churchgate. Here, the clothing retailers appeared to be relatively successful. The tailor John Greenwood operated from his spacious property with seven rooms.[249] The extent of Greenwood's wealth is apparent as even his servant, Nicholas Cunlow, was sufficiently comfortable financially to warrant an appearance on the maps.[250] Thomas Cowart lived on the market end of Friargate and left a will that detailed an extensive eleven roomed property and burgage plot.[251] In the central section of Friargate they were still primarily clothing retailers, but their businesses probably reaped more modest levels of wealth. There was a row of multi-occupancy properties which housed James Holm hosier, John Taylor cordwainer and the linen weaver William Walmsley.

The clothing group also included the preparatory, manufacturing and finishing trades, who tended to live on the outskirts of the town. At the furthermost end of Friargate lived a dyer and two woollen websters/weavers. These members of the clothing group resided in the

[249] LRO, WRW/Greenwood, John of Preston, A, 1691.
[250] Nicholas Cunlow resided in a smaller property in the furthest end of Friargate, LRO, DDX/194/1. He was submitted to the 1662 guild under the profession of servant of Mr John Greenwood. LRO, M/F CNP.
[251] LRO, WRW/Cowart, Thomas of Preston, A, 1692.

areas of town that were removed from the market activity. They were largely involved in the manufacture of the cloth rather than its retail. Here, on one street, it is possible to see how geographically compartmentalised one industry could be. The extent to which an individual's social and economic standing affected their geographic position within the town appears to have been extremely conspicuous.

Despite some differences in the distribution of the clothing and manufacture groups, there was one street on which they both converged. Friargate was, as argued above, a street in which the members of the better sort were largely absent. Instead, the street was packed with the humbler members of the clothing and manufacture groups. Figure 3.8 shows the distribution of these groups on Friargate. The results show that tradesmen occupied in similar trades apparently gathered together. In the middle of the street there was a particularly dense area inhabited by these craftsmen. In two of the three manufacturing properties that sat in a row (roughly at the centre of figure 3.8) lived the carpenters Lawrence Pickup and James Pool. These were flanked by two groups; on one side were two properties belonging to Lawrence Bailey and his son John who were both bricklayers (building group). Facing these were Ralph Commander joiner and John Hatch carpenter. This hub shows an entire supply chain that was functioning within a few metres. More examples include the ironmonger Thurston Darwen who lived only a few doors away from the blacksmith Matthew Read. John Powell's butchery business sat next to a row of two shoemakers, two dyers, a glover, husbandman and a skinner, who were potentially linked by their use of leather. In 1732, the bread bakers Richard and William Graystock lived in properties located in-between the millers' windmills on Friargate. Dyer Richard Simpson and

linen draper Lawrence Thorpe were surrounded by several shoemakers, weavers, skinners, a stay maker and a shuttle maker.

Figure 3.8: Friargate Manufacture, Clothing and Retail occupations

Sources: Sources: LRO, DDX/194/1-9 & M/F, CNP

The town was not large enough to support independent business quarters. There is, however, evidence that trades still congregated around one another. Unlike the observations made on the quarters of the larger towns, these *micro-quarters* were not

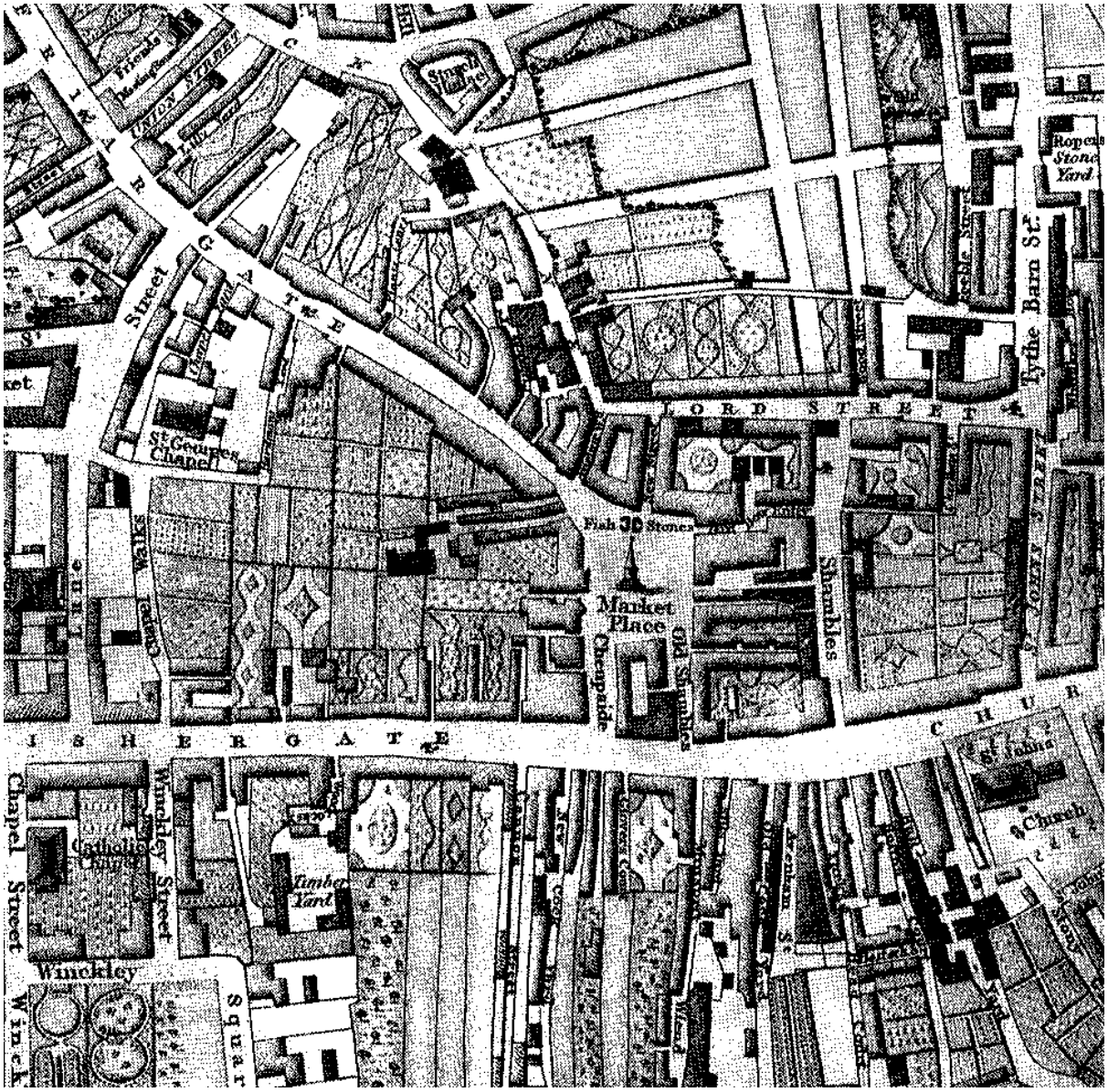
definitively segregated or comprised of distinct neighbourhoods. The distribution results also suggest that each street, despite having diverse residents, had a distinct flavour. It is decidedly vague to label Friargate as representing a hub for dirty craftsmen, Market Place as a hub for clean retailers and Fishergate as an exclusive address or genteel belt. However, these terms best explain the conditions observed. Within an early modern town it appears that the geography of economic activity and social distribution were interrelated to such an extent that they were indistinguishable. The settlement patterns of the occupations replicated the supply chain to the extent that spatiality appears to have been directly affected by the dynamic of socioeconomic interactions.

Although segregation has been noticed in seventeenth century Preston, this was more pronounced in the eighteenth century sample. For example, Fishergate became a more exclusive address for the town's better sort, with the status group increasing from 42.9 to 47.5 per cent of the street's residents (see table 3.2). In contrast, the town's dirty craftsmen were less apparent on Preston's main thoroughfares. The manufacture group only made up 31.9 per cent of those living on Friargate in 1732, compared with 43.9 in 1684. This displacement of the humbler tradesmen occurred in an urban environment that was undergoing sizeable population growth; from approximately 1,800 in the 1660s to 4,500 in the 1770s (see Appendix Table 1). The creation of the 'New Streets' apparently absorbed the population increase by providing housing for those members of the manufacture group who were coming into the town. In addition, the newer streets housed the humbler tradesmen who were born in the town but effectively displaced from the areas they had traditionally settled in, such as Friargate. New Streets were the lanes mentioned in the 1732

poor ley, but absent in the 1684 maps. They had therefore been established in the intervening 50 years.[252] As figure 3.9 illustrates, these newer lanes formed part of a denser town plan. Other streets were joined onto existing roadways. For instance, Whitaker Row was affixed to Tithe Barn Street (in the top right corner of figure 3.9). Another feature of these newer streets was that they were largely inhabited by the humbler and dirty trades. Whittaker Row had five weavers, three labourers, a thatcher and a joiner. Table 3.2 show that half the residents of these new streets were occupied in clothing or manufacture trades which represented 15.2 and 19.8 per cent respectively of these groups in Preston. Conversely, only 7.1 per cent of the residents of these streets were from the status group, which only accounted for 5.3 of Preston's total. The evidence suggests that as the population of Preston grew, newer streets developed. These streets were largely the lodgings of the town's 'dirty', or less genteel, craftsmen, who had effectively been displaced from the central areas of the town that were now almost exclusively occupied by the urban better sort.

Figure 3.9: Map of Preston, 1822

[252] The 'New Streets' are Molyneux Square, Dunkirk, Needy Street, Salter Lane, New Street, Whittaker Row and Feeble Street.



Source: Shackshaft's map of Preston, 1822 in D Hunt, *A history of Preston,* p194

In sum, seventeenth and eighteenth Preston had a more dynamic occupational distribution. On the one hand, the evidence shows that the town's inhabitants were geographically polarised. Churchgate and Fishergate consisted largely of members of the status groups in 1684 (30.8 and 42.9 respectively- see tables 3.2) and Friargate was mainly inhabited by

Preston's more humble craftsmen.[253] This generally agrees with previous observations made on Cambridge. In Goose's study of the town, he suggested the urban elite congregated in the centre of town, restricting the humble trades to the outskirts.[254] The most surprising results are that in such a small market town the populace could maintain these divisions by forming *micro-quarters*. On the other hand, the social divisions were not absolute, for each street had an element of every social group (see table 3.2). In a direct comparison with the quartered systems of Leiden and London, Preston's *micro-quarters* were not as rigid. The occupational groupings were punctuated by other social groups in Preston. At this point, we can only surmise that these occupational distribution patterns were also reflected in the relative wealth of each group. The addition of wealth distribution, with which the next section is concerned, will complete the analysis of the spatial distribution of Preston's inhabitants and allow a more comprehensive conclusion to be formed.

The composition of Preston's tradesmen provides a greater understanding of the town's economic function. Previous studies have apparently misinterpreted the evidence and forwarded the concept that this market town largely dealt in cultural and luxury products. The spatial distribution has shown that retailers within Preston's centre offered such wares and services, but that they were restricted to these areas. The results, therefore, demonstrate the presence of a more diverse retail sector. The gatherings of the better sort and professional servicemen have been detailed in this study, and they undoubtedly created attractions where the county's gentry could coalesce. However, when a survey of Preston's

[253] Friargate's occupational distribution was manufacture 26.3, clothing 30.3, retail 21.1.The status group represented 13.2 (see tables 3.2).
[254] Goose, 'Household size and structure in early Stuart Cambridge', 358. Spence, *London in the 1690s*, p131.

activities is conducted in its entirety, and with the addition of the geographic information, the label of a "gentry town" does not equate.[255] This is evident at the most basic level of analysis, for the urban better sort were outnumbered by tradesmen involved in the more traditional market town services (see table 3.1). It is also supported by a review of the distribution data which asserts that early modern Preston's residents were primarily orientated towards its Market Place. On balance, the more diverse activities of this "gateway town" were supplementary services to the core agricultural exchanges.[256]

Wealth distribution

Before the wealth distribution results are discussed, the issues in constructing this section of the database will be reviewed. The 1732 poor ley includes a wealth indicator for each individual, specifically the property value attributed to each individual's home. The 1684 maps, however, do not contain such a valuable reference. In an attempt to resolve this, the 1664 Hearth Tax had to be consulted. Figure 3.10 shows the limitations of using the Hearth Tax for this purpose. A majority of the 1684 household-heads could not be linked to names on the 1664 Hearth Tax. On the returns, the number of hearths almost certainly referred to those owned by an individual, rather than a specific property. As a consequence, the 1664 Hearth Tax returns will only be used to estimate the relative wealth of the household heads. Despite these issues, the results of the wealth distribution correlate with the occupational structure findings, indicating a certain consistency within the 1684 wealth distribution study.

[255] Clark (ed), *The transformation of English provincial towns*, 20.
[256] Stobart, 'Regional structure and the urban system', 69. See also, Clark (ed), *The transformation of English provincial towns*, 20. Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance', 585 and 592.

This section of the chapter is split into two parts; the first discusses the relationship between the relative wealth of individuals and their proximity to the market centre and the second section explores the other residential patterns noticed within the wealth distribution results.

Figure 3.10: The wealth distribution of Preston, 1684

Sources: Sources: LRO, M/F, 128 1664 Lancashire Hearth Tax & DDX/194/1-9

The influence of the market on wealth distribution

Like the occupational distribution, the wealth distribution results appear to be heavily influenced by the market centre. The better sort, it was argued, congregated in a ring around the market centre (see figures 3.2) preferring not to reside within the bustling markets. In figure 3.10 the wealthiest group owning 6-20 hearths were more concentrated within the same area. Mr John Sumner was the only household-head from this wealth group who resided within the central Market Place. His ownership of ten hearths could have conceivably been attributed to his achievements as a grocer. It was not exclusively the super-rich that gathered around the central areas of Preston. The moderately wealthy groups II and III also preferred to be closer to the market. Their number included the merchant William Cottam and butcher John Hodgkinson, who were taxed on three and two hearths respectively. Cottam's will suggests that he was a wealthy man; leaving £1,000 for the care of his son and an inventory which detailed items of conspicuous consumption including cushioned and decorated stools, chairs and napkins. Cottam's executor was the serving Member of Parliament, William Patten of Patten House.[257] Wealth and geographic position appear to have been closely related in early modern Preston.

The relationship between an individual's distance from the central market activity and their socioeconomic standing was even more pronounced when a direct comparison is made between the town's more remote areas and its centre. Those household-heads who owned one hearth properties in 1664 tended to be removed from commercial activity. In particular, the extremes of Friargate and Churchgate were largely occupied by the lowest wealth

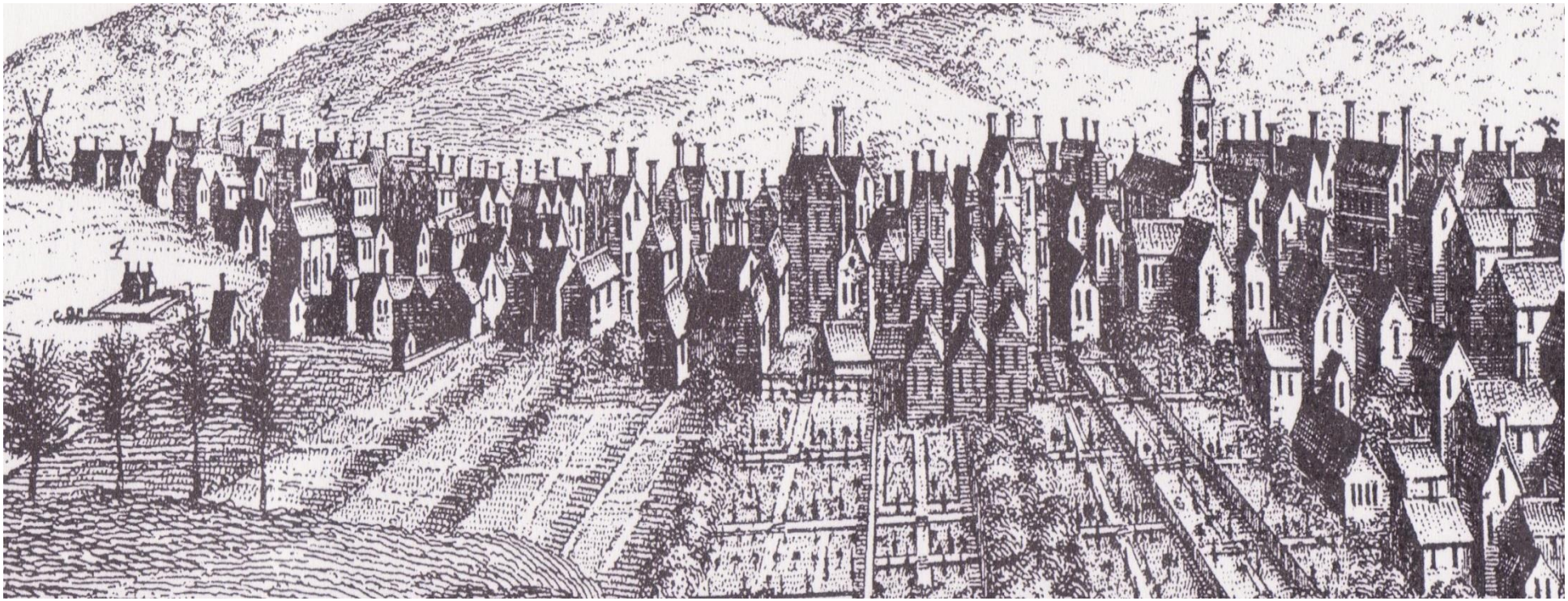
[257] LRO, WRW/Cottam, William of Preston, A, 1697.

group. Within the occupational distribution results, these areas were largely settled by humbler tradesmen. Their roles did not require a shop surrounding the bustling Market Place. In fact, the lower rents associated with minimal footfall would be advantageous to their humbler pursuits. Their properties, too, were smaller than those of the more affluent wealth groups. The Prospect of Preston by Samuel and Nathanial Buck captures this stark contrast in 1728. The Market Place is located on the right of the section shown in figure 3.11. It was crowned by the pointed spire of the Town Hall, which on figure 3.10 is the rectangular building that protrudes from the Old Shambles. The prospect illustrates that the better sort's properties which surrounded the Market Place were not only larger and potentially contained more hearths, but were also multi-storeyed. The properties' plans were typically shaped by the burgage plot on which they stood; narrow with a comparatively small frontage. In certain cases, these properties displayed the "fabricks of brickbuilding after the modish manner" building styles that Kuerden had described some fifty years earlier.[258] Some consist of lateral and H-plan designs with central ranges and half gabled roofs. One particularly large property that overshadows the market end of Fishergate is a cross-plan design. The grounds of the properties are extensive (typically measuring half a rood) and contained ornamental formal gardens and agricultural crops that the urban tradesmen used to supplement their income.[259] The evidence from the descriptions of various commentaries suggests that the housing stock was modernising. As will be argued, these changes in building design were restricted to the central areas.

[258] Taylor (ed), *Dr Kuerden*, 8

[259] Barley identifies H and lateral planned buildings as newly fashionable during this period, M. W. Barley, 'Rural buildings of England' in J. Thirsk (ed), *The agrarian history of England and Wales* pp590-685 (Cambridge University Press, 1991) 603-4. French, 'Urban agriculture commons', 189 and 198. The cottages recorded in the Preston Parish terriers 1663 record they stood on plots measuring half a rood, LRO, DRB/3/26

Figure 3.11: The Buck Brothers depiction of Preston, Market Pace and Fishergate



Source: The South Prospect of Preston, 1728 in D Hunt, *A history of Preston*, p140

As the street progresses away from the market centre, the properties become significantly smaller. Multi-storied houses with several chimney stacks are replaced by one roomed cottages. The evidence overwhelmingly supports that this was a town in which wealth and occupational distribution was largely determined by the central market activities. Even in such a small market town, socioeconomic divisions have been noticed on all of the major thoroughfares. As the streets moved towards Market Place, the properties grew larger, the residents were higher status and their wealth was greater. The market itself contained slightly less-affluent professional householders, vis-à-vis the genteel belts which bordered it. The concentricity of these results, however, belies subtle variations that were noticed within the wealth distribution results. These are explored below.

Other residential patterns

The effect of the central commercial activity on both wealth and occupational distribution is evident, and was arguably the greatest influence on the residential patterns throughout early modern Preston. Naturally, these patterns were not strictly concentric and variations within them formed clusters that resembled small socially exclusive pockets or *micro-quarters*. An examination of these clusters within the wealth distribution results reveals a correlation with those found in the occupational distribution.

In 1684, the genteel belt of Churchgate (illustrated in figure 3.3) was mirrored within the wealth distribution results. Opposite St John's Church, there was a concentration of the most affluent wealth group which contained William Bannister esquire, widow Jolley and

John Kellet gentleman. These names, identified in the wealth distribution results, came from the same row of houses that the occupation distribution revealed was a conclave of the better sort.[260] On Fishergate and St John's Street there are concentrations of wealth groups I, II and III, exactly where the other groupings of the better sort were identified.

In contrast, the occupational results show that Friargate was populated by craftsmen. Figures 3.12 directly compare the wealth distribution results (top figure) on Friargate with the occupational distribution (bottom figure). There is a notable correlation between two results sets which implies that an individual's respective wealth, occupation and status were all related. Where the clothing and manufacture groups gathered, there was a similar congregation of the poorest wealth groups.

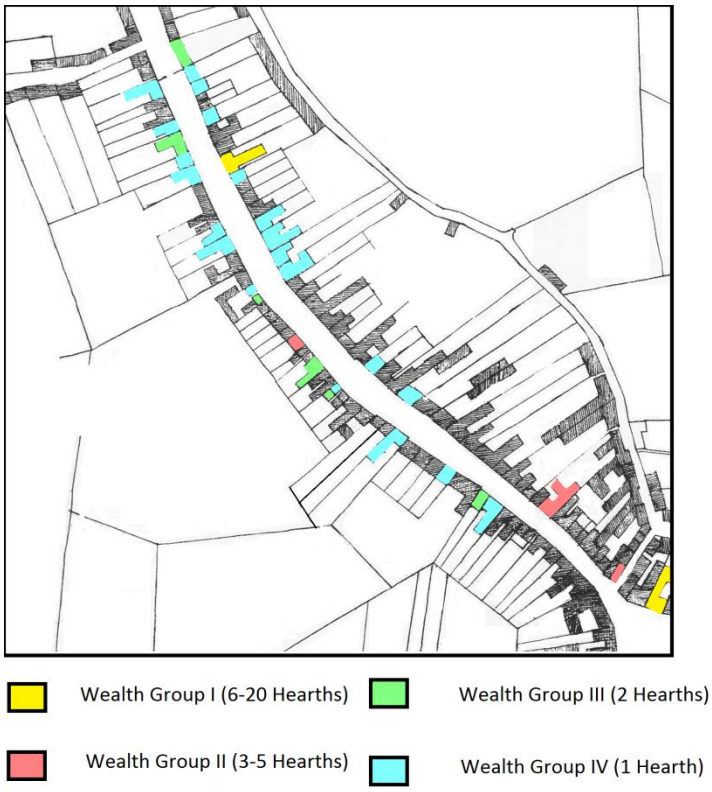
To provide an example of this, the central area of Friargate shall be investigated. In the occupation results, this section had a dense concentration of the clothing and manufacture trades. On the eastern side of this section of Friargate, moving towards the market, there was a row of properties that begins with two from the manufacture group, then two clothing, followed by a series of properties that alternate between these two groups. Here, three shoemakers, a glover and a dyer reside alongside a husbandman, carpenter a skinner and a miller. All of the five household-heads in this run that were found in the 1664 Hearth Tax returns were registered for just one hearth. Moreover, their houses were not extensive; husbandman Thomas Walmsley's inventory details only three rooms in his property. Three

[260] This conclave included members of the Rigby, Houghton and Greenfield families as well as the diarist Lawrence Rawsthorne. See above analysis.

other rooms, the milk-house and two barns, were undoubtedly outhouses.[261] Opposite this row was another concentration of the clothing and manufacture groups, and a similar gathering of the lowest wealth group. Here, although few of these household-heads appear on both the 1664 Hearth Tax *and* the Guild rolls, the relationships between the dirty and the poor craftsman is clear. By plotting the occupational and economic attributes of the household-heads on a geographic map of Preston, the correlation between these two factors is evident.

[261] LRO, WRW/Walmsley, Thomas of Preston, A, 1696.

Figures 3.12: The wealth and occupational distribution of Friargate, a comparison, 1684



Sources: Sources: LRO, M/F, 128 1664 Lancashire Hearth Tax, DDX/194/1-9 & M/F, CNP

Preston's physical developments that were indicative of the urban renaissance have been highlighted in chapter II. Their piecemeal creation highlighted in that chapter was matched by their benign effect on residency (compared with the market centre) observed in both the occupation and wealth distribution analysis. The largest physical developments that occurred in the fifty year period between 1684 and 1732 are illustrated within table 3.3. The new streets contained 128 properties, which almost certainly absorbed much of the population growth associated with this period. This figure dwarfed the number of properties on even the traditional thoroughfares of Churchgate, Fishergate and Friargate. The household heads living on these new side streets were largely occupied in manual trades. Their homes had the lowest annual value of £7 8s 3d per property, almost half that of the properties on the market streets. This suggests that the majority of the residents on these newer streets were much poorer than the average Preston citizen. These humble properties represented the most significant changes in Preston. The leisure activities that catered to the resident and visiting gentry were slight compared with the erection of more modest housing to incorporate the larger population in this preindustrial period. This was arguably the more noteworthy transformation within the town's early modern landscape, and more pertinent to the Preston narrative.

Table 3.3: Preston wealth distribution, 1732

Property street	Av. £	Av. S	Av. D	Total prop.
Market Street	14	3	0	57
Fishergate	13	3	0	58
Churchgate	11	5	1	97
Friargate	9	5	1	111
New streets	7	8	3	128

Source: LRO, CNP/3/1/11, 1732 Poor ley

Conclusion

To conclude, there seems to be a plurality noticed within the findings which relate to Preston's general distribution and residency patterns. On the one hand, the results suggest that even in such a small market town, Preston's residents were occasionally geographical polarised based on their relative socioeconomic standing. The residency patterns were noticeably based around the dirty and clean delineations. The diverse wealth, aspiration and social groups which have been identified by French, Glass and Smail are endorsed by these findings. Professional traders tended to broadly gather around the genteel belts of Churchgate and Fishergate. Their situation appears to have been in stark contrast to Friargate's more humble residents. On the other hand, the social divisions were not absolute, as each street had an element of every social group (see tables 3.2). Although the broad brushstrokes noticeable within the distribution results portray a geographically separated society, these were not socially exclusive neighbourhoods. There are many examples in which the humbler craftsmen resided alongside professional traders and the better sort. This geographic mingling of social groups conceivably dilutes the more rigid

model argued above, and the "quartered" system observed in larger towns.[262] The more fluid residency patterns noticed within Preston was undoubtedly due to its smaller size. Despite this fluidity being attributed to its size, the lack of rigid quarters within the town presumably aided social cohesion. Preston's inter-household relationships are explored in the final chapter.

The analysis has revealed that Preston's commercial activity was orientated around its market centre, suggesting that this was primarily a market town. Although the "leisure sector" trades (who represent the newer, more specialise trades) were present in the central areas, there were also traditional tradesmen operating in the markets.[263] Moreover, market activity occurred throughout the town and not just in the market centre. In the outer areas, there were a significant number of more traditional craftsmen and retailers. In short, to suggest that growth in the diversification of tastes is evidenced by the centrality of some more exclusive traders is accepted, but it is stretching the point to argue that this is evidence of a redefinition of Preston's function. Highlighting these professional traders omits a large proportion of Preston's trading activity, and therefore, obscures the full range of economic activities that were occurring. The physical developments and the growth in leisure activities that were designed to increase the attractiveness of Preston are also placed into context by this study. These improvements did not have a great bearing on residency patterns within the socioeconomic distribution. Moreover, the most obvious physical developments were not erected for the better sort, but built to accommodate the increases

[262] Diederiks and van Deijk, 'Social segregation in eighteenth-century Leiden', 172 and 179. Sjoberg, 'the pre-industrial city'.
[263] Stobart, 'Shopping streets as a social space', 10-12. Borsay, 'The English urban renaissance', 585.

in population. The town's plan was transformed by the construction of new housing (see figure 3.9 and table 3.3). This chapter, consequently, supports the testimony presented in chapter II which contends that Preston was a town devoted to the sale of foodstuffs. The leisure activities, professionals and services were a necessary but supplementary industry.

CHAPTER IV- THE INTER-HOUSEHOLD RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

The previous chapter dealt with the socioeconomic distribution within late Stuart and early Georgian Preston. It found that there was notable spatial segregation within the town based on an individual's wealth, occupation and commercial activity. In such a small market town, however, this social zoning was not as defined as had been observed in the other much larger towns. Labourers, weavers and gardeners were in close proximity to the grander houses of their social betters. In contrast, social groups in the larger urban environments tended to reside within quarters, which were isolated communities reserved for a single occupational group. An individual's placement within the quarters of Leiden and London was determined by their respective level of wealth.[264] An early modern resident of these settlements would usually find that their neighbours shared a similar occupation and were of comparative financial means. This chapter will investigate whether Preston's alternative distribution had an effect on the social interplay between these different groups.

Much of the current research matter has found that early modern social interactions, for the most part, were based on commonalities in wealth, occupation and religious affiliations. Wrightson and Levine contend that the respective political affiliation of an individual defined the limitations of their milieus.[265] Studies of Chester and Colchester found that social capital was monopolised by a minority, leaving the rest of society to form restricted milieus based on "neighbourhood, religion and politics".[266] Several investigations using parish and corporation officeholders' lists have considered social interactions to be

[264] Diederiks and van Deijk, 'Social segregation in eighteenth-century Leiden', 179. Spence, *London in the 1690s*, 146.
[265] Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village*, 170.
[266] D'Cruze, 'The middling sort in eighteenth-century Colchester', 191-3. Stobart, 'A settled little society', 67.

restrictive.[267] On the other hand, some of these studies consider the small number of interactions between different social groups hugely significant within themselves.[268]

Many of the above studies on social structures are made without a geographical reference. An investigation of Chester's inter-household relationships is the only study that recognises geography as a factor. "Space mattered", Stobart said, "reinforcing bonds with those of neighbourliness and the familiarity which came from frequent contact".[269]

Preston's interrelationships results will therefore be compared to the results of the other towns mentioned above, to establish whether its smaller size and more fluid occupational distribution had any influence on social interactions. In short, did the familiarity formed by their closer proximity influence probate connections between the various social and occupational groups? If spatial proximity is found to be an influential component in the formation of relationships in Preston, we must reassess the existing early modern social model.

Probate connections: What do they represent?

[267] Herrup, 'The counties and the country', 300. Kent, 'The rural "middling sort"', 31. Holmes, *British politics in the age of Anne,* 20-6. Hammond and Hammond, *The rise of modern industry*, 225. Clark, 'Civic leaders of Gloucester, 1580-800', 311. Dyer, *The city of Worcester,* 190. Ramsey, 'The recruitment and fortunes of some London freemen', 531-60.
[268] Spufford and Takahashi, 'Families, will witnesses and economic structure in the Fens on the chalk', 414. Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village*, 175-84. French, *The middle sort of people*, 263-4.
[269] Stobart, 'A settled little society', 69.

Before presenting this chapter's findings, a greater understanding of what type of relationship the probate connections actually represented must be gained. For this chapter, the two connections that are used are between the testator and will witness and between testator and inventory appraiser.

Traditionally the relationship between testators and witnesses has been assumed to imply a degree of familiarity. Wrightson and Levine acknowledge that the prevalence of will witnesses from wealthier households could have been simply a desire by the testators to gain a degree of respectability. This potentially undermines the approach that these connections represented a social bond. In their later study of Whickham, they even suggest that testators and witnesses did not necessarily have constant or even frequent contact.[270] Studies based on probate connections rely on the relationship between a testator and their will signatory to propose an association between them, because implications to the contrary deride this type of research. The sources themselves, however, rarely classify these ties as "friends".[271]

Considering the potential repercussions these considerations have on this type of research, it is surprising that an exhaustive investigation of the probate connections has not been previously conducted. Table 4.1 compares Preston's occupational distribution (see table 3.1) with those who were mentioned as will witness. Beginning with will witness results, in both

[270] Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village*, p100, Levine and Wrightson, *The making of an industrial society* 330.
[271] Catherine, a widow, was the last surviving member of her immediate family which explains the unusual distinguishing of "friends" when naming beneficiaries and executors, LRO, WRW/Robinson, Catherine of Preston, A, 1746.

periods there was a disproportionate number from the status group signing wills. In the 1684 sample, the better sort formed almost half of the witnesses' total. In 1732, this figure was over a third. Will witnesses constituted a disproportionate number of the status group, who only numbered 23 and 18.8 per cent of Preston's citizens respectively (see table 3.1). This supports the observations made for Terling that the selection of will witnesses was a practical step to gain credence for the will.[272] Surely then, this undermines any attempt to draw meaningful conclusions from the relationship between will witness and testator. Rather than a connection which symbolises an association between the two parties, it arguably represents a patriarchal relationship.

On the other hand, the insignificant numbers of doctors, attorneys and stationers who appear as will witnesses within Preston arguably contradicts these findings. Surely, if the individuals who signed did so to fulfil some tacit role as educated men then they would theoretically form larger numbers. Doctors and barbers who tended to the sick, potentially beside the patient's death bed, only appear on five wills. Ralph Woods was the only barber or doctor who signed more than one. Moreover, a qualitative study of connections reveals evidence that some familiarity between the testator and witness may have existed. William Nelson's agent, for example, literally passed right by the house of their neighbour, Dr Bushall, because they chose Dr Escolme to the sign Nelson's will instead. Considering that the patient was desperately "sound in mind but sick in body", it seems likely that Dr Escolme was preferred over Dr Bushall even at this very urgent juncture, indicating a possible

[272] Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village*, 100.

association on some level.[273] There is, of course, the possibility that Dr Bushall was not at home on this night.

Other examples exist where it is difficult to ascertain whether a witness was chosen for practical considerations or personal familiarity. Jennet Abram was living above the butchers' shops on the Shambles at the time of the 1732 poor ley. As her husband had already passed at the time of her death, Abram called upon Thomas Parr working in his butcher's shop downstairs to witness the will and appointed John Garlicke as executor who also conducted his business downstairs from Abram.[274] It is impossible to determine whether this probate connection was made by necessity, or suggested a familiarity between Abram and her two neighbours. Similarly, the will of yeoman Mr Richard Parkinson detailed a large land portfolio which extended into the Fylde. Despite Parkinson being a geographically mobile man of means, he sought the signature of his immediate neighbour and shuttle maker, Thomas Cooper, who lived in a more humble property.[275] Typically, the witnesses of a gentlemen's will are notoriously difficult to delineate between friend and one sought to provide authority. All of the men who signed a will belonging to the status group were respectable, 5 of the 9 belonged to the same occupation group and the rest were professional men. They were also geographically close, with 5 of the 9 coming from the same street making the determination between familiar and official appointment difficult. These are a few examples from the many connections where the exact nature of the relationship between testator and signatory is difficult to determine.

[273] Dr Bushall lived two properties down from Nelson, Escolme eight doors away. LRO, CNP/3/1/11. LRO, WRW/Nelson, William of Preston, A, 1742.
[274] LRO, WRW/Abram, Jennet of Preston, A, 1735.
[275] LRO, WRW/Parkinson, Richard of Preston, A, 1746.

The overall analysis from table 4.1 suggests that the relationship between testators and their will witnesses appears to be largely functional, with a disproportionate number of the will signatories hailing from the status group. However, whether this relationship represented a purely tactical role is less certain as there appeared to have been a significant number of instances where a greater level of association was conceivable.

Table 4.1: The occupations of those named in Preston wills, c. 1680 and 1732

Occupation type	**1684 Town total**	**% of total**	**1684 Appraiser**	**% of total**	**1684 Witness**	**% of total**	**1732 Town total**	**% of total**	**1732 Witness**	**% of total**
Retail	57	24.8	12	19	8	25.8	123	24.8	19	22.9
Clothing	57	24.8	15	23.9	4	13	118	23.8	6	7.3
Status	53	23	14	22.2	15	48.3	93	18.8	29	35
Manufacture	44	19.1	19	30.1	4	12.9	84	16.9	16	19.2
Miscellaneous	11	4.3	3	4.8	0	0	54	10.9	6	7.2
Building	8	3.5	0	0	0	0	23	4.7	7	8.4
Total	230	100	63	100	31	100	495	100	83	100

Sources: LRO, M/F/CNP, CNP/3/1/11 & DDX/194/1-8 [276]

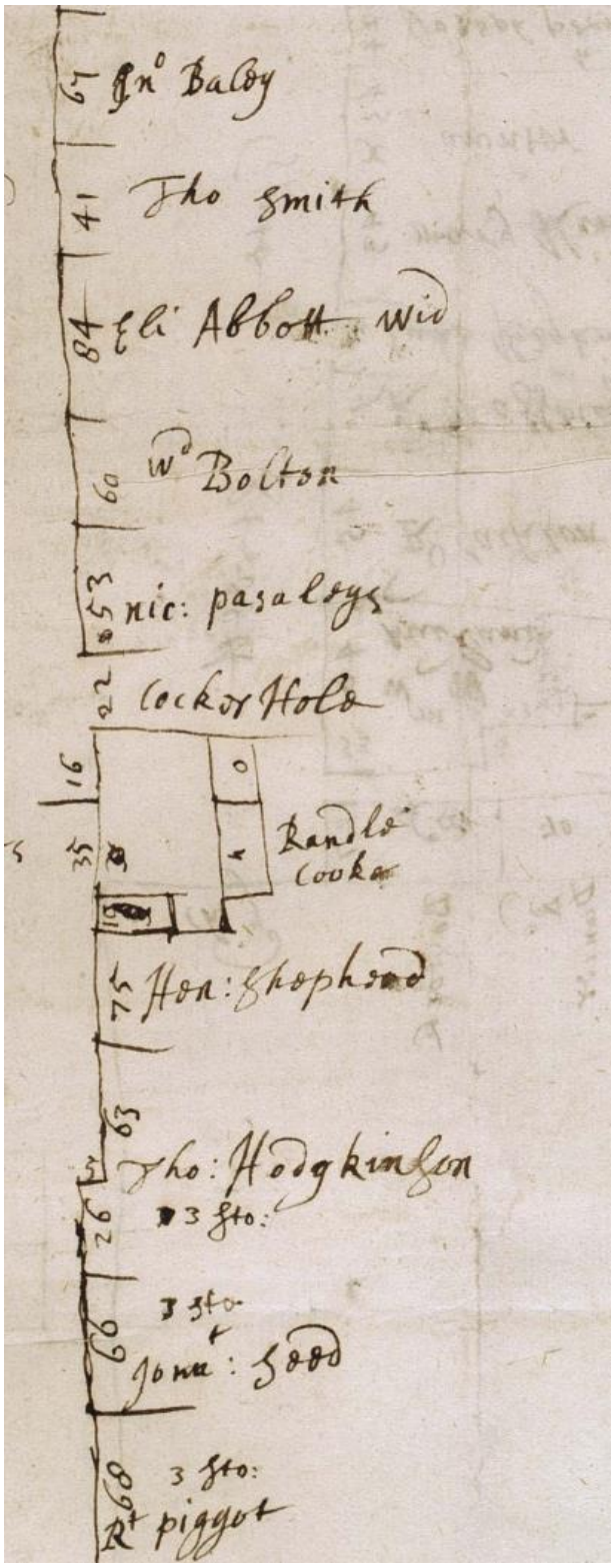
Unlike the results from the occupational distribution of the will witnesses, there was no single group that formed a noticeably disproportionate increase as inventory appraisers. The largest group were engaged in the manufacture and maintenance trades; 30.1 per cent in 1684. Compared with the 1684 maps' total of 19.1 per cent, the figure was

[276] The 1732 appraisers are excluded as the figure is too small to draw any meaningful conclusions

disproportionate, but does not constitute a remarkable increase. The slight increase in the frequency of these craftsmen may be explained by their advanced knowledge of the value of household items.

To illustrate this, the carpenters Nicholas Pashley and Randle Cook, who appeared on ten inventories as appraisers, are considered. Neither man was ever required to witness a will. Because there was such a variance in the number of times that these men appeared in one role compared with the other, it suggests that appraisers were selected using an entirely different set of criteria from those who appeared as will signatories. Pashley and Cook were next door neighbours within the genteel belt Churchgate. Three of their immediate neighbours featured in figure 4.1 were civic leaders who frequently served within corporation posts, Jonathan Seed, Robert Piggot, Thomas Hodgkinson. Other close neighbours included other serving corporation members and lawyers Rigby, Patten and Greenfield. Their frequent appearance as appraisers, therefore, could have been a result of requests made by their more illustrious neighbours to value any specialist items discovered within a testator's property. When reviewing the occupations of the inventories that Cook and Pashley appeared on, several could be explained by this expert appraiser role. Between the two men, they appraised the properties of two joiners, two innkeepers, a whitesmith, a miller and a fellow carpenter, all residences in which the eye of a carpenter would be advantageous for valuations.

Figure 4.1: Nicholas Pashley and Randle Cook's properties, 1684



Source: LRO, DDX/194/6 (Reverse)

The appointment of expert appraisers again serves to remind us that mapping these connections, as Stobart contended, would not necessarily exemplify an early modern societal network.[277] In other instances association was probable. The apothecary John Harrison was selected as an appraiser for the property of iron monger Thurston Darwen. Harrison's expertise would not obviously be required to value an iron monger's household items. The relative close proximity between testator and appraiser (separated by just fourteen properties) suggests that they were more likely to have been associates.[278] Many other examples include relations being named as appraisers, such as the property of innkeeper William Greenwood being valued by his brother, the tailor John Greenwood.[279] It was more usual for an inventory to include the appointed executor of the estate. In fact, 24 of the 70 inventories found for householders named on the 1684 maps had at least one appraiser that was also named as the executor. The executor was usually the spouse, close relation or associate designated by the testator within their will. Evidently then, appraisers were sometimes familiar with the deceased, and appointed accordingly. In sum, the relationship between testator and those who appeared on the will was more complex than the functional role that some instances may indicate. Nevertheless, the above analysis shows it is important to be aware that these connections do not always infer a firm association.

[277] Stobart, 'A settled little society', 70.
[278] LRO, WRW/Darwen, Thurston of Preston, A, 1690.
[279] LRO, WRW/Greenwood, William of Preston, A, 1687.

Table 4.2: The geographic distribution of testators and their will witnesses

a) 1684 maps

1684 Testator street	1684 witness street						
	Churchgate	**Churchyard**	**Fishergate**	**Friargate**	**Main Sp. W.**	**Market P.**	**St. John's W.**
Cheapside	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Churchgate	3	-	2	-	-	-	1
Fishergate	-	-	1	3	-	-	-
Friargate	4	-	1	10	1	-	4
Gin Bow Entry	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marketplace	-	1	3	-	1	1	-
St. John's Wiend	3	1	1	-	1	-	1
Unnamed road	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
Total	13	2	9	16	3	1	7

b) 1732 poor ley

1732 Testator street	1732 witness street													
	Cheapside	Churchgate	Dunkirk	Feeble Street	Fishergate	Friargate	Fryer's Wiend	Main Sprit W.	Market Place	Needy Street	Salter Lane	Shambles	St John's W.	Whittaker R.
Back Wiend	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Churchgate	-	9	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Feeble Street	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fishergate	1	3	-	-	7	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Friargate	1	5	-	-	2	12	2	2	1	1	-	-	1	-
Main Sprit Wiend	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Market Place	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Molyneux Square	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
New Street	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Salter Lane	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shambles	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
St John's Wiend	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Whittaker Row	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	3	20	3	1	14	22	7	3	7	2	1	2	3	1

Sources: LRO, CNP/3/1/11 & DDX/194/1-9

Table 4.3: The geographic distribution of testators and their appraisers, 1684

1684 Testator street	1684 appraiser street								
	Cheapside	**Churchgate**	**Fishergate**	**Friargate**	**Main Sprit W.**	**Market Place**	**New Hall L.**	**Ribbleton Lane**	**St John's W.**
Cheapside	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Churchgate	-	10	2	1	6	-	1	-	1
Churchyard	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	1
Fishergate	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	1
Friargate	-	8	3	14	2	2	2	1	6
Main Sprit Wiend	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marketplace	1	2	1	2	2	2	-	-	1
St. John's Wiend	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	1
Unnamed road	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Total	2	25	10	27	10	6	3	1	11

Source: LRO, DDX/194/1-8

The probate's insights into interrelationships

The 1684 maps and 1732 poor ley have enabled the first geographic study of interrelationships to be performed for an entire early modern town. The most noticeable difference between Preston's results and those of Terling, Chester and Colchester is the overall lack of cohesion between occupational groups. The results (see Appendix Tables 5 and 6) show that there was no conclusive correlation between a testator's occupation and those of their will witnesses. In the results, there are suggestions that testators of certain occupations and social groups preferred to seek witnesses from similar occupations. Gentlemen, for example, would apparently only trust others from the privileged classes. In 1732, of the nine witnesses who appeared on a gentleman's will, five had the same title,

one was a doctor and another was an alderman. There was similar social rigidity detected in some other occupations. In 1684, there were seven signatures on the wills of the sadlers; five were gentlemen and interestingly the other two were both tailors. Three of the four witnesses on the wills of butchers were from skinners. Despite these instances, it seems that although familiarity was sometimes created from frequent economic contact, within the majority of the results there was little correlation between the occupation of testator and signatory. Only in the wills of the respectable professions, such as esquires, aldermen, gentlemen and attorneys, was there any real social exclusion enacted. It is possible that Preston's unusual distribution (noted in chapter III) was responsible for this. Social zoning could never be absolutely observed given the market town's limited size. Sergeant Edward Rigby, Christopher Greenfield's huge multi-storey mansion and Preston Hall, for example, were all on Friargate and amongst the town's dirty tradesmen. This evidently had a notable effect on the probate connections, as men of different occupations would cheerfully sign each other's wills.

The effect of geography on Preston's social interactions has been intimated in the above analysis. Within this less regimented urban environment, the networks of traders appear to have been more socially inclusive. The geographical relationship between testator and their signatories (tables 4.2 and 4.3) further supports this view, and even maintains that geography was a more explicit factor on interrelationships than previously conceived. Because in the geographic results, there is more correlation noticed between the testator and their signatory compared with their respective occupations (see Appendix tables 5 and 6). The largest figures in these samples tend to be those probate connections in which both

the testator and the will signatory came from the same street. The street in which this was most prominent was Friargate. In 1684, sixteen witnesses signed the wills of household heads on that street, and ten of these witnesses came from the same street. In 1732, the relative figures were twelve witnesses from twenty-two wills. Of the 22 individuals appointed to appraise a Friargate testator's household items, twelve were also from the same street. This symmetry was not reserved to Friargate. Overall 33.2 per cent of will signatories originated from the same street as their respective testator.[280] It appears that the familiarity fostered by frequent contact was a crucial component in forming associations. For example, one of the joiner Ralph Commander's appraisers was his immediate next door neighbour, Hugh Swansea, an innkeeper. Another appraiser selected for Commander was fellow joiner John Woods. Although Woods' occupation undoubtedly had some sway on his selection, it seems that frequent contact was also a factor, as Woods lived in a property that was only metres away from Commander.[281]

The one major thoroughfare in which geography was apparently a less important factor to forming associations was Fishergate. The evidence in chapter III has illustrated that this less populated street remained an exclusive address across both periods; with 42.9 and 47.5 per cent of the street's residents from the status groups (see tables 3.2). The evidence from both the geographical (tables 4.2 and 4.3) and the occupational interrelationship results (see Appendix tables 5 and 6) suggests that the better sort preferred to form associations based on social commonalities, rather than on geographic proximity. The better sort formed

[280] Breakdown of figures: In 1684 there were 16/51 of the *testator/will witness* connections found on the same street as one another. For the *testator/appraiser* connections, the same figure was 29/95. In 1732, 33/89 of the *testator/will witness* came from the same street as one another.
[281] LRO, WRW/Commander, Randolph of Preston, A, Admon, 1704. DDX/194/1-8.

probate relationships that were socially narrow, and geographically broad. For instance, the wealthy salter and gentleman John Cottam's appraisers came from the other side of the town. His £874 10s 10d inventory was appraised by the attorney and fellow Whig William Patten of Patten House on Churchgate. The results from the analysis of the better sort are consistent with a group who preferred not to mix with more humble neighbours. Immediate neighbours appear to have been shunned in favour of those of similar means. This group does not represent Preston's society as a whole, rather it serves as a benchmark of social rigidity that the rest of Preston's inhabitants can be measured. The results categorically reveal that geography was the principal factor to forming associations within this smaller market town, rather than commonalities of wealth or occupation.

The quantitative analysis has also revealed probate connections that existed across political divides. Like many towns in the early eighteenth century, Preston's society was experiencing religious and political divisions founded on the developments in party politics, the rise of Jacobite loyalties and the foundation of several new non-conformist religions in Lancashire.[282] The reflections of contemporaries on societal interactions during this time varied with some insisting that dialogue should still exist between factions. Samuel Peploe, the serving Preston preacher during the 1715 Rebellion, described the Catholic elements of the town with open contempt: "They go publically to their meetings as we go to Church".[283] Christopher Tootel, Preston's serving Catholic priest, reflected Peploe's bigotry when he

[282] M. Parry, 'Whigs, dissenters and Hanoverian loyalism in Preston during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 and 1745', *THSLC*, 158 (2009) 1-27. Here at 10-7. Miller, *Cities divided*, 311. Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village*, 170.
[283] C. M. Haydon, 'Samuel Peploe and Catholicism in Preston, 1714', *Recusant History*, 20 (1990) 76-80. Here at 78.

blamed the destruction of the Catholic Chapel on "our Whiggish neighbours".[284] Reflecting a different opinion from these two religiously polarised preachers was the Preston resident Isaac Ambrose. His observations on society were recorded in 1674. "A Humble man", he wrote, can "spy at Graces of all sorts and all ranks of people". This spiritual leader believed at the centre "society" were practical considerations; "We may eat, and drink, and buy and sell, and shear kindnesse".[285]

Ambrose's view of an integrated, relatively religiously tolerant and inclusive society is echoed by the evidence from the probate interrelationships. For example, Robert Carr was Preston's chancellor during the 1670s and a trusted representative of the Earl of Derby, the staunch Tory landowner.[286] Despite his heavy Tory allegiances, Carr's inventory was appraised by his Fishergate neighbour and leading Whig, Thomas Werden.[287] John Cottam and Roger Suddell were also prominent Tory names whose wills were witnessed by the Whigs Thomas Patten and Thomas Werden respectively.[288] The presence of these relationships existing across religious divisions, in combination with those noticed in chapter II, implies that sectarian sentiment in Preston appeared to have been not as ubiquitous as the rhetoric espoused by clerics suggested. The emphasis within Preston appears to have been on an individual's dialogue with the community, as neighbourliness and familiarity overrode social boundaries.

[284] LRO, RCFe/2/1/F/3v, as cited in Parry, 'Whigs, dissenters and Hanoverian loyalism in Preston', 15.
[285] I. Ambrose, *The compleat works of Isaac Ambrose* (1674) EEBO.
[286] Mullet, 'To dwell together in unity', 74.
[287] Robert Carr lived nine doors away from Thomas Werden, LRO/DDX/194/5.
[288] LRO, WRW/Cottam, John of Preston, A, 1681 (Note: Cottam died before the creation of the 1684 maps). WRW/Suddell, Roger of Preston, A, 1704. Cottam and Suddell are identified as Tories in Mullet, 'To dwell together in unity', 68.

The only noticeable social group who apparently preferred to interact with individuals from their own station were the better sort. However, despite their willingness to seek those with shared commonalities, even they still formed associations based solely on proximity. Nicholas Blundell's network, outlined in chapter II, provides an exceptional case study to support this hypothesis. Blundell's distant associates were those who shared catholic beliefs and were of similar means, yet within his locality he broke bread with Anglicans and even notably defended his right to do so.[289] Therefore, a geographically mobile individual could and would maintain distant relationships which were based on commonalities, but even these individuals would develop familiarities based on frequent contact. Concisely, geography and neighbourliness were fundamental to association within early modern England, even when it contravened any socio-political or religious differences.

Preston's community brokers

Community brokers are proposed in the studies of probate connections in the towns of Chester and Colchester. In these towns, the study of interrelationships has revealed that society was formed into "respective communities", whose members would mainly associate with one another. At the heart of these communities were the community brokers whose connections were less restricted, and who would engage with many social groups. In

[289] Tyrer, *The great diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, 6.

punctuating the observed social rigidity in this way, the brokers fulfilled an important economic function, as their interrelationships "gave social cohesion to the middling sort".[290]

Tables 4.4: Preston community brokers, 1684 and 1732

1684

CL Surname	CL Forename	CL Street	Occupation	Inv.	Will.	Total	Corporation position
Werden	Thomas	Fishergate	Gentleman	5	4	9	Capital
Craven	Edward	Friargate		7	1	8	Common
Santer	Christopher			8	-	8	
Riley	Thomas		Joiner	6	1	7	
Cooke	Randle	Churchgate	Carpenter	6	-	6	Common
Eccles	John	Churchgate		2	4	6	
Forshaw	Richard			3	3	6	Common
Hardman	John		Carpenter	6	-	6	
Arkwright	Thomas			2	3	5	Common
Gradwell	Thomas	Cheapside	Grocer	2	3	5	Capital
Nowell	Christopher	Main Sprit W.	Alderman	4	1	5	Capital
Townend	John	St. John's Str.	Shoemaker	5	-	5	Common
Drinkwater	George	Main Sprit W.		3	1	4	Common
Pashley	Nicholas	Churchgate	Carpenter	4	-	4	
Richardson	John		Paver	-	4	4	
Whalley	Thomas			2	2	4	Common

[290] D'Cruze, 'The middling sort in eighteenth-century Colchester', 207. Stobart, 'A settled little society', 70.

1732

CL Surname	CL Forename	Occupation	CL Street	Inv	Will	Total	Corporation position	£	s	d
Walker	Thomas	Plasterer	Friar's W.	1	7	8		1	12	0
Dewhurst	John			2	3	5		-	-	-
Shawe	William jnr	Joiner	Fishergate	-	4	4	Common	13	8	0
Cowburne	Jonathan	Attorney	Market Place	-	3	3	Common	7	10	0
Walmsley	Henry	Sadler	Churchgate	-	3	3	Common	15	0	0
Calvert	John	Attorney	Dunkirk	-	3	3	Capital	39	0	0
Gornall	Robert	Cooper	Market Place	-	3	3	Capital	13	12	0
Markland	James	School m.	Churchgate	1	2	3		18	0	0
Kilshaw	William	Sadler	Friargate	1	2	3		56	0	0

Sources: LRO, CNP/3/1/11, M/F, CNP, CNP/3/2/1, CNP/3/2/3, CNP/3/2/4, LRO, DDX/194/1-8

Using the same approach as the studies of D'Cruze and Stobart, an assessment will be conducted on the networks of those Preston household heads who appeared the most number of times as signatories on probate documents (Tables 4.4). These names excluded the two signatures of the church clerks who appeared on a large majority of the probate material. Instead, they were only those who were will witnesses, appraisers or executors for the deceased. There remains the possibility that in a town like Preston, which had a diverse religious composition, that these results could be skewed by the presence of preachers and clerics from the various non-conformist and Catholic denominations who may have appeared on a portion of the probate. During this period, Preston still had a significant Catholic element within the town and its population were considered religiously and politically conservative.[291] Certainly by the eighteenth century, several non-conformist

[291] Walton, *Lancashire: A social history, 1558-1939,* 7, 24 and 60. Phillips and Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540,* 5. Crosby, *A history of Lancashire,* 51. Hunt, *A History of Preston*, 58-68.

elements had been introduced to the town, such as the Quakers, which had apparently caused some anxieties in this locality.[292] The confused religious persuasions within this area of Lancashire only serve to reinforce that it was a conservative, and perhaps backwards, region. Even into the eighteenth century, the area surrounding Preston was still rife with superstitious beliefs and theological malpractice.[293]

Generally, there are few discernible attributes between these men. Only by scrutinizing each name on table 4.4 individually do the reasons for their social brokerage become apparent, reasons that are peculiar to each one. The absence of an archetypal community broker within Preston does not necessarily contradict D'Cruze's hypothesis, however, the diverse reasons why each name appeared on table 4.4 somewhat dilutes the concept of socioeconomic transactions being affected by these figureheads. Preston's community brokers, rather than being the social grease that oiled the wheels of society, were simply a mix of civic leaders, gentlemen and expert appraisers. In short, they were pragmatic appointments dependent on the needs of individual testators.

The high mean value of Preston's community brokers' annual rents in 1732 (£17 7s) and the prevalence of both common and capital burgesses imply that a great number of these men

[292] Mullet, 'To dwell together in unity', 75-9. Parry, 'Whigs, dissenters and Hanoverian loyalism in Preston', 17. J E. Bradley, *Religion, revolution and English radicalism: Nonconformity in the eighteenth century politics and society* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) 112-20. J. Pearson, *Antichristian treachery discovered and its way block'd* (1689) EEBO. W. Penn, *The second part of the Continued cry of the oppressed for justice: Being an additional account of the present and late cruelty, oppression & spoil* (1676) EEBO. G. Whitehead, *A brief account of some of the late and present sufferings of the people called Quakers for meeting together to worship God in spirit and truth* (1680) EEBO. Hunt, *A History of Preston*, 62-8.
[293] Hunt, *A History of Preston*, 68.

were both economically established and socially prominent.[294] There were a number of attorneys, a gentleman, alderman and a school master on the list. The acquisition of a respectable neighbour's signature was not the only reason for the selection of these particular men. The illiterate carpenter Nicholas Pashley, for example, is mentioned in tables 4.4.[295] Pashley was never trusted by his contemporaries to witness a will and was never elected in any capacity to the Corporation.

In 1732, tables 4.4 records two attorneys; John Calvert and Jonathan Cowburne. The frequent selection of these attorneys denoted that these were logical appointments rather than a fulfilment of a socioeconomic brokerage. An examination of the testators whose wills they appeared on, or their clients, reveals the extent to which each attorney's appointment represented a pragmatic selection. Calvert apparently specialised in serving only poorer clients. He witnessed two widows' wills, a humble tailor and one other (Figure 4.2). The mean average annual property value of Calvert's clients was just above £6, with none above £10. Conversely, Cowburne's three clients paid a mean annual rent of £20. Their occupations were listed as two innkeepers and an esquire. These two attorneys apparently catered to two distinct social groups, which were in part determined by the position of their respective businesses. Calvert's office was placed just off Churchgate which attracted custom from those in the vicinity. Cowburne's office was placed on the lower west side of the Market Place and subsequently attracted business from the central retailers. In Cowburne's network, there was also a noted correlation between the location of each

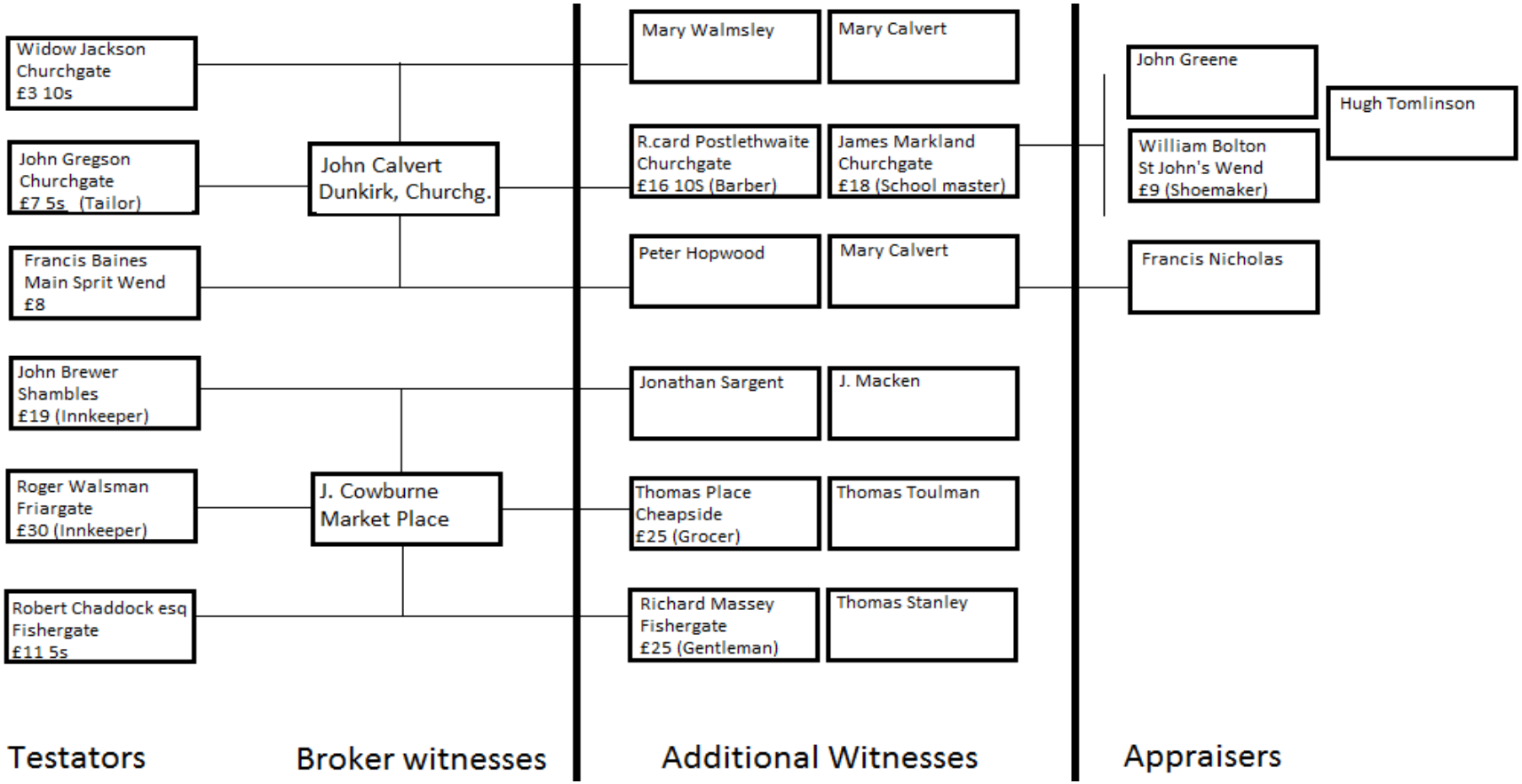
[294] £17 7s is significantly higher than the average in Preston (see Table 3.3).
[295] Pashley always left a mark on the inventories he appraised.

respective testator and the additional will witnesses, which mimics Stobart's "respective communities" concept.[296]

In another example from tables 4.4, the plasterer Thomas Walker seemed an unlikely candidate to be called upon as a will witness from his humble property on Friar's Wiend.[297] Walker's occupation might explain a large number of appearances in probate as an appraiser. However, seven out of the eight times in which he appeared were as a witness. The reason behind a humble craftsman appearing within this capacity only becomes apparent when the testators are analysed. Five of Walker's testators were from properties in streets in close proximity to his own; two on Friargate, two on Feeble Street and one on St. John's Street. Of the remaining three, two were widows residing in the strip of humble workhand's cottages on Whittaker Row. The final name lived on Fishergate and was a whitelimer, a trade with which Walker probably had recurrent contact. Again, the names that are associated with Walker in this way imply that he was realising a social brokerage of sorts. His network does not indicate that Walker performed a crucial role within a socioeconomic web. Rather the evidence suggests that Walker was a respected figure amongst his branch of the trade community and within his immediate locality; his social standing was never acknowledged outside of his milieu having never achieved an election to a Corporation position. The wills that Thomas Werden witnessed also reflected his own status. These included several fellow capital burgesses who, like himself, represented important members of Preston's political oligarchy.

[296] Stobart, 'A settled little society', 70.
[297] Thomas Walker paid £1 12s 0d rent per annum according to the 1732 poor ley, LRO, CNP/3/1/11.

Figure 4.2: The probate relationships of the community brokers John Calvert and Jonathan Cowburne



Sources: LRO, M/F, CNP, CNP/3/2/1, CNP/3/2/3 & CNP/3/2/4

Preston's community brokers were only slightly different from those in the towns of Chester and Colchester. The above analysis supports the existence of D'Cruze and Stobart's "respective communities", and also echoes the distribution evidence of *micro-quarters* in chapter III. [298] These communities apparently deferred to central characters such as Werden, Walker and the attorneys Calvert and Cowburne. However, there is no evidence to support the view that Preston's community brokers punctuated social divisions more frequently than any other individuals and, by implication, fulfilled an important brokerage between distinct socioeconomic groups. With the geographical context established in Preston's results, the selection of community brokers within this market town owed more to practical concerns such as neighbourliness and familiarity. The connections ranged from securing the services of an attorney, seeking an expert appraiser or an individual deferring to their social betters. These ostensibly different interrelationships between testator and signatory all share a common feature; they were quasi-official or pragmatic appointments made by the testators. As Stobart argues, early modern society was less rigid than these probate connections suggested. The connections, therefore, can be useful in providing an interesting insight into the forming of associations and familiarity, but do not give a complete account of social structures. So, the analysis in the section above may be able to illustrate that geography was a primary factor in forming probate connections. The analysis has proved useful in identifying Preston's community brokers who were socially prominent individuals within their own micro-quarters. There is insufficient evidence to suggest that in Preston these community brokers monopolised social capital. In actuality, the evidence suggests that the observed social interactions between the inhabitants of Preston were less restricted than in other settlements.

[298] Stobart, 'A settled little society', 70.

Another startling observation made about the community brokers was that their influence was markedly reduced across the period. The number of these men who appeared on four or more probate documents fell from sixteen for the 1684 sample to just three for the 1732 sample. Similarly, those names who appear on just one document increases from 75 per cent of the total names in the seventeenth century to 86 per cent in the eighteenth century. A considerable dissolution of the community values and protocols that existed in Preston may have lessened the relative influence of these centralised figureheads. With an expanding population, Prestonians may have been less familiar with community brokers and fallen back on their kin networks. This echoes the evidence presented in table 2.1 in which the Corporation positions experienced a reduction in exclusivity and, by implication, their civic leaders were less influential and relevant to Preston's population. It is similar to the societal structure noticed in proto-industrial Whickham.[299] Across our period of study, it seems like the culture of the community was becoming increasingly eroded as the individual gained prominence.

Conclusion

In conclusion, despite a thorough investigation of the probate connections, there remains ambiguity to what they exactly represent. Certainly, they do not represent concrete social bonds, as many of them were in actuality deferrals to the better sort or the appointments of expert appraisers. However, enough evidence exists to suggest that an association existed between testator and witness.

[299] Levine and Wrightson, *The making of an industrial society,* 341-2 and 333-5.

The results conclusively prove that geography was a more significant to the formation of these quasi-official interrelationships than socioeconomic distinctions. Only in the probate connections of the better sort were social commonalities valued above proximity. If this social model was replicated in their actual interrelationships then early modern Preston's society was not as rigid as studies on other towns have theorised. This more fluid model would correlate with the contemporary evidence that is available (including the evidence on Preston presented in chapter II) which suggests that associations were not exclusively formed around shared values. There is also the possibility that geography was the key factor in forming interrelationships in not only Preston, but throughout early modern England. It could be argued therefore that other studies are guilty of drawing causal conclusions from the concentrations of interplay within "respective communities".[300] The geographic research within Preston suggests that these micro communities, rather than representing rigid, almost territorial economic groups formed around shared values, were simply a symptom of a society that valued neighbourliness. Geographic considerations were crucial to forming associations within early modern Preston above the factors of occupational, religious, political and social commonalities.

The community brokers theory may have been another symptom of causal conclusions being drawn from limited data. In Preston, community brokers were not essential community leaders charged with enacting socioeconomic "cohesion to the middling sort", but appointments made usually by their immediate neighbours for diverse pragmatic

[300] Stobart, 'A settled little society', 70.

reasons.[301] For it is important at this junction to remember that probate connections do not provide robust evidence of association, but were quasi-official appointments. Consequently, the study of probate connections can distort early modern societal structures as they do not constitute firm friendships. Even within this study, which has a geographic element, there are too many variables that remain unexplored. The only real conclusion that can be drawn is that, similar to the contemporary diary evidence, this study finds that probate interrelationships were more socially fluid than previously conceived, and were primarily influenced by the familiarity brought about by neighbourliness and frequent contact. If actual associations were similarly formed, we must reconsider our current view of the early modern social model.

[301] D'Cruze, 'The middling sort in eighteenth-century Colchester', 207.

Conclusion

As outlined in the introduction, the ultimate objective of this thesis was to conduct an exhaustive examination of the large quantity of material available for Preston, c. 1684-1732. Two key themes were to be investigated; the definition of the town's principal economic function and the distribution of interrelationships within it. In relation to the first subject, the results determine that late Stuart/early Georgian Preston has been misunderstood by historians. In the efforts to appreciate national economic trends during this period, the town's relatively modest developments have been highlighted and grouped with those of larger settlements and leisure resorts. From the geographic distribution of the townscape to the developments termed as the urban renaissance, however, Preston's situation was atypical.

Many of the studies which highlight Preston in this way have been conducting their research on a regional or even national level. In early modern England, however, these boundaries were of little relevance. Local custom had huge influence on sensibilities. Although commonalities can be identified at the national level, the exact degree in which these manifested themselves varied within each settlement. The growing service base and growing national uniformity in polite architecture were both remarkable trends during this period. Therefore, the use of the remote market town of Preston to highlight this is understandable, for it was of historical significance that Preston's citizens wanted assembly rooms and tree lined walks to imitate those found in Liverpool, Birmingham and Epsom. However, in the enthusiasm to recognise these achievements, Preston has been labelled a

"gentry town".[302] It is only when these services and buildings are measured and contextualised at the town level, that this misrepresentation becomes apparent.

Within this thesis, Preston has been studied in isolation in an attempt to understand the exact nature of the economic activities, and ultimately, to define the town's role. Overwhelmingly, the evidence indicates that Preston was a traditional market town, dominated its busy markets food markets, such as grain, wheat, fruit and vegetable, meat and cattle, and manufactured goods, such as cloth, textiles and clothing. These markets *were* supplemented by high-value low-volume luxury goods, but they remained marginal activities. This image is portrayed by the contemporary diarists, the caseload of Preston Corporation's Court Leet and, most pertinently, the occupational composition of Preston's tradesmen. For table 3.1 conclusively reveals that Preston's occupational structure experienced remarkable stability over what was supposedly an important period of economic adjustment. The source material from Preston does support that there were green shoots of "a more diverse retail and service base" within the town, but that these were distinctly modest.[303] For instance, there was greater attention given to non-agricultural waste and services in the court leet proceedings and some growth in newer trades in the early eighteenth century. In Preston, the more diverse trades did not experience the same rapid growth as has been observed in the "leisure" towns of Chester and Shrewsbury.[304] The propagation of the more diverse service trades in Preston is noteworthy. The comprehensive survey the town's services which has been conducted for

[302] Clark (ed), *The transformation of English provincial towns*, p20
[303] Quote from, Stobart et al, *Spaces of consumption*, p36. This concept is discussed, pp33-6
[304] Stobart, 'Shopping streets as a social space', p20

this thesis does not uncover the same growth as noticed in Borsay's study of the guild rolls.[305] As a consequence, it is difficult to concur with other historians, and suggest that the town's function had altered. Creating Avenham Walk, the Assembly Rooms and more diverse services must be recognised as significant changes. These functions were secondary to, and moreover were built on, the daily exchange of agricultural produce. The function of the town and its trade composition experienced remarkable continuity in this period. Because of this continuity over the period, the evidence suggests that the town was not developing autonomous exceptionalism but was still closely integrated within its hinterland. Preston may have offered newer services, but this was within its role as a tradition market town catering for the surrounding area. This fundamental principle did not change.

The contribution of these findings to urban distribution and interrelationships is decidedly less conclusive. The geographic distribution of Preston's tradesmen is so complex that formulating conclusions from it seemingly creates apparent contradictions.

The results from the study of probate interrelationships appear to be irreconcilable with the findings from previous reviews. Addressing the socioeconomic distribution first, the study represents the first geographic survey across an entire early modern town at the household level. Some of the detail within the work, therefore, cannot be directly compared with existing studies. It cannot be established with any confidence, therefore, whether Preston's rather more fluid socioeconomic distribution provides a template for other early modern settlements or whether the patterns identified are a product of its smaller size compared

[305] Borsay, 'The English urban renaissance'pp585-7

with other towns that have been scrutinised. The latter is a more compelling argument, because not only are the existing studies that are examined in larger settlements extremely meticulous, some of the social rigidity which they observe are noticed within Preston. The quarter systems of Leiden and London can be identified within street sections of Preston, in what were essentially occupational *micro-quarters*. There were concentrations of broad social groups, such as the genteel belts of Fishergate and around St John's Church, the retailers within Market Place and the dirtier trades along Friargate. There were also gatherings of specific types of tradesmen within a few doors of one another representing supply chains. In comparison to the quarters of the larger towns, though, Preston's *micro-quarters* were not as regimented and socioeconomic groups could be integrated. The integrated residency can be again attributed to its relative size.

In regards to interrelationships, Preston's probate connections were not wholly incompatible with those from Chester, Terling and Colchester. Specifically, there were consistencies in the formation of "respective communities".[306] These communities, however, were not formed around socioeconomic commonalities, as has been observed in the other towns. In Preston, there was little correlation noticed between the occupation of the testator and the will witness. Instead, the respective communities observed within the probate were apparently formed due to frequency of contact and neighbourliness. There was greater coherence noticed between the geographic proximity of those connected by probate documents than was observed between their occupations. The concept of respective communities formed around community brokers and commonalities would be

[306] Stobart, 'A settled little society', p70

virtually defunct if it is revealed that association was founded upon accidental factors such as geographic proximity. Within Preston, early modern society was neither particularly rigid nor sectarian, which echoes the more personal accounts of the diarists. From the accounts of Nicholas Blundell to Stobart's Henry Prescott, contemporaries conversed with and befriended those from other levels of society and those with different beliefs, based largely on the familiarity which was gleaned from frequent contact.[307] By applying a geographic context to Preston's probate connections it has been possible to appreciate that these socially impenetrable communities were simply the result of neighbours being preferred as probate signatories. Arguably then, the level of social rigidity that has previously been observed by historians is perhaps only a result of historians drawing causal conclusions based on the presence of these respective communities and in the absence of crucial geographic variables.

This thesis began by exploring Preston due to the chance availability of a unique series of maps and their potential to reveal early modern residency patterns. The examination of the arrangement of these household heads and their interrelationships has subsequently revealed the sheer importance that geographic proximity, itself, placed on both the aforementioned studies. For the relative size of a settlement apparently determined the degree to which social groups mingled, with the inhabitants of larger towns segregated and those in smaller towns residing in closer proximity. The effect that this proximity had on their interrelationships was marked, with Preston's closer socioeconomic groups more likely to sign one another's probate. The importance of geographic factors on association in this

[307] Stobart, 'A settled little society', p64 & Tyrer, *The great diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, p6

way raises other issues, because it has revealed that proximity, or neighbourliness, was the key component to forming association above any other social or wealth commonalities. As neighbourliness was the principal factor to familiarity, it suggests that early modern society was less rigid than previously believed.

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APPENDIX

Appendix Table 1: Population changes in Lancashire towns, 1664-1773

Area/town	1664	1773	% change
England	5,129,409	6,447,813	126
Lancashire	141,641	297,400	210
Preston	1,845	4,568	248
Manchester	3,690	29,243	792
Bolton	1,588	4,568	288
Bury	1,543	2,090	135

Source: B G Blackwood*, The Lancashire gentry and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Manchester University Press, 1978)[308]

[308] See also Horner, *Proper persons to deal with,* p43

Appendix table 2: Table of owner analysis, 1732

Owner Surname	Owner forename	Title	Origin	Occ.	Churchgate	Fish/gate	Friargate	Market Place	Walton Lane	Cockerhole	Stoneygate	Satler Lane	Needy Street	St. John's Street	Dunkirk	Back Wiend	New Street	Gin Bow Entry	Mo/neux Square	Clark Yard	Feeble Street	Whittaker Row	Main Sprit Wiend	Sike Hill	Chapel Yard	Fryer's Wiend	Narrow Lane	Spittle Moss	Tot no of properties	% of Total
Molyneux					4	0	6	45	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	4	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	71	5.8
Burrough					10	0	12	27	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	66	5.4
Glebe					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	4.7
Peters		Lady			19	0	13	0	0	0	3	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	49	4
Winckley	John	Esq			15	14	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	46	3.8
Bushall		Dr		Doctor	13	0	12	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	29	2.4
Shaw	Exec. Of Joseph	Mr			26	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	2.4
Cottam	Henry	Mr			0	0	0	22	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	27	2.2
Wall	Lawrence	Esq			2	5	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	22	1.8
Werden	Stanley	Mr			0	20	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	1.7
Brown	David				0	2	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	19	1.6
Wall	William	Mr			10	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	1.5
Harrison	William	Mr			0	0	16	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	1.4
Parkinson	Widow	Mrs			1	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	1.4
Fleetwood	Henry	Esq			12	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	1.3
Cook	John				1	7	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	1.2
Langton	School				12	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	1.2
Addison	Thomas	Mr			2	5	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	14	1.1
Blundell		Esq			0	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	1.1
Cumbrall	John				0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	1.1
Walton	Richard				0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	1.1
Chorley	James	Mr			8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	12	1
Greenfield	William	Esq			0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	1
Seed	Anne wid. of John				0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	1
Suddell	Widow	Mrs			4	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	10	0.8
Parr	Henry				5	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0.7
Lorimer	James				0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0.7
Moss	Widow of Richard				5	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0.7
Bennett	Joseph	Mr			6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0.6
Cowban	Henry				0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0.6
Hardman	Exec. Of John jnr.				0	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0.6
Harrison	Widow				2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0.6
Littlewood	Ashton	Mr			0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0.6
Mallivert		Mr			1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	7	0.6
Pedder	Richard	Mr			0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0.6
Read	Widow of Robert				0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0.6
Stanley	Edward	Sir		Barrister	4	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0.6
Assheton	Alderman	Mr			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.5

Barker	John				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	6	0.5
Blackburne	Edward				0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.5
Davis	Anthony				0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.5
Ellet	Stephen				0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.5
Hardman	William	Mr			4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.5
Hodgkinson	Widow of Luke				2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.5
Seed	Elizabeth	Mrs			0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.5
Shawe	Richard				3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.5
Allen	Exec. Of John				0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Barns	Henry snr				0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Butler	Lancelot				0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Clarkson	John				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Fisher	Exec. Of Henry	Mr			0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Grant	Widow	Mrs			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Langton	William	Mr			1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Mercer					2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Sill	Thomas				0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Simpson	Widow				0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Southcoat	William	Mr			0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Sumner	John				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Thornton	Alderman	Mr			1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Wilkinson	John				4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.4
Aldred	Thomas				0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	4	0.3
Arkwright	John				0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Arkwright	Exec.of Richard				0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Assheton	John	Mr	Liverpool		0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Barke	Joseph's children				0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Barker	Widow of Hugh				0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Brindle					0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Chaddock	Robert	Esq			0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Gibson	Charles	Mr			0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Greenfield	Isabella	Mrs			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Gurnall	Thomas				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Hayhurst	Robert	Mr			0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Moss	John				0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Myers	Widow of John				4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Newsham	John				0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Shackshaft	William		Leyland		4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Sheperd	Arthur				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	4	0.3
Suddell	Richard			Joiner	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Warbreck	Robert				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Watson	Thomas				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Woodburne	John				0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.3
Anderton	Exec. Of John's children				0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Astley	Luke				0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Bramwell	Edward				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Clayton	Robert				3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Cottam	Henry	Mr	Liverpool		0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Cowban	Exec. Of Thomas				0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Cowban	Richard	Mr	Liverpool		0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2

Drinkwater	Exec. Of James	Mr			0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Entwisle	Edmund	Mr			0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Franck	Widow	Mrs			0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Garlicke	John	Mr			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Gregson	William				0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Gurnall	Exec. Of Hugh				0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Kay	John jnr				0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Licklass	Widow				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Loxam Langton	William	Mr			1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Marsden	William	Mr			0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Parr	Thomas			Butcher	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Riding	John				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Seed	Jennet wid. of Thomas				3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Silcock	Thomas				2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Smith	Henry	Mr			0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Tablot	Robert				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Trigg	Evan				0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Warmsley	William snr.				0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Watson	Henry				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Winstanley	Robert				3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Woodcock	Thomas				0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Woods	Ralph				3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Wright	Duncan				3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
Astley	Thomas	Mr			0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Atkinson	Richard	Mr			2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Bertinshall	Richard				2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Billington	Exec. Of				0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Birchall	Widow of William				0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Birchall	George				0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Birchall	John	Mr			0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Bond	Thomas				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Boulton	Widow of Richard				2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Bramwell	Edward			Glover	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Caton	John				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Charnley	Hugh				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0.2
Dawson	Exec. Of				0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Eccleston	Alice				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0.2
Fisher	David				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0.2
Gradwell	Dorothy widow	Mrs			0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0.2
Green	James				0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Greenfield	John	Mr			0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Greenhalgh	Thomas				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Harrison	Widow of Peter				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Heaton	Widow Jane				2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Heaton	Widow				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Hodgkinson	Henry			Shoemaker	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Hollinghurst	Edward				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Johnson	Thomas				1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
King	Richard	Mr			0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Molyneux		Ma'm			0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2

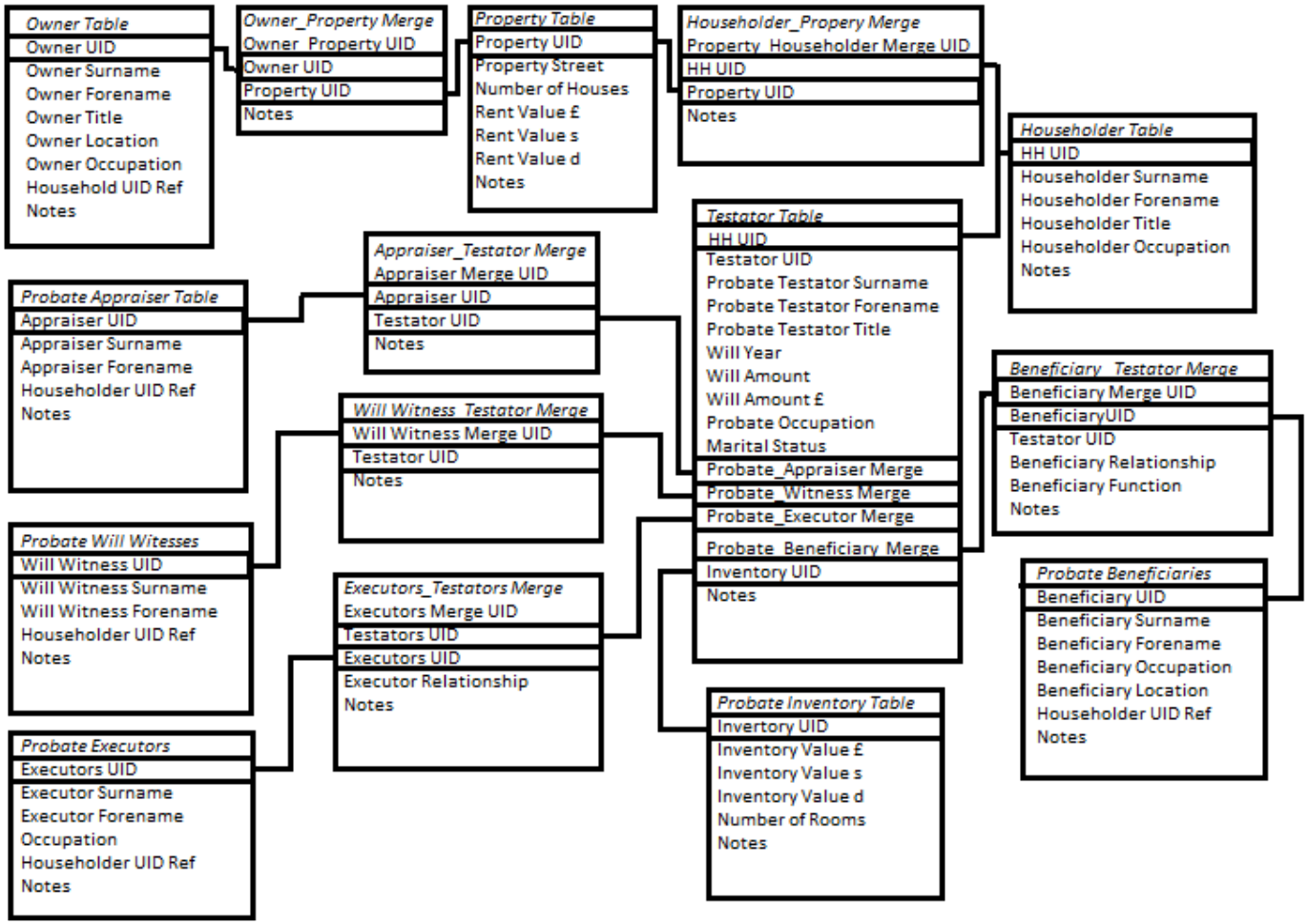
Moor	Henry				0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Naylor	James	Mr			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Nickson	Widow				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.2
Obaldeston	George				2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Parr	Thomas			Innkeeper	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Pollard		Mr			2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Poole	William				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Read	Jane widow				0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Rider	William				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.2
Rishton	George	Mr			2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Seddon	John			Sadler	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Seddon	Exec. Of				0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Simpson	Richard				0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Smith	Samuel				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Suddell	Richard				2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Suddell	Larpher	Rev.		Reverend	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Turner	Edmund				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Waller	George				0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Walne	John				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Walshman	John	Mr			0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Walshman	Roger				0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Whalley	John				0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Whitehead	Thomas	Esq			2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Wilkinson	Edward				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Winder	John	Mr			2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Winder Lovely	Edmund	Mr			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Winstanley					0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2
Alberton	Alderman	Mr			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Ashburner	Robert	Mr			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Assheton	John	Mr			0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Assheton	Edmund	Esq			0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Atley	Hamerton	Mr			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Bailey	William				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Beesley	William				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Bennett	William				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Bleasdall					1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Bolton	James	Mr	Blackburn		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Bolton	James			Apothecary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Bostock	James				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Bradshaw	Robert				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Brooks	Robert				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.1
Bullock	Thomas				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Burton	Richard				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Calland	John				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Casson	Widow	Mrs			0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Charnock	Hugh				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Crane	Roger				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Daniel	John				0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Daniel	Richard				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.1
Davis	John				0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1

Derbyshire	James	Mr			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Dickinson	John				0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Drinkwater	Ellen				0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Farrington	Henry	Esq			0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Fisher	Widow of Thomas				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Fogg	Robert				0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Gradwell	Widow	Mrs			0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Gregson	Richard				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Gurnall	Robert				0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Hankinson	Widow				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.1
Harrison	James				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Harrison	James	Mr			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Helme	Robert				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Hodgkinson	James snr.			Butcher	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Hudson	William				0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Jameson	James				0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Johnson	William				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Johnson	James				0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Kitchin	Thomas		Goosnargh		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Knowles		Rev.	Ormskirk	Reverend	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Lancaster	Patrick				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Langton		Mr	Kirkham		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.1
Law Sharpe Green	John				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Loxham		Mr	Kirkham		0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Loxham	Robert	Mr			0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Loxham	William	Mr			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Markland	James	Mr			0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Marsden	William	Mr	Liverpool		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Merry	George				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Molyneux		Mr			0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Myers	Ellen widow				0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Myers	Alderman	Mr			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Myers	Isaac Richard				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Myers Mitre	Widow				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Nook	John	Mr			0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Parr	Widow		Liverpool		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Patten		Ma'm			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Pedder	Widow of Phillip				0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Pedder	Ellen widow				0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Peploe		Dr		Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Pigot		Ma'm			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Place	Thomas				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Prescott	Samuel	Mr			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Ravald	John	Mr			0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Rawlinson	Richard				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Rawlinson	Elizabeth				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Rawsthorne	William	Esq			0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Redihalgh	Edward				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Riley	James	Mr			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Rishton	Thomas	Mr			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Scarsbrick					0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1

Sharrock	Edward			Chandler	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Shawe	Widow				0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Simpson	Richard			Dyer	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Smith	William	Mr			0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Stanhope	Thomas	Mr			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Starkie	Nicholas	Esq			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Suddell	John				1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Suddell	Thomas			Carpenter	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Swarbreck	Lawrence	Mr			0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Tootall					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Waller	Widow				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Walton	Thomas		Highgate		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Warmsley Showley		Mr			0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Wesley	John				0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Whalley	Widow	Mrs			1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Whittaker	Exec. Of late John				0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Winder	Mary				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1

Sources: LRO, CNP3/1/11. The forename, surname, title and occupation of the owners were gleaned from the 1732; no other information was used. The figures are correct to one decimal place, therefore the percentage total will not equal 100

Appendix figure 1: Relational database table/entity layout



Source: 1732 database

Appendix table 3: Breakdown of Preston Court Leet cases, 1680-9

Case Type	Total no	% of total
Agricultural waste	328	27
Watercourse	307	26
Cattle issue	101	8
Building regulation	86	4.2
Trade infringement	80	6.5
Trimming of hedges	58	5
Industrial waste	48	4
Highway repair	46	3.7
Slaughter of beasts	32	2.5
Repair	27	2
Clay pit	20	1.6
Carts	18	1.5
Styles	15	1.3
Dog licence	14	1.2
Harbouring vagrants	13	1
Common misuse	13	1
Affray	11	0.9
Hedge-breaking	8	0.7
Laying timber	8	0.7
Illegal nets	6	0.5
Harbouring vagrants	4	0.4
Antisocial	3	0.3
Total	1246	100

Source: LRO, CNP/3/2/3

Appendix table 4: Breakdown of Preston Court Leet cases 1730-9

Case Type	Total no	% of total
Agricultural waste	313	47
Watercourse	94	14
Industrial waste	87	13
Building regulation	62	10
Laying timber	20	3
Ashes	19	3
Trade infringement	16	2.5
Highway repair	14	2
Trimming of hedgerows	9	1.5
Repair	6	1
Harbouring vagrants	5	0.7
Anti-social	4	0.6
Carts	4	0.6
Clay pits	3	0.5
Styles	2	0.3
Bog house	2	0.2
Common misuse	1	0.1
Total	661	100

Source: LRO, CNP/3/2/4

Appendix tables 5: Occupations of testators and their witnesses, 1684-1732

1684 maps

1684 Test. Occupation	1684 witness occupation							
	Gentleman	**Grocer**	**Innkeeper**	**Maltster**	**Salter**	**Shoemaker**	**Skinner**	**Tailor**
Apothecary	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Attorney	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Butcher	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Carpenter	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cordwainer	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cutler	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dyer	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Esquire	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gentleman	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron monger	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Maltster	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merchant	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Miller	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sadler	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Tailor	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Wool. Draper	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

1732 poor ley

1732 Test. Occ.	1732 witness occupation																									
	Alderman	**Attorney**	**Barber**	**Carpenter**	**Chandler**	**Doctor**	**Esquire**	**Gentleman**	**Grocer**	**Gunsmith**	**Haberdasher**	**Husbandman**	**Innkeeper**	**Joiner**	**Linen Draper**	**Merchant**	**Parish clerk**	**Plasterer**	**Sadler**	**School master**	**Shuttle maker**	**Skinner**	**Tailor**	**Town clerk**	**Weaver**	**Wine cooper**	**Yeoman**
Butcher	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chapman	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Esquire	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gentleman	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grocer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Husbandman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Innkeeper	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Lin. Draper	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mercer	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miller	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parish clerk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
School mastr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tailor	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Weaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Whitelimer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wool. Draper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Yeoman	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-

Sources: LRO, CNP/3/1/11 & LRO, M/F, CNP

Appendix table 6: Occupations of testators and their appraisers, 1684

1684 Test. Occ.	1684 appraiser occupation																				
	Alderman	**Apothecary**	**Attorney**	**Butcher**	**Carpenter**	**Cooper**	**Cordwainer**	**Esquire**	**Gentleman**	**Grocer**	**Husbandman**	**Innkeeper**	**Joiner**	**Linen Weaver**	**Maltster**	**Shoemaker**	**Skinner**	**Stationer**	**Tailor**	**Whitesmith**	**Woollen drap.**
Bricklayer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Carpenter	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cordwainer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Dyer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Gentleman	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
Glazier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Grocer	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Innkeeper	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-
Iron monger	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Joiner	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maltster	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merchant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miller	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sadler	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Salter	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stationer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tailor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Whitesmith	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wool. Draper	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: LRO, M/F/CNP

Appendix table 7: The frequency of surnames in the Preston Corporation: 1652-1742

	1652	1662	1667	1672	1677	1682	1687	1692	1697	1702	1707	1712	1717	1722	1727	1732	1737	1742	Total
Werden	2	2	3	1	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	**25**
Hodgkinson	0	2	5	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	1	**21**
Suddell	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	0	**20**
Wall	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	**16**
Lemon	0	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	**18**
Bostock	2	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**16**
Chorley	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	**14**
Rishton	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	**14**
Addison	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	**13**
Walmsley	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	**13**
Lamplugh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	**11**
Ashton	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	2	**10**
Kellet	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	**10**

Sources: LRO, CNP/3/2/1, CNP/3/2/3 & CNP/3/2/4

Appendix table 8: The frequency of surnames in the Preston Corporation: 1652-97

Surname	1652	1662	1667	1672	1677	1682	1687	1692	1697	Total
Werden	2	2	3	1	3	2	2	2	2	**19**
Bostock	2	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	**15**
Hodgkinson	0	2	5	2	2	1	1	1	0	**14**
Lemon	0	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	**13**
Suddell	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**11**
Chorley	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	**9**
Addison	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**8**
Kellet	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	**8**
Wall	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	**8**
Walmsley	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	**8**
Rishton	*0*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*1*	*2*	***6***
Ashton	*0*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*0*	***4***

Sources: LRO, CNP/3/2/1, CNP/3/2/3 & CNP/3/2/4[309]

[309] Names in italics are those surnames not appearing sufficiently in the respective centuries to warrant their inclusion, although are listed in the total, 1652-1742

Appendix table 9: The frequency of surnames in the Preston Corporation: 1702-42

Surname	1702	1707	1712	1717	1722	1727	1732	1737	1742	Total
Lamplugh	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	**10**
Suddell	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	**10**
Wall	0	1	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	**8**
Gradwell	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	**8**
Parr	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	3	1	**8**
Walshman	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	5	**8**
Peddar	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	1	0	**7**
Rishton	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	**7**
Hodgkinson	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	1	**7**
Werden	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	**6**
Ashton	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	2	**6**
Lemon	*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	***5***
Chorley	*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	***5***
Addison	*1*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	***5***
Walmsley	*1*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*1*	*0*	***4***
Kellet	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	***2***
Bostock	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	***1***

Sources: LRO, CNP/3/2/1, CNP/3/2/3 & CNP/3/2/4[310]

[310] Names in italics are those surnames not appearing sufficiently in the respective centuries to warrant their inclusion, although are listed in the total, 1652-1742

Appendix Table 10: Breakdown of occupational distribution, 1684 (Table 3.1)

Occupation	No	Occupation	No	Occupation	No	Occupation	No	Occupation	No	Occupation	No
Tailor	21	Carpenter	8	Innkeeper	16	Gentleman	32	Brick Layer	5	Barber	1
Shoemaker	14	Husbandman	7	Butcher	13	Esquire	15	Brickman	1	Currier	2
Dyer	4	Joiner	5	Grocer	11	Attorney	2	Whitelimer	1	Salter	2
Glover	3	Blacksmith	5	Sadler	8	Alderman	1	Nailor	1	Labourer	3
Cordwainer	2	Miller	4	Maltster	5	Colonel	1			Whitesmith	1
Woollen Draper	2	Gunsmith	3	Chapman	2	Apothecary	2			Stationer	2
Woolen Webster	2	Skinner	3	Merchant	2						
Button Maker	1	Cooper	2								
Draper	1	Glazier	2								
Dryster	1	Iron Monger	2								
Hosier	1	Chandler	1								
Inkle Weaver	1	Cutler/yeoman	1								
Linen Weaver	1	Hardwareman	1								
Linen Webster	1										
Weaver	1										
Tanner	1										
Clothing Total	57	Manufacture Total	44	Retail Total	57	Status Total	53	Building Total	8	Miscellaneous Total	11

Appendix Table 11: Breakdown of occupational distribution, 1732 (Table 3.1)

Occupation	No	Occupation	No	Occupation	No	Occupation	No	Occupation	No	Occupation	No
Shoemaker	44	Husbandman	26	Innkeeper	32	Gentleman	30	Brick Layer	5	Barber	11
Weaver	22	Joiner	11	Butcher	29	Esquire	24	Whitelimer	4	Labourer	9
Tailor	19	Blacksmith	6	Grocer	15	Alderman	9	Plasterer	3	Gardener	9
Glover	5	Iron Monger	6	Maltster	8	Common Councilman	8	Paver	3	Currier	5
Woollen Draper	4	Miller	5	Sadler	7	Attorney	4	Thatcher	2	Baker	4
Linen Draper	3	Carpenter	4	Merchant	6	Doctor	4	Brickman	2	Soldier	3
Hosier	3	Yeoman	4	Chapman	4	Apothecary	4	Nailor	1	Sailor	2
Staymaker	3	Skinner	4	Haberdasher	4	Parish Clerk	2	Slater	1	Huntsman	1
Shuttlemaker	3	Cooper	4	Upholsterer	4	Town Clerk	2	Plumber	1	Porter	1
Silkman	1	Glazier	3	Tobacconist	4	Barrister	1	Brick Maker	1	Turner	1
Ragman	1	Cabinet Maker	2	Toyman	3	School Master	1			Jockey	1
Dyer	1	Hardwareman	2	Book Seller	2	Sargent of the Town	1			Bread Baker	1
Drapman	1	Wheelwright	1	Watchmaker	1	Popish Priest	1			Nurse	1
Linen Weaver	1	Sawyer	1	Clockmaker	1	Reverend	1			Gingerbread Maker	1
Breeches maker	1	Wine Cooper	1	Mercer	1	Beadle o/Chamber	1			Tread Maker	1
Flax Dresser	1	Carpenter	1	Brewer	1					Custom House Off.	1
Tanner	1	Tinman	1	Maltman	1					Sugar Excise Man	1
Hatter	1	White smith	1							Tide Waiter	1
Webster	1	Gunsmith	1								
Felt Maker	1										
Stocking Weaver	1										
Clothing Total	118	Manufacture Total	84	Retail Total	123	Status Total	93	Building Total	23	Miscellaneous Total	54

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