THE PLACE OF INNS IN THE COMMERCIAL LIFE OF LONDON AND WESTERN ENGLAND, 1660-1760.

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ABSTRACT

The economic history of England has long been dominated by the Industrial Revolution, examining its degree of uniqueness, and its longer-term implications for both the domestic economy and that of the nations whose advance to the modern industrial state took place rather later. In this study, scholars have tended to concentrate on the period after 1750, often dismissing the previous century rather naively in terms of 'preconditions' for industrial growth. Relatively few have looked at the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in depth, except in the fields of public finance and overseas trade. For most purposes, the century before the Industrial Revolution is still, in Professor Fisher's words, a 'Dark Age'.

One sector of the economy, the retail trade and retailing institutions, has been generally deprived of scholarly attention. Apart from the development of the great chain stores in the nineteenth century, the bulk of our knowledge of the sector of the economy stems from research conducted prior to 1920. While age is hardly synonymous with a lack of quality, the time had clearly come for some revision. As scholars such as Professor Eversley have come to stress the significance of changing patterns of consumption in the home market to the Industrial Revolution, this sector of the economy has increasingly demanded more research.

This study attempts to illuminate both areas of 'darkness' by

examining the English Inn, in the period 1660 to 1760, in the area of Western England. By looking at a commonplace retailing institution in the area of the country which was to enjoy a large measure of industrial growth in the eighteenth century, it was hoped to reveal something of the nature of the retail trade and of change in the economy at large. As this study proves, inns and the activities within them have fully rewarded the further research invited by Professor Everitt.

As a result of this study, a great deal is now known of the working of the licensing system and of the quasi-judicial bodies, such as the Turnpike Trusts, which used the inn as their place of business. The evidence of management and control of inns in this period delivers a mild corrective to the Webbs' view of local administration in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and provides, in the background to the Licensing Act of 1753, another interesting example of local initiative in the framing of general legislation. Through the study of the inn, our knowledge of the workings of local administration has been extended.

The inn was the most widely-distributed retailing institution, and in its structure and appointment demonstrated the rapid growth of fashionable consumption in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century England. The demands of the travelling public and the initiative of innkeepers placed this institution above most others in its response to the changing nature of the domestic market. Its keepers were in themselves an important, varied and interesting group in the business community, demonstrating at once the extent of social mobility and the importance of multiple employment. Internally, therefore, the inn proved to be a

rewarding topic for study.

The primary source of revenue for the inn was the transport trade. In our period, this sector of the economy grew at a pace which, as this study shows, scholars have previously underestimated. Coaching grew from obscurity to a major industry, largely through the capital and entrepreneurship of innkeepers. Its rival, the post-chaise, was created and financed by publicans. While they played a lesser direct role in the carriage of goods, inns contributed significantly to its growth through the provision of clerical and administrative services. The land transport industry grew rapidly in the period 1660 to 1760, and its development and refinement owed much to inns and their keepers.

Brought to the inns, which were the nodes of the transport system, businessmen and agents of many kinds found them ideal for the conduct of trade. The amenities of inns especially favoured their use as salerooms, for the use of auctioneers and estate agents who, of necessity, depended in the early stages of their profession upon regional rather than local markets for their services. The inn supplied the auction room and estate agency until such time as local demand alone could reward such specialised investment. In this sense, the inn contributed significantly to the development of the auctioneer's and agent's trades, which were instrumental in the transformation of the property market.

The same factors made the inn the ideal home for private markets and for the activities of the itinerant shopkeeper. The growth of London and other large towns, and the expansion of the activities of middlemen this engendered, tended to drive trade in foodstuffs out of

the open market place, where factors were limited in their freedom of action. This retreat from the market place, sample selling and future buying marked the triumph of the wholesaling forestaller whose office was the inn. The street parlours of inns gave hospitality to itinerant shopmen, and their eventual conversion to shops, at the end of the eighteenth century, was the logical outcome of their previous temporary use. In these two areas, then, the inns encapsulated and facilitated change in the home market.

Inns also attracted other businessmen. In both London and the provinces, the shortage of business premises at the commercial centres, combined with the extensive reception rooms of the inns, made them necessary and useful offices. In London, inns and taverns around the Royal Exchange, the Bank, or Custom House received the spillage of business from the more important coffee houses. In the provinces, travelling doctors, tailors, dancing masters and even prostitutes could enjoy in the inn a market place at the centre of a town. The widespread distribution of the inns and the amenities they provided made them important business centres: the credit advanced by their keepers strengthened their advantage.

In certain industries, particularly in textiles and the sweated trades, this period also saw the growth of both truck and primitive trades unionism. In London inns acted as the clearing houses for the army of immigrant labour the capital attracted, and in consequence, some evolved into truck agencies. Both in the capital and the provinces inns were the institutions chosen as the agencies of military recruitment.

On the other hand, the facilities of inns also made them the natural homes for box clubs, friendly societies, and the illegal combinations of workmen which were often clad in more innocent clothing. Innkeepers acted on both sides of the labour market, as the agents of employers in such trades as coalheaving, and as the midwives of organisation in the workforce. In several ways, therefore, the history of the inn in the period 1660 to 1760, contributes to our knowledge of the labour market.

Beyond the community of the workforce, inns were also social centres of great significance. Music and theatre found in the inns a stage for performances at all levels: the history of the inn comprehends that of the concert, the play, the variety stage and the circus. Sporting entertainment also owed much to the inn, from horseracing and cockfighting at the upper end of the social scale, to wrestling and cudgels at the lower. In many of these sports, innkeepers served as promoters as well as servants. Less formally, social organisations of all kinds from the meetings of friends to clubs and political associations, used the inn as their base. Such was the range of social activity in the seventeenth and eighteenth century inn that it is suggested that it even ousted the Church from its primacy in the community.

Overall, a great range of commercial activities took place within the inns of Western England. These relate to and add to our knowledge of broader changes in the 'pre-industrial' economy. The environment in which the inn existed was that of an economy advancing on the twin bases

of agriculture and overseas trade: the consequence of this growth was the great quickening of internal trade and commercial activity. Transport improvement took place rapidly and advantaged and benefited from the basic institution of land carriage: the inn. Above all this was the age of the versatile specialist: the businessman who provided a specialised service either as an itinerant or in combination with other activities. For such men, whose activity did so much for the integration and advancement of the home market, the inn was a vital agency. The 'Commercial Revolution' found physical expression in the development of port facilities and the growth of such towns as Bristol and Liverpool; the factory symbolized the Industrial Revolution in the northern towns; to the equally dramatic change in the domestic market in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the inn is as appropriate a symbol.

The inn therefore assumed a significant position at a stage of Britain's development towards the modern industrial state. But, like the 'navigated' river, and the 'dual economy' it was but an interim convenience. Just as cottage industry, by virtue of the agricultural by-employment of its workers, reduced real labour costs, so the multi-purpose institution of the inn subsidized advance in transport, in marketing, and in social institutions. It served valuable purpose in allowing businesses to expand areas of operation, stocks or scale, without a pro rata growth in the costs of premises or administration. In this way it may have contributed to the growth of the economy at large.

The significance of the history of the inn in the later seventeenth

and early eighteenth centuries thus extends far beyond its role as servant to the transport trade and as retail outlet for liquor. It was an institution central to the economic life of the community. Through the study of this institution, therefore, the historian can learn much about the society it served. This first extensive study of the inns of Western England in the period 1660 to 1760 has, therefore, much to tell of the transformation of the domestic economy at a vital stage of its development.

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OF LONDON AND WESTERN ENGLAND

1660 - 1760

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CHAPTER 1: LONDON AND WESTERN ENGLAND, 1660-1760

The English inn has always been the subject of considerable popular interest. Today the average motorist designates any public house with the aura of antiquity an 'inn'. Together with maps and guide books, pamphlets listing country inns abound in bookshops, craving the attention of the motorist. These combine images of conviviality with those of history. Queen Elizabeth and Dick Turpin are cited as inveterate travellers, and are used with prints, horse-brasses and copperware to give the stamp of authenticity to dubious claims of antiquity. The 'old English inn' is used as the ideal for the modern 'pub' to which the family is drawn. Historical associations are not only the finest advertisements for public houses but also lend respectability. In this has lain the stimulus for so many recent publications.

Strangely, historians have not reflected popular interest. For the only substantial works on inns one has to turn to the period 1850-1930. Antiquaries and topographers like Rendle or Groom then produced vast compendia which passed for histories of inns.[1] The subject has previously not attracted the attention of an academic historian. Economic historians like Mathias and Vaizey have concentrated on production rather than distribution in the drink trade. The distributive trades have been generally neglected, and this work is intended to help redress that imbalance.

1. See for example, W. Rendle and P. Norman, The Inns of Old Southwark (London, 1888) and A. Groom, Old London Coaching Inns and their Successors (London, 1928).

This study owes its inspiration primarily to the work of Professor A. M. Everitt whose work on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries first elevated the inn from the subject of antiquarian curiosity to the level of serious historical study.[1] In this thesis the inn is examined as a unit in English commercial society in the period 1660-1760. By taking one institution, in the French historiographical style, it is hoped to demonstrate something of the working of internal trade. To Everitt,

'The Elizabethan and Stuart inn has no exact counterpart in the modern world. It was the hotel, the bank, the warehouse, the exchange, the scrivener's office and the market place of many a private trader.'[2]

This statement indicated that the inn as an institution would repay further study. The ensuing chapters substantiate for the subsequent period many of Professor Everitt's assertions.

This study is limited both chronologically and geographically, and some explanation of both boundaries is necessary. The starting date of 1660 is a natural one, with the Restoration bringing the return of 'normal' government. But the terminating date perhaps requires a little more explanation. The inn was a vital link in the transport system. This study is of internal trade before the coming of the Industrial Revolution. In the transport industry this really dates from the first canals rather than the turn pikes or river

1. Particularly in 'Social Mobility in Early Modern England' Past and Present, 33 (1966), and in Chapter VIII 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' in J. Thirsk (ed.), The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, (Cambridge, 1967).
2. Thirsk, Agrarian History, IV, p. 559.

improvements. Up to 1760 the old transport system underwent expansion but not fundamental change: the canal transformed it. For England the canal represented an entirely new means of internal communication, one which rivalled the roads by providing transport in the areas lacking rivers. By 1760, the economy had outgrown the old transport system. This thesis, then, restricts itself to the growth of the old transport system under the stimulus of expanding commerce. For the study of that system, the year 1760, commonly associated with the first canals, is the appropriate terminal date.

The area chosen for study is London and Western England. This is defined as the area bounded by lines from London to Chester in the north, and from London to Plymouth in the south. The segment is fringed by two of the six main roads of England in the period, and includes a third, that to Bristol. The counties within these bands represent neither a perfect microcosm nor a homogeneous region, but are a good cross-section of England: Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cheshire, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucester, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Salop, Somerset, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and Worcestershire. Five were classified by Deane and Cole as 'Agricultural', eight as 'Mixed' and four as 'Industrial or Commercial'.[1] The area was one of great variety in economic structure.

1. P. Deane and W. A. Cole, British Economic Growth, 1688-1959, (2nd. edition, Cambridge, 1967), p. 103.

In 1660, England was largely an agricultural nation. During the next century both trade and industry grew, promoting the expansion of towns, but even in 1750, only 15 or 16 per cent of the population lived in concentrations of 5,000 or more. By 1801 the proportion was perhaps 25 per cent. Even then, London alone accommodated 9 or 10 per cent of the total population.[1] The majority of Englishmen were therefore concerned in farming. Deane and Cole thought that between 70 and 80 per cent of the occupied population was primarily engaged in agriculture in 1688. By 1801 the proportion had fallen to somewhere between a quarter and a third.[2] For our period, the greater part of the population earned its livelihood from agriculture.

Agriculture was therefore the major pillar of the economy in the later seventeenth century. Quantitative data is lacking for 1760, but agriculture probably contributed as much as 35 per cent of gross national income at the end of our period. The general trend can be gauged from the comparison of the distribution of national income between different sectors of the economy in the years 1688 and 1801 in Table 1, below. Although industry grew in relation to agriculture in our period, it had yet to achieve parity in 1801, and did not finally overtake the agrarian sector until 1821.[3] Thus in analysing the economic structure of the region our own first concern must be

1. Ibid., p. 7.
2. Ibid., pp. 3, 62.
3. B. R. Mitchell and P. Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962) p. 366.

Table 1: The Distribution of the National Income, 1688 and 1801.[1]

	Agriculture Fishing and Forestry		Mining, Manufactures and Building		Trade and Transport		Rents of Dwellings		Total Gross National Income	
	£ m.	%	£ m.	%	£ m.	%	£ m.	%	£ m.	%
1688[b]	19.3	40.2	9.9	20.6	5.6	12.7	2.5	5.2	48.0[a]	100
1801[c]	75.5	32.5	54.3	23.4	40.5	17.5	12.2	5.3	232.0	100

a. The total includes an estimate for domestic service based on but not separately calculated in King's tables.
b. England and Wales.
c. Great Britain.

the agricultural sector.

It must be noted that the period 1660-1760 is lacking in quantitative material. Gregory King's arithmetics were the first serious essays in the field.[2] Using this scanty source material, Deane and Cole estimated that agricultural real output, at 100 in base year 1700, had risen to only 115 by 1760, and 143 in 1800. At the same time export industries rose from 100 in 1700 to 222 in 1760, and home industries from 100 to 114. Up to 1760, total real output increased by 47 points, and average real output by 30. So far as can be ascertained in quantitative terms the British economy in this period grew but slowly.[3] The one major growth sector was the export trade, which had expanded greatly in the period 1660-1700, and continued its progress to 1760.[4]

1. Ibid.
2. See J. Thirsk and J. P. Cooper (eds.), 17th Century Economic Documents (Oxford, 1972), pp. 765 f.
3. Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, p. 78.
4. R. Davis, 'English Foreign Trade, 1660-1760' Economic History Review, 2nd. series, VII (1954) and idem, 'English Foreign Trade 1700-1774' Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd series XV (1962).

Agricultural production increased significantly in our period, and for the first time the terms of trade turned in favour of manufactures without a fall in population. Expanded agricultural output at stable or falling prices meant for many classes an improved standard of living.[1]

In this context of slow growth the emphasis in the agricultural sector was on improvement and innovation. At first in response to high food prices, and later as a response to diminishing profits and increased labour costs English farming underwent a revolution in techniques. Improved crop rotations, ley farming, fen drainage and artificial grasses had been introduced to favourable soils by 1700.[2] These innovations laid the basis for increased production in the eighteenth century: until the 1760s England was able to accommodate its increased population without recourse to cereal imports.[3] Unfortunately for individual counties one is dependent on non-quantitative material. The figures of increased production or improved productivity which can be adduced from population change, national price figures and overseas trade statistics do not define the agricultural progress of individual counties.

The following account of the agriculture of Western England is therefore based largely on literary sources. This is not necessarily

1. A. H. John, 'Aspects of English Economic Growth in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', Economica, XXVII, (1961).
2. See E. Kerridge, The Agricultural Revolution (London, 1967).
3. See Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, p. 65.

a source of weakness, as Jacob Viner has recently suggested:

'Fully as I respect the current zeal for expert quantification of history as a virtue in itself, I regard it, like all other virtues, as compatible with other values, such as, in the present instances, relevance to questions that non-statisticians care to ask. In this instance, as in many others, I find the judgement or even conjecture of a contemporary person of presumptive honesty and intelligence often the safest guide available, though rarely a safe guide.'[1]

With this useful caveat in mind, an account of the general agricultural characteristics of our area follows.

Middlesex and Buckinghamshire, the two 'Home Counties' of our area, shared the influence of London. Middlesex was poorly-endowed by nature for farming. Most of its soils were either sandy loams or the heavy London clay. Leigh's comment that its soil was 'excellent fat, fertile and full of profit' was probably a description of its improved rather than its natural state.[2] Its proximity to London had meant early enclosure, and as a popular county for the seats of merchants and gentry it was much imparked. The Duke of Chandos, seated at Canons Park, was not alone in choosing the county for his exercise in conspicuous consumption.[3] Although the Vale of Harrow held some of the best wheat land in England, the county was one which displayed great specialization in response to the demands of the London market.[4] Along the Thames, market gardens flourished, producing fruit and

1. J. Viner, 'Man's Economic Status' in Man Versus Society in Eighteenth - Century Britain, ed. J. L. Clifford (Cambridge, 1968) p. 28.
2. Edmund Leigh, England Described: or, the several Counties and Shires thereof briefly handled, (London, 1659), p. 37.
3. On the gentry in Middlesex, see D. Defoe, A Tour Through England and Wales, 1724-26, edited by G. D. H. Cole (Everyman, London, 1927) II, p. 12.
4. Kerridge, Agric. Revol., p. 177.

vegetables for the City market and, throughout the county, farmers concentrated on poultry, eggs, bacon and dairy produce.[1] By 1700, the vegetables once supplied from abroad were provided by the market gardeners of Middlesex.[2] In exchange for their produce, the Thames-side gardeners received city manure. Gardening was practised whenever economic supplies of this vital manure could be obtained. The county even produced tobacco,[3] and boasted at least one vineyard in the early eighteenth century.[4] Further west the heathland of Hounslow and Bedfont grazed sheep[5] and north east, in the Lea valley, much hay was cut for the horses of London.[6] The county was indeed made 'rich, pleasant and populous by the neighbourhood of London'.[7]

Buckinghamshire divided naturally into two areas. The south, from the Thames north to Berkhamstead, and west towards the Chilterns, was densely - wooded, and represented conventional wood pasture economy - cattle rearing and domestic industries. North, through the Vale of Aylesbury, mixed farming of the corn- cattle type predominated, although conversion to pasture had made considerable headway and many graziers were entrenched here.[8] Defoe found the Vale 'eminent for the richest land and perhaps the richest grazing in England'. One field

1. F. J. Fisher, 'The Development of the London Food Market, 1540-1640' Econ. Hist. Rev., X, (1940).
2. P. V. McGrath, 'The Marketing of Food, Fodder, and Livestock in the London Area in the Seventeenth Century' (London University M.A. thesis, 1948), p. 196.
3. Kerridge, Agric. Revol., p. 174.
4. Defoe, Tour, II, pp. 12-13.
5. Kerridge, Agric. Revol., p. 174.
6. McGrath, 'Marketing of Food ...' p. 238.
7. Defoe, Tour, II, p. 13.
8. Thirsk, Agrarian History, IV, pp. 49-50.

of enclosed land was reputedly leased to a grazier at £1400 per annum.[1] The timber production of the south was mainly of beech, a wood vital to the pre-industrial economy because of its strength and ease of working. The author of the Vade Mecum of 1720 thought Buckinghamshire remarkable for its corn, cattle and excellent wool, and its three rivers, the Thame, Ouse and Coln which supported a good deal of milling.[2] With the Thames at its southern border, and the great wealth of beech trees which gave the county its name,[3] the picture is one of a prosperous and diversified county.

Further from London, but well within its area of influence, lay the counties of the south and west, ranging from Hampshire in the south to Dorset and Gloucester in the west, and Oxfordshire in the north. Virtually all in this area were of mixed farming type, although all had substantial areas of sheep - corn husbandry. Berkshire was such a mixed farming county with dairying in the south - west beyond Faringdon and wood pasture in the east in Windsor Forest.[4] A writer in 1720 noted the specialities of the county as corn, cattle, wildfowl, wool and woods, especially oak, which it provided in great plenty.[5] The Vale of the White Horse was notably fertile, and provided vast quantities of barley, the foundation of the malt trades of

1. Defoe, Tour, II, pp. 14-15.
2. Great Britain's Vade Mecum (London, 1720) Chapter V.
3. Leigh, England Described, p. 37.
4. Thirsk, Agrarian History, IV, Chapter 1.
5. Great Brit. Vade Mecum, Chapter V.

Berkshire, centring on Abingdon, Faringdon and Reading.[1] Sheep were the concomitant of grain production and the county was noted for wool. In general the county was one of larger and increasing holdings: the arable husbandry which predominated favoured the amalgamation of farms.[2] The shire was fruitful and wealthy, well - served by the Thames and the Kennet for the marketing of its produce.

Although Berkshire was noted for the grazing of sheep, its neighbour, Wiltshire, far exceeded it in this respect. The county divided into two distinct farming regions, the lowlands of the west and the chalk uplands of Salisbury Plain in the east. The eastern chalklands served as a perfect example of that partnership of sheep and plough which would have confused the sixteenth century Englishman. The sheep-fold made arable farming possible on the light chalk soils as Defoe explained:

'The downs or plains, which are generally called Salisbury Plain ..... were formerly all left open to be fed by the large flocks of sheep so often mentioned; but now, so much of these downs are plowed up, as has increased the quantity of corn produced in this county in a prodigious manner, and lessened their quantity of wooll as above; all which has been done by folding their sheep upon the plow'd lands, removing the fold every night to a fresh place, 'till the whole piece of ground has been folded on; this, and this alone, has made these lands, which in themselves are poor, and where, in some places, the earth is not above six inches above the solid chalk rock, able to bear as good wheat, as any of the richer lands in the vales, though not quite so much ....'[3]

1. Defoe, Tour, I, pp. 284, 291.
2. Thirsk, Agrarian History, IV, pp. 65-66.
3. Defoe, Tour, I, pp. 284-285.

Western Wiltshire was mainly an area of wood pasture, where dairying was combined with the cloth trade. Sheep fertilised one part of the county and provided the raw material for the basic livelihood of the other.

Both Dorset and Hampshire shared with Wiltshire the sheep - grazed chalk downlands and the sheep - corn husbandry practised in that county. Leigh estimated that some 300,000 sheep were kept within six miles of Dorchester.[1] Horse breeding and pig fattening were practised in the New Forest, although its soils were light enough to support more arable than in most clay forests.[2] Dorset was famous for hemp, a crop which supported the Bridport rope- making industry.[3] In both counties, sheep - corn husbandry predominated.

Gloucestershire, too, had an extensive area of sheep grazing in the Cotswolds, where excellent wool was produced in conjunction with arable farming.[4] West of the Cotswolds lay a great dairying area which gave the county equal reputation for cheese with Cheshire, although production for export was not as great as in the northern county. Much was exported direct to the colonies through Bristol, although some found its way down the Thames to London. The dairying regions of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire were almost inseparable.

1. Leigh, England Described, p. 67.
2. Thirsk, Agrarian History, IV, pp. 64, 70.
3. Leigh, England Described, p. 68; Great Brit. Vade Mecum, Chapter V.
4. Defoe, Tour, I, pp. 279-282.

Much of the 'Gloucestershire' cheese was actually the product of the contiguous Wiltshire dairying regions. Both were bacon producers on a large scale. The farming of the Cotswolds and of Salisbury Plain was based on the same system - both combined wheat and wool production.[1] Both, with part of Somerset, were areas of cloth production.

To Leigh, Oxfordshire's

'plains are garnished with Cornfields and Meadows, the Hills beset with Woods, stored in every place not only with Corn and Fruits, but also with Game for Hound and Hawk; and well-watered with fish-full Rivers.'[2]

His lyrical description was basically accurate. Oxfordshire divided into three main areas: the Chilterns in the south; the central vale; and the chalk uplands in the north which represent the north-easterly end of the Cotswolds. The Chilterns were mainly wooded and, although the customary wood pasture system predominated, there was also some good ploughland. Pigs were kept, especially in the beech forest, and the hills fell towards the Thames, providing good meadows for cattle keeping.[3] Central Oxfordshire was a region of mixed husbandry, with barley and wheat its major crops. Cereal growing was combined with various kinds of stock keeping.[4] To the north sheep-corn farming and the rearing of beef cattle predominated, the cereals being used for stock feeding. Without access to water transport, the cereal

1. Ibid., I, pp. 281-284.
2. Leigh, England Described, p. 155.
3. Thirsk, Agrarian History, IV, p. 71.
4. Ibid., pp. 66-67.

crops of the north were more economically marketed as meat on the hoof: in the south the county was one of 'abundance' because the Thames provided easy carriage for its cereals.[1]

The three south-western counties contrasted with each other. Cornwall was the least fruitful and was better famed for its metal mining and, according to Leigh, the production of gold, silver and diamonds.[2] Agriculturally, Cornwall was a county of dramatic contrast between the fertile arable valleys and the barren moorlands. The moors only grazed sheep, while the valleys produced corn and cattle. Apart from its minerals, the county also produced wildfowl and fish, especially the great herring fishery which exported its catch to France and Spain.[3] Population growth may have stimulated more intensive cultivation but, in agricultural terms, Cornwall remained the least fruitful of the counties of our area.

Devon, with Dartmoor and Exmoor, was also predominantly pastoral. But it was more populous than Cornwall, and its towns were larger, two facts noticed immediately by Defoe.[4] Within the county lay two large areas of arable farming. One lay in the quadrilateral bounded by Bideford, Barnstaple, South Molton and Torrington. The other was the coastal plain stretching from Plymouth to Kingsbridge, and thence through Newton Abbot to Exeter, and inland along the Exe valley to

1. Ibid; Great Brit. Vade Mecum, Chapter V.
2. Leigh, England Described, pp. 50-51.
3. Great Brit. Vade Mecum, Chapter V.
4. Defoe, Tour, I, p. 259.

Crediton and Broad Clyst.[1] East of Exeter lay the South Hams, famed for the best cider of the region.[2] But the main agrarian occupations of the county was the production of beef cattle and wool to supply the Kersey industry.[3]

Somerset, too, was largely pastoral, although in the west of the county, running south from the Quantocks to Axminster, lay a large and fruitful arable area. Corn, fruit, cattle and sheep were specialisms of the shire.[4] North of Bridgwater lay the coastal flats, an area of rich pasture, which was famous for producing the largest oxen in England.[5] South of Bristol lay a large grazing area, extending to the Mendips, where sheep were folded on the hills, grain was produced, and cattle grazed moor and marsh.[6] Between Bridgwater, Taunton and Glastonbury lay the Somerset Levels, a large area of fenland, where the rich grassland fattened cattle and supported dairying and horse breeding. Cheese, marketed at Cheddar, was one of its products.[7] The eastern area of Somerset was mainly wood pasture, where dairying and pig keeping were practised in association with woollen manufacture. Around Cheddar, Wells and Shepton Mallet, the farming was more diversified, and Cheddar itself was famed not only for cheese but also for teasels and garlic.[8] With teasels, wool was also grown, both for use

1. Thirsk, Agrarian History, IV, pp. 72-73.
2. Defoe, Tour, I, p. 222.
3. Kerridge, Agric. Revol., pp. 149-154.
4. Thirsk, Agrarian History, IV, pp. 75-76.
5. Defoe, Tour, I, p. 271; Great Brit. Vade Mecum, Chapter V.
6. Kerridge, Agric. Revol., pp. 12 -122.
7. Defoe, Tour, I, pp. 270-271.
8. Leigh, England Described, p. 165.

in the cloth industry of the towns of eastern Somerset.[1] The county was densely populated and prosperous, and of great diversity in its agrarian structure.

Warwickshire, our one East Midland county, fell, like Wiltshire, into two quite distinct farming countries: north of a line through Stratford, Warwick and Rugby lay the Forest of Arden: to the south lay the fielden area.[2] Arden was famed mainly for its cheese and its industries, while the southern champion country produced grain and stock, as did northern Oxfordshire.[3] The Forest of Arden was used for dairying, whence came its cheeses, while its towns, particularly Birmingham, Coventry and Warwick, produced metals, cloth and leather. It was also remarkable for the number of store cattle and horses kept by its inhabitants.[4] The agriculture of the county consisted mainly of animal products. The north kept dairy herds and exported cheese, while the south reared and fattened according to the system followed in neighbouring Leicestershire.

In the West Midlands, two counties, Herefordshire and Worcestershire, of great agricultural richness, contrasted with the two more industrial and pastoral northern counties of Salop and Staffordshire. While rivalling each other in fruitfulness, Hereford and Worcester were distinct in terms of landholding: Hereford was enclosed early, while

1. Great Britain Vade Mecum, Chapter V.
2. Ibid., Chapter V; Leigh, England Described, p. 198.
3. Thirsk, Agrarian History, IV, pp. 89-99.
4. Leigh, England Described, pp. 199-200; Defoe, Tour, II, p. 83.

common fields were to be found in over half the townships of Worcester in the late eighteenth century.[1] To Leigh, Hereford had no superior in England for 'three W. W. W. Wheat Wooll and Water' and he called it at the same time 'The orchard of England'.[2] No county rivalled Hereford for its apples, though Worcester was better for pears and cherries. Its apples included the famous 'redstreak' which gave its name to Hereford's finest cider. Hops, too, were grown in the county.[3] Its grasslands fed the famous Hereford cattle, which were sold as stores all over southern England.[4] The author of the Vade Mecum was correct when he said 'It abounds with every thing necessary for the Good of human life': Hereford's agriculture was its principal source of wealth.[5]

Like Herefordshire, Worcester was famed for its fruit, and produced in the Vale of Evesham and the Severn Valley apples, pears and cherries and later other soft fruits.[6] Although corn was grown in the vales, most of the county was open pasture, where cereals and stock rearing were combined.[7] Its neighbour, Shropshire, shared many of these characteristics, though with its woodlands was a more industrial county. In 1720 the Vade Mecum listed the main products of Salop as wheat, barley, wood, pit-coals and iron, its other staple asset being the River Severn. The county town, Shrewsbury, acted as entrepôt in

1. Kerridge, Agric. Revol., pp. 114-115, 147-149.
2. Leigh, England Described, p. 86.
3. Defoe, Tour, II, p. 49.
4. Kerridge, Agric. Revol., p. 149
5. Great Brit. Vade Mecum, Chapter V.
6. Leigh, England Described, pp. 213-218; Great Brit. Vade Mecum, Chapter V.
7. Kerridge, Agric. Revol,, pp. 114-115; Thirsk, Agrarian History, IV, pp. 4, 106.

the Welsh trade, particularly in cloth and cattle. In general both counties possessed the same kind of agrarian economy as that which covered much of the West Midlands.

Staffordshire was similarly an open pasture county, especially in the Trent Valley which was 'embroidered gallantly with cornfields and meadows'.[1] Welsh cattle passing to London through Montgomeryshire and the Severn Valley were fed on Staffordshire's grasslands, and Staffordshire 'horse copers' spread as far as Somerset in their quest for colts to rear. Wolverhampton was a great cattle market while Penkridge was famed for its horses.[2] Although Staffordshire never developed an industrial town comparable to Birmingham, the south of the county was very populous and advanced in its industrial development - not yet Black, but greying gradually.[3] The author of the Vade Mecum listed Staffordshire's products as corn, grass, iron, coal and stone: he was substantially correct, neglecting only the specific uses of the corn and grass.[4]

Our last and most northern county, Cheshire, was almost purely pastoral. Arable land was to be found, but it was not plentiful, and barley was the most important cereal product. Its two forest areas, Macclesfield and Delamere, were noted for cattle, sheep, pigs and

1. Leigh, England Described, p. 174.
2. P. G. Hughes, Wales and the Drovers, (London, 1943), Chapter IV; Defoe, Tour, I, p. 271; Leigh, England Described, p. 175; Defoe, Tour, II, p. 78.
3. Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, p. 120.
4. Great Brit. Vade Mecum, Chapter V.

horses.[1] But to contemporaries, dairying was Cheshire's most important activity. The very name of the county was almost synonymous with 'cheese'. Leigh and the Vade Mecum remarked only on Cheshire cheese and salt, and Defoe expanded their accounts:

> 'The soil is extraordinarily good, and the grass they say, has a peculiar richness in it, which disposes the creatures to give a great quantity of milk, and that very sweet and good; and this cheese manufacture, for such it is, encreases every day, and greatly enriches all the county; raises the value of lands, and encourages the farmers to the keeping vast stocks of cows; the very number of the cattle improving and enriching the land.'[2]

The London market took much of Cheshire's cheese produce. In the years 1687-88 Cheshire cheese accounted for about 80 per cent of the coastwise imports of cheese to London.[3] Cheese was not the only product of the county, but was the symbol of its predominantly pastoral agriculture.

Western England in the period 1660-1760 presented great diversity in its farming systems. The north west and the south west were predominantly pastoral; the East Midlands were mixed farming areas, where grain was converted into fatstock; and the south of our area was mainly an arable area under sheep-corn husbandry. These divisions were relevant to the industrial structure of the area. The type of farming determined the size of the labour supply for industry. As a general rule, the pastoral areas were those where craft industries

1. Thirsk, Agrarian History, IV, pp. 83-84.
2. Defoe, Tour, II, p. 72.
3. McGrath, 'The Marketing of Food' Table 3, p. 230.

flourished: the arable labour cycle left little time for by-employment. Bearing in mind the agricultural divisions, we can now consider the industrial structure of Western England.

Throughout this period the staple British industry was the woollen manufacture. During the sixteenth century wool cloth had been England's sole significant export, and in 1660 it remained the greatest. Three quarters of the exports from London in 1663-69 were woollens. Yet the industry was relatively stagnant.[1] In the years 1699-1701 woollen manufactures represented 47.5 per cent of British exports: by 1772-74 the percentage had fallen to 26.7. In the same period other manufactured goods had grown from 8.4 per cent to 27.4 per cent.[2] Faced in the markets of Western Europe with home substitutes, the share of wool cloth in the export trade fell, although it probably maintained or even increased its absolute size.

The woollen industry was predominantly rural in character, and was located in three main areas: the West Country; East Anglia; and the West Riding of Yorkshire. The West Country was largely pastoral and here the cloth industry flourished. It was aided in its development by the presence of water, local wool, and seams of fuller's earth, but the primary reason for its growth in this area was the labour supply. Wiltshire, Somerset and Devon were the three great cloth counties long

1. R. Davis, 'English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700', pp. 270-271.
2. Idem., 'English Foreign Trade, 1770-1774'.

after the proximity of wool supplies had ceased to have any real significance. By our period, much of the wool used in the West Country was imported. Local supplies could not produce short-staple wool of sufficient fineness.[1] But in the West, the industry was on a larger scale than in Yorkshire. With the coming of industrialisation the northern industry adapted better to a further change in the scale of production.

Of the primary industries, mining and quarrying were the most significant. Here the main centres lay not in the south west, as for woollen manufactures, but in the north west. Apart from Cornish tin, copper and clay, and various stone quarries, the south west had little to export. The iron industry was centred on Shropshire and Worcestershire, and later in Staffordshire. Some coal was mined in Gloucestershire, in the Forest of Dean, but the bulk of national production came from Newcastle. In much of the Midlands, where water transport barely penetrated, local coal supplies were of great importance. Local pits supplied Coventry by 1738.[2] During the eighteenth century the coincidence of coal and clay provided the basis for the potteries of north Staffordshire.[3] In the south of the county the association of coal and iron produced a flourishing hardware industry.[4] In Cheshire, the mining of rock-salt developed rapidly to the

1. W. G. East, 'England in the Eighteenth Century' in H. C. Darby (ed.), An Historical Geography of England, Before 1800 (Cambridge, 1948) pp. 506-507.
2. G. E. Pakenham, Diary, 27 September 1738, p. 65. MS. in the possession of the Earl of Longford.
3. T. S. Ashton, An Economic History of England: the 18th Century (London, 1955) pp. 92-93.
4. Ibid.

detriment of the salt-panning industry of the north east.[1] The rest of our area remained largely agricultural in the period up to 1760.

The majority of industries in this period were small in scale. Most towns had craftsmen and small entrepreneurs producing goods for local needs. But during the century 1660-1760 many areas specialised in their industrial production and became the producers for the nation of products as varied as gloves and locks, cider and nails. Thus the West Midlands harboured a metal industry, while the East was famed for its leather. The town of Wolverhampton was renowned for its locks, West Bromwich for nails, Worcester for gloves, and Northampton for boots.[2] But the scale of industry remained largely unaltered in this period. Recent estimates of the growth of the economy put the rate of growth in the period up to 1745 at only 0.3 per cent per annum, and for the next twenty years at only 1 per cent per annum. The export trades, and coal and soap industries were the main sectors of growth.[3] The industries of Western England advanced significantly but slowly in this period. The area was characterised by small craft and textile industries rather than the large-scale undertakings of heavy capitalisation.

The transport system in many ways controlled the course of

1. Ibid.
2. Hon. Mr. Burton, Journal, 1759, f. 5, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 12. F. 15; W. H. B. Court, The Rise of the Midland Industries (Oxford, 1953), p. 31; W. R. Amphlett, History of the Worcester Glove Trade (Worcester, 1954); W. G. Hoskins, Provincial England (London, 1963) pp. 79-80.
3. Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, pp. 79-80, 83.

industrial development. The classic example was the coal industry of Newcastle: because of its ready access to coastal shipping it was the earliest major coalfield to be developed, while South Wales, apart from some trade with Cornwall, remained largely unexploited until the coming of the railway, or at least until adequate roads were built.[1] For the carriage of goods of great bulk and high density, water transport was the only effective method. Coal and grain were the most difficult commodities to transport overland, and in consequence the most costly. It was not by accident that London had its coal supplies from Newcastle, and its grain from East Anglia. Both regions had ready access to river and coasting trade. While one horse could carry only one eighth of a ton as a pack animal, and five eighths of a ton in draught on 'soft' roads, it could draw a barge of thirty tons burden on a river.[2] In terms of cost, river and coastal transport was superior to land carriage.

Two main river systems dominated Western England: the Thames and the Severn. Defoe described the former as

'the chanel for conveying an infinite quantity of provisions from remote counties to London, and enriching all the counties again that lye near it, by the return of wealth and trade from the city.'[3]

By 1730 the Thames was navigable to Lechlade, the Kennet beyond Reading,

1. J. S. Watson, The Reign of George III (Oxford, 1960) p. 27.
2. A. W. Skempton, 'Canals and River Navigation before 1750' in The History of Technology, ed. C. Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, T. I. Williams (Oxford, 1957), vol. III, p. 438.
3. Defoe, Tour, I, p. 174.

the Lea to Hertford and the Wey south into Surrey. In the West, the Severn was navigable to Welshpool, the Wye to Leominster, and the Avon to Stratford.[1] Cheshire cheese was exported via the Severn or the Trent, and South Midland malt via the Thames.[2] The navigation of these two river systems was an indispensible factor in commerce.[3]

River traffic and the coastal trade were greatly extended in this period and provided a means for the expansion of industry and commerce. The expansion of London, Bristol and Liverpool mirrored not only the growth of external trade but also the importance of navigable rivers. As Adam Smith saw, water transport was vital to economic development:

> 'As by means of water-carriage, a more extensive market is opened to every sort of industry than what land carriage alone can afford it, so it is upon the sea coast, and along the banks of navigable rivers, that industry of every kind begins to subdivide and improve itself.'[4]

By 1760 some 1300 miles of inland waterways were navigable, twice the mileage added by canals before 1800.[5] Water transport, especially the two great river systems of the Thames and Severn, was well developed in Western England by 1760. Around the coast the sea provided a third great channel for commerce. By 1760 only the East Midlands, parts of Somerset, Wiltshire and Hampshire, and central Devon lay more than

1. T. S. Willan, River Navigation in England, 1600-1750 (Oxford, 1936), p. 68.
2. Defoe, Tour, II, p. 72, I, p. 291.
3. For a further note on the navigation of the Severn and its associated rivers, see T. S. Willan, 'The River Navigation and Trade of the Severn Valley (1600-1750)' Econ. Hist. Rev. VIII (1935) pp. 68 f.
4. Adam Smith, Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (London, 1776) Book I, Chapter III.
5. Skempton, History of Technology, III, p. 456.

fifteen miles from navigable water.[1] Water transport was an essential part of the regional economy.

In London quays and wharfs multiplied rapidly as the city's commerce quickened. In spite of the interruption of the coastal trade by war, trade expanded, and even in 1694, Child could remark on its growth:

'I cannot myself remember since there were not in London used so many wharfs and keys for the landing of merchants goods, by at least one third part as there now are; and those that were then could scarce have imployment for half what they could do; and now notwithstanding one third more used to the same purpose, they are all too little in time of peace, to land goods at, that come to London.'[2]

These quays were the links in trade. One would be known as the trading post for Cornish goods, another for the East Anglian ports. Oxfordshire in 1715 was served by 'Bedford barges' from Brooks Wharf, and Cornwall from Fresh Wharf.[3] By 1720, London had nineteen major quays in use, quite apart from the numerous boatmen's stairs which may have served as small-scale exchanges. This excluded the major ports of Billingsgate, St. Katherine's, Puddle Dock and the Three Cranes.[4] To all appearances, water transport was the main method of goods transport up to 1760. The proliferation of wharfs and quays was symptomatic of its expansion.

It is therefore strange to find Defoe, who, for all his prejudices, is normally a reliable source, stating that water transport was far less important than land carriage. To Defoe,

1. Willan, River Navigation, p. 68.
2. Sir Josiah Child, A New Discourse of Trade (2nd.edition, London, 1694) p. 10.
3. A. Hinde, The Merchants and Traders Necessary Companion, (London, 1715) pp. 28, 20.
4. J. Strype, Survey of London (2 vols., London, 1720) Book II, pp. 59, 172.

'..... our river navigation is not to be named for carriage with the vast bulk of carriage by packhorses and by waggons; nor must the carriage by pedlars on their backs be omitted.

This carriage is the medium of our inland trade; and, as I said, is a branch of the inland trade itself.'[1]

This statement is all the more surprising in the light of relative costs. According to Jackman's calculations, river transport cost between one third and one quarter of road carriage in the mid eighteenth century. By the second half of the century, the carriage of one ton of goods from London to Windsor or Maidenhead cost nine shillings by river, and one pound ten shillings by road. Even in the most favourable summer conditions, the minimum rate he found for land carriage was ½d. per hundredweight mile in 1754.[2] Clearly the reason for the great expansion of road traffic lay in something other than cost advantage.

Coal and grain were normally carried by water and coastal or river transport this was crucial in the development of the extra-regional marketing of both commodities. If water carriage was the most efficient for these goods, why not for all others? Why did road transport expand so greatly in this period ? The answer lies in the type of goods carried overland. In a simple way, livestock went overland to market: sheep, cattle and even poultry were driven overland to market. In spite of the weight losses incurred en route, it remained the most efficient means of conveying livestock. Adam Smith singled out livestock as the only commodity for which overland transport had the

1. D. Defoe, The Complete English Tradesman, 1725-27, (1841 edition, Oxford, vols. XVII and XVIII), XVII, p. 260.
2. W. T. Jackman, The Development of Transportation in Modern England (2nd. edition, London, 1962) Appendices 7 and 8, pp. 717 f.

advantage:

'Live cattle are perhaps the only commodity of which transportation is more expensive by sea than by land. By land they carry themselves to market. By sea, not only the cattle but their food and their water too must be carried at no small expense and inconvenience.'[1]

Yet droving, although comprehended in transport was clearly not 'carriage' and land 'carriage' expanded rapidly in this period. A simple comparison of Taylor's (1637) and Hinde's (1715) lists of carriers demonstrates the extent of this growth: between 1637 and 1715 carrier services grew threefold.[2]

Land carriage had the real competitive advantage in its speed, security and convenience. It enjoyed very much the same position of modern road haulage in relation to the railway. Although it was more costly, and on some routes even slower than water carriage, it could deliver commodities to the exact point of demand: it was not restricted by the course of river or coastline. Some form of land carriage could penetrate anywhere. Its advantage was its flexibility.[3]

Western England was dominated by its three post roads, to Plymouth, Bristol and Chester. The routes to most of the major towns of the area lay along these roads or in branches from them. The midland clays were a great barrier to efficient road transport without suitably improved methods of road construction. Defoe singled out Cheshire, Gloucestershire and Warwickshire as counties with considerable trade with London, but which were greatly hampered by poor overland transport.[4]

1. Smith, Wealth of Nations, Book II, Chapter 2.
2. J. Taylor, The Carriers Cosmographie (London, 1637); Hinde, Merch. and Trad. Necess. Comp.
3. For a further discussion of land carriage, see below, Chapter 6.
4. Defoe, Tour, II, p. 131.

It was thought until recently that his eloquent appeal for improvement went unanswered in our period. Before 1748 there were only 160 turnpike trusts in England. From 1748 to 1760 a further 370 were added, perhaps under the stimulus of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion. The real period of improvement was thought to lie after 1760: from 1760-1774 a further 452 road acts were passed and for the first time specialist road engineers made qualitative improvements in surfaces.[1] Riots against turnpikes occurred in Gloucestershire in 1731, and in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire in 1734 and 1735 when the inhabitants resented the gates 'as an expensive obstacle to their journeying to markets and fairs'.[2] But Dr. Albert's recent researches have shown that turnpiking was both more effective and more systematic than used to be thought. 'By 1750 many of the main London routes were almost completely turnpiked.' The major exception was the London - Exeter road.[3] While the road system of Western England cannot have seen revolutionary improvement before 1760, turnpiking was extensive and had assaulted the areas of the most urgent need. Improvements in journey times resulted: London and Birmingham had been three days apart in the 1660s, and only two by the 1750s.[4]

The function of the transport system was to connect centres of

1. P. Mantoux, The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century (2nd. edition, London, 1964) p. 121.
2. D. G. D. Isaac, 'A Study of Popular Disturbances in Britain, 1714-54' (unpublished Edinburgh University Ph. D. thesis, 1953) pp. 106, 119-20.
3. W. Albert, The Turnpike Road System in England, 1663-1840, (Cambridge, 1972), p. 56.
4. See below, Chapters 5 and 6.

commerce. These were the towns and markets to which traders resorted. Taylor's account of the carrier system in 1637 illustrates the marketing system. The carrier trade from London led only to the major market centres. From these towns, other local carriers took goods to the actual point of consumption. The small towns and villages of England rarely had direct communication with the metropolis. The system was one of ever diminishing circles. A package for delivery to a small village in Arden Warwickshire would be taken from London to Stratford or Birmingham. From there another carrier would deliver the goods. Reversing this process, one finds the routes by which goods were brought from the primary producers to small market towns. They were first purchased by local agents, and then resold in the central market towns to national dealers who would convey them to the metropolis or other major centres. The analysis of food supplies for any great town produces a pattern of circles of increasing radius according to the size of the town. Ultimately, London's sphere of influence reached most of Britain.[1]

In Western England there were perhaps four towns in 1660 with populations of over 10,000, namely, Bristol, Exeter, Salisbury and Coventry. There were perhaps twenty more with populations of over 2,500, the majority of which were county towns, although one contemporary put the population of Sherborne, Dorset, at 20,000 in

1. Based on Taylor, Carriers Cosmographie; see also below, Chapter 8.

1729.[1] For the majority of towndwellers the market was the source of food supplies, and of many other necessities of life. Fairs were held for sales on a grander scale, particularly for livestock.[2] London's markets were large and, after the fire, rapidly developed specialised functions. Billingsgate had developed from a port into London's great fish market, although grain, fruits and roots were still sold there in 1720.[3] Outside the metropolis, in the major towns, marketing was less specialised, although some separation of function had long existed. The recurrence of names for streets like Cornmarket, Haymarket, Shambles etc., is sufficient indication of this.[4] Until the establishment of shops, the market was the primary organ of retail trade for most towns.

The history of the shop and its function in the retail trade remains largely unwritten for our period. Addison thought that the 'now familiar village shop was an unheard of convenience in most parts of the country at the beginning of the nineteenth century'.[5] So far as provisions were concerned, he was undoubtedly correct. In the eighteenth century even large towns were unlikely to have many shopkeepers and the villages even fewer. In many of the provision trades no shops existed before 1760. Retail shops were limited to inns,

1. J. Cannon, 'Memoirs of Mr. John Cannon, 1684-1742' Somerset Record Office, DD/SA5 C/1193, p. 191.
2. W. Addison, English Fairs and Markets (London, 1953) pp. 60-62.
3. Strype, Survey of London, II, pp. 165-166.
4. See for example, J. Debarty, Plan of the City of Worcester in 1741 (Worcester, 1741), in which Goose Entry, Dish Market, The Shambles, The Meal Cheapen, Corn Market, Great Fish Street and Beast Market are to be found.
5. Addison, Eng. Fairs and Markets, p. 71.

apothecaries, grocers, mercers and chandlers.[1] The market was the primary if not the sole outlet for retail trade.

During this period regional self-sufficiency in marketing was very much in decline, and markets became more national in their orientation. Although price regions still existed for much of this period, their significance has probably been overrated. Such price fluctuations as existed between Thorold Rogers' six regions demonstrate the reaction to national, not local, disequilibrating pressures.[2] In the light of evidence of the transport system of the period, it is perhaps more realistic to attribute this growth of the national market to London's influence rather than to the improvement of land carriage alone.

Accompanying this decline in local self-sufficiency was a fall in the absolute number of market towns. Trade became concentrated in fewer and larger centres. Although one cannot rely on the evidence of contemporary literary sources with any great confidence, it seems clear that contemporaries producing travellers' guides noted the market towns of significance. For the sixteen major counties of the area, there was a drop in the numbers of market towns of about a quarter by

1. D. Davis in her History of Shopping (London, 1966) has, however, shown shop trading in provisions in eighteenth century London. My assertion is based on probate inventory and occupational census material, discussed below, Chapter 8.
2. C. W. J. Granger and C. M. Elliott, 'A Fresh Look at Wheat Prices and Markets in the Eighteenth Century' Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd. series, XX (1967), pp. 257-265.

1720 compared with the period 1500-1640. It seems clear from Table 2 that this decline was unevenly distributed, although these figures cannot be regarded as conclusive. In the two counties near London,

Table 2: Market Towns in Western England, 1500-1720.[1]

COUNTY	1500-1640	1659	1702	1720
Berkshire	12	12	12	11
Buckinghamshire	15	11	15	15
Cheshire	13	13	13	12
Cornwall	25	22	21	18
Devon	45	37	27	20
Dorset	21	18	20	15
Gloucestershire	34	-	26	19
Herefordshire	9	8	8	8
Middlesex	6	-	7	7
Oxfordshire	13	-	14	12
Shropshire	18	-	14	13
Somerset	39	-	30	25
Staffordshire	19	-	18	16
Warwickshire	17	-	15	13
Wiltshire	23	-	23	20
Worcestershire	11	-	11	11
TOTALS	320	121	274	235

Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, numbers remained constant, and Middlesex, even closer to the metropolis, even gained a new market town - Enfield.

1. Sources: 1500-1640, Agrarian History, IV, pp. 470-475; 1659, Leigh, England Described, pp. 29-89; 1702, T. Harbin, The Traveller's Companion (London, 1702) pp. 41-53; 1720, Great Brit. Vade Mecum, Chapter V.

It seems possible to suggest that with the extension of urban markets, particularly that of the metropolis, the action of agents and middlemen tended to lead to a rationalisation of market centres. The smaller markets tended to be engulfed by their more substantial neighbours. John Price found Thornbury, Gloucestershire '..... of no great trade, or business; being swallowed up by ye neighbourhood of Bristoll'.[1] Cranborne, Dorset, was equally decayed, having 'neither manufacture, trade nor thorowfare to support it'.[2] By 1760, Lechlade market had been greatly engulfed by that of its neighbour, Faringdon.[3]

Although the growth of fewer, larger market centres was the primary reason for this decline in numbers, other factors sometimes assisted the process. Fire and disease were perhaps the most potent enemies of trade. The inhabitants of Glastonbury even attributed the decay of their Tuesday market, and the rise of Somerton, to a divine curse: the decay had started since the construction of a new market house from the stones of Glastonbury abbey.[4] More common a hazard was fire, which affected Warwick in 1694, Chard in 1727, and of course London in 1666. Where fire destroyed a major part of a market town, it may have accelerated its decline. Equally disease, affecting either human beings or livestock, could divert trade from a market for

1. John Price, Diary, 1760, Bodleian, MSS, Top. gen. f. 33-34, f. 12.
2. Rev. Jeremiah Milles, Tours in England and Wales, 1735-43, Brit. Mus., Addit. MSS. 15776, f. 281.
3. Bodleian MSS. Top. gen. f. 33-34, 21 June 1760, f. 3.
4. Somerset R. O., DD/SA 5 C/11/93 p. 206.

good although the interruption was only temporary. This was perhaps a factor limiting such practices as inoculation against smallpox, which might be added to Dr. Razzell's analysis.[1] The case of Chichester aptly illustrated the problem:

> 'The Practice of Inoculation prevails here so prodigiously, that whole Families are flocking to us from all parts, even out of other counties, in order to be inoculated; which will doubtless prove of immediate Advantage to those concern'd in the Management of that Practice, but will probably end in the Ruin of the Place, as it contributes not only to spread, but also to continue the smallpox amongst us, long enough at least to deprive our Markets of the little trade we have left, and to divert it into some neighbouring Channel, which Experience of other Places shows it may never be in ours or our Posterity's Power to recover.'[2]

Outbreaks of cattle murrain, particularly in the period 1745-67, also had adverse effects on markets. Justices were forced by the disease to prohibit all markets and fairs, as in Wiltshire in 1753, in an effort to stop its spread.[3] This may also have been a factor accelerating the decline of poorer markets. The halting of markets, even for a single season, provided the opportunity for further rationalisation.

At the same time as marketing became located in fewer centres, markets became freer as the old restrictions were ignored. Westerfield demonstrated the great growth of middlemen in this period, and suggested that by 1760 the corn trade was almost entirely free of control. Apart

1. P. E. Razzell, 'Population Change in Eighteenth-Century England. A Reinterpretation,' Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd. series, XVIII (1965) p. 317.
2. The Daily Post, 6557, 12 Sept. 1740, p. 1.
3. C. F. Mullett, 'The Cattle Distemper in Mid-Eighteenth Century England' Agricultural History, 20, no. 3., (1946), pp. 144-65.

from liquor licensing, no governmental restraints existed.[1] In the cattle trade 'the complete failure of all legislation restraining the trade was most pronounced'.[2] For the mid eighteenth century his analysis was largely correct, although local evidence would suggest that he overstated his case. At least until 1700, presentments for 'forestalling and regrating' appear in Quarter Sessions, although they normally coincide with years of harvest failure. A sessions order of 1710 described middlemen as 'common oppressors of the poor' and barred the purchase of corn before it came to open market.[3] In that year the price index of consumables had risen over 120 points above the previous year and over 200 above the average for the years 1701-1708.[4] Devizes legislated against 'foreigners' as late as 1740.[5] Although this period undoubtedly saw the development of middlemen in English commerce, it did not see the complete disappearance of regulation. Middlemen remained the scapegoats for high prices, and were frequently prosecuted as such. So far as agricultural marketing was concerned, the English economy was not, by 1760, entirely dominated by the concepts of laissez-faire.

Parallel with the rise of middlemen was the growth of private marketing. The open market declined as an institution for the sale of

1. R. B. Westerfield, 'Middlemen in English Business, Particularly, Between 1660 and 1760' Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 19 (1915), p. 185.
2. Ibid., p. 217.
3. Somerset R. O., Quarter Sessions Minute Book, 4, Easter 1710, f. 34. Soms. R. O., C Q 2, 2/3 (4).
4. E. H. Phelps-Brown and S. V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables. Compared with Builders' Wage Rates,' Economica, (1956), reprinted in E. M. Carus-Wilson (ed.), Essays in Economic History, II, (London, 1962) pp. 179-196.
5. B. H. Cunnington (ed.), Some Annals of the Borough of Devizes (Devizes, 1925) pp. 210-211.

agricultural produce.

'So far as retail foods were concerned, it is true, the decline of the open market was probably relative rather than absolute; even today it remains an important feature of big Midland towns like Leicester; but it is indisputable that by 1760 a much greater proportion of the provision trade in general, and especially the wholesale trade, took place in private premises exempt from the eye of urban officials.'[1]

The major part of the wholesale business was transferred to inns or alehouses, where constricting market regulations did not apply, and the factors could conduct business in a more convivial atmosphere.[2] In some cases, traders may even have been driven to private marketing by the shortage of space in the market place. In 1682 Salisbury was so crowded for its 'Twelme Market' that the Wiltshire Justices had to postpone Quarter Sessions, for 'Convenient entertainement' could not '..... be provided for p[er]sons resorting to the sayd markett and Sessions together'.[3] The size of the market confluence can be judged from the fact that in 1686 Salisbury inns had beds for 548 people, and room for 865 horses in their stables.[4] In general the forces leading to private marketing were those of convenience. Business was more easily and more comfortably conducted away from market regulations and tolls.

As middlemen increased their range of activity and purchased in

1. A. M. Everitt, 'The Food Market of the English Town, 1660 to 1760' Troisième Conférence Internationale d'Histoire Economique, Munich, 1965 (Paris, 1968), p. 69.
2. See below, Chapter 8.
3. Wiltshire R. O., Quarter Sessions Order Book, 4, Epiphany 1681/2, Wilts. R. O., A2/13/ 4.
4. 'Abstract of a Particular Account of All the Inns Alehouses etc., With their Stable Room and Bedding in the Year 1686' Public Record Office, War Office Papers, W. O. 30/48.

greater volume, the practice of selling by sample became prevalent. The retail trade continued to purchase in open market, but wholesalers, relinquishing the protection of town officials in respect of weights and measures, sought to escape the limitation placed by many towns on the amount of grain individuals could purchase in open market, and so bought by sample. Maulsters were regularly restricted in their purchase of barley, especially after a poor harvest, and were perhaps one of the earliest groups of middlemen to engage in private marketing. In Hereford, in the seventeenth century private marketing was stimulated by the overcrowding of the market house. Shopkeepers and tradesmen outside, who had formerly complained that corn factors and sample bags were blocking their trade, were by 1706 firm supporters of the system. They feared the loss of custom which had been drawn to their shops by the grain dealers outside.[1] Similar regulations were attempted in many towns, generally without success. The City of London drove dealers outside its jurisdiction in its attempt to restrict trade to the recognized marts.[2] Other corporations were more realistic, although equally concerned to prevent the dispersal of commodity markets. In 1725 Worcester established its Leather market at the 'Raine-Deer' Inn, and employed searchers to ensure that leather was not sold elsewhere.[3] Private marketing developed because it was the most efficient method

1. Hereford City Records, 'The Pilley Collection of MSS. Relating to Hereford Markets etc.,' Hereford Public Library 091. 42 ff. 8-10.
2. McGrath, 'Marketing of Food' Chapter IV, pp. 34 f.
3. The Weekly Worcester Journal, 30 July 1725.

of securing supplies. It developed out of economic necessity rather than the decline or absence of regulation.

A third development in marketing in this period was the extension of market days, either in number or duration. As the distribution of agricultural produce became concentrated in fewer centres, the established marketing system became inadequate. Abingdon was one of England's greatest cereal markets: it had few rivals in the meal trade.[1] Its established market days were Monday and Friday. In 1737 the Burgesses of the Borough petitioned the King for a corn and grain market on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday.[2] The market had grown so large that a regular daily market was needed to satisfy demand. Macky found a similar situation in Plymouth: 'They have Three Market Days a week; but the great number of foreign ships that touch here, makes a Market every day'.[3] At Taunton the need was supplied by extended market hours. Its Saturday market was often carried on late into the night, even into Sunday morning. Such 'dishonour of God' was intolerable, and the Justices set 10 p.m. as the closing hour for the market.[4] Both forms of extension were symptomatic of increased trade; both were equally demonstrative of the inflexibility of the established marketing system. Private markets grew up as the answer to both problems.

1. Somerset R. O., DD/SA 5 C/11/93 p. 76.
2. Berkshire R. O., Petition and Order for Increasing the Numbers of Abingdon Markets, May and June 1737, D/EP3/3.
3. John Macky, A Journey Through England, In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to his friend Abroad (London, 1722) vol. II.
4. Somerset Record Society, vol. 34, Somerset Quarter Sessions Records, Minute Book, (Taunton, 1919) no. 12 p. 134.

Three main trends can therefore be discerned in marketing in this period: middlemen increased both in numbers and scope of activity; the wholesale trade left the open market and depended upon private contracts for its supplies; market towns declined in number and, in consequence commercial activity in the remainder grew appreciably.

The other traditional form of marketing, the fair, presents the historian with many problems. They are poorly documented, even in comparison with markets, and are even more difficult to analyse satisfactorily. The primary distinction to be drawn between fairs and markets is that of frequency. Fairs were seasonal or annual events, markets weekly. This implies that fairs were originally for the exchange of commodities on a grand scale in a society which was largely self-supporting in its day - to - day needs.[1] Dealing in large quantities of agricultural produce, they became the major wholesale markets of pre-industrial England. By 1760 they were dominated by middlemen, whose dealings were conducted solely in their pocket-books. At the same time, the trappings of fairs, their sideshows and entertainments, became more evident.[2]

This simplified account of fairs requires considerable modification. Although it is probable that middlemen came to dominate them, this was not to say that they declined in size or number. The really great fairs, Stourbridge and Weyhill in particular, retained their reputation throughout this period, and probably expanded their custom. These were

1. Addison, Eng. Fairs and Markets, p. 60.
2. Westerfield, 'Middlemen' p. 340.

however, nationally-known fairs, which drew agents and businessmen from all over England. The majority of towns of any size also had various fairs throughout the year. In Herefordshire, six towns - Pembridge, Bromyard, Ross, Leominster, Kingsland and Hereford - had annual fairs, Ross having five. Salisbury and Devizes had seven each.[1] The great Weyhill fair was annually held on the downs some miles from Andover, and in Wiltshire, as well as those fairs held in the major towns, fairs were kept at 'Yarnbury Castle' and 'Countess Court Downs'.[2] Either in town or country, the fair had one great advantage over the market. It was originally a greater concentration of produce and had long been relatively free of regulations. Part of the great appeal of the fair lay in its freedom - even licensing laws did not apply to those selling at fairs. In the fair, the middleman was given ample room for his activities.

Fairs may not have declined in number in our period as much as market towns, and there may even have been a slight increase between 1660 and 1750.[3] The middlemen whose activities expanded so greatly in this period were already familiar visitors to the seasonal fairs. There was consequently less pressure to rationalise their numbers and catchment areas, although it is clear that many fairs were held in name only. In London several 'pretended' fairs were kept, which had

1. C. Riders, The British Merlin (London, 1660).
2. C. Riders, The British Merlin (London, 1750).
3. Riders, British Merlin, for 1660 and 1750. In 1660, 1197 fairs are listed, in 1750, 1278.

little economic significance, and consisted almost entirely of side-shows and booths. 'Greengoose Fair' held at Stratford-le-Bow consisted mainly of 'drolls poppitt shows interludes & other unlawfull games' in 1709, and had no significance as a market.[1] Fairs displayed a clear seasonal pattern; they were at their peak in June, for the wool clip, and remained high through July to November for the harvest. Activity in marketing, as in many craft industries, was determined by the seasonal pattern of English agriculture.[2] One cannot be sure how many fairs were as trivial as Greengoose Fair: what is certain is that in 1760 the fair was still a vital organ of English commerce.

Two further factors in the economy of Western England remain for consideration: population and retail trade. Since some discussion of the latter has already taken place, it can perhaps be set aside at this stage. The study of the shop is linked so closely with that of the inn that the two cannot be discussed in isolation. Retail trade will be examined more fully below.[3]

What is known of the patterns of population growth during this period reinforces the impression that few concentrations of size sufficient to encourage the investment of capital in shops existed before 1760. On the basis of Deane and Cole's calculations, only three of our counties, Middlesex, Warwickshire and Gloucestershire, succeeded

1. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 669, June 1709, p. 36.
2. Seasonal pattern derived from Riders, British Merlin, as above; see also, T. S. Ashton, Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800 (Oxford, 1959) pp. 27 f.
3. See below, Chapter 8.

Table 3: The Population Structure of Western England, 1701-1780.[1]

	POPULATION (In 1000s)				NATURAL INCREASE (Per 1000)		MIGRATION (Per 1000)	
	1701	1751	1781[a]	1781[b]	1701-50	1751-80	1701-50	1751-80
Berks.	76.8	86.0	104.3	108.7	4.3	10.7	-2.0	-2.9
Bucks.	75.3	81.7	100.1	97.7	0.6	7.1	1.0	-1.2
Cheshire	100.2	107.6	154.3	163.3	2.1	10.6	-0.6	3.3
Cornwall	122.4	132.0	173.9	157.5	3.4	13.4	-1.9	-7.5
Devon	331.1	306.5	291.2	291.2	0.4	6.8	-1.9	-8.4
Dorset	87.4	88.3	112.5	102.6	3.1	8.5	-2.9	-3.5
Gloucs.	155.2	203.0	225.5	232.3	3.3	7.0	2.1	-2.5
Herefs.	74.2	70.4	84.7	88.4	5.3	9.7	-6.3	-2.1
Middx.	582.8	590.2	643.2	677.8	-15.6	-9.3	15.8	14.0
Oxon.	84.0	89.2	101.0	102.1	4.2	9.6	-3.0	-5.1
Salop.	117.4	126.1	144.7	149.5	3.9	12.5	-2.5	-6.8
Somerset	214.1	222.5	240.9	252.8	1.0	8.5	-0.2	-4.2
Staffs.	124.1	140.6	189.0	190.5	6.9	14.4	-4.4	-4.3
Warwicks.	97.4	124.8	171.8	177.7	2.8	5.3	2.2	6.5
Wilts.	150.3	157.2	180.9	184.6	3.9	4.6	-3.0	0.8
Worcs.	102.7	95.8	121.2	129.9	3.9	8.6	-5.3	1.6
Sub-Total	2495.4	2623.9	3039.2	3098.6	2.1	8.6	-0.6	-1.3
England and Wales	5826.0	6140.0	7531.0	7531.0	1.1	6.8	±2.3	±2.4

a. Based upon Birth, Marriage and Burial figures.
b. From marriage data alone.

1. Compiled from Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, Table 24, p. 103, and Table 26, p. 115.

in attracting migrants before 1780, and this trend was reversed in Gloucestershire after 1750. All the other counties lost through migration at least part of their 'natural increase' at rates varying between 0.2 per thousand in Somerset and 6.3 per thousand in Herefordshire.[1] Overall, as can be seen from Table 3, the period was one of slow population growth in Western England. Only from the last decade of our period did the pace of natural increase begin to quicken. Apart from Middlesex, where immigration compensated for the great natural wastage of population, few counties in the area managed to retain the whole of their natural increase.

Some rather interesting patterns emerge from the figures of Table 3, which seem to have passed largely unnoticed among economic historians.[2] The figures suggest some correlation between occupations and the rate of natural increase. In the pastoral/industrial North and West this averaged 5.6 per thousand in the period 1701-50, and 5.9 in Wales, a county of pasture par excellence. The great grain counties of southern and eastern England produced a considerably lower average of 2.2 per thousand. Hertfordshire averaged only 0.4 per thousand; Norfolk 1.4; Suffolk, 1.6; and Cambridgshire 2.2. Excluding the London area, the national average was some 3.7 per thousand.[3] In Chambers' words:

1. Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, p. 115.
2. An exception,in a book published long after these conclusions had been reached, was J. D. Chambers, Population, Economy and Society In Pre-Industrial England, (Oxford, 1972) pp. 116-117.
3. Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, Table 26, p. 115.

'The reserve army of labour for the process of industrialization was provided not by the proletarianization of the peasantry and flight to the towns, but by the differential rate of growth of the industrial areas themselves, together with the adjacent agricultural districts.'[1] If further research were to substantiate these tentative conclusions, which are based on the dubious evidence of the Parish Register Abstracts, then further weight would be added to Dr. Thirsk's stress on social and agricultural factors in determining industrial development.[2]

The source materials upon which it would be possible to estimate urban population in this period are equally far from perfect, though some, the Poll Taxes and the Hearth Taxes have yet to be used by historians on any appreciable scale: their most diligent student remains Gregory King. Yet population estimates are not the only means of assessing the importance of towns relative to each other. Inn accommodation may serve as a guide to the size and commercial importance of towns. On this basis the commercial hierarchy of towns in Berkshire in 1686 was as follows: Reading; Windsor; Abingdon; Wallingford; Maidenhead; Newbury; and Faringdon. Middlesex, excluding London, was led by Uxbridge, Brentford and Hounslow in the same year.[3] The derived patterns are generally consistent with the picture of commerce suggested by literary sources like Defoe.

The distribution of inns also suggests their significance as units in commercial society. In 1686, no less than 353 settlements in Devon

1. Chambers, Pop., Econ. and Soc., p. 117.
2. J. Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside' in F. J. Fisher (ed.), Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge, 1961) pp. 70-88.
3. P.R.O., WO 30/48.

had inns or alehouses.[1] Thus, in the later seventeenth century Devon had one fair town for every 274,000 acres, one market town for every 52,000 and a town with an inn or alehouse for every 5,455.[2] The inn was probably the most widespread form of retail outlet. It will be seen in the ensuing chapters that the inn acted not only as an element in transport, but also as a market and a place of business. No other commercial institution was so widely-distributed: even the smallest villages had inns or alehouses a century before shops.

It is this that makes the inn an interesting subject for the study of commerce, and Western England a reasonably representative area of England, 1660-1760 - sufficiently diversified though with a bias towards pasture farming. Craft and cottage industries flourished, and in the North West lay nascent heavy industry. Both road and river transport were well-deployed, and over 200 market towns were to be found. Although no homogeneous region and far from the chimerical microcosm, it provides sufficient diversity to represent an adequate sample. It is on this basis that the place of the inn in commerce is examined in the ensuing chapters.

1. Ibid.
2. Riders, British Merlin, 1660; Leigh, England Described, p. 67; P.R.O. WO 30/48.

CHAPTER 2: INNS, ALEHOUSES, AND THE LAW

In the course of the preceding chapter, the terms 'inn' and 'alehouse' were used almost synonymously. In legal terms this was incorrect, since the two were quite distinct. Before proceeding to examine the commercial significance of inns in the period 1660-1760, it is necessary, therefore, to establish their legal standing and obligations. The following chapter therefore provides an assessment of the statutory and real distinctions between inns, alehouses and taverns. It attempts further to illustrate the pattern of legal and public attitudes to the retail liquor trade, and the executive measures taken in its regulation. Finally, the use of inns and alehouses by Justices of the Peace, for legal or quasi-judicial administrative functions, is considered. It is suggested that the study of the legal position and uses of inns is very far from being a barren one. Many of its results are germane to our major theme - that the inn was a vital organ of English commerce in the century 1660 to 1760.

It is necessary first to define our terms of reference. During the course of the text inns, taverns, alehouses and coffee shops will be frequently alluded to and they must be distinguished. In strict legal terms, the primary division was between inns and all other forms of liquor retailing. 'Every inn is not an alehouse, nor every alehouse an inn; but if an inn uses common selling of ale, it is then also an

alehouse; and if an alehouse lodges and entertains travellers, it is also an inn.'[1] Inns need not sell liquor at all to exist as inns: it was simply more convenient for trade that they did so. The word 'common' was of vital significance. It implied that the inn offered ale or other liquor to all and sundry, and not simply to its guests. The alehouse licence granted to an inn could be withdrawn without affecting its status, and without stopping the sale of liquor to guests. The Wiltshire Justices issued such an order in 1660, and very carefully drew the distinction between inn and alehouse. One Phineas Hayme of Ludwell was convicted of selling ale and beer 'out of time' and suffering much tippling and disorder in his inns. The Court therefore ordered

> '..... that the said house or Inns shalbee suppressed as to its beinge an Alehouse; And that from hence forward hee the said Phineas Hayme shall not suffer any tipling or disorder in his said Inne, or sell any Ale or beare out of the same or to any p[er]son or p[er]sons in his said Inne & saveinge to such as are travellers and guests in the said Inne, And the said house or Inne as to its being an Alehouse is & doth stand suppressed.'[2]

In the courts, at least, this primary distinction could be drawn.

In London this legal separation of function was probably most evident in practice. There, the great concentration of population allowed inns and alehouses to function as separate entities. The same was true of most large towns. In the small towns and villages this division became more blurred. Without the contemporary distinction

1. Richard Burn, The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer, (23rd. edition, London, 1820), p. 30.
2. Wiltshire R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 2, Michaelmas 1660, p. 183.

drawn between 'innholder' and 'victualler' it would be difficult to distinguish the two. For rural Middlesex, this is illustrated by the inventories of Roger West, of Cowley Street, Hillingdon, 'Victualler'[1] and Edward Lock, of Heston, 'Innholder'.[2] Apart from Lock's stock of hay and two horses, there was little to suggest that Lock kept an inn, and West an alehouse. Indeed, West appeared to have considerably more bedroom space for the accommodation of guests. Many houses termed 'alehouses' by contemporaries, must in fact have been inns. Apart from the exceptional cases like that of Phineas Hayme, it is doubtful whether the distinction was of any great significance. Such licensing records as exist for this period do not demonstrate the general application of this distinction. Its importance was only realized when Justices engaged in the wholesale suppression of alehouse licences. Then, inns survived while alehouses and taverns were closed down.[3]

Some alehouses may in fact have offered beds to travellers, not as inns but as lodging houses. Here the division was clear, and precedent added weight to the statutory guides. Cayle's Case, of Easter, 26 Elizabeth, remained the vital precedent for the whole of our period. This basic distinction was unaffected by legislation, and is still valid. Coke's Reports expressed the legal position most clearly:

'An Inn is a house, the owner of which holds out that he will receive all travellers and sojourners who are willing to pay a price adequate to the sort of accommodation provided, and who come in a situation in which they are fit to be received. A lodging house keeper on

1. Middlesex R. O., M1/1704/6.
2. Middlesex R. O., M1/1721/3.
3. See below, pp. 56 f.

the other hand makes a contract with every man that comes, whereas an innkeeper is bound without making any special contract to provide lodging and entertainment for all at a reasonable price.'[1]

A later judgment expressed the position more succinctly - the inn's 'ordinary purpose' was 'ad hospitandos homines'.[2]

Taverns existed for the sale of wine, and were licensed either in Quarter Sessions or by royal prerogative. For most of our period the latter seems to have been the normal method, although the records of the City of Oxford illustrate the issuing of wine licences by magistrates in exactly the same way as inns and alehouses.[3] To contemporaries the tavern was '..... a degree, or (if you will) a pair of stairs, above an alehouse, where men are drunk with more credit and apology'.[4] Above all, it was the parent of the coffee house. By the mid eighteenth century the terms were readily interchangeable.[5] Taverns were therefore related to inns and alehouses, in that they retailed liquor, but were rather more specialised institutions.

It is therefore possible to separate inn, alehouse and tavern in legal terms. Contemporary nomenclature was both imprecise and confusing, and hence, for the purposes of this study it has been accepted only with severe reservations. Inns and alehouses fall within our scope,

1. Coke's Reports, (London, 1826), Volume IV, p. 202.
2. Lord Ellenborough in case of Burgess v. Clements, Trinity 55 George III, (1815), in G. Maule and W. Selwyn, Reports of Cases in the Court of King's Bench (London, 1814-1817) IV, pp. 310-11.
3. S.and B. Webb, The History of Liquor Licensing in England, Principally from 1700 to 1830, (London, 1903) pp. 19-20.
4. John Earle, Microcosmography, quoted in S. and B. Webb, op. cit., p. 18.
5. For numerous examples of taverns developing into coffee houses, see, B. Lillywhite, London Coffee Houses, (London, 1963).

but taverns and coffee houses generally do not. They were in reality separate institutions, and were not comprehended by the term 'inn'. Taverns were from the very beginning wine-shops. They did not, therefore, have the wide clientele of the inns or alehouses. Their major retail commodity, wine, appealed to the higher strata of society. Although the term was applied quite loosely, during the eighteenth century, to many varied drinking places, a functional distinction has been drawn.[1] Where 'tavern' clearly means 'inn' or 'alehouse' it falls within the compass of this study: in its strict sense, of wine-shop, it lies beyond our boundary.

Before examining the practical methods of licensing in the liquor trade, it is necessary to consider the major statutory regulations. To the Webbs, this was 'a period of extreme laxness'.[2] At first glance their conclusion seems fully justified. Until 1753, the licensing system was that created by the statute of 5 and 6 Edward VI, (1552), 'For Keepers of Alehouses and Tip[p]ling Houses to be bound by Recognisance'.[3] No major legislation was introduced for the government of alehouses until the end of our period - the majority of statutes were corrective and extensive rather than constructive. The Jacobean statutes were concerned mainly with the repression of drunkenness, through penalties exacted on the licensee, and with the enforcement of

1. S. and B. Webb, Liquor Licensing., p. 18n.
2. Ibid., p. 15.
3. 5 and 6 Edward VI c. 25.

licensing.[1] Eighteenth century legislation was aimed more towards the regulation of gin, perhaps from purely fiscal motives, that of the liquor trade in general, although the short-lived statute of 2 George II, (1729) did attempt a more comprehensive approach.[2] For all the noises made in Parliament about the liquor trade, very little was enacted to regulate it.

The act of 1552 certainly allowed the Justices considerable freedom in licensing alehouses. It did, however, exert restraint on the numbers of alehouses, since before it took effect, anyone was free to keep an alehouse without a licence. The act established,

'..... That none after the first day of May next coming shall be admitted or suffered to keep any common Alehouse or Tippling House, but such as shall be thereunto admitted and allowed in the open Session of the Peace, or else by two justices of the Peace, whereof the one of them to be of the Quorum, and that the said justices of the Peace shall take Bond and Surety from time to time by Recognizance of such as shall be admitted ..... hereafter to keep any common Alehouse or Tippling House, as well for and against the using of unlawful games as also for the using and maintenance of good order and rule to be had and used within the same, as by their discretion shall be though necessary and convenient; for the making of every which Recognizance the party or parties that shall be so bound shall pay but 12 pence.

And that the said justices shall certify the same Recognizance at the next Quarter Sessions of the Peace ..... the same Recognizance there to remain of record before the justices .....'[3]

Justices had the power to dismiss recognizance of those already suppressed, or those alehouses which were superfluous to local needs.[4] In fact, they had at their discretion full powers to regulate and

1. See, 1 James I, c. 9; 4 James I, c. 4; 3 Charles I, c. 4.
2. 2 George II, c. 28. It was mainly concerned with 'Brandy and other distilled liquor,' but was ineffectual and was repealed in 1733.
3. 5 and 6 Edward VI c. 25.
4. J. Bond, A Compleat Guide for Justices of the Peace, (London, 1696), Part I, p. 37.

suppress inns and alehouses, although, according to the Webbs, they may not have made full use of them. It is therefore of some importance to assess the practical workings of the licensing system in our period. Did the Civil War mean that after 1660 the Justices were 'abandoned entirely to their own devices'[1] and that this absence of central initiative produced total apathy?

Evidence is plentiful of Justices granting licences in open sessions of the peace in accordance with the statute of 1552. Entries of grants of licences abound in the Quarter Sessions Order and Minute Books for much of our period, although none of the Counties of Western England seems to have entered licences systematically. It is clear from these order books that for the whole of our period, the bulk of actual licensing was done by Justices acting in private sessions. No county apart from Middlesex seems to have made any effort to record these grants systematically before this was established by statute in 1753.[2] Middlesex started keeping registers of licences in the early eighteenth century, probably because of the county's special problems of regulation.[3] Justices in quarter sessions acted mainly in the suppression of disorderly houses, and in the enforcement of licensing. Entries of convictions for disorder or keeping an unlicensed house were far more common than those granting licences. Those who sought licences in open sessions normally had particular reasons for so doing. Edward

1. S. and B. Webb, Liquor Licensing, p. 14.
2. 26 George II, c. 31.
3. Middlesex R. O., L. V. 3-7, Licensed Victuallers 1716-60.

Davies of Lechlade, Gloucestershire, sought his licence in open court because of a mistaken order for his suppression at Epiphany 1701/2. Even here, the Court left the actual grant of his licence to the 'said Justices of the said division'.[1] The Warwickshire Justices made special provision for the licensing of the Keeper of the county gaol in 1657, and in the same session made good the licence of one Jeremy Ward of Bedworth, who was omitted at the previous licensing.[2] In general, licensing by two justices acting outside the open sessions of peace seems to have been the norm. Only cases which presented unusual problems came before the court.

Licensing by Justices acting in their divisions was not enacted until 1729,[3] and was not finally established until 1753.[4] The act of 1552 had allowed any two Justices to license alehouses. The Webbs took this as a clear indication of corruption, or at least the opportunity for venality. Yet the evidence suggests a different picture, even in Middlesex where the great consumption of spirits made the regulation of licensing difficult. The 'Brewster Sessions' created by the act of 1753 seem to have represented a codification of existing practice rather than a formulation of a new system. The petty sessions of peace had long been the instrument of licensing. In Wiltshire, the Justices of the Peace were ordered not to grant licences except to those in the division in which they lived in 1697.[5] Similar systems

1. Gloucs. R. O., Quarter Sessions Order Book, 3 Easter 1702.
2. Warwick County Records, IV, Quarter Sessions Order Books, 1657-1665, (Warwick, 1938) pp. 1,3.
3. 2 George II, c. 28.
4. 26 George II, c. 31.
5. Wilts. R.O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 5, Easter 1697.

were in use in Herefordshire in 1672,[1] Somerset in 1674,[2] and Gloucestershire in 1684.[3] Indeed, in Herefordshire the licensing sessions were held in April, and the exact dates and locations published at Quarter Sessions. The ten divisions of the county each held licensing sessions on various days from 1 - 13 April 1672, mostly in the inns of the major towns of the division.[4] The system was so widely practised by 1684 that the Devon Justices referred to it when establishing a similar one in their own county. They created regular and formal licensing sessions 'according to the law and usage of other Countyes'.[5] Licensing was therefore carried on by two Justices in the privy sessions of the division in which they lived.

This system, established as practice in this period, arose because it was convenient to formalize procedure. The habit of licensing at Petty Sessions became the normal method. It is clear that, a justice granting licences to those living outside his own division of the county, was exceeding the bounds of customary law, even if he was empowered so to do by statute. The corporate desire of Justices in General Quarter Sessions was always to limit such abuses, although as individuals many may have found indiscriminate licensing profitable.

Middlesex presented one of the greatest problems in the administration of liquor retailing because of its large population. But the

1. Herefs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Epiphany 1671/2, f. 202.
2. Somerset Record Society, vol. 34, Quarter Sessions Records, Minute Book 1666-76, (Taunton, 1919) Epiphany 1674, p. 150.
3. Gloucester R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 2, Easter 1684.
4. Herefs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Epiphany 1671/2, f. 202.
5. Devon, R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Easter 1684.

Justices continued to attempt control, even if they were unsuccessful. Because local licensing sessions had led to abuses, the County ordered all sessions to be held at Hicks Hall, from 1675.[1] The answer to inefficiency was sought in centralization. In 1716, earlier orders restraining Justices from granting licences to those living outside their 'divisions and parishes' were repeated.[2] So regular was this arrangement that when noting the precepts of the act of 1729,[3] which established both licensing sessions and restrictions on Justices licensing outside their divisions, the Court resolved to licence 'as has normally been done at the usual sessions'.[4] Long before the passing of this act, its main conditions had been matters of administrative habit. As in the case of the Elizabethan Poor Law, Parliament merely codified local practice.

The Justices also attempted to restrict the numbers of alehouses, although they can have met with little success in the metropolitan area. It is impossible to produce an accurate assessment of their success in this matter, since quantitative material is lacking. Even in Middlesex, the registers of licensed victuallers which were kept from the early eighteenth century, only record the numbers of licences granted. Table 4 indicates only that licensing was more effective in the rural areas, where enforcement was easier. The figures for

1. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 321, February 1674/5.
2. Middx. R. O., Orders of Court, Vol. I, f. 14, (1716).
3. 2 George II, c. 28.
4. Middx. R. O., Orders of Court, III, f. 204^{d} - 205, (1729).

metropolitan Middlesex indicate the problems facing the Justices. The parish officers could not effectively control unlicensed premises in London. The city was far too large for the existing system of enforcement to handle, and, in consequence, the numbers of those who found it necessary to seek licences fluctuated quite widely.

Table 4: The Numbers of Licensed Victuallers in Two Urban and Two Rural Divisions of Middlesex, 1716-60.[1]

	Urban		Rural	
	Holborn	Tower	Edgware	Uxbridge
1716	-	1286	-	-
1723	699	1331	63	64
1730	740	1326	68	72
1732	710	1717	68	55
1751	664	985	65	-
1759	682	-	65	84
1760	680	1070	67	-

Middlesex was exceptional, mainly because of its large population and the gin problem. The consumption of gin in the eighteenth century requires further study, but it seems unlikely that 'gin mania' affected places other than London. In the provinces, Justices continued to restrict the numbers of licences, where possible, according to the spirit of the law - '..... no licence was granted unless upon inquiry it was found that such a house was in that place really wanted for the

1. Compiled from Middx. R. O., L.V. 3-7.

convenience of the neighbourhood'.[1] In Worcester the City by-laws restricted the numbers of licences to be granted in each ward, although the total was about 50.[2] In Herefordshire the Justices made regular enquiries about the numbers licensed in the county, and in 1682 demanded full accounts of alehouses from Chief constables.[3] The 1750s saw a systematic purge of unlicensed houses in Somerset, where the tradition of cider production made evasion of duty a particular problem. Between 1751 and 1760, convictions for keeping an alehouse without license averaged 35 per annum.[4] The Justices used existing statutes to administer the system to the best of their ability. The statute of 16 George II (1743) was intended to control the gin mania by licensing only existing liquor outlets for its sale.[5] The Middlesex Justices refined its provisions in executing the act by introducing a time limit. Only alehouses, taverns etc., which had been in existence for the previous three years were to be licensed, since there were already 'far more than sufficient to answer any necessary end or purpose'.[6]

In spite of these efforts the licensing system remained inefficient. The rapid and unchecked growth of gin consumption was symptomatic of the whole problem of licensing. Many retailers sold '..... privately in garrets, cellars, back rooms and other places not publicly exposed

1. Lord Harvey, speaking against the 1743 licensing bill, quoted in S. and B. Webb, Liquor Licensing, pp. 31-32.
2. Worcester City Records, c. 16, the Liber Legum, No. 119.
3. Herefs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Epiphany 1676/7, f. 64.
4. Somerset R. O., Quart. Sess. Minute Book, 7 and 8, Epiphany 1750/51 to Michaelmas 1760.
5. 16 George II, c. 8.
6. Middx. R. O., Orders of Court, V, f. 234, July 1751.

to view.,' and therefore escaped the notice of parish officers. Many searchers and constables were themselves victuallers, and were hardly interested in improving the efficiency of the system.[1] The Justices were heavily dependent on the information of these officers in the administration of the law. In Middlesex, the problem grew out of hand for exactly this reason. Elsewhere in Western England, the system was better, though unevenly administered. The Justices were only as efficient as their subordinates, although the evidence suggests that they took a keen interest in the enforcement of licensing and the control of liquor retailing.

One particular case demonstrates this most clearly. The keeping of alehouses by parish officers had been prohibited by the act 'For the reformacon of Alehousekeepers' of 1609/10.[2] Although far from being comprehensive, this was a statute carefully enforced by justices during this period. Even in Middlesex, where the problem was most widespread, the Justices conscientiously attempted to enforce it. The licence of John Holland, of the Pack Horse, Chiswick, was suppressed until he was out of his office of constable in 1669.[3] In 1682, the Justices stated: 'Concerning the extortions of Bailiffs, they are of opinion that the best way to prevent abuses is that no bailiff or his follower be allowed to keep a tavern or victualling house'.[4] Similar resolutions were

1. Middx. R. O., Orders of Court, IV, ff. 54-57, 1735-6.
2. 7 James I, c. 10.
3. Middx. R. O., Acc. 890, 'The Brentford Journal', being a record of Proceedings of Petty Sessions held at Brentford, 1651-1714, p. 109.
4. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 401, December 1682, p. 42.

repeated in 1684.[1] Headboroughs and beadles who kept alehouses took offenders to these places and kept them there, taking from them great sums of money for their food, drink and lodging, and then releasing them without bringing them before a Justice.[2] Because officers were not supposed to be licensed, the Keeper of Warwick Gaol had to seek a licence in open sessions.[3] In spite of these efforts, the abuses continued throughout the period. In London the 'spunging houses' which gave sanctuary to debtors at extortionate cost, lingered on, and law officers continued to be drawn from among the ranks of liquor retailers. By the early eighteenth century, the problem in Middlesex had outgrown the capacity of the administration to deal with it. Elsewhere, it represented a minor barrier to effective licensing.

The Webbs suggested a further cause of inefficiency - the corruption of the justices. They were misled by the colourful nature of their sources. Timothy Nourse, writing in 1700, was a prime example:

'The superfluous number of such petty inns and alehouses, seems to proceed from these two causes: the first is from the application which is frequently made on the behalf of some broken, half-starved merchant or idle fellow, who rather than beg, or steale, and be hanged, or at best become chargeable to the parish, hopes to get a subsistence by the little cheatings and degenerate shifts of aleselling. The other course is much of the same figure, it being commonly no other than the sordid interest of some mean-spirited Justices, who, to maintain a superfluous or indigent member of his family or acquaintance, is tempted easily to license alehouses for the sake of fees.'[4]

Even the Webbs regarded this as overstatement, and there was little

1. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 410, 1683/4, p. 44.
2. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 519, February 1694/5, p. 39.
3. See above, p. 52 and note.
4. Timothy Nourse, Campania Felix, (London, 1700), p. 170.

truth in the allegation. It was true that some Justices licensed those living outside their divisions, but this was a clear breach of normal practice.[1] It was also true that some Justices were corrupt. The Wiltshire Justices suppressed Alexander Dowle of Hindon in 1655 because he hath 'by sinister meanes & underhand dealing gotten himself to be agayne licensed to keepe a comon alehouse ...'[2] In 1685 Richmond Croft Esq., one of the Middlesex Justices was exposed for extorting moneys from unlicensed publicans, and for issuing forged licences.[3] Political corruption took place in the famous Corfe Castle case of 1765. Ingram, an innkeeper of the borough, alleged that two justices, Hahn and Price, had refused him a licence on the grounds that he supported another political interest.[4] Such cases were, however, rare. Although county administration by justices left much to be desired, it was rarely corrupt. Venality was not the major cause of ineffective licensing.

Under the act of 1552 licensing was conducted mainly by Justices in Petty Sessions. The system was regularised and codified in the legislation of 1729 and 1753. The justices were far from efficient, but could do little better, given the character of their subordinate officers. Up to 1710, they clearly exercised considerable care in the granting of licences, but were frustrated in their purpose more by the freedom which Parliament gave to the distilling trade, than by any

1. See above, pp. 53-54.
2. Wilts. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 2, Epiphany 1655/6.
3. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 426, April 1685, p. 67.
4. Burrow's Reports, (London, 1812), 3, p. 1716, 13 June 1765.

decline in their own administrative standards. The Webbs' statement that the records of the first quarter of the eighteenth century reveal 'no evidence of any care or thought by the Justices, either in restricting the grant of new licences or in regulating the conduct of existing alehouse-keepers,' is a misreading of the documents.[1] Although the number of retail liquor outlets increased greatly during the period, the Justices continued to exercise control and caution. They evolved a system of regulation which coped as best it could with the expanding consumption of both spirits and other liquor. Particularly during the 1730s and 1740s, it was found to be inadequate, but for the early half of our period, the system worked well, and the Webbs' allegations of 'extreme laxness' remain unproved.

Paradoxically, the period 1660 to 1760 saw a great increase in the consumption of liquor without any marked softening of officially-expressed attitudes to drink. The numbers of retail outlets for ale, beer and spirits increased in spite of licensing regulation. They grew despite the attempts to curb disorder, crime and drunkenness made by the Justices of nearly every county. The Justices intervened in matters ranging from Sabbath-breaking to corruption, and from common fighting to 'lewdness'. Their action provided a supplementary means to regulate liquor sales. The various statutes they employed had adequate sanctions against misconduct, including, in some cases, the

1. S. and B. Webb, Liquor Licensing, p. 17.

suppression of licences or imprisonment.[1] By examining their action it is possible to see that the licensing law was not the sole regulator available.

The religious unorthodoxy of protestant dissenters and Roman Catholics, regularly brought action from the Justices. As one would expect, the majority of such prosecutions involving inns and alehouses occurred during the first half of this period. The reason was not that the Justices became more lenient in their attitude towards licensed houses, but rather that religious dissent, particularly protestant dissent, gradually became a less heinous crime. In spite of Charles II's toleration of Catholics, an order which forbade the licensing of papists who had not taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy, was issued in early 1689.[2] Inns and alehouses were natural centres of political discussion, and Justices were concerned to prevent the spread of treasonable faiths through publicans. Even so, they were often forced to prosecute customers whose opinions had been heightened by a little alcohol. In May 1685, John Moore of North Bradley, Wiltshire was presented for calling James II a 'Popish Rogue' and for striking his companion, William Jennings.[3] In this case, the justices imposed no sanction on the publican. The problem of 'popery' was also

1. For detailed discussion of suppressions, see below, p.72 f.
2. Herefs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Epiphany 1669, f. 90. This hardly fits the conventional interpretation of the chronology of persecution under Charles II, as expressed in J. P. Kenyon, The Stuart Constitution, (Cambridge, 1966), p. 450. Yet it does indicate government concern to prevent undue influence by Catholics, a particular problem in Herefordshire where the 'Old Faith' was very strong.
3. B. H. Cunnington, Records of the County of Wilts, (Devizes, 1932), p. 271, 4 May 1685.

prominent in the years following the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, and the abortive invasion attempt of 1719. The Middlesex Justices suppressed the licence of Thomas Brook of Shoreditch in February 1717 for his 'disaffection to the King',[1] and in 1722 the Cheshire Justices investigated Richard Jump, Landlord of the Ship Inn, Woodbank, who was a suspected papist. They ordered the constables to ensure that he took the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance.[2] Clearly, at times of religious crisis, the justices used the penal statutes against inns. Roman Catholic publicans were always suspect. Not only were they in themselves recusants, but they were also in a position to foment disaffection to the Crown and the established Church. In Holywell, Flintshire, publicans even gave hospitality to Roman Catholic priests, and allowed them to conduct services in their inns.[3] Strangely, no action seems to have been taken against their activities.

The Exclusion Crisis of 1680-81 curiously produced a reaction in favour of the Conventicle Acts, and J.P.s made a serious attempt to enforce them.[4] Non-jurors were felt to be particularly subversive. This was reflected in the action of Justices towards alehouse-keepers. It was the only occasion in this period, when dissenting protestant publicans were persecuted. The Middlesex Justices ordered the suppression of all innkeepers who went to conventicles in October 1681.

1. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 750, February 1717. p. 35.
2. Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. 94, Quarter Sessions Records for the County Palatine of Chester 1559-1760, (Chester, 1940) ed. J. H. E. Bennett and J. C. Dewhurst, pp. 206-207, 10 July 1722.
3. J. Macky, A Journey Through England ....., Vol. II, pp. 143-144, also in Defoe, Tour, Vol. II., p. 66.
4. Kenyon, Stuart Constitution, p. 365.

Public houses where 'factious persons meet to keep clubs and consort together how to disturb the government' were declared illegal, and certificates of attendance at divine service were mandatory before licences were granted.[1] Wiltshire Justices ordered in 1682 that

'noe Justice of the Peace of this County shall graunt Lycence to and Ale House Keeper with in this County unlesse they the said Ale House Keepers and every of them doe first bring a Certificate signed by the Minister and Church Warders of the respective Parishes that they the said Ale House Keepers doe constantly frequent the Parish Church to heare divine Service and receive the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of England .....'[2]

The magnitude of the problem was further demonstrated by the orders in the same year for the disarming of 'all sorts of dissenters as men very dangerous to the peace of this Kingdome'.[3] Similar orders were issued in Middlesex in the following year.[4] Although the Conventicle Acts remained in force until 1812,[5] the Toleration Act of 1689 considerably mitigated its effect.[6] Certainly the persecution of protestant dissenters was an isolated incident of the early 1680s so far as the licensing and government of alehouses was concerned. It is only during this period in Western England, that the Clarendon Code affected licensees.

The penal laws against both Catholics and protestant dissenters therefore presented checks on the conduct of innkeepers, although their enforcement was sporadic. Sunday observance, in many ways a check on

1. Middx. R. O., Session Book 391, October 1681, p. 43-44.
2. Cunnington, Records of Wilts, p. 268.
3. Ibid., p. 269.
4. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 408, p. 58.
5. 52 George III, c. 155.
6. 1 William and Mary, c. 18.

both forms of nonconformity, remained an important sanction against the disorderly house for most of this period. Curiously enough, innkeepers and victuallers were specifically excluded from the regulations for observing the Lord's Day, although games, trade and travel were severely restricted.[1] In practice, Justices had to proceed against sabbath-breakers either under the statutes for enforcing attendance at divine service or under those against 'tippling' and drunkenness. No regulation specifically forbade the opening of licensed premises on Sunday. But, after the Restoration, although Sabbatarianism was not the revolutionary political creed it had been before 1640, the emphasis shifted to discipline from above. Charles II's Worcester House Declaration of October 1660 promised 'to take care that the Lord's Day be applied to holy exercises, without unnecessary divertisements'.[2] After 1660 England presented 'a picture of the puritan Sabbath without Puritanism'.[3] It ensured protection from overwork for both employers and employees, and established the Sabbath as a day of religious instruction.[4] After 1660 Sabbatarianism took the form of attacks on innkeepers who allowed tippling during divine service, and in the continued assault on the popish and pagan wakes and revels associated with saint days.

As one would expect, Sabbatarianism was particularly strong during

1. Bond, Justices of the Peace, pt. I, pp. 117, 228-229.
2. C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England, (London, 1964), p. 215.
3. Ibid., p. 217.
4. Ibid., p. 209.

the Protectorate. A petition of sixteen persons to the Justices of Macclesfield, Cheshire in 1657,

'... sheweth that as it grieved the faithful in former ages to see simple persons assemble themselves by troupes in harlots houses, it doth no less sad the soules of people fearing God to see prophane persons haste to the Alehouse especially on the Lord's Day even in tempore divinorum, as is the continued practice of some in and about Bollington ...'

These people regularly resorted to the alehouse of William Mottram, who entertained all comers. Worse still, on their return they 'abuse their wives, terrify their children and trouble their neighbours'.[1] Mottram's licence was suppressed. Presentments for Sunday selling continued long after the Restoration. Though the government opposed religious radicalism it did not reject the puritan Sabbath. In Clarendon's own words, God demanded 'a tenth of our substance, and a seventh (which is more strict) of our time'.[2]

Alehousekeepers were suppressed for profaning the Sabbath well into the eighteenth century. The Hereford Justices suppressed Mansel Gamage for 'suffering labourers ... to continue tipling on ye Lord's day' in 1665.[3] The magistrates of Oxford regulated against the 'Many Disorders & Much Debauchery' caused by the boatmen hiring out their craft to people on Sundays, and the frequenting of riverside alehouses by both.[4] William Sturdy, yeoman, of Wicklesford, Warwickshire, was indicted in 1682 for not attending Church for three consecutive

1. Rec. Soc. Lancs. and Chesh., 94, pp. 165-166, 20 October 1657.
2. Quoted in Hill, Society and Puritanism, p. 214.
3. Herefs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 1665.
4. Oxford City Records, Sessions Rolls, Trinity 1673.

Sundays - not only was he disorderly, but also his allegiance to the established Church was suspect.[1] Francis Wright of Stretton on Dunsmore, in the same county, was presented in 1696 for 'suffering his neighbours to drink and tipple in his house in time of divine service', and for several offences under the game laws.[2] A further stimulus to regulation came in 1702, with the royal proclamation against 'vice and profaneness'. Among its conditions for the observance of worship were orders for the laws against 'excessive drinking, Lewdness, Bawdy houses, public gaming houses' and others, to be put into execution.[3] The Justices of Wiltshire acted against such offences until at least 1736, when George Dark of Melksham was presented for tippling during the time of divine service, and abusing the wife of Daniel Jones.[4]

Since Sunday observance was one of the Justices' greatest concerns, they were much exercised to prevent revels and fairs on that day. It has already been noted that Taunton's Saturday market often extended late into the night, and even into Sunday morning.[5] Wakes and revels resembled market days, but lacked the justification of trade for their existence. They were festivities celebrating saint days, and were consequently described, in 1676, as a 'Roman nusance and a genall

1. Warwick. County Records, Vol. VIII, Proceedings in Quarter Sessions, (Warwick, 1953), p. 1, Trinity 1682.
2. Warwick. County Records, Vol. IX, Proc. Quart. Sess., (Warwick, 1964), p. 130, Trinity 1696.
3. Entered in Gloucs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 3, Easter 1702.
4. Wiltshire Archaelogical Society, Records Branch, XI, Wiltshire Quarter Sessions and Assizes 1736, ed. J. P. M. Fowle (Devizes, 1955) p. 10.
5. See above, p.37.

grievance to this County [Herefordshire].' For the most part they began with 'unlawfull games' and were continued 'with disturbed swearinge whoredome and all kinds of debauchery' and some conclude with 'fighting and Bloodshedd'.[1] The two western counties of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire were areas where wakes and revels died hard. As pockets of the old faith, their saints' days had great significance. The Gloucestershire Justices were still issuing orders for the suppression of all wakes, revels and sports on Sundays, as late as 1731, for they were suspected of promoting treasonable activities, as the sessions book recorded:

> '..... but sometimes under Pretence of those Meetings, Persons disaffected to His Present Majesty, carry on their wicked Designs against His Majesty's happy Government, and endeavour to seduce His Majesty's Subjects from their Allegiance and Affection to their Lawful Sovereign.'[2]

Alehouse-keepers who connived at wakes were immediately suspect on the several grounds of disorder, popery, immorality, and treason. The suppression of such festivals was of prime importance to the Restoration Government.

> 'The abolition of saint days, then, was part of the attack on the old social and economic order: the regular weekly rest became common to all modern industrial communities. In mediaeval society religious festivals measured out the seasons of the year: in the modern world it is no longer the saints in whose honour holidays are celebrated: the Church has yielded place to the less personal institutions which give their name to bank holidays. The fight for Sabbatarianism and against rural sports was an attempt to extend the concern for labour discipline from the South and East of England into the dark corners of

1. Herefs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Michaelmas 1676, f. 59b-60.
2. Glouc s. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Easter 1731.

the North and West.'[1]

As part of this general movement, Sabbatarians therefore applied constant pressure on the Justices of the Peace to ensure the good behaviour and loyalty of the victuallers they licensed.

Problems closely related to the moral aspects of Sunday observance were debauchery and poverty. Considerable space has already been devoted to the former and little need be added at this stage. The Quarter Sessions records of Western England contain frequent reference to the immorality which was associated with disorderly alehouses. Pretended fairs and wakes were not the only occasions for such 'lewdness'. In Middlesex at least, prostitution was well-established on a fully professional basis. In 1751, the Justices made representations about the irregularities of the conduct of Sir James Gower, Kt., a Justice of the Tower Division. Among his 'misbehaviours' he had licensed the Taphouse Wells Alehouse, in Goodman's Fields, which was no less than a common bawdy house.[2] Elsewhere, Justices acted against '..... Stage Players Interluders and other Idle vagabonds ..... who tend much to the corrupting and debauching of many of the Inhabitants of these parts and elsewhere'.[3] Yet for all the disorder which went on in alehouses, many were suppressed solely because they tempted men from their work, and thus drove their families to poverty.

Any searcher of Quarter Sessions records cannot fail to be struck

1. Hill, Society and Puritanism, p. 209.
2. Middx. R. O., Orders of Court, V, f. 221-222d, 1750/51.
3. Glouces. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 3, Trinity 1708.

by the vast numbers of settlement cases which occurred during this period. From 1662, whole Quarter Sessions seem to have been devoted to such inter-parochial disputes. A recurring theme in the suppression of alehouses was that of poverty. In the context of this great preoccupation with vagrancy and pauperism, it was hardly surprising. In 1667, the leading inhabitants of Whimple, Devon, complained to the magistrates of a 'multiplicity of alehouses' in the parish. Far too many houses sold ale and beer, '..... whereby many of the poore labourers of the said parish spend much of theire wages & time idly to the impoverishment of them and theire families'. The Justices therefore ordered a survey of all the liquor retailers in the parish, with a view to reducing their numbers to reasonable proportions.[1] A suppression order in Westbury in 1670 recorded the complaint of the mayor and twenty-nine of the town's inhabitants, that the victualler and his son '..... have used all lewd and wicked wayes & meanes to defraud theire neighbours and have inriched themselves by impoverishing of many honest families be drawing them in to spend theire estates in theire alehouse'.[2] This theme of poverty was later picked up by the Middlesex Commission of Peace in dealing with the great gin problem.[3] It provided a further reason for the regulation of the drink trade, and one which was very close to the hearts of authorities everywhere. Defoe's distaste for

1. Devon R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Trinity 1667.
2. Cunnington, Record of Wilts, p. 246.
3. See for example, Middx. R. O., Orders of Court, IV, ff. 54-57, 1736, on gin : '..... it deprives them of their money, time, health and understanding; weakens and destroys their natural strength and constitutions, and thereby renders them useless to themselves as well as to the community'.

the manifestations of poverty were shared by his contemporaries.

Two cases further illustrate the problem of poverty. The local authorities were always concerned to prevent an influx of paupers. Innkeepers were obliged by statute to refuse lodging to those who could be classed as 'rogues'.[1] In 1672 a jury for the hundred of Damerham North presented Ben Baker of Nettleton, Wiltshire, Innholder, '..... for entertaining people cōmonly calling themselves Egyptians who did behave themselves very barbarous, contrary to the Statute'.[2] John Smith and Richard Man of Nuneaton, Warwickshire, were presented in 1678 'for disorders in entertaining of travellers a week together' in their houses.[3] Settlement disputes involving more established members of the community were common enough. Parish officers therefore sought to control the passage of travellers, and to ensure that any halt in their progress did not make them chargeable to the parish. Pregnant women were particularly unwelcome visitors, since any children born could become settled in the parish. Innkeepers, whose very living depended upon the travelling public, were therefore enjoined not to harbour rogues and vagrants, and to ensure that their guests did not stay too long. This represented a further restriction on their order and behaviour.

Crime and disorder were further sanctions on the conduct of innkeepers: both could be stimulated by the liquor they retailed. Cases

1. Bond, Justices of the Peace, p. 227.
2. Cunnington, Records of Wilts, p. 249, 1672.
3. Warwick County Records, VII, Proc. Quart. Sess., p. 111, Trinity 1678.

of fighting, disturbances of the peace, and even threats against parish officers were all common in this period. For such 'disorders' the licensee could be suppressed, although in many cases the courts proceeded only against the combatants. In 1656, Walter Hamlin of Glastonbury was assaulted while at an inn at Wedmore. Several persons combined to burn his fiddle, and beat him over the head with a flagon pot, so that 'He hath languished ever since'.[1] In this case, no action seems to have been taken against the innkeeper. In 1736, one Judith Pearce of Melksham abused the customers of an alehouse in the town, and then '..... threw several brick bats thro the glass windows ..... and ..... broke fifteen quarry of glass'.[2] Such events must have been almost commonplace, and the evidence suggests that Justices treated them as such.

Far more serious in the eyes of the law was the association between inns and crime. The alliance between innkeeper and highwayman has long been a cliché of historical novels. In practice, presentments and suppressions for such conspiracies seem to have been very rare. One clear example was that of Robert Gerrish of Broughton Gifford, Wiltshire, in 1691, who

> '..... doth cōmonly ride with Pistolls and other Armes and that there has been a Burglary cōmitted at the house of Sr. Edmond Warneford Kt: situate in Seavinghampton [Sevenhampton] within the County And that the said Robert Gerrish is vehemently suspected to be one of the psons concerned .....'[3]

1. Somerset Record Society, 28, Quarter Sessions Records, 1646-1660, (Taunton, 1912) p. 290.
2. Wilts. Arch. Soc., XI, no. 709, p. 86.
3. Wilts. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 4, Easter 1691.

His arrest and detention for the next Quarter Sessions was therefore ordered. But if such cases were rare, then the Justices often acted where crime was thought to exist, or even where it might potentially exist. The Middlesex bench ordered an inquiry into the alehouses of Enfield Chase in 1675, because many were thought to harbour those who used guns and other 'unlawful engines' for the taking of game.[1] Francis Wright of Stretton on Dunsmore, Warwickshire, was suppressed in 1696 for disorders, and for 'keeping a greyhound, not being qualified, and tracing hares in the snow in the year 1695'.[2] The class privilege contained in the game laws extended even further. In 1719, the Middlesex Justices prohibited the grant of a licence to Job Glover, because his house adjoined that of Sir Edward Gould, Knight, and would represent 'a common nuisance ..... amongst the gentry inhabiting there'.[3] Crime, potential or supposed, and simple nuisance therefore prompted further checks upon the conduct of innkeepers. The writ ad quod damnum was a powerful instrument in England during the period 1660-1760. Not only did it apply to the extension of market rights, but it could also be used for permitting or suppressing licences.

As has already been noted, the ultimate sanction available to the Justices against an unruly publican was the suppression of his licence.

1. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 320, p. 38, January 1674/5.
2. Warwicks. County Records, IX, p. 130, Trinity 1696.
3. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 772, p. 48, May 1719.

Such suppression cases provide material for assessing the vigilance of Justices, and demonstrate some of the reasons for their actions; it also raises an interesting problem of chronological explanation. Tables 5, 6, and 7 analyse suppression cases from eight counties of Western England. The figures are generally quite small, but are still enough to be significant. At least up to 1720, most of the eight counties seem to have exercised the power of suppression, although the figures decline rapidly after that date.

Table 5, simply presents the numbers of inns and alehouses suppressed in each county. It includes estimated figures for certain decades in both Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. The Devon, Herefordshire and Oxfordshire figures are extremely low, indicating perhaps some laxness on the part of the Justices. A more likely explanation however is that suggested by the case of Devon - licensing itself was difficult to enforce, and the regulation of those actually licensed therefore became a lesser problem.[1] In themselves the figures reveal little of interest to the historian, apart from suggesting that regulation was perhaps at its best in the counties of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Somerset. Even so, the deficiencies of the Devon, Herefordshire and Oxfordshire

1. There are numerous complaints in the Devon Quarter Sessions Order Books about the vast numbers of unlicensed houses. In both Devon and Herefordshire the enforcement of licensing may have become difficult because of the long tradition of cider brewing as a cottage industry. At this stage it seems best to suggest that the minimal numbers of suppression cases in these counties can be explained by this problem of licence-enforcement. The paucity of sessions records explains the Oxfordshire totals.

Table 5: The Numbers of Suppression Cases in Western England, 1660-1760[1] (by decades).

	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	1700-09	1710-19	1720-60
Devon	-	3	-	1	3	1	-
Gloucs.	-	21	24*	18	15	57	-
Herefs.	2	-	-	1	-	1	4
Middx.	92	11	10	12	1	5	1
Oxford	-	2	1	-	4	1	1
Somerset	1	16	18	2	2	-	3
Warwicks.	3	4	3	2	-	-	-
Wilts.	13*	17*	9	2	10	9	2
Totals.	111*	74*	65*	38	35	74	11

* Denotes the inclusion of an estimated figure.

figures may be simply those of evidence: in these counties the Clerk of the Quarter Sessions may not regularly have entered suppressions. Where the actual numbers of suppressions are not indicated in the records and the word 'several' or the phrase 'all the alehouses in the parish' appear, the figure of 3 has been used in the total. This is guesswork, but in most cases this is probably an underestimate.

If the simple numerical analysis of suppression cases reveals little, at least it is possible to explain the figures in chronological

1. Compiled from the Quarter Sessions Order and Minute Books of the eight counties, the Sessions records of the City of Hereford, and the Petty Sessions books of Oxford and Brentford.

terms. Surprisingly, there is no correlation between the prices of consumables and the chronology of suppression. Taking the decade 1660 to 1669 as base of 100, the index numbers of suppression cases follow the trend in prices only in the years 1690-1709. For all other decades, as can be seen from Table 6, there is a wide divergence. It seems clear that food prices did not prod the Justices into action in

Table 6: Index of Alehouse Suppressions Compared with the Index of a Composite Unit of Consumables.[1]

Decade	Consumables	Suppressions
1660-69	100	100
1670-79	95	195
1680-89	89	171
1690-99	97	100
1700-09	91	97
1710-19	103	195

ordering and regulating liquor outlets. It does, however, seem possible that in isolated cases the price of food had some weight, and a greater correlation of the two might appear at the local level. Overall, the two do not seem to be related, and it is necessary to seek an alternative explanation for the chronology of suppression.

Beloff's analysis of popular disturbances in the period 1660-1714, suggested that at least until the 1690's political not economic

1. Sources: Suppression Cases, Table 5; Consumables, Phelps-Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables ....,' p. 195. The Middlesex figures for the decade 1660-69 included a suppression of 73 alehouses in one division in 1669. This exceptional case has been excluded in calculating the above index.

considerations led to rioting.[1] Certainly the temper of politics was hotter up to 1720 than afterwards, and this may be the explanation of the chronology of suppression. The peaks reached in the decades 1670-79, 1680-89, and 1710-19 certainly coincide with the peaks of political acrimony. Unfortunately the material does not allow a deeper analysis. The expressed reasons for suppression delineated in Table 7 do not reveal any overt political considerations, but it is likely that these were implicit in the action of the Justices, and required no explicit statement.

Indeed, the actual expressed reasons for suppressions seem very mundane, the bulk of them being 'disorders' which reveal little of the actual character of the offence. Table 7 lists the major reasons for suppressions. Its figures must be regarded with caution, since the majority of suppression cases do not express any particular reason.

Table 7: The Reasons Expressed for Alehouse Suppressions 1660-1720.[2]

(% of Decadal Totals).

REASON	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	1700-09	1710-19
Disorders	40.5	19.6	26.0	78.3	50.0	45.7
Tipling etc.	9.5	13.8	4.1	0	0	3.7
Sunday	7.0	3.7	4.1	0	0	3.7
Crime & Vagrancy	16.3	7.2	6.8	4.3	0	2.5
Numbers & Poverty	9.5	36.7	39.7	0	26.7	29.6
Unfit Person	7.0	4.0	12.3	8.7	10.0	6.2
Location	2.4	2.9	1.4	0	6.7	2.5
Licence	7.0	9.4	5.5	8.7	6.7	6.2
	100	100	100	100	100	100

1. M. Beloff, Public Order and Popular Disturbances, 1660-1714, (New Impression, London, 1963), p. 164.
2. Compiled from the details of suppression cases used in Table 5, p. 74 and note.

In general, the courts merely recorded the fact that an innkeeper had been suppressed. But the example of these cases does illustrate some interesting points already explored above.

Some commentary on the categories of Table 7 is necessary. The first, 'disorder', is self-explanatory. It was a portmanteau word used to describe every form of irregularity from drunkenness to fighting. In this sense it probably represented and comprehended all the other categories and, as such, is not particularly enlightening.

Next in order of magnitude came the category of 'excessive numbers and poverty'. In this case the Justices suppressed houses either because there were simply too many in the parish, or because the numbers of alehouses were so great as to lead the inhabitants into poverty. Most commonly, the two were combined, as at Dursley, Gloucestershire, in 1678. Fifteen alehouses were suppressed as '..... Supernumerary & supfluous to the damage of the said p[ar]ish and to the great increase of the poore there'.[1] As in the above case, the complaint about excessive numbers and the increase of poverty was one most commonly used when large numbers of alehouses in various parishes were being suppressed. In Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire its use was very pronounced and in all but a few cases it occurred between 1670 and 1689, or 1710 to 1719. The grouping of these complaints in these three Western counties clearly suggests a connexion with the

1. Gloucs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Easter 1678, f. 168 b.

cloth industry. Although we lack statistics of production, and the overall impression of the Wiltshire and Gloucestershire cloth industries for this period is one of moderate prosperity, it does seem possible that these outbreaks of zeal in suppressing licences were the result of economic depression in the industry. The older woollen industry was more vulnerable than the new textiles of Norfolk and certainly experienced a lower rate of growth.[1] Thus the chronology of suppression may have some economic significance, even though there is no apparent correlation with the movement of consumable prices.

The other suppressions fall broadly into two classes: those related to moral and behavioural offences; and those related to crime and vagrancy. The former included every form of offence from drinking to excess and at the wrong times, to lewdness and misbehaviour. Many of these must have been comprehended by the term 'disorder'. Three basic offences were associated with the consumption of liquor: tippling; drinking at unseasonable times; and drinking during the time of divine service. The first was the commonest, and consisted in the continued consumption of ale or other liquor beyond the needs of simple refreshment.[2] The second, the use of alehouses at 'unseasonable hours' referred mainly to drinking late at night. An alehouse-keeper of St. Margaret's, Westminster, was suppressed in 1657 because '..... the Lord Protector's servants were drinking in the house all night'.[3]

1. C. Wilson, England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763, (London, 1965), pp. 188-193.
2. J. Bond, Justices of the Peace, p. 35.
3. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 173 A, p. 24, 28 March 1657.

John Clarke of Evercreech, Somerset, was suppressed in 1679 for allowing 'inordinate tipling & drinking in his said house as well on the Lord's Day ..... as on other dayes'.[1] He thus offended in two ways: by allowing drinking to excess and by breaking the Sabbath. Often, all these reasons were combined, sometimes with the further offence of 'unlawful games'. Francis Hatherell of Christian Malford, Wiltshire, was suppressed for a multitude of reasons. He allowed drinking at unseasonable times, and to excess, as well as unlawful games, and the net result tended to the 'great impoverishment' of the inhabitants of the parish.[2] In this way action by Justices in the regulation of drinking behaviour anticipated modern licensing laws. Their initiative in the interpretation of existing statutes compensated in many ways for the absence of strict legislative control.

Naturally enough, the Justices acted against those innkeepers who harboured criminals or vagrants. The threat to property and to the ratepayer was a very potent stimulus to action in eighteenth-century England.[3] The association of an alehouse with crime or vagrancy often led to its suppression. The licence of a house in St. Martin's Lane, near the Strand, was suppressed in 1689 because of the 'many disorders and murders' which had been committed there.[4] Mary Earle, of Oxford,

1. Soms. R. O., Quart. Sess. Minute Book, 2, Wells, Epiphany 1678/9.
2. Wilts. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 3, Easter 1677.
3. For the development of this argument see Clifford (ed.), Man Versus Society, pp. 38 f.
4. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 466, June 1689, p. 28.

lost her licence in 1674 for entertaining Thomas Earle and Thomas Wakeland, who had stolen three horses from the home of John Lambe, Gent.[1] In both cases, concrete evidence of crime had been produced, but this was rare. Normally, suppression took place because the house had a bad reputation. The licence of a Wincanton publican was suppressed for

> '..... sufferinge unlawfull tiplinge & harbouringe & entertayning vagrants and other disorderly & idle persons & especially by entertayning one Bartholomew Romane who hath been convicted this session for a comon vagrant & wandering Rogue.'[2]

Here action was taken on a specific case in the light of the inn's general reputation. The normal form of suppression was that demonstrated by a case in Herefordshire in 1657. The innkeeper lost his licence because of disorders and because he '..... harbourd theeves rogues & wanderers .....'[3] Such suppression cases provided a remarkably small proportion of the overall numbers.[4] Given the great concern with vagrancy in this period, one would expect a far higher percentage. Probably the large number of unexplained cases, and the portmanteau word 'disorder' hide many more.

The last three categories - 'unfit person, location, and licence' - can be easily explained. The first comprehends all the cases in which the publican was found to be personally unsuitable to his trade. The individual cases show a wide variety of impropriety. Stephen Veysey of Stonehouse, Gloucestershire, was suppressed because he had been

1. Oxford City Records, Petty Sessions Register, Easter 1674.
2. Soms. R. O. Quart. Sess. Minute Book, 2, Bridgwater, Trinity 1676.
3. Herefs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Epiphany 1656/7, f. 65.
4. See above, Table 7, p. 76.

convicted of drunkenness.[1] A Warminster victualler was suppressed in 1682 for exposing '..... Seditious pamphlets and libells against the Government' to the inhabitants of the town.[2] On a more personal level, innkeepers lost their licences for stirring up strife between men and their wives,[3] for turning their wives out of doors and not providing maintenance,[4] and for abusing their fellows.[5] Two cases are of particular interest. James Morrell, of Milverton, Warwickshire, was in one court order paid his expenses for the lying-in of his daughter, Elizabeth, and at the same time suppressed for allowing her to give birth to a bastard child in his house. Apparently the errors of his daughter were sufficient to taint him.[6] Most interesting among these personal suppressions were those carried out in Middlesex during this period. These show clearly that the Justices regarded alehouse-keeping as an occupation for those who had no other reasonable means of employment. Young and able persons, or those who already had suitable means of income were not deemed suitable publicans. Richard Collins of Sheere Lane was suppressed in 1672 since he already had 'a competant estate and trade, being a tailor'.[7] In 1669, a mass suppression of disorderly houses in the Tower Division of Middlesex took away the

1. Gloucs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 3, Epiphany 1706/7.
2. Wilts. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Epiphany 1681/2.
3. Devon R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Easter 1678.
4. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 682, June 1710, p. 21.
5. Herefs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Michaelmas 1718, f. 36.
6. Warwick County Records, IV, p. 173, Epiphany 1662.
7. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 286, January 1671/2, p. 31.

licences of seventy-three publicans. Among the reasons for their suppression was that the licensees were '..... young and able persons having other good imployments'.[1] Authority continued to think in terms of trade specialists, rather than the dilettante approach favoured by most retailers in this period.[2]

A bad location could also lead to suppression. Probably with their minds on drunkenness and disorder, the Justices were always suspicious of inns and alehouses which lay a long way from the public road. The concept of such houses existing ad hospitandos homines did not justify those standing away from the highway, which were frequently found to be standing 'ad nocumentum'. Suppressions on this cause were common in all the counties of Western England. The licence of a Gloucestershire innkeeper, Mathew Parker, was suppressed in 1672 because his house lay 'out of the road'.[3] Richard Bannicke, of Trusham, Devon, kept a house 'in an inconvenient place'.[4] As in many suppression cases this objection was often combined with other reasons in ordering the forfeiture of a licence. Three Herefordshire publicans were suppressed in 1728 for keeping '..... irregular and disorderly houses' and for living '..... remote from ye publick road'.[5] The enforcement of law locally was difficult, and such distant houses only

1. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 257, April 1669, p. 41.
2. For substantiation of this statement see below, Chapter 4.
3. Gloucs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Minute Book, 1, Easter 1672, f. 86 b.
4. Devon R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Epiphany Adjournment, 1701/2.
5. Herefs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Epiphany 1727/8, f. 186 b.

served as irritants. They represented a further threat to efficient police work and to public order.

Much has already been said on the subject of licensing, and the practice of Justices in this matter. It should be noted that on some occasions licences were suppressed because they had been granted in error. In some cases previously disqualified publicans secured new licences under aliases, or licences were granted illegally by Justices acting out of their divisions.[1] In general, this was a minor reason for suppression. The question of public order and behaviour seems to have been paramount in the minds of the Justices when taking licences away. Disorder in every form, drunkenness, the decay of labour, crime, vagrancy and public immorality all led to suppression. The expressed reasons for suppression in this period are very revealing of social attitudes. From preliminary analysis of this material, the concern of the ruling classes with the maintenance of 'order' in its widest sense is clearly demonstrated. The figures of Table 7, although far from being a final analysis of the material, are sufficient evidence of this.

The major part of this chapter has been concerned with the law governing inns and alehouses, and with its execution. In conclusion, a brief note must be added on some of the legal uses of inns. Justices whose duty it was to administer the statutes governing liquor retailing also found the inns useful places to conduct their legal and administrative business. It was perhaps their very convenience that made

1. See above, pp. 50 f.

the inns the homes of so much legal business. Justices in Quarter Sessions, and Judges in Assizes, had to be accommodated in the towns they were visiting. They also had to go out to the minor towns of the county to conduct enquiries and inquisitions, and the inns served a dual purpose: they were both the hotels for these itinerant officers, and their places of business.

It is difficult to account otherwise for the evolution of legal uses of inns. Perhaps it was the food they offered rather than the accommodation that so attracted the Justices. Certainly the Sessions Dinner was a regular feature of county life in Western England during this period. The Herefordshire Justices even debated which house to assemble at in their next sessions in 1722. A majority vote decided upon the Ship and Castle.[1] During the 1740s the Swan and Falcon, the Redstreak Tree, and the Green Dragon all served the same purpose.[2] From this use of inns as dining places it was but a short step to adjourning sessions to inns. The majority of Quarter Sessions adjournments during this period were to these hostelries. During the eighteenth century, the Somerset Quarter Sessions normally adjourned to the Castle Inn and Tavern, Taunton.[3] In the same county, the adjournment of sessions for the collection of jurors' names in Michaelmas 1698 represented a circuit of inns in the major towns of the county. From

1. Herefs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Easter 1722, f. 98.
2. Herefs. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Books, Trinity 1744, f. 116 b; Michaelmas 1743, f. 109 b; Epiphany 1748, f. 149 b.
3. Soms. R. O., Quart. Sess. Minute Book, 6, Wells, Epiphany 1747, f. 335 b; Bridgwater, Trinity 1747, f. 365.

Wednesday 19 October to Monday 31 October 1698, the Justices visited nine separate towns and inns in compiling their list of jurors.[1] There is, therefore, little doubt that Justices habitually adjourned sessions to inns.

If Quarter Sessions were often adjourned to inns, the inn or tavern may be regarded as the normal venue for Petty Sessions. The counties of Western England possess very poor records of the Petty Session, most consisting of isolated scraps which are of little use to the historian. Fortunately some evidence of the business of the Petty Session is provided by the records of the city of Oxford, and by the Middlesex records contained in the 'Brentford Journal' which is a full account of the Brentford Petty Sessions 1651 to 1714. The Justices of the Brentford division habitually met in the Red Lion, New Brentford, during the period 1670-1714.[2] In 1670 a dispute arose between the Justices and the keeper of the Red Lion, and the Petty Sessions moved to the Three Pigeons.[3] William Parish, the landlord of the Red Lion, wrote to the Justices in 1672 and asked for the restoration of the status quo:

'Gentlemen,

I am heartily sory your worships hath taken distast and left your old inne, I am sensible it was not without cause; if your worships please to returne againe I shall take it for a very great favour and approve myself

Yours most humble servant,
WILLIAM PARISH.

Red Lyon in New Braintford,
March 26 th 1672.'

1. Soms. R. O., Quart. Sess. Minute Book, Taunton, Michaelmas 1698, f. 385.
2. Middx. R. O., Brentford Journal, 26 July 1670, p. 130, and others.
3. Ibid.

Upon receipt of this letter, the Justices agreed to hold their next general meeting at the Red Lion.[1]

The Journal demonstrates the wide range of cases which came before the Justices at the Red Lion. Everything from petty crime to charity and bridge works seemed to have been within their compass. An enquiry into the alleged misappropriation of the poor rate of the parish of Twickenham was held at the Red Lion in 1702.[2] In 1675 the ale-conners of the same parish appeared at the Red Lion court to make their charges against several bakers for selling 'light bread'.[3] In 1714 the Justices took an audit of 'the collections of the land tax and the window lights' at the Red Lion.[4] The system of using the inn as a court was quite formalised. As early as 1704 the Justices had contracted for sessions dinners at the Red Lion:

'This day Mr. Justice Hawley, Mr. Justice Clitherow, Mr. Justice Boteler, and Mr. Justice Hill, do consent to pay two shillings and sixpence, every last Tuesday in the month, for their dynners provided for them, whether present or absent, unless by consent of the board; except on such Tuesdays as are by the Justices exempted from being bench days.'[5]

Apart from the example of Brentford, evidence is difficult to find of the existence of Petty Sessions, let alone where these were held. Various fragments would suggest that inns and alehouses were commonly

1. Ibid., 26 March 1672, p. 165.
2. Ibid., 26 May 1702, p. 498.
3. Ibid., 24 February 1675, p. 215; 25 May 1675, p. 218.
4. Ibid., 23 February 1714, p. 618.
5. Ibid., 11 April 1704, p. 516.

used. The Greyhound was the home of Maidenhead petty sessions in 1682,[1] and the White Lion Tavern, Whitechapel, was used for the same purpose in 1720.[2] On the basis of meagre source material, it seems valid to suggest that petty sessions were normally held in taverns and inns.

The inn thus acted in many ways as a courthouse for both Quarter and Petty Sessions. But the legal uses of alehouses were not limited to these formal sessions. Many Justices were involved in the hearing of bankruptcy suits, for which inns were the normal venues. The newspapers of Western England record nearly two hundred such suits being held at inns during this period. In general, the assignees met at an inn to discuss the recovery of the bankrupt's estate, and every stage of the proceedings, from the initial meeting of the creditors, to the final sale of goods and dividend of the estate took place in the rooms of an inn. Two cases of 1730 illustrate this process. Notice was given of a commission to hear the case of John Denny, of the Borough of Warwick, grocer, and to choose assignees, at the Green Dragon Inn, Chipping Campden, on 13, 17 and 30 April 1730.[3] The case of John Marchant, late of the City of New Sarum, vintner, exemplified the conclusion of the process. All creditors were asked to attend a meeting at 3 p.m. on 30 April 1730 at the Chequer Inn, Winchester, to

1. Berks. R. O., Will of J. Smith, 21 April 1682, D/EX. 32/23.
2. Daily Post, No. 98, 25 January 1720, p. 2.
3. London Gazette, No. 6872, 11 April 1730, p. 2.

make a dividend of the bankrupt's estate. Those who failed to attend risked exclusion from the final settlement.[1] The great volume of evidence from the pages of the London Gazette clearly illustrates the normal use of inns for hearing bankruptcy suits. A more detailed study of bankruptcy than is at present possible might prove very illuminating. In both the above cases the debts were contracted at some distance from the domicile of the bankrupt. A careful collation of all the bankruptcy cases of the period could well provide an insight into the workings of credit in internal trade. It might even be possible in some way to quantify the geographical scope of particular branches of trade. At this stage, however, suffice it to be said that these cases were commonly heard in the inns of Western England.

If, as our hypothesis suggests, the inn was '..... the market place of many a private trader',[2] then it was a natural venue for bankruptcy hearings involving those traders. As a pivot of the land transport system, it was equally natural that it should be used in the administration of roads. Turnpikes played an increasingly important role in road transport in this period. Certainly during the second half of our period turnpike acts and proposals for turnpikes grew greatly in number.[3] The inn was associated with every part of the process from inception to completion and administration. The correspondence of the Rev. Joseph Greene recorded the beginning of the

1. Ibid., 6869, 31 March 1730, p. 2.
2. See above, p. 2.
3. See above, p. 27.

process - the meeting of interested parties:

'Our Gloucester Gentlemen, especially Mr. Graves of Mickleton, are again very eager after a Turn-pike Road from Stratford into Gloucestershire: They had a meeting about a fortnight since at ye White Lion, in our Town, when Mr. Brigham, who has a little money on a neighbring Gate, made strenuous opposition, and was somewhat warm with Mr. Graves; but I am told he has since been quiet, and ye Scheme will be brought to bear.'[1]

After the passing of the requisite Turnpike Act, Trustees were appointed, who normally put the repair of the road out to tender, meeting at inns along the route to award contracts for sections of the new road. The White Hart, Wheatley, was the scene of meetings for four Oxfordshire turnpikes during the 1750s, and was the place where tenders for repair were accepted.[2] The quarterly meetings of a more mature trust, for the road between Worcester and Droitwich, were held at the Hop-Pole, Foregate Street, Worcester and the George, Droitwich. At the George in 1754, sixty-six people were present at the election of new trustees, whose property qualification was an annual income of £40, or personal estates to the value of £800.[3] Meetings of this type, both for surveys and administration of the highways found a natural home in hostelries serving the roads of Western England.

A parallel administrative duty of the squirearchy lay in the government of bridges and in the Commissions of Sewers. Both, like

1. Historical Manuscripts Commission, J P. 8 (Dugdale Society), Correspondence of the Rev. Joseph Greene of Stratford upon Avon, ed. Levi Fox, (London 1965) pp. 75-76, 12 July 1756.
2. Jackson's Oxford Journal, No. 224, 13 August 1757, p. 4.
3. Worcs. R. O., Droitwich Turnpike Records, Order or Minute Book, 1714-93, Worcs. R. O., b.705:584 bundle 1, 2 September 1754; 1 July 1754; and others.

the turnpikes, were concerned with the arteries of transport, and both used inns as their place of business. The Justices resident in the hundreds of Elthorne, Spelthorne and Istleworth [Isleworth] were responsible for the repair and maintenance of Brentford Bridge. In January 1687 they met at the Red Lion, New Brentford, to raise a rate for the rebuilding of the bridge, which had been washed away by floods. Their chairman, Henry Hawley Esq., J.P., was to accept tenders for its repair.[1] Doctor Claver Morris of Wells, sat as a commissioner for sewers in the Glastonbury area, and signed a contract with masons for the building of a clye on Kennard Moor at the George in Glastonbury in 1726.[2] He had previously negotiated with them at the Rose and Crown in the same town.[3] The 'Conservators of the River Tone' met at the George Inn Taunton in 1710, as a preliminary to 'render the Navigation of the said river more compleat and effectual'. As in the case of the Stratford turnpike, all interested parties were invited to attend.[4] The Swan Inn, Thornbury was the venue for the Court of Sewers for the Lower Level of the County of Gloucester in 1748.[5] The inn was a very useful meeting place at which business could be conducted. Administrative commissions certainly found it so.

Probably the most notable of these eighteenth century commissions

1. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 443, January 1686/7, p. 39.
2. E. Hobhouse, ed. The Diary of a West Country Physician, (London, 1934), 3 August 1726, p. 135.
3. Ibid., 19 July 1726, p. 134.
4. Lond. Gaz., 4714, 6 July 1710.
5. Gloucester Journal, No. 1360, 31 May 1748, p. 4.

was that of enclosure. These were appointed after the passing of an enclosure act, and conducted the search for title and the eventual partition of lands between proven titleholders. Again, Dr. Morris served on two such commissions for Baltonsbury North-Wood in 1720, and for Glastonbury in 1725.[1] Both commissions met at inns - one in West Bradley and the other in Wells. In 1744 the Warwickshire Justices met at the White Swan, Warwick, to discuss the enclosure of a footpath.[2] Such meetings were not without their problems. Morris remarked that at the third meeting of the Baltonsbury commission 'Mr. Wm. Baron came but having drunk was of no great use'.[3] The inn was a convenient site for the enclosure commission to conduct its business, and also gave ample opportunity for refreshment. The above commissioner clearly found the convivial atmosphere too much of a temptation. But there was also the possibility of more sinister motives for choosing an inn as the seat for an enclosure commission. Alcohol, suitably provided, could loosen tenure as it relaxed the mind. As early as 1634, Lord Stirling had remarked after a successful terrier of tithes, taken by six inhabitants, '..... at this rate a barrel of ale may go far in making a title to an estate'.[4] Adherents of the 'conspiracy theory' of parliamentary enclosure might seize upon this as confirmation of

1. West Country Physician, 28 July 1720, p. 79; 15 February 1725, pp. 115-116.
2. Warwicks. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 11, Trinity 1744.
3. West Country Physician, 28 July 1720, p. 79.
4. Berks. R. O., Memoranda Books of Lord Stirling, I, ff. 108v-109, Berks. R. O., D/ED F44/1.

their worst fears: the truth was probably more innocent.

Similar administrative commissions sat in inns on a wide range of matters, from the purely fiscal to political in nature. Morris sat on the Commission of Land Tax appeals at the Mitre in Wells in 1709, and at the King's Arms in the same town in 1724.[1] The Lords Commissioners of Appeals conducted the distribution of the Notre Dame de Deliverance prize between the crews of seven of His Majesty's ships at the King's Head Tavern, Fenchurch Street, in 1750.[2] At the Phoenix, Isleworth, the Middlesex Justices conducted an enquiry ad quod damnum about the closure of a right of way from Isleworth towards Heston in 1756.[3] The Westminster Justices met at the great room of the Bell Tavern, King Street, '..... for the discovery of the scandalous clubbs or societies of young persons, and detecting and prosecuting all prophaneness, immorality and debauchery'.[4] With capacious reception rooms, and with food and drink available, inns and taverns were attractive sites for such commissions. Most important of all was the fact that they alone provided all the facilities for any enquiry that had to be made. The majority of such commissions had to be conducted in the locality, and in many cases no alternative existed for the receipt of their business.

On a similar plane, the administration of charities often centred

1. West Country Physician, 30 May 1709, p. 52; 9 and 23 May 1724, pp. 107, 108.
2. General Evening Post, No. 2050, 29 November 1750, p. 2.
3. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 1128, July 1756, p. 67.
4. Middx. R. O., Westminster Orders of Court, I, June 1721, f. 11 d.

on licensed premises. Where such funds as that of the Maimed Soldiers existed, it was a natural duty of the administrator to verify the existence of the beneficiary. The local treasurer was required to present his accounts to the auditing Justices at regular intervals. In 1697, Mr. Israel Stofford, Treasurer of the Maimed Soldiers Fund for the County of Devon, was required to present his accounts to the Justices at the Seven Stars, St. Thomas's, Exeter.[1] At the Rose and Crown, Glastonbury, Dr. Morris

> 'writ out a list of the Poor of Glastonbury who were not Reliev'd by the Parish, which I sent by Mr. Blake to Francis Clements, that he might give notice to every one of them I would on Tuesday next, be at the Rose and Crown in Glastonbury & give amongst them Twenty pounds.'[2]

For both audit and distribution, the inn was a useful centre for the administration of charity.

In conclusion, therefore, it should be noted that the legal distinction between inns, alehouses and taverns was clear, while the functional more blurred. Only in the major towns were they entirely distinct entities. During the period 1660 to 1760 there were few statutory innovations in the matter of licensing, although local administrative conventions in many ways compensated for this deficiency. In fact the great legislative step of 1753 represented for the most part a codification of existing and accepted practice. Local initiative was conspicuous, and clearly showed that laxness in regulating retail

1. Devon R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, Trinity 1697.
2. West Country Physician, 19 December 1724, p. 114.

liquor outlets occurred more by accident than design. The collapse of licensing in the metropolis under the pressure of 'gin mania' was not a true index of administrative intentions. The Webbs' allegations of 'extreme laxness' during this period are not entirely substantiated. The failings of the licensing system lay not in the magistracy but in the local agents of enforcement. Dogberry and Verges still typified far too many of the constables, headboroughs and tithingmen.

Paradoxically the period saw a great expansion in the consumption of alcohol without any softening of official attitudes towards drink. The caution with which licences were granted, and the reasons for which they were suppressed show quite clearly that the Justices were concerned with the maintenance of order. The overall trend in the economy was towards greater levels of consumption, as real wages rose. The consumption of drink grew at the same time, and liquor outlets expanded beyond the capacity of regulation. Officials were unable to cope. The figures of suppression in Table 6 substantiate this. Although they are too small to be reliable, they indicate a negative correlation of 0.4 between suppression cases and the index of consumables. They show, that disorder and other offences leading to suppression may have increased with real wages. Increased consumer spending went in part to the drink trade. The decline in the number of suppression cases after about 1720 can be taken either as an indication of the collapse of regulation, or as a flaw in the records taken by the Clerks of the Peace. A combination of the two seems most likely.

Finally, the law used inns for the conduct of its business as well as regulating their numbers. Commissions of administration and enquiry found in them very welcome and convenient homes. Their appeal was clear. They existed at a local level to suit enclosure commissioners and charity administrators, whose business was essentially concerned with small communities lacking in alternative facilities for such meetings. They had ample reception rooms to offer such bodies, and, moreover, could provide accommodation and refreshment for their members. There is even the possibility that enclosure commissioners may have found liquor a useful lubricant in their work. In the broadest possible sense, therefore, the connexion between inns, alehouses and the law was an intimate one. Regulated by the law, the inns provided centres for its execution.

CHAPTER 3: THE INN - STRUCTURE AND LOCATION

In many ways the foregoing chapter anticipated the matter of those to follow. The position of inns as the nodes of the land transport system, their widespread distribution, and their facilities for accommodation and refreshment were all seen as important recommendations in their use for the conduct of legal business. It will be seen during the course of this study that they were used for a wide variety of business undertakings, and not merely for administration. Before examining in detail these commercial uses of inns, it is essential to consider their facilities, location and organisation[1] which, according to our hypothesis, made them attractive to businessmen and administrators. In what lay the inn's competitive advantage? Therefore, in this chapter, the character of the inn is established.

First, brief consideration is given to their architecture, both structural and amenitive, to see exactly what they offered their customers. The following account is by no means a comprehensive study of inn architecture - that would be a subject in itself for a monograph - but identifies the significant features of interest to the economic and social historian. Being compiled, for the most part, from literary sources, it lacks perhaps the accurate description of form which can be found elsewhere, but does present a composite picture of inns and alehouses. This composite shows the general features of the inn, which

1. For the business history of innkeeping, see Chapter 4 below, 'The Innkeeper,' pp. 140-175.

specific examples might obscure.

Inns were '..... the chief things which a traveller is to look after that hath money in his pocket'[1] and many diarists remarked about the inns of England in their itineraries. Supposedly, they were a recent development in the seventeenth century since, before the Reformation, inns and alehouses had existed only on the great roads of England.[2] Yet, by the beginning of our period, many were already vast in scale. The Bull Inn, St. Albans, was to Baskerville 'the greatest ..... seen ..... in all England'.[3] The two main inns of Northampton, those to which the London coaches resorted, were reputed to look like palaces in 1722.[4] while by 1759 the 'best and most commodious' inn in all England lay in Stratford-upon-Avon.[5] Unfortunately such travellers while indicating the grandeur of the inns they saw, gave no impression of either their exact size, nor their construction.

If the inn was a recent development in many areas of England in the seventeenth century, it was not in itself a novelty. Inns had existed on the major thoroughfares since medieval times and had soon evolved their distinctive amenitive architecture. Many may have begun as the hostels of the great monastic houses, provided for the accommodation of pilgrims.[6] At any rate, with the Reformation the hospitality of the great religious houses disappeared and the inns expanded to fill

1. Hist. MSS. Comm., Portland, Vol. II, p. 293, 'Baskervilles Itinerary', 1681.
2. J. Aubrey, An Introduction to the Survey and Natural History of the North Division of the County of Wiltshire, (London, 1714) p. 30.
3. Hist. MSS. Comm., Portland, II, p. 305, (1671).
4. Macky, Journey Through England, II, p. 173.
5. Royal Irish Academy, MS. 12. F. 15.
6. T. Burke, Travel in England, (London, 1942) Chapter I.

this vacuum.[1] By the mid-seventeenth century, and in some cases earlier, inns were becoming distinctive buildings, and were increasingly purpose-built. For our period it is possible to divide them into two basic types, the Courtyard or the Block or Gatehouse. This division, suggested by W. A. Pantin, while far from all-inclusive, does apply to the majority of inns in this period.

The main buildings of the courtyard form lay back from the street, and were ranged along or round a courtyard. Fig. 1. represents a simplified version of Pantin's sketch of the ground plan of the George, Dorchester. Its main buildings lay to the left of the yard, as one entered from the Oxford to Henley road. During the eighteenth century, the structure lying around the south, east and west sides of the courtyard was completed by a range of buildings on the northern side.[2] Although considerably altered by the demands of modern trade, this groundplan is immediately recognizable today. In an urban environment, where land was more expensive, many courtyard inns were fronted with shops, thus further removing the inn's main buildings from the street. In the case of the George, the rooms flanking the archway entrance were more likely to have been parlours.[3]

In contrast, the Block or Gatehouse type constituted a more coherent building, lying directly on the street, and with a passage or

1. Aubrey, op. cit., p. 30.
2. W. A. Pantin, 'Medieval Inns', in Studies in Building History, ed. E. M. Jope, (London, 1961) pp. 174-175.
3. Ibid.

gateway to the road as its most prominent feature. The example of the George, Stamford, Lincolnshire, is in fact sub-medieval, built in about 1640. The block structure is very noticeable, although later additions enclosed the courtyard and produced a de facto combination of the two basic types. During our period a variant of the gatehouse type appeared, in which the range of buildings parallel with the street was retained, while the gated entry was no longer a prominent feature. The Swan at Tetsworth, Oxfordshire, built in 1600 and refronted in 1700, was an example of this type. The courtyard lay to the side of the inn and not behind it, and the entry was therefore superfluous.[1]

It is impossible to say which was the dominant type. Both remain to the present day and both can be discerned in the town maps of our period. Without conducting a full architectural census of the inns of Western England during this period, which, for obvious reasons would be extremely difficult, one cannot say how widely each type was distributed. Both had their advantages and both their drawbacks. For urban uses, the Courtyard type was particularly valuable, since it allowed the street fronting range to be used for other forms of commerce. Perhaps as shops became more important to the economy, even gatehouse inns expanded around the courtyard at the rear and released at least part of the main block for other retail trades. Until more work on inn architecture has been done, along the lines suggested by

1. Ibid.

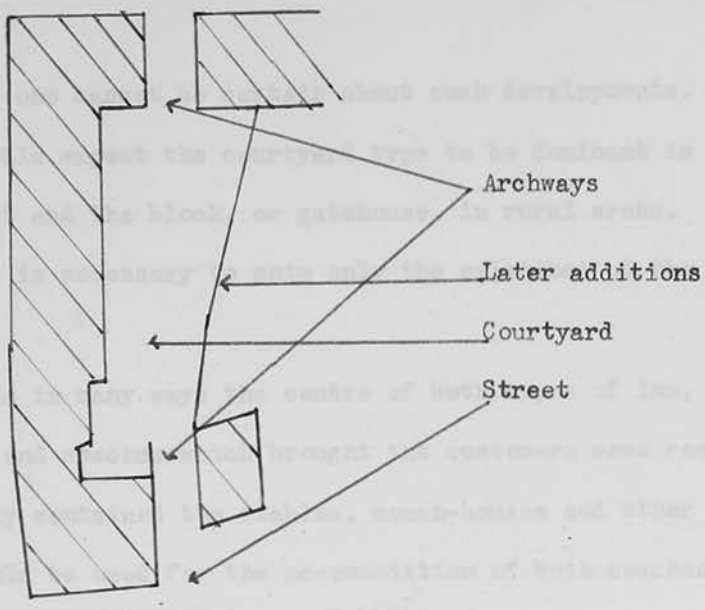


Fig.1. An inn of the Courtyard type: The George, Dorchester, Oxfordshire, circa 1500.

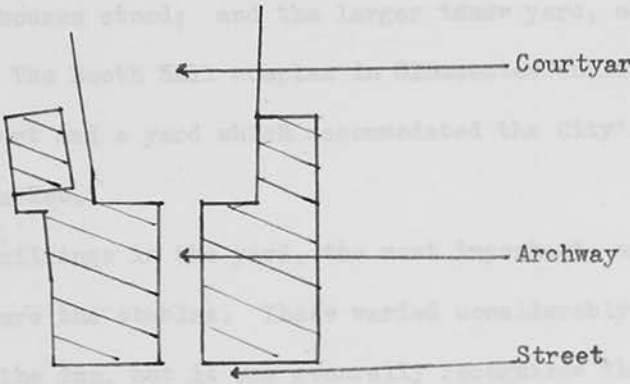


Fig.2. An inn of the Block or Gatehouse type: The George, Stamford, Lincolnshire, circa 1600.

Pantin's study, one cannot be certain about such developments. In the abstract, one would expect the courtyard type to be dominant in an urban environment and the block, or gatehouse, in rural areas. For our purposes, it is necessary to note only the existence of the two basic forms.

The yard was in many ways the centre of both types of inn, for here the horses and coaches which brought the customers were received. The yard normally contained the stables, coach-houses and other out-houses which would be used for the accommodation of both coaches and horses. Most inns had some form of courtyard, and many of these can be discerned in Strype's map of Farrington Ward, London, of 1720.[1] Among the inns marked on this map, the Bell and the Bear, Smithfield, have particularly extensive yards. So too did the Bell Savage on Ludgate Hill which had two yards: the first an open square in which many private houses stood; and the larger inner yard, occupied mainly by stables.[2] The Booth Hall complex in Gloucester included the inn, the county court and a yard which accommodated the City's wool, yarn and leather market.[3]

Of the buildings in the yard, the most important, apart from the inn itself, were the stables. These varied considerably in size, according to the inn, but it was generally recognized that an inn

1. J. Strype, Survey of London, Book III, p. 231, reproduced below, p. 102.
2. Ibid., Book III, p. 227. Map reference No. 90.
3. The Post-Man, No. 1405, 17 May 1705.



Map 1: Farringdon Ward Without, 1720.

KEY TO INNS

129. Ram Inn.
127. Catherine Wheel Inn.
128. Rose Inn.
137. Swan Inn.
119. Blue Bore Court.
126. King's Head Inn.
125. Greyhound Inn.
114. King's Arms Inn.
113. George Inn.
8. Plow Yard.
111. Bell Alley.
110. Bull Head Court.
109. Dolphin Inn.
142. Blue Anchor Inn.
146. Hartshead Inn.
102. Rose Inn.
103. Bee Hive Alley.
105. Naggs Head Court.
106. Saracen's Head Inn.
108. Horse-shoe Alley
90. Bell Savage Inn.
20. Black Horse Alley.
89. Flower de Liz Court.
87. Goat Alley.
88. Dolphin Court.

Source: J. Strype, Survey of London. I, Book 3, p.231. The numbering has been rearranged to read from top to bottom.

required more room for horses than it did beds for travellers. Indeed, Fielding suggested that many innkeepers preferred horses to their riders as guests since they dirtied no sheets.[1] In 1686 the major towns of Berkshire could stable about twice as many horses as they could bed travellers: Abingdon had 185 beds, and room for 578 horses; Faringdon, 81 and 218; Hungerford, 50 and 104; Maindenhead, 142 and 259; Newbury, 133 and 240; and Reading 376 and 572.[2] Since horses had to be accommodated at ground level, stables occupied a considerable part of the inn's total ground area. The larger inns, like the Mermaid, Windsor, could stable as many as a hundred horses.[3] At the opposite extreme, tiny inns such as the Griffin, Friars Entry, Oxford, could hold no more than a dozen.[4] The average inn might have room for between thirty and fifty horses at a time.

But stables and coach-houses were not the only buildings to be found in the inn yard. The yard of the White Hart, Bishop's Waltham, Hampshire contained a blacksmith's shop,[5] and at the Unicorn, Oxford Road, London, lay 'a very good farrier's shop in the said yard'.[6] Both types of shop were natural adjuncts to the inn-stable complex. As will be seen below; some innkeepers did not keep their own

1. Henry Fielding, Tom Jones (London, 1749), Vol. 3, Book VIII, Chapter 6, p. 206.
2. P.R.O., W.O. 30/48.
3. Jacks. Oxf. Journ. 306, 10 March 1759, p. 3.
4. Ibid., 98, 15 March 1755, p. 3.
5. Reading Mercury, 438, 25 March 1754, p. 3.
6. The Craftsman, 214, 8 August 1730, p. 4.

stables, but leased them to independent ostlers.[1] In this situation the independent smith or farrier would be perfectly normal.

But shops of different kinds were also to be found inside the inn yard. Within the confines of the Bell Savage, Ludgate Hill, Richard Rock kept his druggist's shop.[2] Shops fronted both the Golden Cross, Oxford, and the New Inn, Gloucester.[3] Within the yard of other inns lay private tenements. Indeed, as pressure on urban building land increased, such courtyards were the favoured sites for working-class tenements. Recent research by Professor M. W. Beresford suggests that the conceptual origins of the back-to-back house lie in such lean-to infilling of inn yards.[4] In London and elsewhere, even taverns were sited within these courtyards.

The yards of the larger inns had ample room for such buildings. Two large lodging houses stood in the yard of the Three Lions, Holt, Gloucestershire in 1733.[5] John Evans, keeper of the White Bear, Bridge Street, Chester advertised a shop to let at his inn which would suit a grocer or other trader.[6] The inn yard was not simply for the reception of travellers. The crowded concourse illustrated by Hogarth was a commercial and residential complex extending far

1. Chapter 4.
2. Penny London Post, 1343, 28 November 1750, p. 4.
3. Pantin, 'Medieval Inns' p. 167.
4. M. W. Beresford, 'The Back-to-Back House in Leeds, 1787-1937' in S. D. Chapman ed., A History of Working Class Housing (Newton Abbot, 1971) pp. 98-101.
5. Gloucester Journal, 604, 13 November 1733, p. 3.
6. Adams's Weekly Courant, 726, 24 March 1747, p. 4.

beyond the scope of simple hospitality. In many cases the inn merely gave this complex its identity.

Although the shops, tenements and stables in the inn courtyard were of considerable importance, the main building was, for our purposes, the inn itself. The basic ground plan of inns has already been noted, but there remains one other significant architectural feature to be discussed. Many inns of the courtyard type used the external gallery as a means of providing light and separate access to the lodging rooms. London inns like the George, Aldersgate Street, were renowned for their galleried structure. As Strype remarked of the George, 'It hath Galleries that lead to the Chambers, as customary in many great inns'.[1] The gallery of the 'Old Angle In' illustrated by Hogarth, can be seen above the crowded yard.[2] The gallery analagous with the monastic cloister or the college staircase provided a measure of privacy above that of passage rooms. It was a long-lived feature of inn architecture and was retained in inns built or rebuilt to the end of the eighteenth century.[3] For those travellers with valuables to secure, or business to conduct, the private room made possible by galleried access was invaluable.

Most inns also possessed a garden of some kind, originally perhaps a kitchen or herb garden, but by our period more commonly used for

1. J. Strype, Survey of London, III, p. 122.
2. See below, p. 106.
3. W. A. Pantin, 'Medieval Inns' pp. 183-186.



A COUNTRY INN YARD.

William Hogarth, A Country Inn Yard (1743).

recreation. The Crown, Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire, advertised for letting in 1690, possessed stables for over one hundred horses and three large gardens, one of which was suitable for a bowling green.[1] The garden of the George and Bull Inn, Hounslow, was large and included wall fruit.[2] Other advertisements emphasised the recreational aspect of a garden. The King's Head, Northleach, Gloucestershire, was a commodious and well-accustomed inn which possessed a sunny garden as well as a yard, a court and stalled stables.[3] During our period, garden sports developed considerably, and many inns established bowling greens.[4] The case of the Crown, Stow-on-the-Wold, indicated the degree of popular interest, and the Bell, Henley, Oxfordshire, possessed both garden and bowling green by 1759.[5] In the smaller towns these gardens were very extensive. The White Hart, Cullompton, Devon, bequeathed to Rebecca Hopping in 1707 was a messuage and tenement with both gardens and orchards.[6] For both sports and walks, and fruit, herbs and vegetables, the inn garden was a valuable asset.

In the country and the small town this garden might have represented but a small part of the lands dependent on the inn. Many country inns possessed parcels of meadow, pasture and even arable land,

1. Lond. Gaz., 2562, 29 May 1690.
2. Penny London Morning Advertiser, 128, 20 February 1744, p. 2.
3. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 195, 22 January 1757, p. 3.
4. For a further note on inns and sports, see below Chapter 11.
5. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 326, 28 July 1759, p. 2.
6. Devon R. O., Will of Henry Hopping, Vol. 23, 1 January 1706/07.

which could provide hay or grazing for draught animals, or even a cash crop for the innkeeper. Such holdings varied greatly in size and condition. The Crown Inn, Kingsclere, Hampshire included the minimal area of pasture - a mere half acre.[1] At the opposite end of the scale, a Dorset inn had an estate of some 130 acres of enclosed arable, and a further ten acres of meadow.[2] Not all estates were so large and convenient. The Coach and Horses, Hurley, Berkshire, sold for £170 in 1712, possessed a close of only two acres of meadow adjoining the inn, but a further ten acres of arable lay scattered in the common fields.[3] Two other cases illustrate the value of such lands most clearly. The value of meadow to the innkeeper was shown in an advertisement for the Legs of Man, Wigan, in 1739. The property, situated in the market place of the town, was to be let, and included '..... sufficient meadow & pastures'.[4] Nor were these lands necessarily part of the same property. Some like the lands of the Bull Inn, Stony Stratford, were usually let with the inn, but were not part of the property comprising the inn.[5]

Apart from the grazing of draught animals, the larger pastures may have been the resort of drovers and their herds. The Red Inn, Langtoft, Lincolnshire, with eighty acres of pasture, was left 'very fresh' on Lady Day 1705, and was therefore 'likely to have a better

1. Read. Merc., 427, 7 Jan. 1754, p. 3.
2. Salisbury Journal, 706, 29 July 1751, p. 4.
3. Berks. R. O., Indenture .... of Sale, 1712, D/EX 132/T1.
4. Adams's Weekly Cour., 326, 21 Feb. 1738/39, p. 3; my italics.
5. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 354, 9 Feb. 1760, p. 3.

Trade for Drovers than ever'.[1] The majority of country inns seem to have enjoyed the advantages of contiguous fields, as did a number situated in the smaller towns. For the majority of London inns, and those in large towns, a garden represented the greatest extent of their lands.

It is extremely difficult to generalise about the size of the actual building. Inns varied considerably in size as can be seen from the inventories of the Middlesex innkeepers of our period.[2] The monetary values of their estates provide some clue, and it is clear that Matthew Peter of Staines and Matthew Garrett of Hounslow kept much larger premises than Edward Lock of Heston.[3] Inns were undoubtedly larger than the normal household. In his analysis of the Exeter Hearth Tax of 1671, W. G. Hoskins '..... unwittingly exaggerated the number of private households living in houses of 6-9 hearths and 10 hearths and over' because he 'overlooked the importance of the large inns of the city'. The three largest houses of St. Stephen's parish, with 22, 13 and 11 hearths respectively, were all inns.[4] Many inns had originally been the houses of the gentry. A very fine inn at Cheltenham had once been a gentleman's house.[5] The Windmill Tavern, Old Jewry, London, had been put to many uses during its life: once a house for friars,

1. Post Man, 1395, 19 April 1705, p. 2.
2. See below, Appendix 1.
3. Appendix 1, nos. a, b, d.
4. Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series, 2, Exeter in the Seventeenth Century: Tax and Rate Assessments 1602-99 (Torquay 1957) p. xvii.
5. Hist. MSS. Comm., Portland, II, p. 303.

then a synagogue; later the home of two Mercer mayors; it was by 1720 a tavern.[1] Only the houses of the gentry, lying on the outskirts of the town, were adequate replacements for the inns destroyed in the great fire of Towcester in 1681. One of those turned into an inn was owned by Sir William Farmer, and was described as '..... a fair house at the lower end of the town'.[2] Such was the size of the normal inn. In Exeter in 1671, only the houses of the Cathedral Close ranked with the inns of the city in hearths.[3]

It is possible to make a threefold division of the internal structure of the inn: service, reception and dormitory. The first includes all those rooms used in the service of the traveller, but in which he was not normally entertained. They represent the equivalent of the rooms 'below stairs' in the large private household. The reception rooms are self-explanatory and include all bars, parlours, butteries and dining rooms. All the bedrooms fall into the dormitory category. While it is impossible to produce an archetype of an inn room, certain common elements can be highlighted.

The kitchen was the main and often the only service room. In all but the smallest inns and alehouses it was a separate room and was rarely used for the reception of guests. Even at the end of our period some small houses, perhaps run by those for whom victualling was a by-employment, consisted of a large kitchen, which represented the

1. J. Strype, Survey of London,
2. Hist. MSS. Comm., Portland, II, p. 290.
3. Dev. and Corn. Rec. Soc., 'Exeter in the Seventeenth Century....,' pp. 65-86.

only service and reception room. Smollett described such a house:

'The kitchen, in which they assembled, was the only room for entertainment in the house, paved with red bricks, remarkably clean, furnished with three or four Windsor chairs, adorned with shining plates of pewter, and copper sauce-pans nicely scoured, that even dazzled the eyes of the beholder; while a chearful fire of sea-coal blazed in the chimney.'[1]

The kitchen was but rarely used for the entertainment of guests in the larger houses, although servants may have been received there.

Its main function lay in the preparation of meals for the guests of the inn. The inventory material of Appendix 1 demonstrates the means available to cooks in this period. The kitchen of the inn was clearly unremarkable, except perhaps in its size. Little would distinguish it from that of any other substantial household. The bulk of cooking was done over an open fire, as can be seen from the frequent references to spits, jacks, hangers and iron racks in the inventory material.[2] Meat was roasted on a spit, and the use of a jack ensured that it was evenly cooked. Bread was probably baked in a kettle suspended over the fire, or in towns was supplied by the local baker.[3] Most seem to have used wood for fuel, presumably on grounds of taste.

Of the utensils listed in the kitchens of probate inventories, most were of metal. Wooden and earthenware vessels were found but were not common. Most of the cooking utensils were of brass and many of

1. Tobias Smollett, The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves (2 vols. London, 1762) Vol. I, Chapter 1, pp. 1-2.
2. The reader is referred to the inventory material of Appendix 1, especially a,b,c, e, which contain full descriptions of kitchen equipment.
3. Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series, II, Devon Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, ed. M. Cash, (Torquay, 1966) pp. xvi-xvii.

pewter, though the latter was more common for serving dishes. But even among the drinking vessels, remarkably little glass and earthenware was to be found. Not until the middle of the eighteenth century did such goods cheapen sufficiently to give them the advantage over the more durable domestic metal goods. Even in 1779 the inventory of Thomas Marriott recorded the use of pewter, not earthenware, for chamber pots.[1] This may well have distinguished inns from private households. It is perhaps unfortunate that no inventory source for the eighteenth century exists to chart the progress of pottery and glass consumption and industrialised production.

The other service rooms varied considerably according to the size and location of the inn. Many possessed a wash-house, which was also used for the storage of fuel.[2] Since both activities required plentiful supplies of water, the wash-house was often combined with the brew-house, as the inventory of Matthew Peter showed in 1683.[3] Throughout our period, most innkeepers brewed their own beer and ale, and the brewhouse with its copper and tubs was second only to the kitchen in its importance as a service room. In advertising jargon, the facility of a brewhouse was a good 'selling point'.

The other rooms falling into this service category, the barns and stables, require little further comment. But one significant development during this period was in the form and quality of stabling.

1. Appendix 1, f.
2. Ibid.
3. Appendix I, b.

Individual stalls in stables became increasingly common during this period. The George Inn, Shaftsbury was advertised as the possessor of 'stabling beyond dispute the best in 100 miles' in 1755.[1] Improved quality of stabling was used to attract custom.

There is plentiful evidence that innkeepers sought to attract custom by such innovations. But these were largely confined to the reception rooms to which we must now turn. These might consist of a single unit as in Smollett's alehouse, where food and drink were consumed but were normally separate units divided by function and social stratification. Essentially they may be divided into bars and dining rooms.

The bar, or parlour, was the place in which drinks were served, often direct from the cellars. This form represented the older 'buttery bar' which tended during our period to be a service rather than a reception room. The parlour was the place where drinks were served, not where the customer purchased them for himself.[2] The hall was in many cases the place where drinks and food were served, but to which guests of any 'quality' would not resort. For them, the dining room or private chambers would be the place of refreshment. Close analysis of the inventory of Matthew Garrett of Hounslow, taken in 1680, shows clearly this separation of function. Three reception rooms in his house demonstrate this: the Swan Parlour; the 'Long Room';

1. Western Flying Post, 336, 4 August 1755, p. 4.
2. Pantin, 'Medieval Inns' pp. 188-189.

and the 'dyneing room'. The 'Long Room' was the poorest in furniture, and was probably the descendant of the medieval hall. In this period it was used for the reception of poorer guests and the servants of the wealthy. The parlour was furnished more expensively than any room but the kitchen, and was a room intended for drinking and relaxation, a step above the 'Long Room'. The quality of the dining room furniture shows clearly that it was intended for the better sort of customer.[1] Similar division in the reception rooms can be seen in the inn of Matthew Peter of Staines, in which the Hall catered for the poorer sort and the 'Great Dining Room' for the more genteel.[2]

In fact the division of inns depended more on these social variables than upon the functional distinction that originally suggested itself. In it lay the origins of the separation of public houses into public and saloon bars which has persisted to modern times. There were some parts of an inn to which only those of suitable 'quality' would be admitted. This was shown by the different standards of furnishing and in the accounts of contemporary literary sources. In spite of arriving on foot, Tom Jones and Partridge were treated better than the vulgar by Mrs. Whitefield at the Bell Inn, Gloucester, because of Jones's obvious 'quality'.[3] Conversely, the same foundling and his companion, Mrs. Waters, were ordered as 'beggars' to stay

1. Appendix 1, a.
2. Appendix 1, b.
3. Fielding, Tom Jones, Vol. 3, Book VIII, Chapter 8, p. 200.

below stairs at Upton. Their appearance did not suggest that they should be allowed upstairs to a chamber.[1] Writing of the 1780s, Francis Place recorded this same division in his father's public house:

> 'It was the custom at this time as it had long been for almost every man who had the means to spend his evenings at some public house or tavern, or other place of public entertainment. Almost every public house had a parlour, as some still have, for the better sort of customers. In this room which was often large and well-lighted with tallow candles the company drank and smoked and spent their evenings - many constantly supped in these rooms either alone or in parties of from two to as many as a table would hold which was generally six in some places eight.'[2]

The snobbery in eighteenth-century society which Josiah Wedgwood was to exploit can be held responsible for the hardening of this division in our period.[3] In general this social division was more important than any functional distinction.

Paradoxically, those who gibbed at dining or drinking with their social inferiors may have slept with them. Few travellers visiting an inn during this period could expect to have a private bedchamber. The use of galleries helped to give privacy to the guests by removing the inconvenience of the passage room, but rooms were rarely intended for single occupation. The inventories of appendix 1 show more than one bed in each room, but the traveller was by no means assured of a bed to himself. 'No room at the inn' was not a cry used extensively by seventeenth and eighteenth century hosts. Multiple occupancy of

1. Ibid., vol. 3, Book IX, Chapter 3, p. 323.
2. Francis Place, 'Autobiography' Chapter 2, ff. 57-58, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35142.
3. See, N. McKendrick, 'Josiah Wedgwood: An Eighteenth Century Entrepreneur in Salesmanship and marketing techniques' Econ. Hist. Rev. XII (1960).

beds was common in an age when most preferred to share beds with strangers to not finding accommodation. G. E. Pakenham, stopping overnight in Chester during the September fair in 1738 found 'the town & inns were greatly throng'd - in our inn no less than 70: beds were made & mostly 2 in each.'[1]

Although Pakenham found that a concourse of traders filled the inns of Chester, and filled most beds with two people, it was the trading community which helped the spread of privacy. Apart from the aesthetic objection to sharing bed or bedroom with an unknown, the practice was inconvenient and embarrassing. John Cannon, travelling to St. Giles Fair at Winchester in 1726 left an unforgettable account of such a night at the Hart Inn, Stockbridge:

'[I] ..... had for my bedfellow one Wm. Phippen of East Pennard, who in his sleep grasp'd me & cry'd out, Ah my dear peggy, thinking he had been in bed w[i]th his wife, but I soon made him sensible of ye mistake by awaking him, whilst a neighbour of his drove randy all night, being shut out by us from his usual lodging room & So got into another chamber wherein were 4 beds of w[hic]h 3 were then full & ye other orderedfor ye farmer Mr. Phippens Neighbour (named Dorvill) but he kept on roaring Swearing drinking & hallowing that he became very troublesome. at last to complete ye scene he got into ye Middle of ye Chamber & Sir r[everence]d in ye pot & ab[ou]t ye chamber w[hic]h made all to rise sooner than they designed .....'[2]

Tradesmen were more likely to object to shared bedrooms if they carried valuables, and not simply because their bedfellows might be

1. G. E. Pakenham, Diary, 30 September 1738, pp. 66-67.
2. Somerset R. O., DD/SA 5 c/1193, p. 179; 'Sir reverence' was a term applied to ordure. J. O. Halliwell, Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, (7th edition, London, 1924) p. 745.

drunk. Although certain evidence is lacking, the trend during our period was away from the shared chamber. The desire of businessmen and the wealthy was for privacy. With the increased use of galleries, the size of individual rooms was reduced and the private bedroom became a practical possibility. But in 1760 it was still something of a rarity.

Innkeepers decorated and furnished both reception rooms and bedchambers with greater richness during this period as competition grew sharper and the public became increasingly fashion-conscious. Josiah Wedgwood's statement that 'Fashion is infinitely superior to merit in many respects' had some meaning for innkeepers in our period.[1] For those who aspired to the highest position in the trade fashionable innovations were the means to improve the quality and number of their guests. Such improvements aped the consumption of the gentry. The Pope's Head Tavern, Cornhill, possessed a fine painted room - a favourite seventeenth century decorative motif - when visited by Jeffrey Boys in 1671.[2] The New Inn, Exeter, had a superbly decorated plaster ceiling in its 'Appollo Room' executed in 1689-90.[3] The use of wainscotting also expanded during this period, and innkeepers were keen to advertise this form of decoration. The three large parlours of the Antelope, Sherborne, newly-built in 1755, were all 'well wainscotted' and seven of the twelve 'handsome bedchambers' were 'hung with good

1. Quoted in N. McKendrick, 'Josiah Wedgwood .....' p. 357.
2. Notes and Queries, CLIX (1930) p. 454.
3. W. G. Hoskins, Two Thousand Years in Exeter (Exeter 1963) p. 128.

papers'.[1] Nearby, at Shaftesbury, the George's parlours and lodging rooms were all 'properly wainscotted & paper'd' although the pride of its keeper lay in the '2 new Gothick Windows' which 'enlightened' the Bull Room.[2] Mr. Pinham, keeper of the George, followed closely behind Strawberry Hill in his Gothic taste, and antedated Fonthill by forty years. In 1755 Gothicism was an advanced fashion in England, and it is therefore all the more remarkable that an innkeeper should ape those who were in two respects, leaders of society.[3]

An inn therefore was in many ways a specialized structure in the period 1660-1760. Purpose-built inns incorporated special features, such as the large courtyards and galleried chambers which were unnecessary in the few private houses of comparable size. They were generally among the largest buildings of a town and incorporated suitably capacious stables. Stable accommodation normally allowed more than one horse per bed, either because men travelled with several horses, or because of the habit of multiple occupation of bedchambers and beds. These bedchambers formed one section of the amenities of the normal inn. There were also the rooms used for the reception of guests - the dining rooms, parlours and bars - and those of the service sector which included the kitchens, cellars, brewhouses and wash-houses. The minimal content of an inn would include rooms of all

1. Western Flying Post, 316, 17 March 1755, p. 4.
2. Western Flying Post, 336, 4 August 1755, p. 4.
3. See N. Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture (5th. edition, London, 1961) pp. 255-256.

three types, a courtyard, stables or a barn, and, in the country a portion of land used for open pasture. The evidence of wills, inventories and leases shows that many consisted of far more than these minimal common factors.

It is less easy to suggest with any certainty the exact number and location of inns in Western England. Defoe suggested a figure of 2000 inns in England in 1727.[1] This is obviously far too low. The situation is complicated by the taverns, alehouses and above all by the brewing victualler. Two widely-spaced sources provide some information in this respects. First, in 1577, surveys were undertaken of all inns, alehouses and taverns in England. The figures of the contemporary summary do not in any way tally with those of the individual returns, but are as follows:

Inns:	2,163
Alehouses:	14,102
Taverns:	323
Estimated Total for all missing counties:	3,597
TOTAL:	20,185 [2]

Accepting the limitations of the material, we can safely say that the total of inns and alehouses in 1577 was somewhere between 19 and 20,000.

1. D. Defoe, Complete English Tradesman, (Oxford 1841 edn.) vol. XVIII, p. 217.
2. P.R.O. State Papers, 12/141 f. 125. I am indebted to Professor M. W. Beresford for this information.

The second estimates come from the 1750s. The first are the official licence returns for Lady Day 1749/50. Licences were issued as follows:

London: 5,297

Country: 23,688

TOTAL: 28,985[1]

An alternative estimate can be based on the local licensing registers created by the Act of 1753.[2] The numbers of licences issued in six counties - Devon, Gloucestershire, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire and Warwickshire - correlated strongly with the estimated population of these counties in the 1750s.[3]

Table 8: Population, 1751 and Licences, 1753-60.[4]

COUNTY	LICENCES	POPULATION
Devon	1370	306,524
Gloucestershire	1069	203,000
Middlesex	3044	590,165
Oxfordshire	835	89,227
Warwickshire	1136	124,760
Wiltshire	868	157,206

1. P. Mathias, The Brewing Industry ....., p. 117 and n.
2. 26 George II c. 31.
3. Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, p. 103. Based on Rickman's figures, derived from the Parish Register Abstracts.
4. Sources: Population - Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, p. 103. Licences - Devon (1757), Devon R.O. Register of Licensed Victuallers, 1753-60; Gloucs. (1755), Gloucs. R.O. Q/AV 2; Middlesex (1730 - the only complete record), Middx. R.O. L.V. 3-7; Oxfordshire (1753), Oxon. R.O. QS DV. 1; Warwickshire (1753), Warwicks. R.O. QS 36; Wiltshire (1756) Wilts. R.O. 43/12/2/1-2.

The figures of licences and population correlate with r = 0.9661 and t = 7.4807. Given this level of significance (1% level) it is possible to estimate the number of licences for all the counties of Western England by regression analysis.[1] In table 9 these are presented with the 1577 figures already referred to.

Table 9: Licensed Premises in Western England 1577 and the 1750s.[2]

COUNTY	1577			1750s.
	INNS	ALEHOUSES	TAVERNS	
Berkshire	63*	252*	17*	*687*
Buckingham	72	325	5	*668*
Cheshire	24	390	9	*782*
Cornwall	-	132	30	*902*
Devon	80*	400	40	1370
Dorset	28	209	17	*697*
Gloucestershire	-	-	-	1069
Hampshire	67	324	14	*899*
Herefordshire	-	-	-	*618*
Middlesex	132	720	24	3044
Oxfordshire	-	-	-	835
Shropshire	-	-	-	*863*
Somerset	100	215	16	*1287*
Staffordshire		105		*927*
Warwickshire	29	447	8	1136
Wiltshire	-	-	-	868
Worcestershire	-	-	-	*730*
Western England	-	-	-	*17,382*
England and Wales		20,185		*27,324*

1. Assuming that Licences = f (Population), y (Licences) = 308.3532 + 0.0044 x (Population).
2. For derivation of figures for the 1750s see above p. 120, note 3. Italics indicate estimated figures for the 1750s. The 1577 figures come from the same P.R.O. source, State Papers 12/96 with the exception of Devon, from 12/122. State Papers 12/141 f. 125 estimates the number missing from the summary of returns. Asterisks indicate figures for which there is some discrepancy in the sources.

The most striking feature of the figures of Table 9 is the enormous increase which seems to have taken place within individual counties. Whereas the aggregate increase for England and Wales, excluding taverns, was 36.6% the counties of Western England far exceed this. To base any conclusions on such tenuous quantitative material would be unwise, but the figures do suggest grounds for illuminating speculation.

Having established an apparent connexion between licensed premises and population for the 1750s, it seems logical to estimate the population of England and Wales for 1577 by the reverse process. Using the crude figures for both dates, and subtracting an arbitrary 400 for the number of taverns in 1577, the population for that year is estimated by $\frac{\text{1577 Inns and Alehouses}}{\text{Estimated total for 1750s}} \times 6{,}140{,}000$ (1751 population). Thus for 1577 population is estimated at 4,445,360, a figure which accords remarkably with Rickman's estimates for 1570 and 1600.[1] While historical demographers remain in a state of ignorance about the population of England and Wales before 1801, early results from parish register aggregation suggest that Rickman's estimates accord with probable trends and levels. While the above arithmetic conjury cannot be taken with any greater reliability than is suggested, the case that the number of licensed premises varied with the level of population is surely proven. Commonsense would suggest this. Further strength to

1. Discussed in K. F. Helleiner, 'The Population of Europe from the Black Death to the Eve of the Vital Revolution' in E. E. Rich and C. H. Wilson eds., Cambridge Economic History of Europe, IV, (Cambridge, 1967) p. 32.

the correlation is perhaps given by the attitude of Justices in suppressing licences discussed fully elsewhere.[1]

A further point of interest arises from the figures of Table 9. The centre of industrial growth in the eighteenth century was the pastoral west and north. Here in all probability reserves of under-employed labour existed alongside sources of raw materials and motive power. The north and west above all were the areas of the classic 'dual' or 'mixed' economy identified by Joan Thirsk[2] and, more recently, by David Hey.[3] Despite all the limitations of the figures of Table 9, they suggest that the growth in the number of inns and of the population between the later sixteenth and the mid eighteenth centuries was particularly marked in this area of England. This assumption would accord with the concept of landless young people retreating to the forests and heaths from the arable farms of eastern England which were dominated by the system of primogeniture. The cheap labour thus released perhaps allowed the release of capital from current costs and stock in hand in to more intensive methods of industrial production. The very same force that sharpened the English division of labour, in which the south and east dominated the primary industry - agriculture - and commerce, was ultimately a vital element in the establishment of the industrial power of the north and west.

1. See above, pp. 68 f.
2. J. Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside .....' in F. J. Fisher ed., Essays ..... in Honour of R. H. Tawney, esp. pp. 86-88.
3. D. G. Hey, 'A Dual Economy in South Yorkshire' Agric. Hist. Rev. 17 (2) (1969), pp. 108-119.

Two lists produced by the War Office in 1686 and 1756 provide full information on the location of inns in our period.[1] The lists, drawn up for assessing billeting facilities in the whole of England, are not strictly comparable. In 1686 the returns were made and recorded by individual towns, villages and hamlets, while in 1756 for many areas, returns were made by licensing divisions and out-ridings. Nevertheless, some general comparisons can be made, particularly on a county basis. Two things are perhaps remarkable in the county totals of beds and stabling room reproduced in Table 10. First, the wide variation in the proportion of beds to stables is not apparently attributable to transport or trading factors. But the large stable capacity may indicate a heavy dependence on road transport. What is perhaps more remarkable is the decline in bed and stable quotas for many of the counties between 1686 and 1756. Only five counties show increases in both categories between the two dates, and both show an overall decline.

How does such evidence accord with the hypothesis that Western England illustrates English economic growth between 1660 and 1760 and in fact may have been its leader? The suggested association between inns and population might suggest that this area was in decline between 1686 and 1756 if the fall in the bed and stable quotas really meant that the number of inns fell. Equally the remarkable county

1. P.R.O., W.O. 30/48; 30/49.

Table 10: Bed and Stable Capacity of Western England, by Counties, 1686 and 1756.[1]

COUNTY	No. BEDS (1686)	No. BEDS (1756)	% CHANGE 1756: 1686	No. STABLES (1686)	No. STABLES (1756)	% CHANGE 1756: 1686
Berkshire	1804	2018	+ 11.2	3911	3451	- 11.8
Buckinghamshire	1228	1929	+ 57.1	1808	3183	+ 76.0
Cheshire	2074	1608	- 22.5	3600	2441	- 32.2
Cornwall	1525	917	- 39.9	1382	925	- 33.1
Devon	3508	2336	- 33.4	4264	3100	- 27.3
Dorset	1345	1304	- 3.1	2242	2232	- 0.4
Gloucester	2042	1690	- 17.2	3827	2725	- 28.8
Hampshire	2883	2789	- 3.3	4573	4286	- 6.3
Herefordshire	558	959	+ 71.9	737	977	+ 32.5
Middlesex	1752	1270	- 27.5	3120	1933	- 38.0
Oxfordshire	1915	1603	- 16.3	2951	2956	+ 0.2
Salop	1731	1638	- 5.4	2575	1955	- 24.1
Somerset	4007	3874	- 3.3	6343	6336	- 0.1
Staffordshire	1487	1911	+ 28.5	2447	2696	+ 10.2
Warwickshire	1441	2408	+ 67.1	3965	3621	- 8.7
Wiltshire	2739	2482	- 7.4	4924	4260	- 13.5
Worcestershire	949	1570	+ 65.4	1044	1613	+ 54.5
Western England	32988	32306	- 2.1	53713	48690	- 9.4

1. Calculated from P.R.O., W.O. 30/48 and 30/49. It should be noted that the figures for 1756 have been reconstituted from 22 separate lists called 'Collections' or 'Districts' in the original (W.O. 30/49 Nos. 1,3,4,7,8,11,14,15,17,18,19,23,26,30,31,34,35,38,40,41,46,48). There may therefore have been some spillage into contiguous counties outside our area unidentifiable from the source, and equally some inter-county spillage within 'Western England'. In some cases counties may have gained in the same way. Nevertheless, the two series are, within these confines, comparable, and the evidence of moderate decline in quotas seems significant.

changes would seem to show radical disparities in the growth rates of the counties of Western England. Do the figures in fact show an area stagnating rather than the leader of an economy moving towards take-off into new levels of growth?

For several reasons the figures of Table 10 rather sustain the general theme than weaken it. Standards of living, of comfort, and the expectations of an increasingly fashion-conscious society determined several changes in the inn. Higher quality furniture, galleried chambers etc. discussed above were symptoms of this.[1] Clearly many such improvements had spatial costs both for bedroom and stables. The building of a gallery to replace through rooms would cost perhaps five or six beds in the same number of rooms designed for multiple occupancy. Part of the growth of 'luxury' in the 'pre-revolutionary' period in the English inn was shown in this transfer of space from functional to aesthetic uses. Rising standards of comfort meant the reduction of stable room. Stalled stables provided better accommodation for the horse. Stalled stables reduced the injury to horses, which, as a result, were better rested and conditioned. Thus the changes indicated in Table 10 might represent an unchanged or even increased number of inns providing generally better facilities.

A technical point may conceal the truth here. The system of assessment was radically different in 1756 from that employed in 1686.[2]

1. See above, pp. 101 f.
2. See above, p. 125 n. 1.

Many distant country inns may have escaped the notice of the collector in 1756, while the plethora of individual entries in 1686 shows the diligence of the War Office agents. Evidence has been found for the Kent survey in 1756 that innkeepers were at least unco-operative.[1] For other reasons also, discussed below, the changes may represent a shift of accommodation from the smallest units in the countryside to the towns and substantial villages.[2]

The greater stability is shown by the bed figures, averaging out to a decline of only 2.1% over the whole area, while stables dropped by 9.4%. Possibly this represents some rationalisation in the transport system in this period. Perhaps as a result of the violent 'industrial espionage' of the Dutch Wars, the improved technology of English coastal shipping caused counties like Cheshire to favour sea rather than land transport.[3] If this was so then the horse's stable would be more vulnerable than the tradesman's bed. Elsewhere, as in Staffordshire or perhaps Herefordshire, increases may represent real growth in undeveloped territories in the late seventeenth century economy: Staffordshire's barren heaths were starting their industrial growth; and the agricultural fruitfulness of Herefordshire was at last overcoming the transport constraints which had for so long impeded its

1. Dennis Baker, 'The marketing of Corn in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century: North-East Kent', Agric. Hist. Rev. 18 (1970), p. 148.
2. See below, pp. 131 f.
3. R. Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry (London, 1962) Chapter 3, p. 44 f.

progress. Elsewhere perhaps, quotas may have been reduced to more realistic levels by the exclusion of minute alehouses.

Above all it was the polarisation of inn accommodation at major centres of demand that determined changes. For all its other deficiencies, the 1756 list does contain some entries which include the numbers of inns as well as bed and stable quotas. In all, seven 'district' lists in Western England provide such information. Common-sense would suggest that town inns would be larger than those of the countryside. The larger the locational unit, the greater its economic importance as centre of trade and population. Thus the county totals of Table 10 are heavily biased towards the individual totals of large towns. In 1686 Worcester and Kidderminster alone accounted for over one third of the county total. Exeter in the same year represented over a quarter of Devon's total. Hence the vast majority of inns in 1686 were located in very small villages. While Exeter was clearly dominant in Devon, the county total was the sum of 353 separate town and village entries. The ten largest units in Devon in 1686 - Exeter, Plymouth, Barnstaple, Bideford, Cullompton, Tiverton, Honiton, Crediton, Totnes and Axminster - represented 47.8% of beds and 58% of stable accommodation.

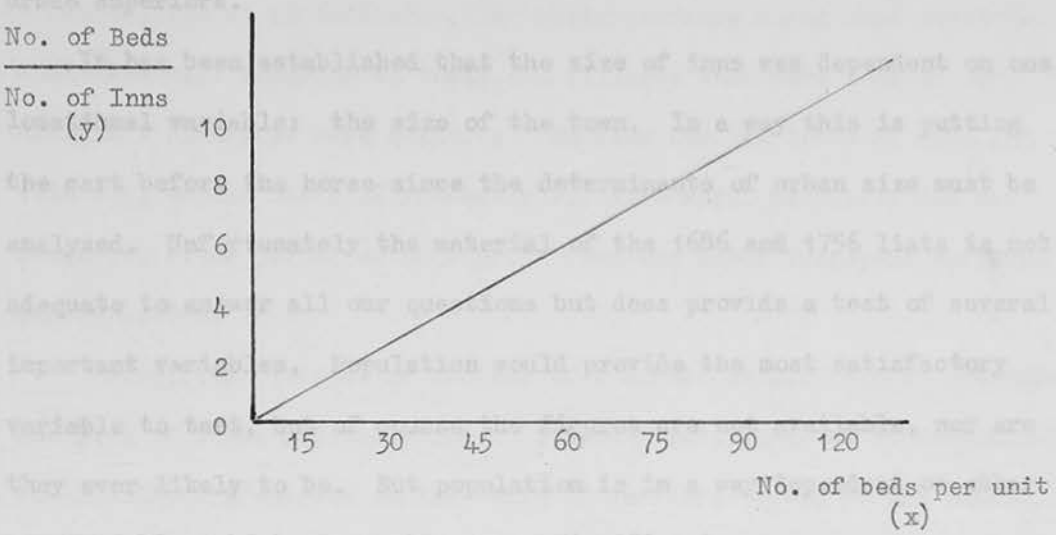
The towns were the dominant commercial centres, the measure of their economic power lying in the size and extent of their inns.

London to many eighteenth century writers was 'an overgrown monster; which like a dropsical head, will in time leave the body and extremities without nourishment and support'.[1] But within most counties lay 'wens' of equal relative dominance. The measure of the 'commercial revolution' which preceded industrialisation was the growth of all major towns as entrepôts. London was not unique in its expansion: it merely represented in England the macrocosm of the experience of most counties.

Perhaps the clearest demonstration of the commercial superiority of the large towns lay in the fact that they had not only more inns, with greater aggregate bed and stable quotas, but the inns themselves were larger. Meeting perhaps greater aggregate demand and also being accustomed to more regular use of their accommodation, the towns supported the great inns of which those of Northampton were famous examples.[2] The 1756 list provides material to test the simple linear function shown in figure form below. Two of the seven listings of beds, inns and stables, for the 'Bristol Collection' and the 'Marlborough Collection' provide an excellent functional relationship. With 99 entries, x and y correlate with r of 0.7297 and t of 15.373, showing a very good linear function.[3] For all seven 'collections' a sample of 338, r is 0.3844 and t 7.6326 again a very high level of

1. T. Smollett, The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker (London, 1771, Everyman, edn. 1961), p. 83.
2. See above, p. 97.
3. W. O. 30/49, nos. 3, 26.

Fig. 3. Variance in the size of Inns by size of locational unit.



significance.[1] Hence the major determinant of the size of an inn was the size of the unit in which it was located assuming that bed quotas are satisfactory indices of unit size. The quantitative evidence therefore supports the evidence of one eighteenth-century tourist, the Rev. Jeremiah Milles, who toured England and Wales between 1735 and 1743. Two new inns he found in Eton village in 1742 were serious competitors to the great inns of Slough. There had been no inn at Eton when Milles was at school between 1721 and 1729. So unusual was this country competition that he remarked:

' ..... it is not very common for Inns built in ye country to spoil ye trade of those yt are in towns; ye Conveniences of ye latter being preferable in every respect but one; w[hi]ch is enjoying ye fresh air of ye country; w[hi]ch one cannot so well have in ye Towns.'[2]

1. The seven lists are 'collections' for Bristol and Marlborough as above, and Buckinghamshire, Cornwall, Hereford and Monmouth, Hertford, and Warwick. W.O. 30/49, nos. 4, 8, 18, 19, 46.
2. Rev. Jeremiah Milles, Tours, B.M. Add. MSS. 15776 f. 118.

Country inns in general represented no serious competitors to their urban superiors.

It has been established that the size of inns was dependent on one locational variable: the size of the town. In a way this is putting the cart before the horse since the determinants of urban size must be analysed. Unfortunately the material of the 1686 and 1756 lists is not adequate to answer all our questions but does provide a test of several important variables. Population would provide the most satisfactory variable to test, but of course the figures are not available, nor are they ever likely to be. But population is in a way dependent on other key variables which are perhaps more significant.

The importance of the transport system to town life has already been shown.[1] The variation in unit size by type of transport available is of great interest. Both the 1686 and 1756 lists can be broken down into towns on main roads and those off the main road.[2] One would expect that most units on main roads would have higher quotas of beds and stables and hence tend to be larger settlements, than those on minor roads. Thus road types can be used as one variable.

Water transport played a vital role in the England of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, expansion of sea and river transport in our period may have determined pronounced shifts in the

1. See above, pp. 32 f.
2. On the basis of the county maps produced by H. Möll, A New Description of England and Wales, (London, 1724). While these are far from perfect they provide a better basis for analysis than say, the Ogilby guides, which are essentially route rather than road oriented.

balance of transport in some counties.[1] Thus, rejecting stable accommodation as an indicator, bed quota variance might show significant advantage accuring to towns and villages that were located on navigable rivers or were seaports. Entries for the lists of 1686 and 1756 can, on the basis of Professor Willan's work, be classified as seaports, river ports, or neither.[2] Thus the water transport variable can be tested.

Third, the presence or absence of a market should help to determine the size of towns and their inns. It would not, however, be meaningful to classify all entries on the basis of charters listed by the Royal Commission of 1888.[3] For reasons already discussed, there was a very clear distinction between the 'real' and the 'virtual' market towns. The two together, listed by the Royal Commission and by Professor Everitt, were not of significance to those who produced tradesmen's guides in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many were no longer meaningful as trading centres for the itinerant businessman. If not 'lost market towns' they were rapidly becoming hard to find![4] For the analysis of inn quotas by function, these 'virtual' market towns are not considered as markets.[5]

Tables 11 and 12 below represent the results of classification

1. See above, pp.22f.
2. T. S. Willan, River Navigation ....., passim.
3. First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls, vol. 1., (1888), C.5550.
4. See above, pp. 32 f.
5. The listing used for establishing the category of 'market towns' in Tables 11 and 12 below is that used for column five of Table 2, p.31, Great Britain's Vade Mecum, Chapter V, 1720, a good median date between the two War Office listings.

Table 11: Mean Size of Units by type calculated by Beds, 1686[1]

		Market Town	Not Market Town
RIVER PORT	On Main Road	248.76	47.30
	Lesser Road	35.88	5.82
SEA PORT	On Main Road	115.25	33.43
	Lesser Road	26.43	8.08
WITHOUT WATER TRANSPORT	On Main Road	70.24	10.73
	Lesser Road	31.40	3.40

Table 12: Mean size of Units by type calculated by Beds, 1756[2]

		Market Town	Not Market Town
RIVER PORT	On Main Road	249.93	48.50
	Lesser Road	130.88	28.50
SEA PORT	On Main Road	135.53	15.67
	Lesser Road	22.60	14.71
WITHOUT WATER TRANSPORT	On Main Road	121.81	41.54
	Lesser Road	59.01	15.37

1. Calculated on basis of W.O. 30/48.
2. Calculated from W.O. 30/49.

of the 1686 and 1756 lists on the above criteria. Application of a most severe statistical test, the three way analysis of variance, proved of no help in testing the three variables, largely because of the low number of degrees of freedom. However the chi-square test proved that the revealed pattern is of some significance, as the non-mathematical would have thought. It is the pattern that can now be analysed. It is in some way surprising.

To deal with our variables in order, the main road/lesser road distinction would seem to justify earlier comments. There seems little doubt that the presence of a thoroughfare was, for both towns and the smallest villages, the element which could determine their economic success vis-a-vis their 'out of the way' neighbours.[1] Without the artery of a main road few towns or villages could expect to play a significant role in the national or even county economy. They were settlements and units of production, but not important centres of exchange or commerce. The figures of Table 11 show quite clearly the disasters which might result from the bypassing of a town or village by a new turnpike road. It meant the virtual death of the unit as a centre of inns and their associated economic activities. Little wonder therefore that Joseph Greene found Mr. Brigham so upset about the Stratford turnpike in 1756.[2]

The second of the variables, the presence or absence of water transport, is perhaps the most interesting. Here undoubtedly some

1. Justices clearly helped this distinction with their suppression policy. See above, pp.72f.
2. See above, p. 89 , and note

blurring of function arises. Several major towns were both seaports and river ports. Although the river trade for such towns as Bristol must have been extremely important, such cases have been classified as seaports. Although the largest seaports, Bristol and London, were very large indeed, the mean size is relatively small. This is quite simply a function of the area under consideration. Few seaports of supra-regional significance existed in Western England. Liverpool to the north west had supplanted Chester by 1760 and Southampton was by the same date only stirring from the torpor it had endured since the mid-sixteenth century. The bulk of the seaports of Western England were, like Bideford and Barnstaple, engaged in the Irish or coasting trades, and hence never achieved the magnitude of major ports.

Given this built-in bias in favour of seaports, navigable rivers seem to have been even more important than Professor Willan suggested. While one must observe that Willan's 'improved' rivers did not always result in good navigable waterways - the misfortune of the undertakers on the Wye and Lugg are useful caveats - it does seem clear that this again was a key variable. Towns on navigable rivers with main roads and markets, such as Oxford, Gloucester, Taunton etc., were in every way inland 'entrepôts' perhaps lacking only, within their sub-regions, the name of 'London' or 'Antwerp' to identify their importance. Minor towns and villages enjoying both the transport advantages acted as ferry point or wharfing units. In every cell, water transport provided a significant commercial advantage.

The above suggests grounds for speculation on the relative share of land and water transport in the national economy of this period. It would appear that the importance of river transport has been underrated, even after Professor Willan's pioneering work. It may well be that the combination of improved and expanded coastal shipping and improved rivers was the key improvement which liberated agricultural producers from geographical constraints and thus facilitated the growth of the internal 'division of labour' which ultimately became the industrial revolution.

Market towns have already been discussed at some length. The process of rationalisation of market centres was a major development of this period. In Table 11 the vulnerable market towns are clearly to be seen. They were those lacking the advantages of transport and were mostly destined to descend into 'others' over the passage of time. Their apparent recovery by 1756 can best be assessed as a bureaucratic lie resulting from the source material.[1] But the presence of a 'real' market in itself was the source of significant advantage. Such an analysis is necessarily semi-tautologous, but the figures do add weight to the hypothesis that market centres were being rationalised under the pressure of expanding commercial society.

1. Some of the differences between the two tables result from the methods of collection employed in the two years. The smallest units, easily identifiable individually from the 1686 list, tended to be aggregated under the name 'outriding' in 1756. Thus the lowest units in the 'not market town' category tended to be inflated values. The 1756 list therefore also produced smaller samples for each cell. Nevertheless, the close correspondence between the two tables suggests its adequacy.

Those markets which survived demonstrated one of the fundamentals of economic theory: the law of comparative advantage.

The most favoured site for an inn was therefore in a market town which had easy access to main roads and water transport. Rural inns which lacked all the above advantages clearly survived on a relatively infrequent passing trade. But even the smallest inn on a main road would serve the purposes of travellers. In theory inns should have been located at distances according to the endurance of the average pedestrian, horse or team. While further consideration will be given to the exact 'scansion' of major roads later in this study, it is best to illustrate this locational theme by reference to fig. 4. This diagrammatic representation of the London-Worcester road by accommodation groupings demonstrates the very short distance between significant inns or inn towns. Here above all one sees the vital relationship between the transport system and inn accommodation.

There seems little doubt that no other retail centre was so widely distributed, or possessed of equal facilities. To expand the inn's importance in a 'counter-factual' way, it would have required restaurant, hotel, bar, stable and shop to replace it, each distributed widely to perhaps every significant settlement, and more densely deposited along main roads and along the banks of navigable rivers.

Architecturally the inn represented a complex and increasingly purpose-built institution. None but the houses of the wealthy exceeded it in size, and perhaps few of these rivalled the inn in the enticing modishness of their decoration. While the houses of the gentry and

Figure 4 : Diagrammatic Plan of the London to Worcester Road, circa 1765, with Inn Towns of Significance.

Distance from London	Town	Accommodation (1686) Beds	Stables
111	Worcester	271	358
102	Pershore	32	23
96	Evesham	48	44
90	Broadway	2	4
82½	Moreton-in-Marsh	35	82
74	Chipping Norton	37	40
69	Enstone	-	-
60	Woodstock	43	109
54	Oxford	894	504
48	Wheatley	-	-
41½	Tetsworth	29	97
35	Stokenchurch	14	29
29	High Wycombe	82	171
23	Beaconsfield	64	64
15	Uxbridge	185	724
6	Acton	31	68
0	London.	-	-

the mercantile classes represented internally concrete forms of social division, the inns in their subtle social gradation of rooms, put each in his proper station: or rather, in the station to which, had he the means, he might aspire. At the lowest level, the small inns lacking all but the crucial facilities would throw social 'superiors' together with their 'inferiors'. At its best the institution had unrivalled amenitive flexibility: at the bottom of the scale it was no more than the by-employment of the peasant farmer.

It was perhaps because of this that the large towns really dominated the lists compiled by the War Office. The small peasant inn, in the hamlets of rural England gave the institution its enormous geographical spread. Such inns were undoubtedly less important than the great structures of the major towns or along the main roads but they were the core of the flexibility of the institution. Every village and every town would have had its inn or inns, albeit small ones. Every parish in England would have had, on average, at least three inns. Located at the lowest commercial level of a principally agrarian economy it was set to assume the primary marketing functions - it had no rival.

CHAPTER 4: THE INNKEEPER

Neither the distinctive architecture nor the location of the inn in themselves attracted custom. Food and accommodation of quality meant relatively little if the innkeeper himself was an unpleasant character. As in the modern drink trade public houses of otherwise equal quality were graded according to the personality of the publican. The innkeeper is therefore a crucial element in our analysis. It will be seen later that he was a vital help in the transport trade, and acted as a local agent for businessmen of many sorts.[1] But he is of interest as a businessman in his own right. Where did he stand in the commercial world? How did he set up in trade and whence was he recruited? What was his social status and how did he take his inn - as owner-occupier or as leaseholder? These questions are considered in the subsequent chapter. It is clearly not sufficient to consider the structure of the institution alone, for its personality, indeed its real amenities, depended as much on its keeper as on its fabric.

Relatively few inns were in fact owner-occupied. The great majority of innkeepers were leaseholders either on terms of years or of lives. Surprisingly, where inns were leased for lives the life of the taker was rarely included. Nor was the lease for lives alone common. Even in the sixteenth century this form of tenure had been fading

1. See below, Chapters 5-7, 9 and 10.

everywhere except from parts of Cheshire and Lancashire.[1] By the period 1660 to 1760 where lives were included in the lease they appeared in combination with a term of years. The most common form was that of a term of 99 years determinable on three lives. So far as any trend can be discerned, leases tended to become shorter. Herein lay the advantage of the years/lives lease, since it normally allowed a revision of the condition at the expiration of each life, which could be expected every seven years or so. In this respect inns did not differ significantly from other properties: all were subject to contemporary precepts of good estate management.

If anything, inns, as properties which tended to be bought and sold, or leased rather more frequently than ordinary farming land or even town houses, may have been ahead in the modernity of their tenure. The bulk of cases shows inns being let on leases either for short terms of years - 21 years or less - or on leases for lives. The latter, if for three lives or 99 years would approximate to the simple lease for a term of 21 years.[2] One inn, the Bear, Pewsey, Wiltshire, was held by copyhold for lives during this period. It was let to William Cook of Pewsey, joiner, in May 1736 for a fine of £42 at an annual rent of 2s. 7½d. The term was determinable on the longest life of William Cook himself (aged c. 30), William his son (age 4), and Mary his

1. E. Kerridge, Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After, (London, 1969), p. 47.
2. For a very useful summary of types of tenure from the sixteenth century onwards, see ibid., Chapter 2, esp. pp. 47f.

daughter (age 2).[1] The Saracen's Head, Dorchester, Oxfordshire, was similarly held by copy of court roll. For the sum of 5s. Sir Charles Fettiplace of Swinebrook [sic] Bart., made an indenture of agreement assigning the property to John Traverse.[2] But even in the seventeenth century such forms of tenure were already rare. Copyhold tenure of inns in our period was most uncommon.

Special circumstances gave rise to other exceptions to our general picture. The White Horse and Star Inn, Cricklade, was let on three lives alone in 1757 at a very generous fine. The property was clearly in a decayed condition and the generous terms of the lease were intended to offset the costs of restoration. Indeed the advertisement referred to the letting 'on a repairing lease'.[3] Leases for terms longer than 99 years were in reality sales of property. As with many other properties, inns were frequently not sold outright, but on leases of 500 or 999 years at peppercorn rent. Such leases most often arose when mortgages possessed property for default on payment. Frances Lynwood, spinster, of Dean, Northamptonshire, claimed a 999 year lease on the White Lion Inn, Northampton in 1694 because Francis Thompson of Weston Favell had defaulted on his mortgage payments.[4] Mrs. Elizabeth Locke of Devizes purchased the Bell Inn, Bishops Cannings, from one Lawes in 1690. Lawes held the inn on a 500 year lease at peppercorn rent, and advanced the purchase price to Mrs. Locke.

1. Extracts from the Court Books of the Manor of Pewsey, 1711-50, vol. II, p. 63, 19 May 1736, Wilts. R. O., 341/353.
2. Indenture of Assignment, 8 September 1707, Berks. R.O. D/EBr T. 27.
3. Jacks. Oxf. Journ. 224, 14 August 1757, p. 3.
4. P.R.O., Chancery, Bridges Division, C5/171/122, 30 April 1697.

Finding the trade of the inn decayed and the building in a 'very sorry condition' Mrs. Locke and her husband sought compensation from the vendor.[1] Hence the longer-term leases represented special circumstances. Copyhold survived but rarely, since contemporary precepts of good estate management mitigated against it. It deprived '..... the lord of an undoubted right of making the best, and doing what he will with his own'.[2] The long-term lease really represented non-freehold sale, not genuine leasehold. This was not a form of tenure which would satisfy an 'improving' landlord.

The purchase of a freehold or a long lease was a costly business and accounted for a considerable proportion of the initial cost of taking an inn. The prohibitive cost must have deterred most innkeepers. The Cross Keys, owned by Richard Packer was purchased in 1741 for £74.[3] Although comparative figures are virtually impossible to obtain - it is rarely possible to ascertain the size of a particular messuage - one can gain an impression of costs. A very small inn, the Dun Cow, Northmoor, Oxfordshire, was sold in 1673 for £45.[4] A more substantial property, the King's Arms, Evesham, was valued at at least £150 when Anthony Brooke, innholder raised mortgages to that value on the property. His case underlines our point about the prohibitive cost of purchase, since Brooke sold the property in 1691 to one Holmer Lunne

1. P.R.O., Chancery, Bridges Division, C5/171/122, 1 Feb. 1693.
2. E. Laurence, The Duty and Office of a Land Steward, (3rd. edn. Dublin, 1731), p. 39.
3. 'Expences on ye Cross Keys, 1741-58' Glous. R.O., D 149/F 107.
4. Deeds etc., of Dun Cow, Berks. R.O., D/EM T 226.

and then defaulted on his debt.[1] The Bell, Bishops Cannings, was sold in 1690 for £100 although the plaintiffs claimed that its condition reduced the real value to £70.[2] The sum involved in the case Lynwood vs. Thompson over the White Lion, Northampton, was £100.[3] Another Chancery case of disputed title was that of Payton vs. Taylor and Livermore in 1713. Payton, having been assured of clear title, purchased the Star Inn, Stafford, for the sum of £435 15s from the defendants.[4] The Star was one of Stafford's principal inns. The Coach and Horses, Hurley, a small rural property including 2 acres of enclosed pasture and 10 acres of open field arable fetched £170 in 1712.[5] Neither exact cost nor trend can be drawn from this material but the minimum purchase price found was £45 and the majority over £100. It was therefore unlikely that many innkeepers could afford the luxury of purchase if faced with such daunting sums.

The initial cost of opening an inn becomes clear when one considers that three further items had perhaps prior claim on the aspiring innkeeper's financial resources. The first has already been mentioned, the expenses involved in repairing and decorating the inn at the beginning of ownership or tenure.[6] This expense is perhaps most difficult of all to quantify. Lacking 'before' and 'after' valuations

1. P.R.O., Chancery, Bridges Division, 1 Dec. 1704, C5/618/94.
2. Ibid., 1 Feb., 1693, C5/171/122.
3. Ibid., 30 April 1697, C5/171/122.
4. Ibid., 24 January 1713, C5/260/39.
5. Bill of Sale, 1712, Berks. R.O., D/EX 132/T1.
6. See above, Chapter 3, esp. pp. 117 f.

of individual properties, one cannot easily establish the capital cost of improved stabling, wainscotting, fine windows, panelling or ceilings. Probate inventories do not include such things: they concerned only 'goods chattels, wares, and merchandises, both movable and not movable' and thus do not throw much light on the structure of the property.[1] The one certain account is that left by the purchaser of the Cross Keys from Richard Packer covering the period 1741-58, of which an abstract is reproduced below, p. 146. This was the account book of the owner, who kept the inn himself until 1755. It is interesting to note that in the abstract, the first three years after purchase generated an expenditure on maintenance of £5 0s. 10½d. so far as these deficient accounts can tell us. Thus minimal maintenance - without fashionable improvements - accounted for 2¼% of capital value per annum. It is also interesting to note the third item of the extract under June 30, 1741, in which a very large entry for legal expenses appears, presumably for conveyancing. At 11% of capital value of the property, they seem extreme even to modern eyes. Even without comparative material, the case of the Cross Keys is illuminating. It is a fascinating account of purchase with its concomitant expenses, and the trivial day-to-day costs of maintenance. Such expenses could be very burdensome to the new entrant.

1. Statute 21 Henry VIII c. 5, par. II. See also F. W. Steer, Farm and Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex, 1635-1749, (Colchester, 1950), p. 4.

Extract from the Account Book of Cross Keys .[1]

EXPENSES

		£	s	d
1741				
June 30	I took to Rich[d]. Packer's Widdows House the principall & Interest comes to	74	1	3
	Due for keeping his horse	2	4	0
	Cost in taking to it by Law	8	11	6
Dec. 2	Chief Rent to Mr. John King due at Court			3
Dec. 3	Willi. Gyde for 2 Casements 23 at 6		12	6
"	John Westbury & Son for Lime & work		4	10
"	Boards & quarter to repair ye House	1	1	6
"	John Rudhall & Son for Work 7s Robt. Hobs 2s		9	
Dec. 8	Nath. Burdock Mending ye Pump		2	
Dec.21	John Whitehead for mending ye Windows		6	
"	Nails & other things of Jos. Cadewell		3	3
Jan. 8	Iron Bolt 1s 6d Three Large Tiles 4d		1	10
Feb. 5.	A Lock for ye Brewhouse Door 10½d			10½
Feb. 23	10 foot of Board for to make a Gutter 1s Making 4d		1	4
March 23	Planks & work to cover ye Cellar Stairs		2	2
1742				
May 12	Mending ye Chimny in ye Kitchin 10s 6d Lime 2s 6d Men to help 1s 3d Bricks 1s 7d Eating & Drinking 1s 2d in all		17	
May 15	A Trough for ye Pump 2s 6d		2	6
Oct. 22	9 Foot of Stone for a Gutter at 4d p. foot 3s for 1s Tallow, Lime & laying by Hobbs		2	3
Dec. 20	A Celler Window next ye Street Timber & work 1s 7d Glass & work 1s 6d all		3	1
1743				
June 10	Land tax paid 3 times 3s Poor twice 2s 6d		5	6
June 13	Church Levy 4d			
July 12	Land Tax 8d -		1	0
TOTALL		89	17	7½

1. Glos. R.O. 'Expences on ye Cross Keys 1741-58' D 149/F 107.

Repairs were sometimes conditions incumbent upon leaseholders. In the above case, the White Horse and Star, Cricklade, was let on generous terms. But allowances for repairs were not always made. In 1663 Abingdon Corporation leased the Crown and Thistle to William Cheyney for 21 years at 45s per annum on condition that he repair the pavement of the frontage in Bridge Street. Eighty-five years later his descendant leased a slightly larger proportion of the property at the same rental.[1] Even assuming that fines represented the true value - we have no information about these - of the property, the former William Cheyney cannot have been the fortunate holder of a favourable lease. The Oxford Arms Inn, Abingdon was let in 1777 at £14 10s. per annum on condition that £70 was spent on repairs within three years.[2] To many landlords the imposition of such obligation to carry out repairs was a means of increasing the real rate of return on their investment.[3]

Thus, in discussing the relative costs and advantages of purchase vis-à-vis leasehold, the above charges on the tenant and gains to the landowner must be considered. Thus in our discussion of inns held on leasehold we must elucidate the types of lease, their costs, and suggest some conclusions on the return on investment to the property owner. As H. J. Habakkuk suggested[4] such conclusions must be but

1. Berks. R. O., Crown and Thistle, Abingdon, A/T 5, 4 September 1663, 11 October 1748.
2. Berks. R. O., Oxford Arms Inn, D/P2 6/1.
3. See H. J. Habakkuk, 'The Long-Term Rate of Interest and the Price of Land in the Seventeenth Century' Econ. Hist. Rev. ns. V (1952) pp. 30-31.
4. Ibid., p. 45.

tentative, since one relies on very little evidence in discussing a subject in itself worthy of a full length study.

Four types of rental on leasehold can be discerned, beyond that of mortgage-purchase: leasehold at nominal rent in which the entry fine represents the main rental element; leasehold in which annual rent is paramount and entry fines nominal; some combination of the first two; and, last, where a property is purchased and is then subjected to a rent charge, probably as part of a credit transaction. It is difficult to discern any marked relative advantage of any of these forms of rental to either landlord or leasee, since the century from 1660 was one of great stability in the prices of consumables.[1] In the majority of leases this stability was reflected in the preference of landlords either for nominal fines and steady but substantial rent, or for moderate fines and rent. Five separate leases for the Lamb Inn, Abingdon, between 1644 and 1705 show not only no evidence of entry fines, but also a fall in the rent payable on the property. The rent from 1644-76 was £3 6s. 8d. but dropped thereafter to £3 and in 1705 to £2.[2] Other rentals merely show the variation in the size and value of properties. Numerous other rentals show a wide variation, from the Lamb, near the bottom of the scale, to the Crown, Hounslow, rented at £17 per annum in 1699,[3] and the Crown and Cushion, Uxbridge,

1. See above, Chapter 1, p. 6.
2. Berks. R. O., Lamb Inn, Abingdon, A/TL 16/1-5.
3. Middx. R. O., 'Brentford Journal' 28 November 1699, p. 469.

leased at £60 per annum in 1758.[1] While there seems no means available to test the real meaning of such rental figures, it is clear that in every case the annual rent was far less formidable than the capital sum necessary for outright purchase.

The White Hart, Abingdon, represented a median position between the fine-based and the rent-based leasehold. From 1634 to 1762 the rent was constant at £10 per annum. The fines however fluctuated from £21 in 1634, to £65 in 1694, £60 in 1711, £54 in 1727, £80 in 1748, and £50 in 1762.[2] Here therefore a substantial rental and a fine were finely-attuned to demand. If one regards the repair clause as an entry fine, then the case of the Oxford Arms Abingdon is of particular interest. In 1777 the inn was relet for 21 years after a rent 'auction' in which the sitting tenant, John Shury, and four others bid against each other for the lease. Bids started at £6 and after twenty further bids Shury retained the inn at a rent of £14 10s. per annum.[3] Two further cases demonstrate the fine-biased leasehold. The Elephant, Wantage, had been leased for 99 years, and in 1703, John Sayer, clerk, paid a fine of £20 for the addition of a fourth life, three having already gone. The annual rent was only 13s. 4d.[4] The Bear, Pewsey, although copyhold, also serves to illustrate this point.[5] But in a period of stable prices and even rising purchasing

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 264, 20 May 1758, p. 3.
2. Berks. R. O., White Hart Inn, Abingdon, A/T2.
3. See above, p. 147, note 2.
4. Berks. R. O., Leases of the Elephant, Wantage, D/EM T.175.
5. See above, pp. 141-142 and note 1, p. 142.

power such tenures were rare. The high fine, like rack rent is normally the reaction to inflation, and is to some extent made obsolescant by shorter lease terms. Inn rentals in this period showed stability, if not stagnation.

Before examining the other initial costs incumbent on an innkeeper besides his purchase or lease price and the cost of decoration and repair, it is interesting to note the use of the rent charge. Two cases illustrate its use, but in Habakkuk's words do not provide 'altogether unambiguous' answers.[1] To the purchaser of such an annuity it was simply an investment at fixed principal and return. To him the rent charge approximated to the modern debenture. In this period of stable prices such rent charges represented very sound investments for their purchasers. But to the innkeeper, using them as credit instruments, they could prove an embarrassment for the very same reason. From his point of view the problem was exacerbated by the normal inclusion of a risk premium in such credit transactions. Indeed Habakkuk found that while normal rent charges in the seventeenth century were grouped around the official rate of interest of 5%, these credit instruments were charged with the equivalent of 6 or even 8%.[2] Both cases of these rent charges appeared in the Court of Chancery, when the debtor found himself unable to meet his obligations. In the case of Miller vs. Woodford, Woodford and Parfett (1692) Mary Miller sought possession of the Angel Inn, Salisbury, in lieu of an

1. Habakkuk, 'Rate of Interest .....' Econ. Hist. Rev. V (1952) pp. 37-38.
2. Ibid.

annuity of £30 on the security of the inn upon which the defendants had defaulted. The defendants countered, claiming that Miller had conspired with Hopkins, the tenant of the inn, to gain possession in return for a reduced rental.[1] The White Hart, Marlborough, was charged with both an annuity of £10 for two lives and a mortgage at 5% to separate creditors. The suit sought restoration of the property from the mortgagee.[2] In both cases, therefore, the use of the rent charge as a credit instrument led to actions for debt.

An analysis of the purchase price of inns and the various mentions of interest rates in connexion with mortgage agreements broadly substantiate Locke's case that the rate of interest and the current purchase price of lands expressed as a multiplier of annual value were not exact equivalents. The tentative conclusion from the scanty data revealed by this study is that inns as properties were normally conveyed at or above 20 years' purchase. After 1714 the legal maximum rate of interest was 5% and, to judge from the examples of inns, the rate on mortgages rarely exceeded that figure. Indeed 4½% seems to have been the norm. As yet no research has followed up Habakkuk's investigation of this subject, but it would clearly be possible from our sources.[3] It does seem clear that property investment preference and in real terms 'cheap credit' may have inflated purchase prices.

1. P.R.O., Chancery, Bridges Division, 15 December 1692, C5/173/27.
2. Ibid., 3 May 1709, C5/337/43.
3. Sources for this paragraph include Chancery cases, and local records mentioned above; Habakkuk, art. cit.; and T. S. Ashton, Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800 (Oxford, 1959) esp. pp. 86f.

Regrettably, no contemporary innkeeper left accounts of the initial costs of taking his inn which arose from liquor stocks, farm equipment, livestock, furniture and fittings. Two unsatisfactory sources exist to suggest some answers to this problem: probate inventories; and newspaper advertisements. Further information may lurk in the unplumbed depths of eighteenth century bankruptcy records. Probate inventories, for all their deficiencies, exist for the bulk of our period, and the general balance of investment between the various categories of goods can be adduced from them. Table 13, compiled from probate inventories from Middlesex, Staffordshire and Devonshire serves as the basis for conclusions made all the more tentative by the bias of searching for a single occupational group.

There seems little doubt that the largest single demand on the entrant's capital came from furnishings and fittings: the beds, tables, soft furnishings, drinking vessels etc., displayed in the inventories of Appendix I. In Table 13 its meaning is distorted by its function as a residual category. Within this group the metal, earthenware and wooden cooking utensils and serving dishes made up a very significant part of the total. Such would be expected from craftsman-produced goods in copper, lead, brass and iron at a time when furniture was essentially the product of the carpenter not the cabinet maker. Even in the later inventories glass and earthenware seem virtually insignificant, for reasons outlined above.[1] The figures of Table 13 also

1. See above, Chapter 3, p.111.

suggest that economies of scale are exhibited by this item. Thus the initial requirements of capital for furniture and fittings was in real terms all the more daunting to the entrant to the trade. Assuming that over time he progressed to a larger inn, the fitting requirements of that inn would represent a much smaller proportion of the total.

Liquor stock valuations represented a surprisingly low proportion of 'working capital'. Even postulating a crude seasonal allowance for November and March brewing, the figures of Table 13 seem to produce no significant results. Possibly assessors were unable or unwilling to gauge such stocks accurately, since none of the liquor stocks suggest the means to generate the savings implicit in the 'Plate' and 'Debt' categories. Nor indeed do these figures suggest stocks of the level creating, paradoxically, the liquidity problem which supposedly led to the development of tied trade. At the highest level stocks of liquor in Table 13 represent no more than 60% of the total and most commonly between 10 and 30%. However, frequent references to stale beer, and malt and brewing vessels in the inventories suggest that these figures are misleading. Stocks, raw material, brewing equipment and barrels and bottles would represent possibly 40-50% of essential initial stock-in-trade.

To judge from the evidence available of the costs of renting or purchasing the property, with the addition of furnishing and stocking the inn, the prospective innkeeper required starting capital at least equivalent to the £5 per acre suggested by Arthur Young for the

Table 13: The Furnishing, Fitting and Equipment of Inns, 1653-1779.

Date	Beer			Wine			Furniture and Fittings			Plate & Gold			Bonds & Debts			Agricultural Goods, Crops, & Equipment			Animals			Total		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
1653		-			-		22	1	4		-		23	0	0	7	13	4	18	3	4	70	18	0
1653		-			-		64	12	0	13	6	8	80	0	0	63	0	0	4	1	6	225	0	2
1656		-			-		107	16	8	5	0	0	60	0	0	7	0	0		-		179	16	8
1664	2	10	0		-		81	0	0	11	5	0		-		32	9	6	5	15	0	132	19	6
1668	1	0	0		-		35	14	2		-			-		0	15	0	0	18	0	38	7	2
1672	1	10	0		-		91	4	6	5	10	0	5	5	0	33	13	4	15	0	0	152	2	10
1672	6	0	0		-		50	15	0		-		35	0	0	3	0	0	1	10	0	95	15	0
1672	8	15	0		-		30	0	0		-			-			-			-		38	15	0
1672		-			-		47	15	1	5	17	0		-		2	5	0		-		55	17	1
1673	5	14	6		-		38	4	9	25	0	0		-			-			-		69	19	3
1673	8	0	0		-		36	13	4	8	6	8		-			-			-		53	0	0
1673	11	5	0		-		24	16	10		-			-			-			-		36	1	10
1674	6	0	0		-		140	0	6	6	10	0	32	0	0	14	2	8	1	0	0	199	13	2
1676	15	0	0		-		62	6	4		-		40	0	0	4	0	0	6	0	0	127	6	4
1676	6	0	0		-		117	16	6		-			-		13	8	0	28	10	0	165	14	6
1676		-			-		18	10	0		-			-			-			-		18	10	0
1678		-			-		3	18	6		-			-			-			-		3	18	6
1679		-			-		21	1	0	6	0	0		-			-			-		27	1	0
1679	4	10	0		-		78	4	10	10	0	0		-		101	3	4	28	0	0	221	18	2
1679	10	2	6		-		5	18	0		-		5	0	0		-			-		21	0	6
1680		-			-		91	9	8	15	0	0		-		5	0	0	2	10	0	113	9	8
1683	13	0	0	35	5	0	28	13	1		-		14	0	0	10	16	6	10	5	0	111	19	7
1684	6	0	0		-		15	18	6		-		13	7	4		-			-		35	5	10
1685	6	0	0		-		29	6	2		-		8	0	0	1	0	0	2	10	0	46	16	2

Table 13: Continued....

Date	Beer	Wine	Furniture and Fittings	Plate & Gold	Bonds & Debts	Agricultural Goods, Crops, & Equipment	Animals	Total
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
1686	3 2 0	-	35 14 6	20 0 0	-	1 10 0	-	60 6 6
1690	15 0 0	-	17 5 0	-	-	£7		39 5 0
1691	-	-	10 5 0	-	-	-	-	10 5 0
1691	25 16 0	-	58 5 6	232 17 0	20 0 0	-	-	336 18 6
1692	-	-	4 10 2	-	-	-	-	4 10 2
1702	-	-	13 16 0	-	12 0 0	-	-	25 16 0
1704	9 10 0	-	38 2 6	0 10 0	-	1 2 6	5 0 0	54 5 0
1706	32 10 9	-	16 8 8	-	-	-	-	48 19 5
1711	48 3 7	-	24 18 0	-	63 6 2¼	-	-	136 8 7¼
1718	£163		67 19 6	-	54 14 0	-	-	285 13 6
1722	-	-	27 3 0	7 5 0	191 5 0	53 4 0	10 0 0	288 17 0
1728	£ 63		84 3 10	-	45 0 0	-	-	195 13 10
1779	-	-	70 5 0	-	-	-	-	70 5 0

Sources: M. Cash, Devon Inventories., Nos. 189, 197, 223, pp. 113, 118, 134; Collections for a History of Staffordshire, 4th series, vol. V, 'Probate Inventories of Lichfield and District, 1568-1680', D. G. Vaizey ed., (1969), Nos. 36, 73, 92, 116, 118, 137, 162, 166, 188, pp. 88-90, 146-148, 170-171, 197-200, 201-203, 226-229, 250-251, 256-258, 278-280; Middx. R.O., M1 1672/22, M1 1673/32, M1 1673/64, M1 1673/76, M1 1676/63, M1 1680/16, M1 1680/27, M1 1679/77, M1 1680/43, M1 1684/73, M1 1684/18, M1 1685/83, M1 1686/42, M1 1691/37, M1 1691/11, M1 1691/61, M1 1692/61, M1 1702/9, M1 1704/6, M1 1707/4, M1 1711/12, M1 1718/2, M1 1721/3, M1 1728/1, M. Acc. 358/1.

competent farmer. On the basis of these costs, the rates of return were necessarily high, although the debt and plate figures of Table 13 show that many innkeepers exceeded these high minima.

A large part of these apparently high initial and recurrent costs might be discounted by the other business activities in which innkeepers normally engaged. Above all other occupations, as one can see from Table 13, innkeepers were also farmers. Sixteen of the thirty-seven innkeepers of Table 13 were also farmers. Many of course were only farming on a small scale with perhaps less than 5 acres under crops but farming was a significant occupation or even by-employment of the innkeeper. Some were first and foremost farmers, who turned to innkeeping as a by-employment: this not only generated income through services, but may also have provided the means of marketing otherwise unsaleable crops. The small farmer in Staffordshire, living at some distance from a market town and perhaps producing relatively small cash crops was allowed to specialise and provide his own market through his inn or alehouse. Such considerations may have disposed the Staffordshire small farmers studied by Dr. Thirsk to enter innkeeping.[1] Elsewhere, the substantial arable farms attached to very large inns represented a form of 'vertical integration' of the innkeeper's enterprise - he was his own supplier and consumer.

Other sources of information suggest that the connexion of farming

1. J. Thirsk, 'Horn and Thorn in Staffordshire: the Economy of a Pastoral County' North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies, 9 (1969) pp. 10-11.

and innkeeping was an intimate one. The advertisements of eighteenth century newspapers frequently substantiate our case for mixed occupations. The Holding family occupied the Bull and White Hart Inn, Nettlebed, Oxfordshire, until 1754. The inn included a dependent estate of 23 acres of land when let in the same year.[1] A later advertisement made it clear that Timothy Holding, the deceased innkeeper, had also been a farmer in the truest sense, since his 'goods, furniture, and implements of husbandry' were to be auctioned.[2] Leases too support the evidence of probate inventories, normally by recording the acreage dependent on the inn. But a draft lease for 1732 demonstrates at once the normal functions of the innkeeper as farmer, probably supplying his own raw materials. The Cleves Inn, Aust, Gloucestershire, was let in 1732 by William Browne of Frenchay, Winterbourne, Gloucestershire, to Samuel Lloyd late of Bristol, victualler. The inn also included the proprietary rights to the Aust Ferry, the main crossing-point of the Severn on the road between Bristol and Chepstow. Clearly the lease of an improving landlord, it provided for a fine of £5 for every quarter acre converted to tillage without consent, and of 20s. for every load of hay taken unless three loads of dung were laid in its place.[3] The lease therefore provided for a farming innkeeper and its steep penalty clauses were designed to ensure good husbandry.

To say, therefore, that innkeepers often had their origins in

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 38, 19 January 1754, p. 4.
2. Ibid., 74, 28 September 1754, p. 2, my italics.
3. Bristol R.O., Ashton Court MS., AC/AS/21/14 (1732).

farming stock is semi-tautologous, since the two occupations were often complementary halves of a dual family economy. In practice, the analysis of advertisements, leases and bills of sale, shows that innkeepers were largely recruited from within the trade. Like the improving farmer, innkeepers migrated to pastures new if they prospered. The evidence of 107 such 'recruits' is summarised in Table 14 below.

Table 14: The Recruitment of Innkeepers, 1650-1760.[1]

Occupation	Number	%
Innkeeper	41	38.3
Widow or Family of Innkeeper	18	16.8
Inn Servants	10	9.4
Other Servants	9	8.4
Other Tradesmen and Artisans	9	8.4
Occupation Unknown	9	8.4
Vintner	7	6.6
Coffee House or Tavern Keeper	4	3.7
TOTAL	107	100

1. The sources for this and the following table are too numerous to specify individually: they consist mainly of newspaper advertisements, journal or other literary sources, estate or family papers, and Quarter Sessions or Chancery cases. The categories used deserve some expansion: 'Innkeepers' are transfers from other inns; 'Family' represents normal inheritance where trade is clearly continued by the heir; 'Inn Servants' include potmen, ostlers, drawers etc.; 'Other Servants' include housekeepers, bailiffs, butlers, stewards etc.; Other Tradesmen, include bakers (2), druggist, upholsterer, wine cooper, bricklayer, joiner, mariner, newsman; the other categories are self-explanatory.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are as yet regarded as the stamping ground of the farmer, the landlord and the nascent entrepreneur, and not as that of the tradesman. It is clearly wrong to underestimate the significance of this social group, ranked fourth by Gregory King among those adding to the national wealth.[1] Nevertheless, virtually nothing is known about business activity at this level of society. William Stout, 'wholesale and retail grocer and ironmonger' came from sheep-farming yeoman stock;[2] the Dents of Kirkby Stephen were grocers, mercers and shopkeepers;[3] few others are even identifiable. There is therefore very little evidence with which to compare these recruits to innkeeping.

Probably one of the most significant aspects of the history of English industrialization was the growth of business as a moderately, if not wholly, respectable undertaking. At the highest levels, land still represented a high investment preference for the successful entrepreneur even at the end of the eighteenth century. But it seems probable that those small tradesmen and artisans who, in the midland towns of sixteenth century England,[4] retreated to small estates within three generations, became increasingly prepared to maintain business enterprise. Seventeenth and eighteenth century innkeepers certainly tended to die in harness or move to other inns. Perhaps the

1. See tabulation in P. Laslett, The World We Have Lost, pp. 32-33.
2. J. D. Marshall ed., The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, (Manchester 1967) pp. 67 and 'Introduction' pp. 1-3.
3. T. S. Willan, An Eighteenth Century Shopkeeper, Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen (Manchester, 1970) pp. 8-9.
4. W. G. Hoskins, Provincial England, (London 1965) pp. 74, 110.

long-term trend away from small owner-occupied farming units discouraged for all but the most successful, the flight from trade to farming.[1] The evidence of Table 15 below, showing the reasons for which innkeepers left their inns, supports this view.

Table 15: Destination of Innkeepers leaving trade, 1650-1760.[2]

Destination	Number	%
Death	35	35
Unspecified or Retirement	23	23
Innkeeping	21	21
Bankruptcy	11	11
Associated Trades	6	6
Rentier	2	2
Criminals	2	2
TOTAL	100	100

Setting aside the very substantial category of death, innkeepers left their houses for reasons unspecified, or to retire, or to move to different inns. Several simply retired because of old age. In 1759 Mr. Burdett, keeper of the Bell, one of Henley's foremost inns, gave notice of his retirement and removal to London, since at the age of

1. G. E. Mingay, Enclosure and the Small Farmer in the Age of the Industrial Revolution (London, 1969) p. 32.
2. The figures are compiled largely as for Table 14. The inclusion of a number of Devon wills biases the death category, but a very large number of newspaper advertisements also gave death as the reason for a change of keeper. The latter source also gave a large proportion of the unspecified and retirement category. The pages of the London Gazette recorded all the bankruptcies. Associated trades included 4 vintners a maltster and a coffee house keeper. Legal records revealed two felons, a highwaymen and a forger.

over 70 innkeeping was too hard a business for him and his equally aged wife.[1] Other retirements may have been to the life of a rentier - the occupation of ultimate respect. Charles Sarjant, owner and former keeper of the Crown and Cushion, Uxbridge, owned property to the annual value of over £180. Clearly his revenues were insufficient, since he was bankrupt in 1758.[2]

But the most significant reason for departure, especially in the light of the recruitment figures, was the movement between inns. The gulf between the rural alehouse serving as a by-employment and the palatial leading town inn was enormous. The bulk of this mobility represented the upward movement of innkeepers who were already prospering and who sought better business opportunities. The pattern was clearest in major towns, like Oxford. At the top of the inn hierarchy came major houses like the Mitre, the Golden Cross and the Crown; beneath them came a host of middling inns like the Angel, the Blue Boar, the Blue Anchor, the Lamb and the Roebuck; beneath these, the small inns like the Griffin, Friars Entry, and the numerous alehouses. So great were the pressures to rise up the scale that criminal activites were temptations.

Because of the enormous range and scale of economic activities that can be comprehended under the name 'innkeeper' it is very difficult to rank these men in the commercial hierarchy. The precision

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 326, 28 July 1759, p. 2.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 264, 20 May 1758, p. 3.

implied in Westerfield's diagrammatic analysis is misleading.[1] In theory the different middlemen in trade can be identified and ranked, but it is unrealistic to apply theory to practice in this case. But it does seem clear that innkeepers may be equated with farmers at most levels and in general represented a level above that of servants and labourers. Equally, the close association with the wine trade, and the trade in malt and brewing, was clear. Innkeepers could move in and out of their trade into an associated occupation with relative ease. Yet such was the mobility of seventeenth and eighteenth century society that the inn servant might aspire to his own inn through frugality and determination. The occupation was clearly open-ended.

Local opportunity had much to do with the progress that the prospective innkeeper could make. London and Bristol were the two major recruiting grounds for innkeepers in other areas. Probably the earning and saving potential of ostlers and drawers in these twin metropoleis was such that it enabled them to buy their way into trade in the provinces. Two cases show the extent of these necessary savings. John Smith, the cellarman from the Shakespeare's Head Tavern, Covent Garden, took the new Castle Inn, Speen Hill, Berkshire in 1758. The Castle was a 'large commodious house' and clearly Smith had saved carefully to raise the capital to enter it.[2] At a different level Samuel Shergold, a minor tavern keeper from Covent Garden took

1. R. B. Westerfield, 'Middlemen ....', facing p. 328.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 288, 4 November 1758, p. 3.

the Castle Inn at the minor Sussex village of Brighthelmstone [Brighton] in 1754.[1] The earnings of the capital, or perhaps the patronage available in London society, enabled the ambitious to take provincial inns.

At the upper end of the business, the trades of wholesale brewer or wine merchant were probably more favoured than our figures suggest. Two alehouse and tavern keepers of Bristol, Anthony Winpenny and Francis Caduggan, left off trade in 1720 and formed a partnership as wine merchants.[2] But wine-selling was a very specialised trade for which few outlets were necessary outside the major conurbations. Bristol's long-standing reputation as a centre of the wine trade indicated that this trade played an abnormally large part in the town economy.[3] Elsewhere wine merchants would not be so common. In general perhaps because of the bias of the evidence, innkeeping seems to have been a trade which released very few of its members to other occupations. Such was the vertical range of enterprise that ample business opportunities existed for the ambitious. Only the very few at the higher levels of the trade found, like Dent and Stout, the wholesaler's business attractive.

Thus the trade was one which enjoyed perhaps greater stability than any other except farming. Innkeepers were normally recruited from within the family or family circle. Servants and lesser tradesmen

1. Read. Merc., 454, 15 July 1754, p. 3.
2. Weekly Journal, 72, 16 April 1720.
3. S. Pepys, Diary, (ed. H. B. Wheatley, London, 1893), 13 June 1668, vol. VIII, pp. 45-47.

accounted for the bulk of the remainder. Death or advancement within the trade accounted for the bulk of departures. Perhaps the close association with the land that the business entailed encouraged agrarian attitudes to property and enterprise.

While it is clear that farmers and innkeepers were closely associated and frequently identical, innkeepers rarely followed a single occupation or trade, and three or four were not uncommon. The 'dual economy' normally but not necessarily involved farming as one of its components. William Stout, primarily a grocer and ironmonger, became a wholesaler and importer of colonial tobacco and sugar.[1] Abraham Dent was equally versatile:

> 'There is much of interest in Dent's business activities, but it would be misleading to regard these activities as typical of the small town shopkeeper of the eighteenth century. Dent was too versatile, he combined too many roles to be typical. Had he been simply a shopkeeper or a hosier or a wine merchant or a brewer he would have been more typical of the small town business man.'[2]

But there was little surprising in his business activities. Professor Willan's criticism of Dent's versatility is unfounded. Diversification for the pre-industrial businessman was not merely desirable to a point beyond which it became an error in business policy. It was rather a fact of life for those selling what were luxury consumer goods in markets well below the minimum size for specialised retail trade. The case is proven by analogy. The comprehensive stocks of the modern village shop, ranging across several separate retail activities, are at

1. J. D. Marshall ed., ... William Stout, pp. 24-30.
2. T. S. Willan, Eight. Cent. Shopkeeper, p. 147.

once the signs of the strength and the weakness of its position. So, too, with the diversity of activity shown by eighteenth century tradesmen. Diversification gave, or was intended to give, them overall economic viability, but was itself a sign of the weakness of retail trading in undersized markets.

Thus occupational analyses and names may be misleading. Behind every 'grocer' lay the ghosts of other traders, and the innkeeper too tended to engage in additional trades. Naturally the limited sources available to elucidate these by-employments of a single occupational group limit the size of our sample. But the evidence of Table 16 below shows the great variety of subsidiary employments undertaken by innkeepers, or to which inn or alehouse keeping was itself subsidiary. The evidence of even so small a number of cases is clear enough to disprove Willan's assertion that Abraham Dent in his versatility was atypical.

Two major aspects of innkeeper activities are not included in Table 16 - brewing and coach and chaise business - since both might be regarded as 'normal' enterprises for the seventeenth and eighteenth century publican.[1] Postal services too will be considered at length below.[2]

1. See below Chapter 5.
2. See below, Chapter 6.

Table 16: By-Employments of Inn and Alehouse Keepers, 1650-1777.[1]

By-Employment	No.	%
Farming	45	32.4
Crown and Local Government Office	21	15.1
Vintners	17	12.2
Artificers and Craftsmen	12	8.6
Shops and Services	10	7.2
Dealers and Chapmen	9	6.5
Criminal and Miscellaneous	9	6.5
Textiles and Tailoring	7	5.0
Other Food and Drink	5	3.6
Transport Trades	4	2.9
TOTAL	139	100

Three aspects of these by-employments need further consideration. First, the enormous range of occupations with which innkeeping and alehouse keeping was associated shows most clearly the 'normality' of the 'dual economy'. In all 31 separate trades from barber to gardener, from bricklayer to mariner, were coupled with our publicans. Quite clearly commercial enterprise before growth of major conurbations and the speedy communication created by the railway was dependent either on

1. Based as for Table 14 and 15 on a wide variety of sources but principally Devon, Lichfield and Middlesex probate inventories, the records of Quarter Sessions and newspaper advertisements. Classifications as follows: Officers include Excise Officers (5) Bailiffs (3), Constables (4), Gaolers and Overseers (3); Artificers, bricklayer, cordwainer, pumpmaker, sailmaker, joiner etc.; Shops and services, chandler, grocer, barber (4) etc.; with the criminals (1 forger, 2 smugglers, 1 highwayman, 1 pimp) are included 4 'labourers'; Textiles - clothier (2), woolcomber, weaver(2), tailor (2); other food and drink - 2 maltsters, 2 butchers, 1 distiller,; transport - 1 mariner, 2 carriers, 1 drover.

diversification or upon a semi-nomadic organisation. To secure adequate markets for manufactures, goods and services, the trader had to engage in one or more trades or travel to extend the real size of his market. In this case, a by-employment like innkeeping, which virtually 'tolled' these itinerant traders, demonstrated both points.

The second issue of importance is that of the old bogy of the criminal innkeeper. Two strands of felonious enterprise ran through nineteenth and twentieth century literature on the matter: the innkeeper-highwayman identity or alliance; and the murderous innkeeper, accumulating wealth at the expense of solitary guests. Certainly, examples of both can be found, and excel the efforts of imaginative fiction. Two cases illustrate the first theme. Robert Gerrish of Broughton Gifford who 'doth cōmonly ride with Pistolls' in 1691 was the only publican-highwayman to be found in the legal records of our area.[1] Accusations of collusion were probably more common than the fact. Such slanders were useful weapons in what was a fiercely competitive trade. In 1752, Philip and Martha Taylor of Harewood's Inn, Herefordshire, even advertised their refutation of such a slanderous rumour. Three local gentlemen lent support to their honesty.[2] The wanderings of the highwayman, Dangerfield, in the 1680s contain no evidence of any close relationship with innkeepers. His main friend was a Mr. Wesley, of

1. See above, pp. 70f, Wilts. R. O., Quart. Sess. Order Book, 4, Easter 1691.
2. Gloucs. Journ., 1554, 7 April 1752, p. 3.

Exeter College, the father of John and Charles.[1] Thus the highwayman-innkeeper association, while colourful and attractive, was nevertheless largely mythical.

So too with the other theme, that of the 'Sweeny Todd' innkeeper. Such a story, complete with a bed which tipped the victims to their doom is told of the Ostrich Inn in Colnbrook, Buckinghamshire. But once again documentary evidence of such criminous innkeepers is very rare and then of dubious quality. An innkeeper at Putley, Gloucestershire, was the only documented case of such brutal advancement. Married to a Scotswoman, his otherwise small inn prospered through annual visits from Scots cloth traders, who sought hospitality with a fellow-countrywoman. The inn, whose trade was otherwise 'very small and inconsiderable' prospered and the couple moved to take one of the leading inns in Gloucester itself. The reasons for prosperity became clear when the blacksmith who leased the inn premises in Putley discovered 7 bodies buried in the grounds. Needless to say, the author of the sanctimonious pamphlet which recounted these events delighted in the imminent demise of the villainous couple.[2] Fortunately for the travelling public, such hosts were very rare indeed. The attraction of such themes for historical novelists was not matched

1. Captain Thomas Dangerfield, Memoires [sic] (London, 1685), the reference to Mr. Wesley, December 6 1684, p. 3. For a note on Dangerfield as a source, see Dictionary of National Biography.
2. The Bloody Innkeeper, (London, 1675).

by their reality. The innkeeper was more likely a smuggler than a murderer.

A third point of importance for the economy of our innkeepers was employment as central or local government officials. Many of these, such as the office of constable, were unwelcome honoraria. Despite the obvious difficulties for effective administration, many innkeepers were also Excise Officers. Surprisingly little is known of the administration of this contentious tax, and it is hard to assess the exact role and remuneration that an innkeeper might play and receive from such office. Until 1683 the tax was farmed out, but its subsequent history, particularly with emphasis on the local level, has yet to be written. Hughes thought excise officers were salaried at £80 per annum, and were obliged to keep a journal of their business.[1] The salary would make the task, already closely associated with the drink trade, especially attractive to innkeepers. Five of the sample in Table 16 did in fact serve the Excise Office. Possibly it also gave useful power which might be used as a threat against competitors.

The other national office to which many innkeepers aspired was that of postmaster. Here perhaps the benef its accruing to innkeepers were less direct. It was widely recognised throughout our period that the salaries paid to postmasters were barely enough to cover expenses. Their responsibility to provide horses to carry the posts was onerous.

1. E. Hughes, Studies in Administration and Finance, 1558-1825, (Manchester, 1934), Chapter IV, 'The Development of the Excise, 1643-89' pp. 116-166.

Daniel Richards, postmaster of Carmarthen, complained to the Lords of the Treasury in 1704 that he suffered greatly by horses damaged or killed in H. M. service.[1] Three main post roads ran through Western England, those from London to Chester, Plymouth and Bristol. In 1677 the average salaries on these roads were as follows: the West Road, £33 17s. 11d.; the Bristol Road, £26 2s. 9d.; the Chester Road, £30 5s. 9½d. In all 88 postmasters were involved.[2] While salaries continued to be inadequate throughout our period, the indirect benefits of free Gazettes and the generation of trade continued to entice innkeepers into G.P.O. service.[3]

Few of the local offices were in theory lucrative, and here perhaps form a more significant guide to the social status of innkeepers. Some local offices, if one accepts the Webbs' pessimistic view of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were de facto remunerative, if not de jure. In Middlesex a major problem arose from innkeepers acting as bailiffs and law officers. They tended to use their powers to impose a kind of 'truck servitude' on miscreants.[4] Among the sample of Table 16 innkeepers acted as Vagrant Officer, Gaoler, and Overseer of the Poor, all of which, while of necessity responsible posts, may have

1. G.P.O. Archives, Treasury Letter Book, I/3 f. 212-214.
2. St. Martin's-le-Grand, VIII (1898) 'Roger Whitley's Account of the Post-Office in 1677' pp. 290-292.
3. See for example the standard histories by H. Robinson, The British Post Office (Princeton, 1948) Chapters 5-9, and K. Ellis, The Post Office in the 18th Century (Oxford, 1958) Chapter 3.
4. See above, pp. 57-58.

proved lucrative sidelines.[1]

But local office, especially in towns becoming increasingly oligarchical during this period, was really significant as a test of social status. Were innkeepers in the words of a contemporary pamphleteer, 'chiefly the Scum of the Town and Country?'[2] The evidence of Table 14 on recruitment would seem to refute the idea. It is clear that not all innkeepers fell into Sir Thomas Smith's lowest social group - 'men who do not rule'.[3] In a period in which historians are still concerned with the fate of 'yeomen' and 'gentry' not enough attention has been paid to the 'pseudo-gentry' at the top of urban society.[4] To this last group, major innkeepers could aspire.

Essentially, pre-industrial society was an open one although it became over time increasingly oligarchic. At root, many towns could be classified as plutocracies. To this upper stratum of society successful innkeepers rose. Two cases from Abingdon illustrate this theme. William Cheyney keeper of the Crown and Thistle Inn, became Deputy Mayor of the Borough in 1667. He was described as 'William Cheyney gent. one of the Principall Burgesses of the Said Borough'.[5] The family held the inn from 1633 to the 1760s and at least two

1. One case of each: Vagrant Officer, Devon R. O. Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk. Trinity 1725; Gaoler, Warwick R. O., Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk. Easter 1657 f.1; Overseer, Wilts. R. O., Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk. 3, Easter 1669.
2. A Dissertation Upon Drunkenness, (London, 1728) p. 8.
3. Quoted in P. Laslett, World We Have Lost, p. 30.
4. A phrase coined by A. Everitt, 'Social Mobility' p. 8.
5. Berks. R. O., A/AO M 1, Appointments of Deputy Mayors.

members of the family acquired the title 'Gent'.[1] The Ely family held the Lamb Inn in the same town for over 200 years (until 1733) and Richard Ely became 'gent' at least by 1705.[2] Coventry was governed largely by the Company of Smiths in our period. Like most such organisations, it met regularly at the inns of the town. In 1686 Humphrey Newberry, Innholder, was listed as 'late Master' of the Company. Between 1751 and 1759 Benjamin Conigrave, Innholder, became Warden and then Master of the Company and during the same period acquired the title 'gent'. He seems to have succeeded a vintner and wine merchant in office.[3] In Northampton innkeepers were similarly successful in attaining the highest offices of the borough.[4]

In general, of course, innkeepers rarely attained such high office, although they played a prominent part in the lesser offices that rotated among the leading inhabitants. John Westfield, Innholder, became scavenger of Chippenham in 1736.[5] Robert Ings of Devizes was from 1662 a Councillor who enjoyed the privilege of providing food and drink for all official functions and wines for the Justices.[6] While the disreputable members of the trade, those presumably subjects of our suppression cases, may well have represented the lowest orders of society,

1. Berks. R. O., Crown and Thistle Inn, Abingdon, A/T 5.
2. Berks. R. O., Lamb Inn, Abingdon, A/TL 16.
3. Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS. 2906, 'The Court Book of the Smiths Company of Coventry, Accompts, 1684-1821' ff. 6, 82-91.
4. Everitt, 'Social Mobility' p. 8.
5. Wilts. R. O., Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., 6, Trinity 1736.
6. B. H. Cunnington, Some Annals of the Borough of Devizes (Devizes, 1925) pp. 136, 143, 148, 160.

innkeepers as a whole did not belong to any individual social group. They were dispersed widely up and down the 'ladder' that Laslett represented as the status system.[1] As in their economic life, they were representative of a great section of society, and the mixed fortunes of this occupational group was perhaps typical of an 'open' society. Up to 1760, innkeepers showed that it was possible both to attain and lose wealth and status. The permanence of power embodied in Titmuss's 'kinship group' was not a marked feature of early modern society.

Innkeepers were therefore in the van of developments in the seventeenth and eighteenth century economy. They held leases rather than freehold or copyhold on their inns. As an occupation with a high level of mobility, they were equally subject to advanced forms of estate management: the short lease with competitive entry fine. Where purchase was involved the case of innkeepers provides further evidence of a plentiful money supply and high property preference. This distorted, as Locke pointed out, the supposed equation of the rate of interest and the purchase multiplier for property.

Whether leasehold or purchase was involved, the initial costs of taking an inn were very substantial. To cover the property alone, rates of return well in excess of 6% per annum were required in the first five years. Stocks, furnishings and decorations in a very

1. Laslett, World We Have Lost, p. 38.

competitive business proved very substantial initial investments. Overall, the initial capital investment for an average inn can be equated with the funds Young dictated for a good farmer.

This was very apt for a trade which was so intimately connected with farming. A large number of innkeepers were recruited from the land and a high proportion continued to be active farmers. In this aspect of enterprise, innkeepers were probably typical of small craft manufacturers and tradesmen. Before speedy and efficient internal communications and before urban society became the norm rather than the exception, markets of adequate size did not exist for such men. Their answers took two forms: either they engaged in a by-employment or they became itinerants. This fact makes it all the more difficult to rank tradesmen in any commercial hierarchy. Names of occupations, while indicating the major enterprise, were rarely comprehensive. Diversification was the rule in developing England. The two major eighteenth century tradesmen for whom we have substantial evidence, Stout and Dent, prove the case. Like the name 'farmer', 'innkeeper' covered a vast range of wealth and scale of enterprise.

The same held true of the innkeeper's social status. While some prejudiced contemporaries held them on a par with the lowest orders of society, more reasoned observers like Defoe accepted their vital function and their mixed economy.[1] They typified the social mobility of pre-industrial England. A man could start in a city like London or

1. D. Defoe, Complete English Tradesman, pp. 221-222.

Bristol as a mere inn servant, and by careful living raise the capital to invest in a small country inn. By degrees he or his heirs might then rise to a large inn in a provincial capital and enter the pseudo-gentry at its head.[1] The innkeeper cannot be assigned arbitrarily to any specific social group. The majority fell into the lower levels which King assessed as adding to national income: the 'Shopkeepers and Tradesmen' and the 'Artisans and Handicrafts'.[2] Many, like the small squatter farmer/alehouse keepers, would only equate with 'Cottagers and Paupers' while a few ranked with substantial farmers and even lesser gentry.

No less than the inn itself, the innkeeper was a full representative of vital characteristics and trends in England 1660-1760. Subsequent chapters demonstrate the way in which the structure and the occupation played a central role in the economic life of the nation.

1. Everitt found similar movement among Northampton innkeepers, 'Social Mobility .....' p. 8.
2. Laslett, World We Have Lost, pp. 32-33.

CHAPTER 5: THE TRANSPORT INDUSTRY I. PASSENGER TRAFFIC

The individual traveller in the period 1660-1760 had a wide range of land transport available to him, but all were both slow and expensive. He could travel by coach, stage waggon or on horseback; had he the means by hired post-chaise; had he not by foot. The slowness of travel was most noticeable in regard to coaches which throughout this period rarely exceeded 40-50 miles per day.[1] This above all was the raison d'être of the plethora of inns along main roads. The volume of slow-moving traffic dictated stops as the very frequent intervals mentioned above.[2] It is to this system that we now turn.

It is generally accepted that the coach as such was very rare as a means of transport in the sixteenth century. Even in the early seventeenth century, the coach as such was still a rarity, but by the 1660s a network of stage-coach services had sprung into existence.[3] Before the beginning of our period, passengers had normally ridden on horseback, or travelled on the normal means of goods transport, the stage waggon. Although not good guides to actual services, contemporary listings of towns served by coaches allow us to make some estimate of the expansion of the business. In 1681 only 88 towns were

1. Jackman, Devel. of Transport., pp. 137-138.
2. See above, pp. 137-138.
3. J. Crofts, Packhorse, Waggon and Post (London, 1967), p. 125. See also, Jackman, op. cit., p. 119.

served by coaches from London. By 1705 the number had risen to 180 and by 1715 to 216.[1] At the same time the geographical spread of coach services increased and while in the 1650s the bulk of services ran to within 50 miles of London, by 1715 over a third of the towns served by London coaches lay in the more distant counties.[2] While the stage-coach was even then primarily a short and medium distance form of transport, it was increasingly serving the most distant areas of the country. Up to 1760, newspaper advertisements showing coach services reaching the more distant towns like Liverpool and Manchester further substantiate the evidence for the expansion on a national scale of coach services to London.

Nevertheless, the bulk of actual services even in 1715 were confined to the home and southern counties. The Merchants and Traders Necessary Companion of that date cannot be analysed with any certainty, since while it identified coach services by individual London inns, it did not differentiate services which may have run from several inns. Using this source, multiplying the number of towns served by the number of services per week, it appears that 79.3% of all coach services in 1715 were confined to these home and southern counties. Only 6.6% of services ran to the North.[3] Overall, the most distant areas from the capital were worst-served by stage coaches. Clearly this reflected the most

1. 1681 and 1705 quoted in Crofts, op. cit., p. 125., 1715, Merch. and Trad. Necess. Comp., pp. 3-13.
2. Merch. and Trad. Necess. Comp. Counties comprising the 'inner ring' are as follows: Berkshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Surrey, Sussex.
3. See below, Table 17, p. 178.

Table 17: Coach Services from London, 1715[1]

	ALDERSGATE AREA		STRAND AREA		BISHOPSGATE AREA		FRIDAY ST. AREA		ALDGATE AREA		HOLBORN AREA		SOUTHWARK		OTHERS		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
NORTHERN HOME COUNTIES	69	41.2	60	25.1	56	32.6	-	-	109	90.1	46	51.1	3	3.4	1	5.6	344	37.5
SOUTH EAST	-	-	52	21.8	72	41.9	5	21.7	12	9.9	-	-	80	90.9	6	33.3	227	24.7
SOUTH AND WEST	9	5.4	98	41.0	3	1.7	7	30.4	-	-	27	30.0	5	5.7	8	44.4	157	17.1
SOUTH WEST	-	-	23	9.6	5	2.9	3	13.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	16.7	34	3.7
EAST MIDLANDS	30	17.9	-	-	6	3.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	3.9
WEST MIDLANDS	7.5	4.5	6	2.5	-	-	8	34.8	-	-	2	2.2	-	-	-	-	23.5	2.6
CHESHIRE AND LANCASHIRE	5	3.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	0.5
EAST ANGLIA	6	3.6	-	-	30	17.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	3.9
YORKSHIRE AND LINCOLNSHIRE	41	24.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3.3	-	-	-	-	44	4.8
NORTH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	13.3	-	-	-	-	12	1.3
TOTAL	167.5	100	239	100	172	100	23	100	121	100	90	100	88	100	18	100	918.5	100

1. Source, as above, Merchants and Traders Necessary Companion. For 'areas' within London, see Map 2. Regions based largely on Thirsk, Agrarian History, Chap. 1: Home Counties - Bucks., Beds., Herts., Essex, Middx.; South East - Kent, Surrey, Sussex; South and West - Glouces., Wilts., Dorset, Oxon., Berks., Hants.; South West - Devon, Soms., Corn.; E. Midlands - Notts., Leics., Northants., Rutland, Warks., Cambs.; W. Midlands - Herefs., Salop, Staffs, Worcs., Derbys.; E. Anglia - Norfolk and Suffolk; North - Scotland, Cumb., Westm., Durham, Northum.

persistent demand. At a time when Chester and Exeter were perhaps four or even five days travel from London, relatively few people wished or could afford to make use of stage coaches. These services were therefore concentrated in the areas that represented London's main commercial 'empire'.

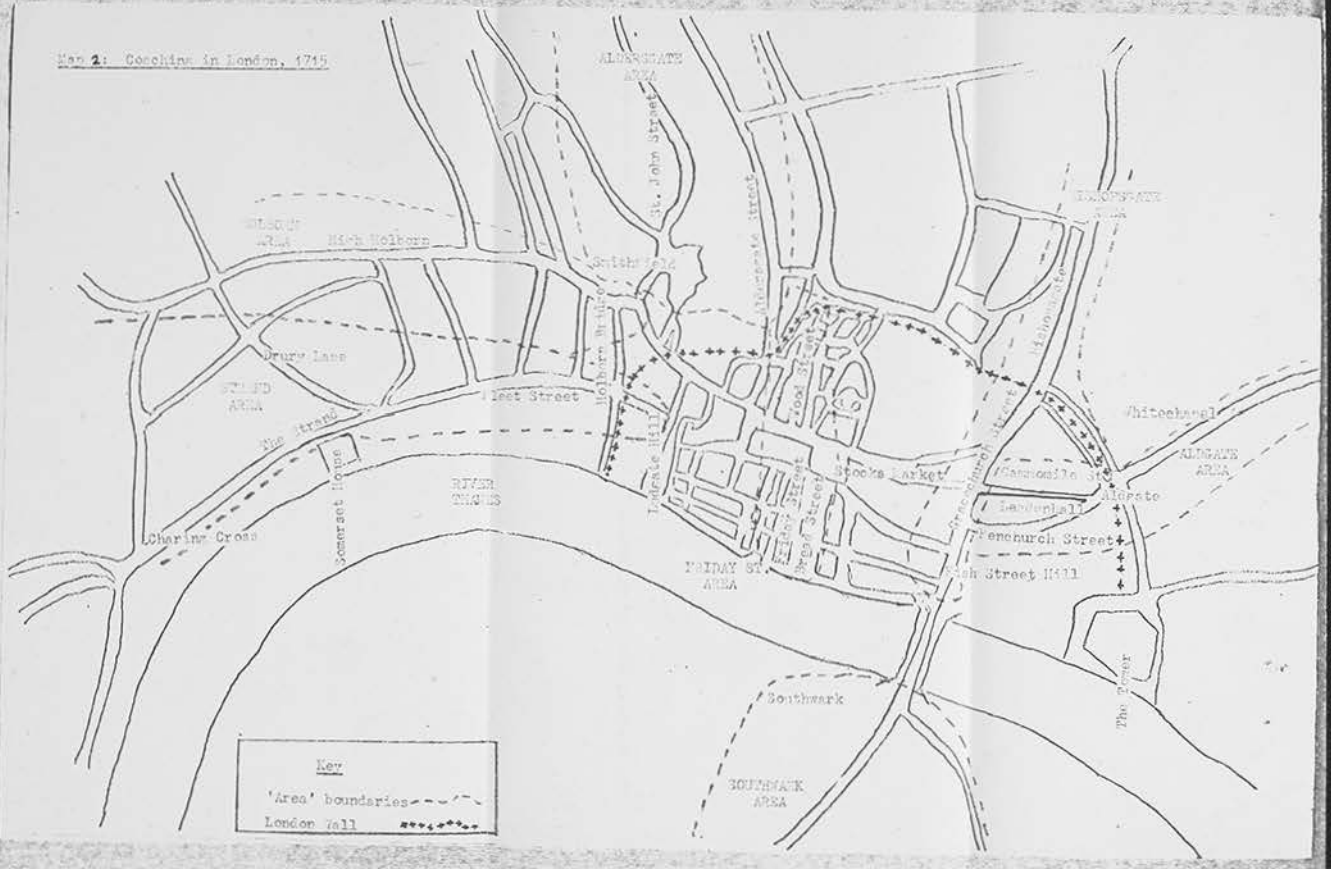
The inn course was the core of the coaching system. This above all was the activity associated with inns in every literary source and in the vast bulk of historical novels. As will be seen, provincial inns each served coach services or sought to give them hospitality. Innkeepers themselves were often coach proprietors. In London, different streets became known as the centres for specific local or long-distance routes. Moll Flanders stole from the people seeking coaches to Barnet and Totteridge at the Three Cups, St. John's Street.[1] It was natural to go to the inns of the Strand to take a coach to Devon or Somerset, or Inns of Aldersgate Street for Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, as to go to Paddington or Kings Cross today. Like the later railways, most of these inns had extensive suburban services, but were quite precisely identified with more distant regions. The figures of Table 17 show this more clearly. Southwark perhaps represents regional specialisation of a peculiar kind. Lying to the south of the river, its natural sphere of influence lay, like Waterloo station, with the southern counties. Three coach services attributed by our source to Bromley in Essex would perhaps be better located in Kent. All other services from

1. D. Defoe, Moll Flanders, (Everyman edn., London, 1930) pp. 205-206.

Southwark ran to Kent, Surrey, Sussex or Hampshire.

These areas in London associated with particular regions accorded with the lines of the major roads from the centre of London. Reference to Map 1, p. 181, shows this most clearly. The main eastern highway, led from the Aldgate area, through Stratford to Essex and East Anglia. Two Western routes, from the Holborn and Strand areas service the bulk of the Southern and Western counties, either through Brentford and Staines, or Henley and Oxford. Bishopsgate itself was the beginning of the north-eastern road to East Anglia, while Aldersgate led out to the northern home counties - principally Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire - and the Yorkshire region. While it would be false to imply in this area / regional specialisation the precision of the modern railway system, it is to this that the eighteenth century most closely approximated. Those seeking coaches to specific parts of England in the early eighteenth century might have been unaware on which days or from which inn coaches ran, but would have known to which street they should go to inquire and book. The problems inevitable from the size of the capital were solved by area specialisation.

Inns performed several vital functions in the stage-coach business. It was not merely that they acted as termini for coach services but rather acted as booking and parcels offices for coach proprietors. Many accepted luggage in advance from passengers or possibly unofficial parcels. Such was the situation upon which Moll Flanders capitalised:


Map 1: Coachline in London, 1715
ALDERSGATE AREA
St. John Street
Aldersgate Street
Gresham Street
Lothbury
Old Jewry
Cheapside
Bucklersbury
Walbrook
Lombard Street
Threadneedle Street
Bishopsgate
Leadenhall
Aldgate
Fenchurch Street
Whitechapel
ALDGATE AREA
Stocks Market
Gracechurch Street
Lombard Street
Bread Street
Lothbury
Holborn Bridge
Ludgate Hill
Fleet Street
Holborn
High Holborn
Drury Lane
The Strand
Somerset House
RIVER THAMES
Charing Cross
FRIDAY ST. AREA
Fish Street Hill
Southwark
The Tower
SOUTHWARK AREA
Key
'Area' boundaries
London Wall

'The meaning was this: people come frequently with bundles and small parcels to those inns, and call for such carriers or coaches as they want, to carry them into the country ..... and I had always the good luck to come off with some booty.'[1]

While Moll pretended to belong to the Barnet coach, it was more common, certainly by the eighteenth century, for inn servants to act on behalf of the coach-service, either as informally or as appointed book-keeper.

Naturally, for provincially-owned services merely 'inning' in London, such agents were vital. The same would hold true in the reverse situation. In any case, convenience would have dictated that informal arrangements with the coachman alone would be unsuitable for regular services. Passengers and coach proprietors wished to ensure that places were available and taken respectively. Thus major coaching inns had book-keepers for the services they 'inned'. The system provided for mutual benefits and responsibilities for innkeeper and coach proprietors. As those accepting monies and luggage from coach passengers innkeepers were responsible by common law for their safety and security. But bookings brought custom to the inn, especially early in our period when demand was at best unreliable. In 1710 a stage-coach service for Bath and Bristol was advertised to commence from the Angel, Backside St. Clements, on 12 June, but would wait for another day if places were not all taken.[2] By the 1740's and 1750's the system had become very refined. At the White Swan, Holborn Bridge a Mrs. Brymer acted as book-keeper to the York stage coach. She also

1. D. Defoe, Moll Flanders, pp. 205-206.
2. Daily Courant, 2693, 10 June 1710.

arranged bye-coaches from the Black Swan, Carey Street, York.[1] By the last two decades of our period, these book-keepers at London inns had adopted a practice of accepting deposits to secure seats, with the balance paid on entry to the coach. Normally, as in 1750 with a London-Taunton service, passengers paid half on booking and half on entering the coach.[2]

A second and connected service provided by innkeepers or their servants for coach proprietors lay in the weighing of luggage accompanying passengers. To modern eyes the image of a trundling stage-coach setting weight limits for its passengers' luggage is a little incongruous. But as in modern aircraft, such 'load-factors' were crucial especially for those which, paradoxically, purported to 'fly'. On normal services - those which did not 'fly' - up to 20 lbs. of luggage was allowed before excess charges were made. The Warwick and Banbury Machine, running from the Oxford Arms, Warwick Lane in 1760, allowed 20 lbs. of luggage before charging 1d/lb. excess.[3] Flying Coaches made economies through marginally lighter baggage loads. The 'Abingdon Flying Stage Chaise' restricted passengers to 10 lbs. in 1754 before charging 1d/lb. excess,[4] while in 1760 the 'Taunton Machine' allowed 14 lbs. before a 2d/lb. excess charge was incurred.[5] In every case, some weighing or assessment of luggage or parcel weight

1. General Evening Post, 2661, 25 December 1750, p. 2.
2. London and Taunton Flying Machines (Broadside), Guildhall Library, Broadside 2.67 1750 [?].
3. Whitehall Evening Post, 2252, 23 August 1760, p.3.
4. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 48, 30 March 1754, p.4.
5. Daily Advertiser, 9139, 23 April 1760, p.2.

was implied. This was an additional function of the book-keeper/agent supplied by or working from the terminal inn.

Without the need for such regional specialization provincial termini of coach services were very similar to those of London. If it was not necessary to specify in say Exeter or Oxford to which street or streets services to certain areas resorted, then the association of particular coaches with particular inns was far from a random one. There was no need to zone services in such terms since both the geographical span and the absolute number of coach services were far smaller. Where in London a street of inns enjoyed a near-monopoly of services to specific regions, in the provincial capitals individual inns achieved the same position. Oxford, for example, a town served each week in 1715 by at least 15 coach services from London alone,[1] without counting services to other towns which passed through the city, had only three of its forty or more inns clearly involved in the coaching business. Between them, the Bear, the Star, and the New Inn served as the official stops and termini of all services coming to Oxford.[2] In Maidenhead William Green's Sun Inn dominated the coaching business, while the Bear and the New Inn in Exeter, and the George and the White Lion in Northampton, played similar roles to the Oxford triumvirate. If nothing else, all these stood to gain overnight guests from the coaches which

1. Merch. and Trades. Necess. Comp., pp. 10-11.
2. Based entirely on newspaper advertisement material. No other inn in Oxford from the 1740's onward, and certainly none from the advent of Jackson's Oxford Journal in 1753, appears to have acted in this way.

arrived after exhausting travel in the gathering evening gloom, and which might then connect or depart in the early hours of the following morning. Significantly perhaps, none of the three Oxford inns was regarded as the best in the town. Coaching was not perhaps a necessary function for all inns.

Between these two termini, inns served as stopping points for food, rest, changes of horses or overnight rests. On the Western roads, towns like Hounslow, Brentford, Uxbridge and Colnbrook provided such stopping points, as can be seen from Fig.4 of the Worcester Road above.[1] A coach in the 1730's or 1740's travelling in two days to Worcester would have breakfasted at Uxbridge, lunched in High Wycombe, 'baited' again in Tetsworth, and stopped overnight at Oxford. Woodstock, Moreton-in- Marsh, and Pershore might have served the same purposes on the second day. The coach running from the Lamb, Abingdon to the Black Lion, Water Lane, Fleet Street in 1753 dined every day at the Sun Inn, Maidenhead, the house of William Green one of the proprietors.[2] The 'Hereford Flying Stage Coach' of the same year inned at the King's Head, Gloucester and the New Inn, Oxford during the three days it took to reach London.[3] The advantages of such regular custom to both inn-keeper and coach-passenger were clear.

Such intermediate stops on these long routes provided opportunities for more local travel. Egham in Surrey was a dining-point for many of

1. See above, p.138.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 2, 12 May 1753, p.4.
3. Gloucs. Journ., 1637, 20 November 1753, p.4.

the Western stage-coaches in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Although well-served by its own coach, which ran to London three days each week, the other coaches dining in the town made, in Lord Stirling's words 'an Opportunity of going Every Day to or from London'.[1] Hence many of the inns serving longer routes were also booking offices for these services. One coach service of the early 1750's between London and Birmingham was really two separate coaches, which met every other night at Oxford's New Inn. One coach left the White Swan, Birmingham and another the Bull and Mouth, Bull and Mouth Street, alternate days, and thus the New Inn, Oxford was the real terminus for two co-operative services on a lengthy route.[2] In 1750 the coach serving Dorchester, Blandford and Andover, which lay overnight at Andover, kept books at inns in all three towns, with one of its breakfast stops, Salisbury, in addition.[3]

Much of what has already been said on the matter of stage coaches assumed a relatively casual connexion between their proprietors and the innkeepers who served them. At the beginning of our period, this was probably correct. The early pioneers of regular coach services were almost certainly individual coachmen acting in their own right. Even in 1760, private coachmen far outnumbered all others in the coaching business, but probably held a less than proportionate share of the trade. The long-term trend was away from the small individual towards

1. Berks. R. O., Memoranda Books of Lord Stirling, II, 1724-38, f.20.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 5, 2 June 1753, p.4.
3. Salisbury Journal, 646, 28 May 1750, p.3.

the company owner, the great innkeeper-postmaster-coachowner like John Palmer in the 1780s. In a market which in the eighteenth century at least, became ever more speed and fashion-conscious, such were the units that could best afford to innovate. To return once more to the aviation analogy, the small lines could not afford the prestigious, and perhaps less profitable, innovations. The small man was perhaps best suited to 'feeder' or suburban services.

While general themes can be suggested for the progress of stage coach services in our period, evidence is lacking. Barring the statutes and metropolitan regulations used by Jackman, virtually no evidence exists to examine the ownership and financing of these services. It is therefore on probability rather than hard evidence that our conclusions are based.

That individual coachmen ran and owned services in the later seventeenth century is clear from the fragmentary evidence of literary sources. Symptomatic of this early stage of coach development was an advertisement of 1677 for a Taunton coach. John Booth and John Hall, the coachmen, invited 'Gentlemen wishing to go to Taunton' to go to the Saracen's Head, Friday Street on Tuesday, whence a coach would depart.[1] Even in the middle of our period coachmen, such as he who ran a coach to Falmouth in 1710, found it useful to advertise whether they would be returning to London.[2] Coachmen required 'seeking out' before

1. The Mercury, 121, 28 February 1677, p. 1.
2. Daily Courant, 2690, 7 June, 1710.

regular services bacame normal.

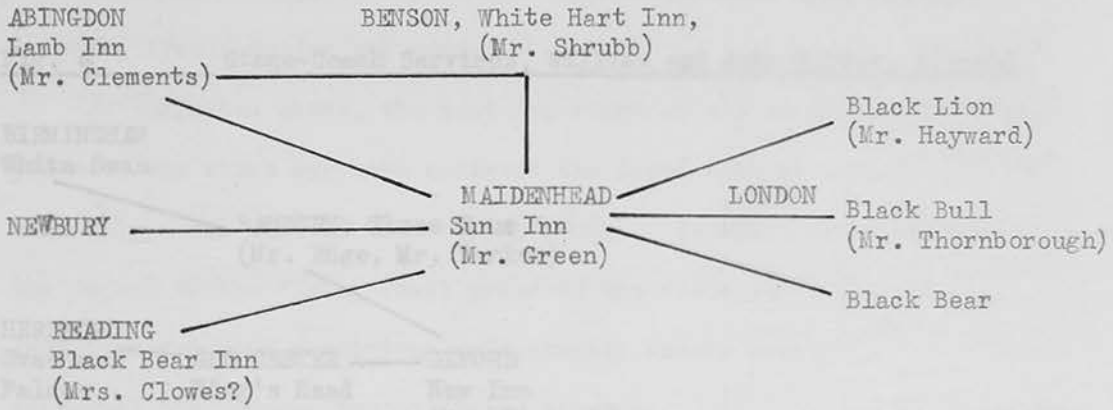
In the last 20 years of our period, such private coachmen were increasingly under pressure, if not on the wane. The extension during these years of 'flying coaches' with their greater demands on driver and team, if not on coach designers, accelerated the trend towards larger companies, or rather partnerships, running services. In these years it became increasingly rare for individuals to run coach services. Coachmen seem to have become more commonly employees than self-employed. Here was the time in which innkeepers extended their range of activities into caoch ownership. Of 52 coach services whose proprietors can be identified between 1733 and 1760, some 29 were owned at least in part by innkeepers.[1] Several of the others might also have been run by men who were innkeepers, but who cannot definitely be identified as such. Thus the association of inn and coach service became all the more intimate as the bond of property was added.

Several of these innkeeper-coach-proprietors were really quite big men. It was not perhaps by accident that Ralph Allen, the great reformer of the Post Office after 1720, was himself the son of an innkeeper.[2] Such men might well be leaders of the local community. Three in particular serve as examples of the way in which innkeepers moved into the coaching business. William Green, Postmaster of Maidenhead

1. Based on newspaper advertisements for these years from London and provincial press.
2. J. T. Foxell and A. O. Spafford, Monarchs of all they surveyed (London, 1952), Chapter II.

and keeper of the Sun Inn was perhaps the most notable coachmaster. In the 1750s he was involved in the running of the stages to Abingdon and Reading from London shown in diagrammatic form below in Fig. 5

Fig. 5 William Green's Stage-Coach Services, 1753-58[1]



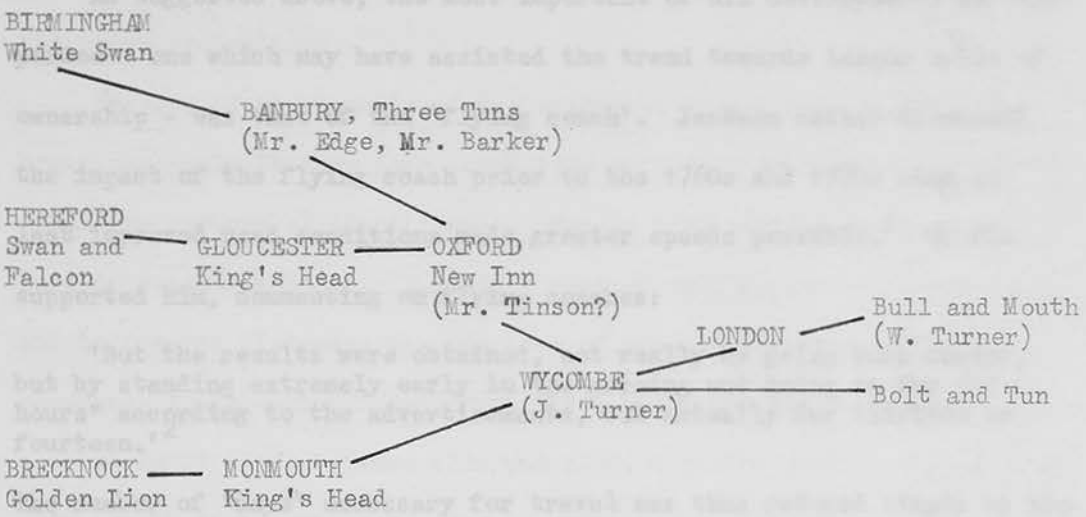
Not only was Green involved in at least five separate services in these few years, but he also seems to have advanced his position vis-a-vis his partners. The first Abingdon service in 1753 was performed in apparently equal partnership with Clements of Abingdon and Shrubb [Srubb in source] of Benson.[2] By 1756 Shrubb no longer appeared in the advertisement,[3] and a year later 'William Green and Co.' ran the service.[4] While in both 1757 and 1758 both Clements and Thornborough, of the Black Bull, Holborn, were still involved, William Green was

1. Based on Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 2, 12 May 1753, p. 4; 48, 30 March 1754, p. 4; 153, 3 April 1756, p. 3; 208, 23 April 1757, p. 3; 287, 28 Oct. 1758, p. 3., and Read. Merc. 441, 15 April 1754, p. 3.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ. 2, 12 May 1753, p. 4.
3. Ibid., 153, 3 April 1756, p. 3.
4. Ibid., 208, 23 April 1757, p. 3.

the dominant, if not sole, proprietor.

William and John Turner of the Bull and Mouth, Bull and Mouth Street, London, and of an unknown inn in High Wycombe respectively, were similarly involved in several stage coach services in the 1750s. These are represented in Fig. 6 below. John Peyton, another leading

Fig. 6 Stage-Coach Services, William and John Turner, 1753-58.[1]



coachmaster/innkeepers, of the White Lion, Stratford-upon-Avon, was proprietor of the Birmingham service. Source materials permitting, similar networks could be identified for many different regional services.

By 1760 therefore, many of the stage-coach services were run by innkeepers rather than by private coachmen, the latter assumed, largely

1. Based on Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 4, 26 May 1753, p. 4; 259, 15 April 1758, p. 3; and Gloucs. Journ., 1637, 20 November 1753, p. 4; 1799, 16 November 1756, p. 2.

in the absence of sufficient co ntrary evidence, to have dominated the nascent stagecoach system in 1660. By 1760, many innkeepers were also the engrossing proprietors of several services. The trend, so far as one can be discerned lay towards more such innkeeper-proprietorship. The origin of this trend lay in the organisation and development of coaching itself during our period.

As suggested above, the most important of all developments in this period - one which may have assisted the trend towards larger units of ownership - was that of the 'flying coach'. Jackman rather dismissed the impact of the flying coach prior to the 1760s and 1770s when at last improved road conditions made greater speeds possible.[1] Crofts supported him, commenting on flying coaches:

> 'But the results were obtained, not really by going much faster, but by standing extremely early in the morning and going on for "12 hours" according to the advertisements, but actually for thirteen or fourteen.'[2]

The number of 'days' necessary for travel was thus reduced simply by the expedient of extending the travelling day. Jackson and Crofts therefore ran the 'flying coach' to ground.

Coaches tended rather to 'fly' in summer than in winter. Although this seasonal variation became less pronounced in the last decade of our period, coaching in winter remained a slower business than in

1. W. T. Jackman, Devel. of Transp. in Mod. Eng., pp. 138f.
2. J. Crofts, Packhorse, Waggon and Post, p. 127.

summer.[1] Such evidence as there is on the rate of travel, and the fares paid, does not support Jackson's conclusions in their entirety. Literary sources and newspaper advertisements together suggest that average daily rates of travel rose during our period, and that the 'flying' coach, while not perhaps attaining significantly greater speeds than ordinary coaches, had a much greater daily achievement. The evidence of some 73 cases, reproduced below in Table 18, supports the above contentions.

Because of the paucity of the evidence, it was not possible to break the analysis down into short time periods. But the three periods taken are perhaps of significance. Up to 1720 stage-coach services were increasing rapidly. A natural cost of this expansion to new towns and to greater distances was the loss of speed. The shorter-distance services, longer-established, were those which the early 'flying' coaches could run. Between 1720 and 1750, a period marked generally by slow growth in the British economy, these pioneering services were consolidated. Perhaps the absence of contrast between 'flying' and 'stage' coaches for this period represents no more quirk of the evidence. Rather conditions in these years may have determined a quest for speed above all in coach services generally to the detriment of the distinction between 'flying' and other stagecoaches.

1. See Jackman, op.cit., p. 122. Numerous newspaper advertisements of the 1750s for the months of March, April and May announced 'flying' for the summer season. At the same time, towards the end of the decade, announcements that the schedule would be unchanged in winter became more common.

Table 18: Average Daily Rates of Travel, 1660-1760.[1]

	(miles)		
	PRE - 1720	1720-50	1750-60
Flying Coach, per day	57.0	52.0	56.6
Stage Coach, per day	38.7	50.7	43.0
Average of Flying and Stage Coach, per day	39.9	50.7	49.6
Average of all cases, per day	42.5	51.3	52.5

The balance of comfort, and the diversity of consumer demand, perhaps helped restore the balance in the 1750s. Those who did not value their time so highly as to suffer the privations of the 'flying' coach opted for the 'old' or 'slower' coach. Such was the appeal of a coach from Salisbury to Bath in 1751, which left at 5 or 7 a.m., which, according to the advertisement, was 'not to disturb the Gentlemen and Ladies too soon'.[2]

Overall, the achievement of coaches in our period was twofold: they produced by 1760 an extensive and relatively refined system; at the same time, while the evidence is far from sure, there are reasons for believing that the actual speed of travel increased, if but marginally. With regard to this latter point, it is clear that by the 1750s

1. Table based on advertisements in London provincial newspapers listed Bibliography, with the following additional sources: London and Taunton Flying Machines [Broadside] (1750); R. N. Worth, 'Notes from two Plymouth Diaries', The Antiquary XIII (1886); W. Matthews ed., The Diary of Sir Dudley Ryder (London, 1939), p. 238; Sir J. Lauder, 'Journals, 1665-1676', Scottish Historical Society, series I, vol, 36, ed. D. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1900), p. 168.
2. Salisbury Journal, 704, 15 July 1751, p. 3.

coach schedules for services generally within 100 miles of London, and away from Defoe's 'clays',[1] reflected not merely extended hours of travelling but rather greater speeds. The costs of such development in men, vehicles and draught animals, probably contributed to the decline of the private individual coachman and the growth of partnership in which innkeepers were increasingly involved.

Up to the mid-eighteenth century, Jackman found little alteration in the rates of land carriage:

> 'the rates at the middle of the eighteenth century were little, if any, different from those of a hundred years before, which gives us some insight into how firmly entrenched custom was in the life of the people. On some roads the coach rate varied from one to one and a half pence per mile; but, generally speaking, the passenger travelling by stage coach paid about two and one-half pence per mile in summer and about three pence per mile in winter.'[2]

While Jackman's account remains basically sound, it is possible to suggest a little more about rates of land carriage. Using the same data as for Table 18, Table 19 below presents rates per mile remarkably close to those Jackman sketched, but which show the clear influence of the market rather than custom in their determination. They support broadly the conclusions drawn above from the daily distance travelled presented in Table 18.

1. See Defoe, Tour, 'Appendix to the Second Volume' II, pp. 128-129.
2. Jackman, Devel. of Transp. in Mod. Eng., p. 138.

Table 19: Mean Rates per mile of Stagecoach Travel, 1660-1760.[1]

		(pence)	
	PRE - 1720	1720-50	1750-60
Flying coach, per mile	-	2.3	2.4
Stage coach, per mile	2.1	1.5	1.9
Average of above two	2.1	1.9	2.1
Average of all cases	2.1	2.0	2.6

Information on rates of carriage for the period up to 1720 is extremely deficient, but, with the addition of Jackman's evidence, the pattern of general stability in rates per mile until 1750 is clear. While regional variations were enormous, the stability displayed by the overall mean accords well with the evidence of Table 18. In the early stages of stage-coach development, demand was certainly irregular, and running costs high. Low 'load factors' necessitated relatively high rates - equivalent per mile to the purchase of a quart of beer - in a developing system. Unlike the railways, stage-coaches had no cheap rivals to force down prices. These arose in the early eighteenth century in the form of the post-chaise. At the same time, between 1720 and 1750, the period of gathering speed and consolidation in coach

1. Data as for Table 18 above, p. 193 and note 1. Mileages for routes in both tables taken from John Cary, Cary's New Itinerary, (2nd. edn., London, 1802). While a little late this source gives measured not computed mileages and does not veer too widely from the routes which would have been employed in the early eighteenth century. This is perhaps more realistic than the very arbitrary method employed by Jackman, outlined in his Devel. Transp. in Mod. Eng., p.p. 137.

services, competition between coaches probably helped to stabilise if not actually reduce rates. The high premium set on speed in this period may be indicated by the substantial differential between the 'flying' and 'stage' coach at a time when the daily mileage achievement of each was less remarkable.

For the 1750s evidence becomes more plentiful and it is clear that although in that decade several rival or complimentary services were running to most major towns, conditions were changing. As noted, above, travellers were able by the 1750s to opt for speed or, relatively speaking, comfort, in their stage coach.[1] They paid more for the privilege of travelling to their destination in fewer days by flying coach. But at the same time, the trend in fares was upward, not perhaps for reasons limited only to the transport sector. From about the 1750s, the trend in food prices was upward, an inflation sustained to 1815.[2] At the same time, the numbers of turnpiked roads was increasing, the number of turnpike trusts rising from 160 in 1748 to 530 in 1760.[3] Coaches were also running more regularly at greater speeds, and now coaches able to carry outside passengers were being introduced.[4] Costs therefore rose, and had to be reflected in fares. An advertisement for the Newbury coach in 1754 made this clear. Until that year the 'Newbury Machine' had cost 11s. But its proprietors had been

1. See above, p.193.
2. E. H. Phelps-Brown and S. V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables', in Essays. in Econ. Hist. II, pp. 183, 185, 188.
3. P. Mantoux, Indus. Rev., p. 116, n. 2.
4. It is for the first time in the 1750s that outside places, normally at half the price of an inside seat, were advertised.

losing money because of turnpikes, wear on horses, and repairs to the machine, and they therefore increased the fare to 12/-.[1] During this decade, coaching was reaching its maturity, and was not aided by real improvements in road metalling, which were able to transform 'flying coaches' from wish to reality.

In this atmosphere of rising costs and increased competition, innkeepers had the advantage of the private coachman. They controlled fodder, and as substantial businessmen were perhaps better able to sustain short-term losses for eventual gains. Above all the system of deposit for bookings threw monies into the hands of the innkeeper rather than the coachman. It provided security against the embarrassing situation encountered by William Lawrence's coachman in 1675. Two fellow passengers, clearly prostitutes migrating to London, sought custom at the overnight stop at Windsor. They failed, but had sufficient money to take ale and cakes at Brentford, but not enough to pay their fares. Lawrence continued:

> 'But when were got to London they had not money to discharge their passage: I whisper'd to the Coachman to take it out in worke, but the wary fellow reply'd, that was the way to be pay'd indeed, and that he had much rather have the pence than the pox, and so I understand that at last he come to a composition, and tooke the morgage of an Underpetticoate.'[2]

By allowing the host-innkeeper to handle the finances of such coach services, the coachman ensured payment in more negociable currency,

1. Read. Merc., 441, 15 April 1754, p. 3.
2. G. E. Aylmer ed., The Diary of William Lawrence, 1662-81, (Beaminster, 1961), August 1675, pp. 27-28.

but its price was perhaps eventual subservience.

Coaching and innkeeping were therefore from the beginning intimately connected, and grew closer together throughout our period. The dictates of both sound business practice and trends in the economy at large pushed the two closer together during our period.

A second 'stage' vehicle, the stage waggon, formed one more ancient alternative to the stage coach. Its main advantage lay in its lower monetary cost to the traveller, although in comfort its costs were high. Seemingly the waggon represented the cheapest form of transport available bar the use of feet alone. In November 1739, Roderick Random indicated this:

'There is not such convenience as a waggon in this country, and my finances were too weak to support the expense of hiring a horse; I determined therefore to set out with the carriers, who transport goods from one place to another on horseback ....'[1]

The means of travel he first secured - on a pack-horse - was perhaps cheaper still.

The stage waggons were primarily goods vehicles, but on top of cargoes of cloth, or hay or straw, they had ample room, if not facilities, for passengers. Random and his friend Strap travelled with four others in 1739 from south of Newcastle to London. All were so poor that a stage-coach would have been embarrassingly expensive.[2] The very scanty evidence that exists elsewhere about the carriage of passengers on stage waggons confirms the views expressed in Smollett's

1. T. Smollett, Roderick Random, (Everyman edn., London, 1927) p. 38.
2. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

Roderick Random.

Two cases from the 1750s show as clearly both the benefits and disadvantages of stage waggon travel, apart of course, from such intangibles as the service its passengers received at inns. Waggons were necessarily slower forms of transport. The 'Salisbury Flying Waggon' of 1750 took two days to travel the 81 miles to London, when the stage coaches took only one day. At the same time the fare was only 5 shillings when the fare by stage averaged 16 shillings: i.e. a saving of some 1½d. per mile.[1] 'Henry Pitts of Oxford, Broad-Wheel Waggoner' in 1757 confirmed the evidence of the above case. Taking just over a day to travel between Oxford and London, his fare of 3/6d. again saved over 1½d. per mile on the normal stagecoach rate.[2] These two cases from the 1750s produced almost identical per mile rates for passenger carriage - about ¾d. As in the 'ordinary' versus the 'flying' stagecoach, the costs of this cheapness were slower rates of travel, with in the case of the stage waggon, the probability of greater discomfort. For a very large section of the travelling public, the lower monetary costs determined their choice in favour of the waggon. At a time when the per capita annual income was perhaps £9-10 the need to economize was paramount.[3]

The major innovation in the carriage of passengers in our period

1. Salis. Journ., 646, 28 May 1750, p. 2. Coach fares from sources as above for Tables 18 and 19.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 217, 25 June 1757, p. 2.
3. Estimate from Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, p. 3.

was the introduction of the post-chaise. Officially these carriages and coaches were hired out under the authority of the Postmaster-General by postmasters, the name seems to have been used indiscriminately in the eighteenth century. It applied to virtually any chaise hired out to private travellers. This form of transport became increasingly popular in the second half of our period. An advertisement in the Sussex Advertiser of 1791 expounded the advantages of the post-chaise:

> 'There are two modes of conveyance, either by common stages or by a post-chaise. By the common stage you are classed with company of every discription, and who may very frequently turn out very disagreeable. You are also paid no attention to at the inns where you stop, although you pay exorbitant for refreshment, and are frequently insulted by the indecent behaviour of the coachman, and besides your fare, you have a considerable sum to pay for luggage. On the contrary, if two or three passengers choose to travel together,they may, by travelling in a post-chaise, not only avoid all these inconveniences - but suit their own convenience in point of time, and be at less expence - besides meeting with genteeler treatment at the inns on the road.'[1]

Avoiding early starts, and receiving better treatment at the inns en route, the wealthy traveller found the post-chaise attractive.

It was not until after the end of our period that the legal position in regard to post-chaises was really cleared up. The guiding legal framework stemmed from the act of 1710 'for establishing a General Post-Office ...' which in two clauses restricted the provision of 'horses and furniture' to postmasters on all main roads.[2] The act further restricted private hire by proscribing profit from such

1. Quoted by H. L. Beales, 'Travel and Communication' in A. S. Tuberville, Johnson's England, (Oxford, 1933), p. 138.
2. 9 Anne c. 11 (1710). The main restriction clause was section vi.

enterprise under penalty of £5 for each offence.[1] In spite of this act, other innkeepers than post masters developed private hire of both horses and chaises. The latter was recognised by the statute of 1747 which founded a lottery - which was to raise £1 million - on the basis of new duties on coaches and carriages.[2] This statute aggravated the position of non-postmaster innkeepers since both stage coaches and the G.P.O. chaises were exempted from duty. The unofficial post-chaises, enrolled with the Excise Office under this statute, were thus doubly threatened. Two prosecutions in 1748 confirmed the iniquity: Thomas Atkinson of Hounslow, and John March of Maidenhead Bridge were both convicted under the act of 1710 for keeping private post-chaises.

The pamphlet of 1749 which recounted these cases provided further evidence of both the demand for post-chaises and of the frustrations felt by publicans who did not keep post-houses. Its author argued that the enforcement of 9 Anne c. 11. threatened the existence of the 1362 chaises registered with the excise office - at £2 duty each, the loss of £2700 per annum in revenues. The Post Office provided only 369 chaises, limited to travel only on the post roads and in number quite inadequate to meet demand. If there was no redress then many innkeepers would be 'diminished in property' and the public revenues would fall.[3] Another author, Phil' Anglus, argued along similar lines

1. 9 Anne c. 11, section xviii.
2. 20 George II, c. 10 (1747) 'An Act for granting to His Majesty several rates and duties upon coaches, and other carriages therein mentioned; and for raising the sum of one million, by Way of Lottery, to be charged upon the said rates and duties.'
3. The Case of the Innkeepers and Keepers of Livery Stables and also of the Several Owners and Proprietors of Inns and Livery Stables, and of hands therewith, (London, 1749).

in the following year.[1] No statutory redress was provided during our period, but the protests of 1749 and 1750 seem to have had practical results. The postless innkeepers ceased complaint and carried on business. The act of 1710 was interpreted less severely.

The unrest clearly coincided with the expansion in private hands of commercial 'post' chaise services. As has already been made clear, innkeepers were the dominant force in this movement. Indeed the post-chaise was a service provided almost entirely by innkeepers. As in the stage coach business, they acted in combination, but whereas in coaching only one or two innkeepers were responsible for the service, five or six were normally involved in providing chaises for hire. In 1760, two separate chains of chaises-hiring innkeepers covered the route from London to Manchester, Warrington and Liverpool. The first, running from the Axe, Aldermanbury, involved fifteen innkeepers.[2] The second from the Horseshoe, Goswell Street, involved nine, of whom three were members of both syndicates.[3] At about the same date, a syndicate of nine innkeepers covered the Plymouth and Weymouth roads. Seemingly their service did not extend to either town, since the most distant member was J. Shergold of the King's Arms, Salisbury.[4] Taken not for the whole journey, but from stage to stage, it was possible to travel the longest routes by postchaise. Innkeepers provided such services

1. Phil' Anglus [John Newball], Proposals to preserve the Publick Roads, without Prejudice to Trade, excess of Tolls or Turnpikes, (London, 1750).
2. Daily Advertiser, 9117, 28 March 1760, p. 2.
3. Ibid.
4. Trade Card, Postchaises, Berks. R. O., D/Hy z 16 [no date].

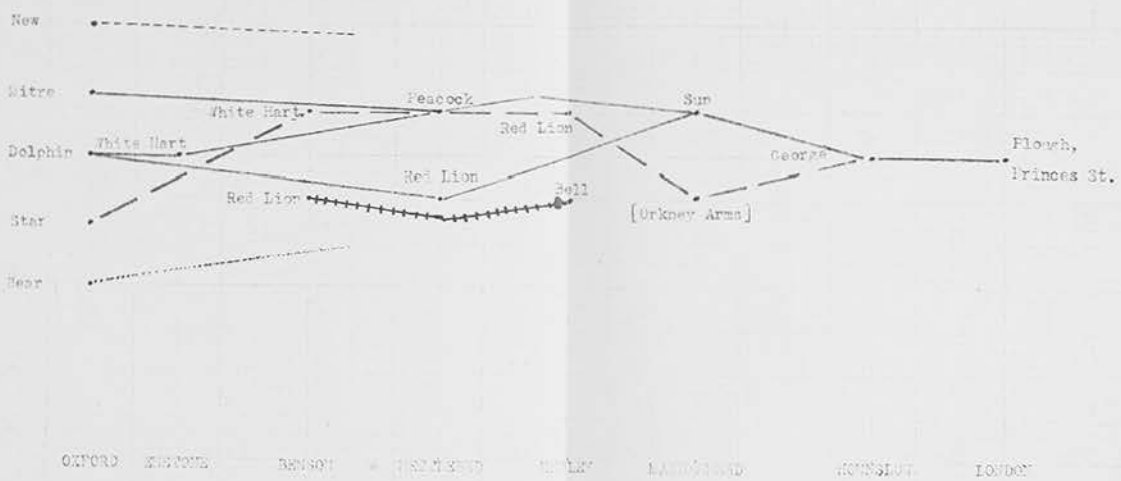
within their own locality in co-operation with others on the route.

The roads from Oxford to London were well served by such consortia in the last decade of our period. Indeed the two main roads, through Henley and High Wycombe, were the scene of quite better competition in the 1750s. The rival networks are represented below, Fig. 7 . From the early 1750s most of these groups offered two-wheeled post-chaises - suitable only for light traffic - at 6d. per mile. But the main growth in this decade seems to have been in the more substantial four-wheeled chaise. Samuel Bourton's group running from the Dolphin, Oxford, offered the larger chaise at 1s. per mile from April 1756. Among his co-operators was William Green of the Sun Inn, Maidenhead, the great coach proprietor.[1] Another member of the group, Henry Lay of the White Hart, Enstone, clearly found the price too high. In August 1753 he denied offering chaises at 6d. per mile, claiming that the advertisement of the previous month had been inserted without his knowledge.[2] His disenchantment was complete five years later when he offered 'postchaise and horses, as good as new' for sale.[3]

His case was atypical. The several groups operating on this road, spurred no doubt by the rivalry of the High Wycombe route, reduced prices as a result of competition. In June 1755, Kemp of the Red Lion, Benson, and Burdett of the Bell, Henley offered the larger chaise at 9d. per mile on their section of the route.[4] 1758 seems to have

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 153, 3 April 1756, p. 3. Also see above p.189.
2. Ibid., 15, 11 August 1753, p. 4 and 12, 21 July 1753, p. 4.
3. Ibid., 275, 5 August 1758, p. 2.
4. Ibid., 112, 21 June 1755, p. 4.

Fig.7 : Diagram of Post-Chaise Syndicates on the London-Henley-Oxford Road in the 1750s.
(not to scale)



brought competition to a head. All the major services offered chaise at 9d. per mile from October 1758, including the group of four landlords operating the 'Old Oxford Road' - the High Wycombe route. The senior chaise operators, Shrubb of Benson and Parry of Oxford, clearly found competition disturbing. At the beginning of November 1758 they announced that they were the first to offer chaise at 9d. per mile, and that their enterprise had brought others into competition. They hoped therefore to continue in gentlemen's favour.[1] By December of the same year, Bourton of the Dolphin, Oxford, who operated both routes, offered the large chaise for 'short journeys' at only 7d. per mile.[2]

In this example the consumer doubly benefited from the proliferation of post-chaise services. He had not only two routes from which to choose, but also low rates produced by a minor 'price war' resulting from the five or six competitive groups. Landlords also sought to encourage passengers by helping prospective customers to find companions to share expenses on the journey. One of the advertisements for the Chester, Liverpool and Manchester services in 1760 carried also the note 'Wanted a partner in a chaise to Chester, any of the above days'.[3] Such shared chaise brought the real cost of this method of transport down. While it did not in all probability rival coach fares, it was no more expensive than riding post, and had benefits of status,

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 288, 4 November 1758, p. 3.
2. Ibid., 295, 23 December 1758, p. 2.
3. Daily Advert., 9117, 28 March 1760, p. 2.

comfort and convenience well worth the extra monetary cost. It was this growing sector of the passenger transport industry that was above all dominated by the innkeeper.

The final two means of passenger transport available during our period require little further comment. Both riding on horseback and travelling on foot were ancient and unremarkable forms of transport. Both inevitably used inns - indeed both were probably the creators of the wayside inns. Both preceded vehicular transport of all kinds.

The provision of riding horses was a function again limited by the restrictions of the Post Office to postmasters. The act of 1710 which had been used against unofficial post chaises had more directly inhibiting powers on those innkeepers who wished to provide riding horses unofficially. Even worse, it imposed obligations on landlords which must have been difficult to keep. Horses were exhausted and lost in the service of the G.P.O. and the costs fell on the landlord-postmaster.[1] Little wonder, therefore that travellers frequently complained both of lack of horses and of their poor quality. The monopoly given to post-horses and the maximum rates with 'no profit' clauses of the 1710 act did not make for good service of riding horses.[2]

It is wrong to blame the Post Office entirely for this shortage of good horses. It existed throughout our period. Pepys found coach horses unobtainable and saddle horses exorbitantly priced at Salisbury

1. See above, p.170.
2. 9 Anne c. 11 (1710), sections vi, xv, xviii.

in 1668.[1] But complaints of shortage of horses for all transport services became more insistent in the earlier eighteenth century. The reasons are clear. Abundant evidence has been adduced of expansion in virtually every sector of the transport industry in our period. At the same time agriculture, gradually introducing new methods, probably raised its labour requirement of draught animals as well as of human beings. In road transport the quest for greater speed also had its cost in horse supplies. Fielding suggested this in 1749:

'..... but Unluckily there was not a Horse to be procured in the whole Place; which the Reader will not wonder at, when he considers the Hurry in which the whole Nation, and especially this Part of it, was at this time engaged when Expresses were passing and repassing every Hour of the Day and Night.'[2]

As in the case of post-chaises, the buoyant demand for riding horses and the inadequacy of official supplies eroded the Post Office monopoly. Most inns offering chaise or coach services also provided riding horses for hire, if any were to be had. They were expensive to hire, as the environment would lead one to expect. The official rates for post-horses were set at 3d. per mile - hence the advantage of the stage coach and even of the shared post-chaise.[3] As early as 1663, Pepys paid 5s. for a horse for an afternoon and evening's riding in Hyde Park.[4] Although this rate was determined as much by its location as any other, it serves as additional proof of the expense of horse

1. Pepys, Diary, 10-11 June 1668, Vol. VIII, pp. 42-43.
2. H. Fielding, Tom Jones, Book XII, Chap. 9. Vol. 4, pp. 258-259.
3. 9 Anne c. 11, section XV.
4. Pepys, Diary, 1 May 1663, III, pp. 107-8.

hire. Barring sole occupation of a post chaise it was the most expensive form of road passenger transport from either official or unofficial staging posts.

For the great majority of the population, the sole means of travel available was walking. Clearly, while perhaps half of the entire population of England and Wales would have no alternative to travelling on foot this was also the group to whom travelling was already part of life - paupers, vagrants, labourers and servants.[1] It was rather among those who contributed to national income that the new forms of travelling took root and flourished. The coach reduced the real cost of distant travel during the period 1660-1760 at the same time as it reduced, in terms of time, the distance between the provincial capitals and London. In a status-conscious but still 'open' society, in which real incomes were steadily rising, the 'refinement' and 'superiority' of the post-chaise readily attracted custom: for it made every man a 'lord'.

These two developments - the coach and the post chaise - were significant innovations in the period after 1660, the former in scale if not in fact. With these, the older methods of passenger transport - waggons, riding horses and human feet - continued to be employed but were shrinking relatively in importance. Both the stage coach and the post chaise were probably more efficient users of horse-power per passenger than riding horses. In a period in which England's equine

1. Based on King's 'Scheme' in P. Laslett, World We Have Lost, pp. 32-33.

resources were increasingly stretched, this was crucial. Their advantage found expression in the price they demanded in the basic market place for passenger transport: the inn.

The inn was crucial to all these developments. It would no doubt have been possible to run stage-coach services without them. Between terminals, livery stables and victuallers houses would have supplanted the inn, but would have increased costs. Part of the advantage to the private coachman using the innkeeper as book-keeper lay in his cheapness. The man whose rewards came from the coaching trade itself would be likely to make sacrifices to encourage it to his inn. The resources and perhaps business acumen of the more substantial innkeepers ensured their dominance of coaching trade when speed, novelty and growth were demanded from it by the travelling public. These innkeepers, too, provided the post-chaise service, perhaps originally as a 'feeder' service to places away from the post-roads. To judge by its proliferation, the chaise was a wise investment.

For all purposes, therefore, passenger transport and the inn were intimately - connected. The inns supplied the wants of all from the humblest pedestrian to the richest post-chaise passenger. Innkeepers ran many of the coach services and virtually all chaises, legally or otherwise. Horse-hire was in their hands, and although, according to Fielding, horses were preferred to passengers and especially to pedestrians 'as they dirty no sheets', the humblest post traveller

found food, and shelter at the wayside inns.[1] Baskerville was finally justified in saying that inns were 'the chief things which a traveller is to look after that hath money in his pocket'.[2] They were, after all, the beginning, middle and end of every journey.

1. H. Fielding, Tom Jones, Book VIII, Chapter 8, Vol. 3, p. 206.
2. Hist. MSS. Comm., Portland, II, p. 293.

CHAPTER 6: THE TRANSPORT INDUSTRY II. THE CARRIAGE OF GOODS

Three alternative systems for the transport of goods existed in the period 1660-1760: river navigation; coastal shipping; and land carriage, either by packhorse or by waggon. After the end of our period, a fourth was added: the canal. As has already been seen, water transport possessed considerable advantages over land carriage. Its efficiency in terms of horse-power was very pronounced, and the scanty evidence which exists on carriage rates suggests that this advantage was clearly expressed in prices.[1] The researches of Willan and Jackman have shown clearly that all three methods of transport expanded prior to the onset of the 'Industrial Revolution'. Indeed, in spite of all the obvious advantages of water carriage, Defoe in the 1720s rated land carriage far above water in importance, calling it the 'medium of our inland trade'.[2]

The co-existence of these three systems clearly reflected divisions of function and of geography. Grain wherever possible was carried by water, and livestock overland whereby 'they carry themselves to market'.[3] Coal, too, was carried normally by water, and the early development of the north-eastern coalfield has been explained largely in terms of easy access to coastal shipping and subsequent river systems.[4] Inland, local

1. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 25f. On rates of carriage, see Jackman, Devel. of Transp., pp. 206-210, and below, pp. 240f.
2. D. Defoe, Complete English Tradesman, XVII, p. 260.
3. A. Smith, Wealth of Nations, Book II, Chapter 2.
4. J. S. Watson, The Reign of George III, p. 27.

pits supplied wants. Coventry was supplied with coal transported from small local pits by waggons and packhorses in 1738.[1] But such cargoes were unusual for land carriers, except on a purely local basis. Their staple cargoes were such low-density goods as wool and cloth and high value manufactures and processed agricultural goods like tallow and soap. For all these reasons, and because of these distinctive functions, a recent researcher has suggested that the railway had very little impact in national terms on agriculture.[2] The cost-advantages of water transport for grain outlived the advent of the railway. Until very late, land carriage played virtually no part in the long-distance transport of agricultural staples.

The inn was primarily concerned with land carriage, although some certainly had connexions with river navigation. Clustered around the great London quay of Queen Hithe were numerous inns and alehouses used by the boatmen and traders dealing in the great meal market.[3] The White Bear, St. Toolie's, combined the functions of alehouse and wharf when leased in 1720.[4] The coal wharves of eastern London in the eighteenth century were run by the landlords of contiguous inns.[5] While they did not play so great a part as in the packhorse and waggoning trades, London inns and alehouses contributed to the organisation of the city's river transport during our period.

1. G. E. Pakenham, Diary, 27 September 1738, p. 65.
2. G. R. Hawke, Railways and Economic Growth, 1840-70 (Oxford, 1970).
3. J. Strype, Survey of London, III, p. 218 (1720).
4. Daily Courant, 5925, 17 October 1720, p. 2.
5. See below, Chapter 10, pp. 373 f.

The same held true in the provinces. In Oxford riverside inns, such as the Old Star, served both barges and passenger-carrying boatmen. These Oxford boatmen offended the City Justices in 1673 by going on the water on Sundays, the occasion of 'many Disorders and much Debauchery'.[1] Brentford's Goat Inn served similar purposes.[2] Two houses in Bath had more intimate connections with water transport, both recalling the use made of inns by coaches and waggons. In 1744 S. Tomkins advertised his 'Bath and Bristol wherries' which carried both goods and passengers between the two towns in about four hours. Passengers were charged 1s. for the journey - roughly half the cost of the passage by stage-coach. He carried freight and parcels between the two towns and urged shop-keepers to send their goods via his new and improved services. Places were taken and goods received at the Golden Boy, Swan Lane, Castle Street Bristol, and at the Admiral Vernon, Bath, the termini of the service. The Ship, Horse Street, Bath performed similar functions for 'Palmer and Co's' barges in 1755.[3] Riverside inns therefore performed exactly similar functions to the coaching inns. The absence of comparable volume of evidence would however suggest that this aspect of trade was both rarer and less important to inns. Innkeepers certainly did not enter into water transport with the same spirit as they did

1. Oxford City Records, Petty Sessions Register, Trinity 1673, O. 5. 11.
2. Middx. R. O. 'Brentford Journal', 13 February 1711, p. 592.
3. Bath Journal, 16, 11 June 1744, p. 4. In 1745 two advertisements for Bath and Bristol coaches gave fares of 2s and 2s 6d for the journey. Both in Bath Journal, 49, 28 January 1745, p. 4.

coach and chaise business.

But inns were equally if not more concerned with the carrier and waggoner as with the coachman. The system in which they were organised was similar, and a parallel expansion of services took place throughout our period. Three major sources allow some analysis of the changes in carrier services up to 1715 and 1720. The first fixed point is Taylor's Carriers Cosmographie of 1637 which outlined the system of road carriage and listed the major services.[1] Unfortunately this did not claim to be a comprehensive list of carrier services, but forms a basis for comparison with the later listings by Hinde (1715) and 'G. J. Gent.' (1720).[2] Regrettably, because of the intransigent nature of the data in these sources, no more than very crude estimates may be made of the progress of land carriage in this period.

Two of the three lists, those of 1637 and 1720 were either explicitly or implicitly selective in their coverage. The 1715 list openly claimed both comprehensiveness and improved accuracy. The subtitle read:

'..... Being a New and perfect ACCOUNT of all the Stage Coaches, Waggoners, and Carriers, that comes to London, Westminster, and Southwark, from all Parts of England and Wales; The Places they Inn at, and the Days of their Setting out; All the Mistakes that were committed in the last are Here carefully and Exactly Rectified.'[3]

Taylor's list of 1637 provides the most useful basis for comparison, since although avowedly selective, its pattern of selection was very

1. J. Taylor, The Carriers Cosmographie (London, 1637).
2. A. Hinde, The Merc. and Trad. Necess. Comp.; Great. Brit. Vade Mecum, by G. J. Gent.
3. A. Hinde, Merc. and Trad. Necess. Comp. (1715), p. 1.

similar to that of the 1715 list. Both excluded minor towns and towns served by subsidiary services from provincial termini; both listed services by carriers and waggoners from London alone. On this basis they were comparable.

As in the case of stage coaches, there are two possible bases for comparison: Crofts' method of numbers of towns served; and the crude 'service quotient' representing the numbers of services per week per inn by area.[1] Table 20, p. 216 presents the comparison of Taylor and Hinde on these two criteria. Both methods of comparison are suspect. Because of Taylor's overt selectivity, many of the towns listed in 1715 may in fact have been served by waggons or carriers in 1637 but were unrecorded. Similarly the duplication of identical services in the 'quotient' columns may have distorted either or both figures upward. Nevertheless, with these caveats in mind, there is clear evidence of substantial growth between 1637 and 1715 in this sector of the transport trade.

The pattern of this growth accords with that shown by stage coach services. The greatest quotients of services were confined to the 'inner' ring of counties which were closest to London. It was among the outer members of this group that the greatest aggregate, if not proportionate, growth was shown between 1637 and 1715. The figures of Table 20 confirm the earlier suggestion that both Cornwall and Herefordshire were relatively isolated counties during our period, and,

1. See above, Chapter 5, pp. 177 f.

Table 20: Carrier and Waggoner Services from London, 1637 and 1715.[1]

COUNTY	TAYLOR 1637		HINDE 1715	
	No. Towns	Service Quotient	No. Towns	Service Quotient
Berkshire	6	11	20	31
Buckinghamshire	9	24	22	32
Cheshire	3	8	9	7
Cornwall	0	0	0	0
Devon	3	4	6	10
Dorset	6	5	7	9
Gloucestershire	7	14	13	16
Hampshire	1	1	19	30
Hereford	1	1	4	3
Middlesex	-	-	-	-
Oxfordshire	10	25	14	23
Shropshire	2	4	9	8
Somerset	6	11	10	12
Staffordshire	3	4	5	7½
Warwickshire	3	9	15	26
Wiltshire	3	4	7	9
Worcestershire	4	9	13	8
WESTERN ENGLAND	67	134	173	241½

1. Calculated from Taylor, Carriers Cosmographie and A. Hinde, Merc. and Trad. Necess. Comp.

in all probability, for long after its end.[1] Equally, the relative stagnation in terms of service quotients of the major maritime and riverside counties confirms the evidence of Table 10. It supports the tentative conclusion that the period 1660 to 1760 was one which not only saw substantial developments in internal transport, but also that overland and water transport were rationalised. Expanded river navigation and coastal shipping produced a relative decline in land transport - other than for feeder services - in the relevant counties.[2] Equally the marked growth in the quotients of 'outer' home counties' showed the expansion in real terms of London's commercial empire and of its consumable region.[3] This would further substantiate the pattern of rationalisation of market counties suggested in Table 2.[4]

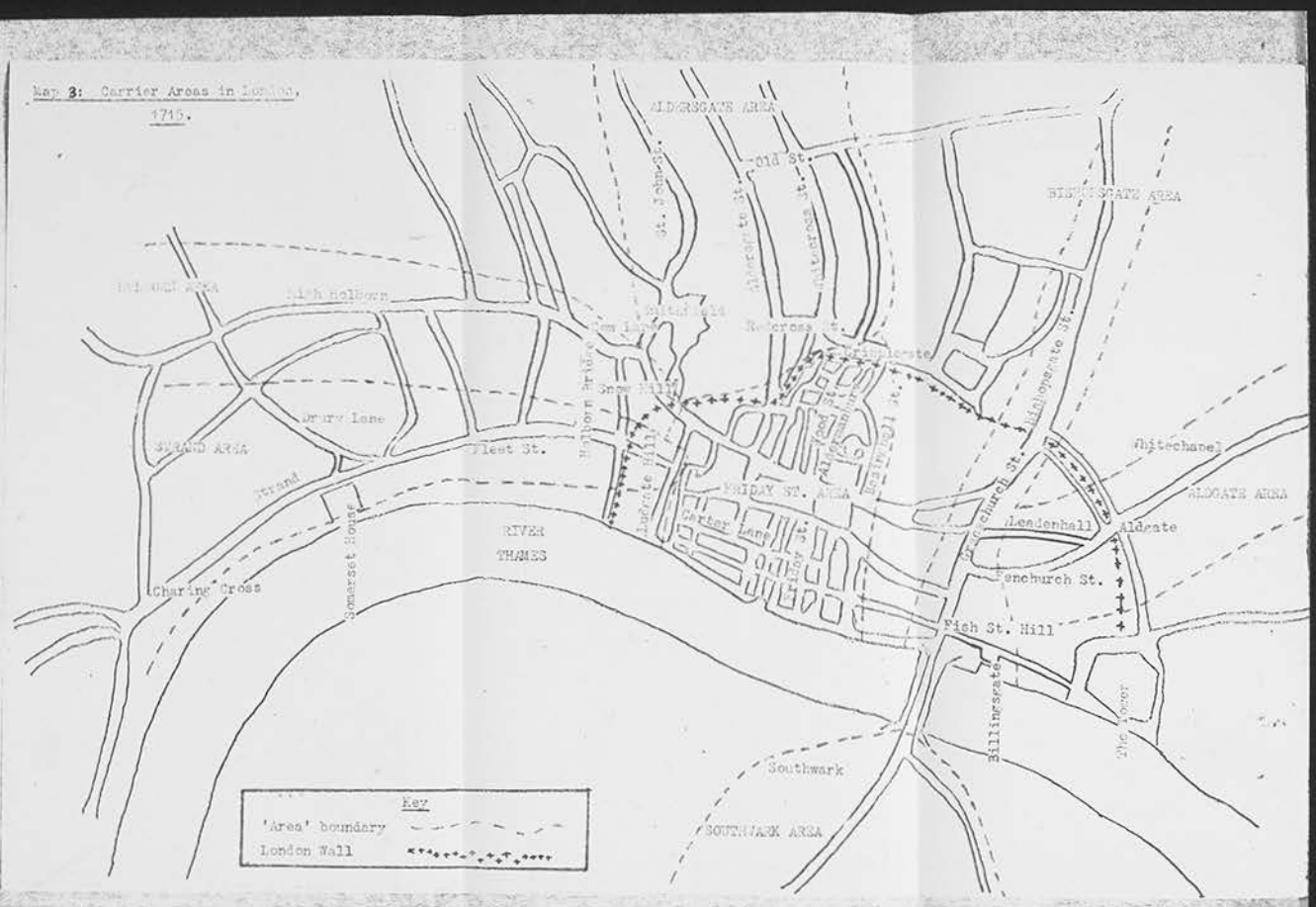
The actual system of carriage employed during our period again approximated to that of the railway. Taylor and Hinde both identified the major trunk routes over which at their respective times and days, waggoners or carriers ran. Beneath this superstructure of 'national' carriers lay smaller men - 'branch lines' - who delivered from trunk routes to cross roads and out-of-the-way towns and villages. Below these again lay the unidentifiable small men who delivered from town to hamlet or village to town. This indeed was the system identified by Taylor in 1637:

1. For discussion of Hereford, see above, p. 127.
2. See above, pp. 128.
3. See above, pp. 23 f.
4. See above, pp. 30 f.

Table 21: Regional Carrier Services from London, by Areas, 1715.

	ALDERSGATE AREA		STRAND AREA		BISHOPS-GATE AREA		FRIDAY ST. AREA		ALDGATE AREA		HOLBORN AREA		SOUTHWARK		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Northern Home Counties	68	38.0	8	29.6	31	39.2	4	5.1	39	97.5	22	32.8	0	0	172	27.9
South East	0	0	0	0	4	5.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	133	91.7	137	22.3
South and West	3	1.6	19	70.4	0	0	26	33.1	0	0	35	52.2	12	8.3	95	15.4
South West	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	12.7	0	0	5	7.5	0	0	15	2.4
East Midlands	67	36.6	0	0	30	38.0	3	3.8	1	2.5	2	3.0	0	0	103	16.7
West Midlands	18.5	10.3	0	0	0	0	12.5	15.9	0	0	1	1.5	0	0	32	5.2
Cheshire and Lancashire	10	5.6	0	0	0	0	11	14.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	3.4
East Anglia	1	0.5	0	0	14	17.7	0	0	0	0	2	3.0	0	0	17	2.8
Yorkshire and Lincolnshire	11.5	6.4	0	0	0	0	5	6.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	16.5	2.7
North	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	8.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	1.1
TOTAL	179	100	27	100	79	100	78.5	100	40	100	67	100	145	100	615.5	100

1. Regions as above, Table 17, p. 178. Source: Merchants and Traders Necessary Companion, (21-5)


Map 3: Carrier Areas in London, 1715.
ALDERSGATE AREA
Old St.
St. Johns
Aldersgate St.
Goswell Rd.
Red Cross St.
Whitecross St.
Ludgate Hill
Fleet Ditch
Fleet Bridge
Fleet St.
Drury Lane
STRAND AREA
Strand
Somerset House
RIVER
THAMES
Charing Cross
FRIDAY ST. AREA
Carter Lane
Old Change
Cheapside
Lombard St.
Gracechurch St.
Leadenhall
Aldgate
Whitechapel
ALDGATE AREA
Fenchurch St.
Fish St. Hill
Billingsgate
Southwark
SOUTHWARK AREA
Key
'Area' boundary
London Wall

'Others may object and say that I have not named all the townes and places that Carriers doe goe unto in England and Wales: To whom I yield, but yet I answer, that if a Carrier of Yorke hath a letter or goods to deliver at any towne in his way thither, he serves the tune well enough, and there are carriers and messengers from Yorke to carry such goods and letters as are to be post any waies north, broad and wide as farre or further than Barwicke .....'[1]

The organisation of the carrying trade was one of concentric circles, the radii diminishing from the national by stages to the most local extent.

As in the coaching trade both inns and innkeepers were involved at every stage. They were the transfer points of goods from carrier to carrier and also received and delivered goods from and to customers. London inns were identified by area to regions in the carrier services they 'inned'. Thus for carriage to the West Country, goods were sent to the inns of either the Friday Street or the Holborn Areas; Southwark had a virtual monopoly of services to Sussex, Surrey and Kent; between them the Friday Street and Aldersgate Street areas catered for Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and the north.[2] The regions served by areas of London approximated as in the case of coaches to the lines of the major roads out of London.[3] That this system did not exist solely in the Companion, is proven by other literary sources. Reference to the 'Holborn Area' in Table 21 shows the marked concentration of the area on western routes. Part of that area, Holborn Hill,[4] was described by

1. Taylor, Carriers Cosmographie.
2. See above, Table 21, p. 218.
3. See above, p. 178.
4. See Map 3, p. 219.

Strype in 1720 as a wide road frequented by coaches and waggons going west or north.[1] External evidence therefore confirms the general pattern shown by Table 21.

The functions played by the innkeeper in the carrying trade were similar to those in the coaching business. It was essential for the carrier's business to have a secure system for accepting goods, and, occasionally, passengers. This was provided by the agency of the innkeeper acting as book-keeper. William Thatchet of the Talbot, the Strand, served the 'Gosport Caravan' in this way in 1710.[2] Richard Forster, who kept the George Inn, Snow Hill, was book-keeper to the extensive waggon services of William Mountain in 1750. He gave the usual 'constant attendance' for waggons to Monmouth and all points west, and for Minchinhampton, Cirencester, Fairford and the rest of southern Gloucestershire.[3] Part of the book-keeper's function was also that of an information office. Prospective customers for the carrier would want to know costs, dates and times which he alone was in a position to give. George Paschall's Derby, Leicester and Loughborough waggons in 1730 used the landlord of the Bull and Mouth, Bull and Mouth Street 'to give answers' as well as receive and deliver goods.[4]

Such, therefore was the intimate relationship between carrier and innkeeper. That this relationship should be one of mutual trust and

1. J. Strype, Survey of London, III, p. 282.
2. Daily Courant, 2578, 27 January 1709/10.
3. Gloucs. Journ., 1471, 4 September 1750, p. 4.
4. Daily Post, 3445, 3 October 1730, p. 2.

responsibility was ensured by the common law obligations incumbent on the original receiver of goods for carriage. 'Common' callings accepted full liability for goods: a 'common' innkeeper was responsible for travellers' luggage, and a 'common' carrier for the goods he carried. By acting as agent for the carrier, the innkeeper assumed at least partial responsibility.[1] Perhaps the vagaries of this relationship produced the changes of inns which carriers frequently advertised in the first half of the eighteenth century. One such advertisement in 1705 made this clear. Thomas Walthew, of the Swan Inn, Holborn Bridge, was warehouse keeper for many years to W. Tarrant and W. Dore, carriers to Marlborough and Devizes, as well as to carriers of goods to Bristol and Bath. The relationship of trust between Walthew and Dore had gone, since the former had suffered damage by 'false swearing' from Dore. He therefore refused to be accountable for goods delivered to his inn for Dore in order 'to prevent future frauds'.[2] Similar breakdowns in mutual trust may have lain behind William Mountain's move from the George, Snow Hill, to the Bull, Friday Street in 1750,[3] and that of George Paschall's Derby Waggon to the Bull and Mouth in 1730.[4] Carriers' movements from one inn to another may have had deeper significance than might at first appear.

Part of this intimacy between carrier and innkeeper was reflected

1. Crofts, Packhorse, Waggon and Post, pp. 29-31.
2. Post-Man, 1555, 20 November 1705.
3. Gloucs. Journ., 1471, 4 September 1750, p. 4.
4. Daily Post, 3445, 3 October 1730, p. 2.

in the latter acting to assist in the recovery of lost property. Clearly with shared responsibility, both had an interest in the recovery of such goods. Thomas Woodeson, of the Cross Keys, White Cross Street, offered a reward of £20 for the securing of any of five highwaymen or the goods they took from a wagon between Hatfield and Welwyn in 1690.[1] A similar reward was offered by James Fry at the Bell Inn, Friday Street in 1725. A 'fine rough white-list' piece of Gloucester cloth had been lost, and a reward of five guineas was offered, 'no question asked' for its recovery.[2] Not only did the innkeeper co-operate in securing the recovery of 'lost' goods from waggons, but also of the horses which drew them. Horse-theft was a common offence in our period, and the descriptions of the animals stolen perhaps substantiates the suggestion made above that at this time there was a growing shortage of draught animals in England.[3] One case serves to illustrate this point. An advertisement of 1710 offered a ten shillings reward for the recovery of a Bay gelding, of 13 hands, 'blind in one eye' which had been 'ridden away' from Widow Shaw's Farnham waggon near Knightsbridge. The reward was to come from the Widow herself in Farnham or from Thomas Warner at the Peacock Inn, Clare Market.[4]

The innkeeper's responsibility extending into active help in the recovery of goods lost by the carriers he served was also to hold goods delivered in London from the provinces until the addressee

1. London Gazette, 2539, 10 March 1689/90.
2. Mist's Weekly Journal, 30, 20 November 1725, p. 3.
3. See above, pp. 206f.
4. Post-Man, 1856, 7 March 1709/10.

collected them. Such goods were naturally varied, but commonly included money or valuables. John Roche sent £8 to the Bell, Wood Street in 1678 by James Davis, carrier, which was ultimately to be given to Richard Dalton, paymaster to the King's Own Troop.[1] In 1730, Mr. Hill, 'Surveyor of his Majesty's Land Carriages' confiscated a box of smuggled diamonds from the Landlord of the Star Inn, Southwark.[2] In contrast, Randall Sanderson sent a present of a flitch of bacon to Williamson, which was to be delivered at the Saracen's Head, Snow Hill in 1678.[3] The goods which innkeepers held for carriers were clearly as varied, in nature and in value, as the trade itself.

The London inn of the carrier therefore performed the several necessary functions of booking office, warehouse, parcel office and even safe deposit. Its keeper shared fully in the bailment responsibility for the security of goods accepted, carried and received and in consequence needed a relationship of trust with the carrier he served. When this broke down, the carrier sought an alternative hostelry, - one which was still in the area associated with the region to which he carried.

A final refinement developed in London was the clear social division that arose between the carrier and the coaching inns. While the majority of London inns listed in the Merchants and Traders Necessary Companion of 1715, served both coaches and carriers, a clear

1. Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom., Charles II, 408 No. 53, p. 557.
2. Weekly Journal, 286, 12 September 1730, p. 2.
3. Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom., Charles II, 402 No. 130, p. 64.

majority specialized in one branch of trade. Thirty London inns offered more than twenty 'services' each week, and of these leading inns, fourteen were engaged solely in either coaching or carrying. Overall, the inns specializing in one trade were in a clear majority. Taking those houses that were engaged to the extent of 90% services in one branch of trade, the division is clear from Table 22, below.

Table 22: The Specialization of London Inns in Coach or Carrier Traffic[1]

CLASS OF INN	COACHES ONLY	CARRIERS ONLY	90% COACHES	90% CARRIERS	BOTH	TOTAL
SERVING WESTERN ENGLAND	18	21	10	3	14	66
SERVING REST OF ENGLAND	17	28	0	0	25	70
TOTAL	35	49	10	3	39	136

Clearly, with over 70% of all inns concentrating on one trade, the social divisions seen in the architecture and management of inns found further expression.[2]

Provincial inns performed identical functions, although, as in the case of stage-coaches, area groupings were unnecessary within provincial towns. Only the size of London required so refined a system. The provincial inns which performed the functions of their London counterparts were identified with the carrying trade rather than any particular

1. As above, calculated on basis of service quotas from Merchants and Traders Necessary Companion (1715).
2. See above, pp. 113 f.

area or region. The same social division apparent in Table 22, appeared in miniature in the provincial towns. It has already been seen that only a small number of the inns in major provincial towns like Oxford and Northampton were directly concerned in the stage coach business.[1] The same applied in the case of carriers. Only three inns in Northampton, three in Bath and two in Oxford can be directly linked in this way to carrier services.[2] As in the case of coach-services, this direct involvement in the transport industry was not a necessary function for a successful inn.

While these provincial inns performed functions identical to those of London inns, within a quite different framework, they too exhibited the divisions demonstrated in Table 22. In none of six major provincial towns for which evidence exists did carriers and coaches use the same inns. In Bath, stage-coaches frequented the White Hart, the Christopher, the Swan, and the Bear; carriers the Pelican, the Ship, and the Unicorn. In Oxford the Flower de Luce and the Crown catered for carriers, while the New, Bear and Star inns received coach services. Carriers in Northampton used the Dolphin, the Fleece and the Lion and Lamb, while coaches inned at the George, the Red Lion and the White Lion. Travelling the same routes, but inning at each terminus at different inns, coach and carrier traffic was at once separate and

1. See above, p.184.
2. This and subsequent discussion is based on the analysis of the literary references and newspaper advertisements from the London and Provincial Press.

united.

The two often touched at the stops en route. At small villages like Tetsworth and Nettlebed the opportunity for refreshment under separate roofs did not exist - hence the making of distinct reception rooms under the same roof. The large Swan Inn at Tetsworth, was involved in post-chaise hire in addition to coach and waggon business. In 1720 a trunk of valuables was stolen from a waggon which spent the night at this inn.[1] Even so, the various classes of traveller remained separate, or at least co-existed unhappily under the same roof. Smollett's Captain Weazel and his lady found great difficulty in securing a supper and room separate from their fellow waggon travellers. The innkeeper 'could not afford them a room by themselves; and as for supping, he had prepared victuals for the passengers in the waggon, without respect of persons'.[2] Further evidence of the lowly status accorded waggoners by coach and chaise travellers is to be found in the Hon. Mr. Burton's Journal for 1759. Travelling between Chester and Whitchurch he dismissed the George Inn at the latter place as 'indifferent, resorted to only by waggoners'.[3] At both termini and intermediate stops, therefore, the social division was maintained.

The functions of the inn used for intermediate stops were broadly similar to those which they performed on behalf of coach services.

1. Daily Post, 203, 26 May 1720, p. 2.
2. T. Smollett, Roderick Random, p. 57.
3. Hon. Mr. Burton, Journal, 1759, f. 3.

Innkeepers en route accepted and delivered goods, perhaps from a national to a regional carrier, accepted bookings for passengers, and provided rest and shelter to both waggoners and the travellers they carried. In 1754, the 'Stage Waggon' from Bristol to Oxford run by John Carter of Fairford and Richard Woolford of Cirencester took up goods and passengers at the above towns, with Gloucester, Sodbury, and Tetbury in addition.[1] In 1751, Samuel Manning, carrier of the City of Gloucester, started a by route service to run between the Bear, Minchinhampton, to Bristol. En route he called at the Falcon, Painswick, and at the Strond Turnpike House. At each of these he picked up parcels, but to avoid disputes with other carriers urged customers to direct packages 'By Manning'.[2] At every point of his route therefore the carrier was in intimate contact with innkeepers, who provided the essential infra-structure for the success of his business.

Unfortunately for the historian, these same waggoners and carriers have left remarkably little trace of their activities, bar the advertisements for their services, and the occasional entry in the records of Quarter or Petty Sessions. Some evidence may be adduced from legislation, but as with most other business enterprise before 1760, these men have left virtually no accounts or journals upon which a close analysis of ownership and finance can be based. Such evidence as

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 53, 4 May 1754, p. 4.
2. Gloucs. Journ., 1515, 9 July 1751, p. 2.

exists, from newspapers, therefore biases the following account towards the eighteenth century.

Of some 35 separate waggoners and carriers of whom evidence is available for the years 1659-1760, most were involved with innkeepers in the manner described above. But, unlike the stagecoach services, the carriage of goods seems to have remained outside the ownership of innkeepers. For some reason, innkeepers did not extend their association with the trade as far as actual possession.[1] Why this was so is difficult to say. A priori one would assume that given the responsibility involved in accepting goods for carriage, the innkeeper would be inclined to seek the fullest returns for the risks he accepted: the returns accruing to the owner of the enterprise. But this clearly did not happen. One reason may well lie in the types of inn to which these carriers resorted. While they undoubtedly generated custom, they added no aura of 'quality' to the house at which they inned. The inns they used were often lesser ones, well below the coaching inns in the commercial hierarchy. The landlords of these inns possibly lacked the capital resources to take over the carriers they served. They were by their resources destined to serve rather than master.

The answer to this problem undoubtedly lay in the resources available not so much to innkeepers but rather to the carriers themselves.

1. Based on newspapers as above, with, in addition, Hist. MSS. Comm.... Rev. Joseph Greene, April 7, 1739, p. 45; Warwick R. O., Quart. Sess. Ond. Bk., Easter 1659, p. 80; Soms. R. O., DD/SA 5 C/1193, p. 81.

The reasons for their retention of independence in contrast to the coachmen were historical. Unlike the stage coach business, packhorses and waggons had been organised on a commercial basis for at least a century before 1660, and probably for very much longer.[1] Nor were packhorses and waggons as subject to fashionable alterations or the quest for ever-increasing speed which contributed to the engrossing of the coaching trade in the hands of leading innkeepers. Thus the older-established carrier families engaged in a long-established trade possessed in all probability the resources to maintain their independence and even to dictate to the innkeepers who served them. Their expertise in the trade no doubt discouraged even the wealthy innkeepers from engaging in competition. The lead established by the major carriers was secure from rivals. In addition to the economic unreality of attempting to compete on such unequal terms, the social sanctions implicit in the divisions of inns may have further deterred the most able innkeepers from entering the carrying trade. It was perhaps respectable to serve coaches, less so to serve as a carrying inn, and near scandalous to enter the carrying trade. The link between innkeepers and the carrying trade was therefore that of profit, not property.

Of partnerships and combines in the carrying trade, there is therefore relatively little evidence. However such material as does

1. See Crofts, Packhorse, Waggon and Post, Chapter 1.

exist makes it clear that the carrying trade was primarily a family business. Equally clear are the high costs of waggons and their equipment. Certainly those carriers whose business was on a 'national' or a 'regional' scale were necessarily substantial men. Crofts indeed argued that the probability of incurring losses ensured that appointed common carriers were very substantial men.[1] The great majority of those who advertised their services in the newpapers of eighteenth century England clearly possessed more than a single stage waggon or train of horses, and ran more than one service. Henry Floode, carrier of Nuneaton, possessed both cart and waggon, in 1658 when both were destroyed by fire.[2] George Paschall ran waggon services to Derby, Leicester and Loughborough in 1730, using several waggons. In addition, he offered 'jockey-waggons' - presumably the carrier's private-hire equivalent of the post-chaise - to the three towns and 'places adjacent'.[3] Joseph Clavey succeeded his father Abraham in a substantial Somerset carrying business in 1744. He ran three waggons to London each week and in addition served, locally, Shepton Mallet, Crewkerne, Dinder, Wells, Oakhill, Rode and Bruton. It was a long-established business, for Abraham Clavey had carried on trade for over 40 years.[4] A similarly successful carrier, William Mountain [of Monmouth?] ran at least three waggons in 1750.[5] It is clear, therefore

1. J. Crofts, Packhorse, Waggon and Post, p. 31.
2. Warwick R. O., Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., Easter 1659, f. 80.
3. Daily Post, 3445, 3 October 1730, p. 2.
4. Bath Journal, 32, 1 October 1744, p. 3.
5. Gloucs. Journ., 1471, 4 September 1750, p. 4.

that most of these 'national' carriers were substantial men who needed at least two waggons or trains of horses to offer a reasonable service.

That these owners of two or more waggons were substantial men is clear from the little evidence that exists of the value of waggons and horses. The unfortunate Henry Floode of Nuneaton whose 'household stuff and all his barning and stabling thereunto adjoining, being in all about ten bays of building, together with his hay, fodder, cart, waggon and gears thereto belonging' was consumed by fire in 1658, suffered to the extent of £120 or more.[1] A waggon and its contents set on fire by a careless smoking passenger at Aston Rowant, Oxfordshire, in 1710 was valued at £400. As in Floode's case, the Justices opened subscriptions for the relief of the unfortunate carrier.[2] In neither case can one be sure of the exact value of the waggon and horses, but it is clear from probate inventory material that the farm cart was a lowly possession compared with these judgments.[3] The only real valuation of a carrier's business dates from 1755, when Mr. Anthony Skinner, the proprietor of the Oakingham [sic] stage waggon put his business up for auction. Even this was, unfortunately, unclear. The waggon with '4 very good able horses' was for sale, but a footnote added: 'There is two large tilted waggons used in the business to be sold.' These, or the business, were to be put up with a reserve of £40, and a 10/-

1. Warwick, R. O., Quart Sess. Ord. Bk., Easter 1659, f. 80.
2. Soms. R. O., DD/SA 5 C/1193, p. 81.
3. Collections for a Hist. of Staffs., 4th series, V, nos. 54, 72, 178, 188.

advance on each bid.[1] If the former, then Skinner was indeed a substantial man. Perhaps final, but non-quantitative, proof of the size and resources of such carriers, beyond that of the cost of their waggons, came from the Bath Journal of 1745. A 'Mr. Clevey' of Frome - presumably Joseph son of Abraham, who had succeeded to the business in 1744 - lost 21 waggon horses in a fire at an Amesbury inn. Not only did he possess a very large number of horses, but such were his resources that he survived their loss and continued to advertise his waggon services.[2]

Beneath these major national carriers came the smaller men who delivered goods cross-country, to towns which lay off the main roads, or at base those who delivered to villages and hamlets. Of such men very few traces remain, but the scanty evidence does suggest interesting, if uncertain, conclusions. It is clear from contemporary correspondence and journals, that even national carriers and coach services were something of a mystery to many travellers: coachmen and waggoners had to be 'sought out'. Perhaps the best indication of this came from Joseph Greene, who in 1744 asked a relative about a cross-carrier:

'Let me also know whether there is a regular Carrier goes from Litchfield to Derby, and who, and when, and where about it.'[3]

Some part of this difficulty may have stemmed from the fact that

1. Read. Merc., 505, 7 July 1755, p. 3.
2. Bath Journal, 58, 1 April 1745, p. 7. Subsequent issues repeat Clevey alias Clavey's advertisements. The duration of these makes it improbable that the fire forced him out of business.
3. Hist. MSS. Com., Joseph Greene, 27 June 1744, p. 56.

some cross-carriers, and probably most local carriers were in fact by-employed. Possibly as in early modern Spain, agriculture determined seasonal fluctuations in land carriage.[1]

If indeed carrying was to some extent a by-employment, then it was at the local level that non-specialist carriers existed. Here perhaps they were associated both with farming and with small itinerant trading. Greene commented on two such men in 1780:

> 'We have two Hucksters or fruiterers living at Welford [-on-Avon] who I suppose are partners: They seldom fail of going hence to Birmingham once a Week with Fruit, Calves, and whatever they can get Carriage of, and commonly load back with coals for our own Neighbourhood: their names are John Boyce and William Sandford .....'[2]

There must have been thousands of such men serving communities all over England in similar ways. Too small to come to the notice of Justices under the regulations covering land carriage, and presumably respectable enough to escape censure as 'tinkers' or 'pedlars' they provided the vital feeder functions for both producers and consumers in the developing economy.

Presumably, levels of literacy among such men were relatively low. Certainly very little material is available for their study. But one remarkable day book of a Maidenhead carrier exists, covering the period 1660-85. Significantly the spare pages of the book were used for rough accounts by William Redding, innkeeper, between 1740-47.[3] If the

1. See, for Spain, D. R. Ringrose, 'The Governments and the Carters in Spain, 1476-1700' Econ. Hist. Rev. XXII, (1969) pp. 45-57, and idem., 'Transportation and Stagnation in 18th Century Castile' Journ. Econ. Hist. XXVIII (1968) pp. 51-79.
2. Hist. MSS. Com., Joseph Greene, 8 June 1780, p. 131.
3. Berks. R. O., D/EX 43/1.

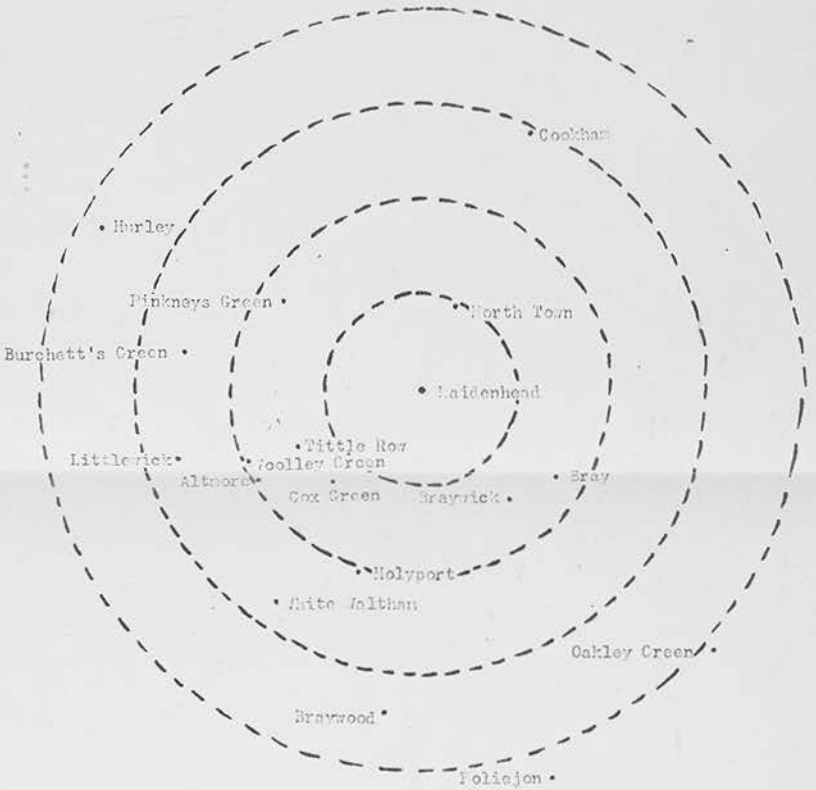
association was accidental, then it was peculiarly apt. The carrier was one of the small men discussed above. His jottings are on no value in establishing rates of carriage, but plotted out as in Fig. 8 p. 236, demonstrate the very small geographical span of his activities. Based on Maidenhead, he rarely travelled to customers more than four miles distant, his most extreme journey being to Binfield, some 6½ miles from the town. Although there is no evidence of the goods he carried, nor of the occupations of his customers, one may safely assume that they were farmers and small manufacturers, to whom the carrier delivered goods and parcels from Maidenhead and from the greater carriers of London and elsewhere, and on whose behalf he took goods and commodities for market. Men such as this provided the vital base network for the national carriers.

More information exists about developments and costs in land carriage during our period, but barely enough to allow sure conclusions about the relative roles of waggon and packhorse in the system. Although there was surprisingly little contemporary interest in this question - indicated by the absence of discussion - secondary authorities are agreed in the dominant role of the packhorse. Mantoux cited the radical combination of Francis Place and the Webbs for his fairly dogmatic comment:

'Until the middle of the eighteenth century pack-horses remained the universal means for the conveyance of goods inside the country.'[1]

1. P. Mantoux, Indus. Revol., p. 111, n. 1.

Fig.8 Diagram of the Area of Operation of the Maidenhead Carrier, 1660-85.



SCALE: 2cm./mile.

Without his usual clarity of chronology, Jackman agreed generally with Mantoux's conclusions:

'What were the means by which this carriage was effected? A certain amount of it was done by the employment of stage waggons or "caravans"; for we have already noted the extent of this business from the pages of John Taylor, the water-poet, and others after his time. But contemporary evidence points very strongly to the conclusion that by far the larger portion of the carrying was done by packhorses.'[1]

While, in the absence of more certain evidence, Jackman's conclusion was probably right, the impression created by these accepted secondary authorities has led to the under-rating of the importance of the waggon in the inland transport system. The evidence of the two listings of carriers and waggoners which differentiate the two classes of carriage in the years 1715 and 1720 show that on the basis of 'service quotients' waggons accounted for the larger proportion.[2] But there were very pronounced regional differences. The figures of Table 23 below broadly substantiate the regional variations suggested with very little evidence, by Crofts:

'It would appear therefore that a line drawn across the map from the Wash to Gloucester, and thence curving southward to Weymouth, would include within its arc all the districts where heavy wheeled traffic was well established in the early seventeenth century; and it may be worth noting that this area corresponds almost exactly with that in which, as N. Gras has shown, corn was cheapest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.'[3]

But Crofts exaggerated the importance of waggon traffic, particularly

1. W. T. Jackman, Devel. of Transp., p. 141.
2. A. Hinde, Merc. and Trad. Necess. Comp., Great. Brit. Vade Mecum.
3. J. Crofts, Packhorse, Waggon and Post, p. 8.

in Kent, Surrey and Sussex, and, to a lesser extent, in the East Midland region.

Table 23: Distribution of Carrier and Waggon Services, by Regions, 1715, on Basis of Service Quotients.[1]

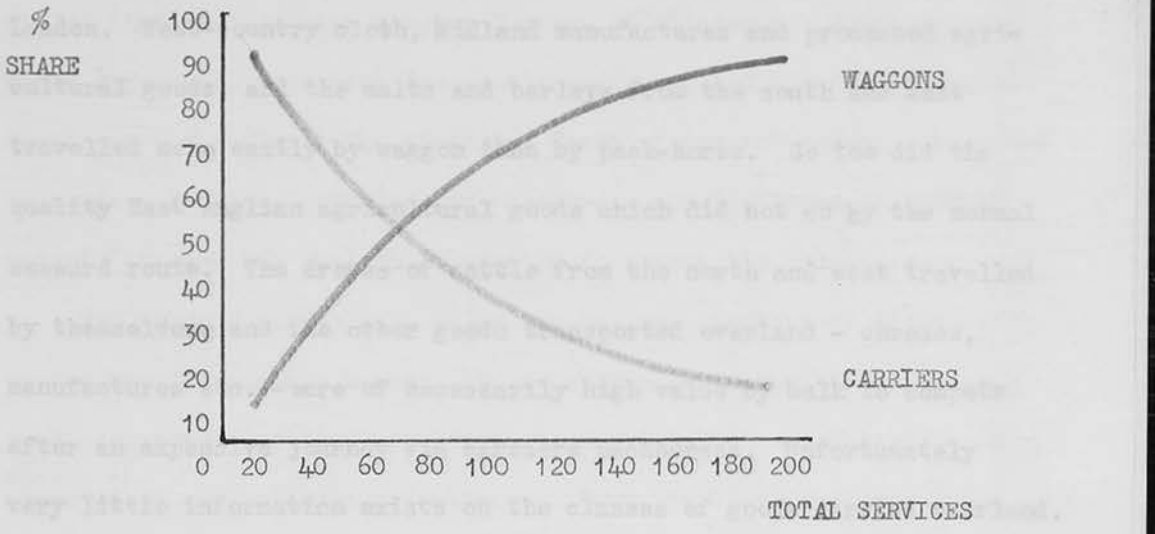
REGION	CARRIERS		WAGGONS		TOTAL SERVICES	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Northern Home Counties	35	18.9	151	81.2	186	100
South East	120	87.0	18	13.0	138	100
South and West	22	19.6	90.5	80.4	112.5	100
South West	17	51.5	16	48.5	33	100
East Midlands	61	51.7	57	48.3	118	100
West Midlands	16.3	56.6	12.5	43.4	28.8	100
Cheshire and Lancashire	14	66.7	7	33.3	21	100
East Anglia	2	11.1	16	88.9	18	100
Yorkshire and Lincolnshire	10.3	72.1	4	27.9	14.3	100
North	7	100	0	0	7	100
TOTAL	304.7	45.0	372	55.0	676.7	100

While the regional distribution of the two types of carriage in Table 23 clearly reflect contrasting road conditions, to explain them solely in these terms would be naive. While neither the source nor the derived statistics are entirely satisfactory, it is clear that there is

1. Calculated from A. Hinde, Merchants and Traders Necessary Companion (1715). It will be noted that the regional totals show some variance from those of Table 21, p. 218. This results from essential double counting of entries which record a single combined carrier and waggon service. Alternatively, lower totals above reflect the many entries which Hinde did not annotate with the normal 'car' or 'wag'. While this variation undoubtedly casts doubt on the validity of the derived figures, their broad consistency suggests that they are nevertheless of considerable value.

some degree of association between the aggregate service quotient and the share of each type of land carriage. This relationship can be represented in sketch form as in Figure 9 . below. It will be seen from the above figures and from Fig. 9 carriers provided a decreasing proportion of total services as those services increased in number.

Fig. 9 % Share of Carriers and Waggoners in Total Services.[1]



Only the south-east region, in which the roads were notoriously bad, provides an exception to this trend.[2] The waggon was in reasonable road conditions a much more efficient means of carriage per horse power unit, even allowing for the requirements of maintenance. Where

1. Sources, see above, p. 238, Table 23 and note.
2. Lacking more certain information, Defoe suggests this at many stages of his narrative. The following are references to his main adverse comments on the roads of south-eastern England, Tour, I, pp. 125-126, 129, II, p. 128.

possible, therefore, given adequate demand for land carriage and suitable roads, the waggon was the chosen means of conveyance.[1] The difficulties of using the waggon for long-hauls in the north, the west and the south-east therefore determined the large share of traffic enjoyed by the carrier in those regions.

A further explanation for this regional variation may have lain in the different commodities that each region sought to transport to London. West-country cloth, Midland manufactures and processed agricultural goods, and the malts and barleys from the south and west travelled more easily by waggon than by pack-horse. So too did the quality East Anglian agricultural goods which did not go by the normal seaward route. The droves of cattle from the north and west travelled by themselves, and the other goods transported overland - cheeses, manufactures etc. - were of necessarily high value by bulk to compete after an expensive journey via carriers packhorses. Unfortunately very little information exists on the classes of goods carried overland. Fragmentary evidence does not help resolve the problems. Quite simply, for both physical and economic reasons, certain goods could be transported by waggon and not by pack-horse, and vice-verda. The figures of Table 23 therefore represent the interaction of these intangible factors.

While on good roads there must have been some cost-differential

1. For a discussion of the relative merits of the two modes of carriage, see above, Chapter 1, p.22.

between carriers and waggoners, contemporary evidence of the price of land carriage does not seem to show this. One of a series of public and general acts, passed parallel with the early private turnpike bills, the Act of 1691 'for the better repairing and amending the Highways, and for Settling the Rates of Carriage of Goods' required Justices to fix rates at each Easter Session.[1] With minor amendment, it remained in force throughout our period. Almost inevitably, the Justices fulfilled their duties with varying degress of diligence. Where assessments were made, they were frequently confusing and clearly reflected local carrier custom. The historian faces winter and summer rates, two varieties of mile - computed and measured - and two types of hundredweight (100 and 112 lbs) in attempting to assess the assessors.

The figures of Table 24 below present the fragmentary assessments on the best comparable basis. It was generally impossible to correct such assessments as those of Somerset, Warwickshire and Wiltshire for computed as against measured milages. Thus the final assessment for Wiltshire in 1755, showing an apparent fall in the rate, may in fact have been an increase by the change from computed to measured milage. The only county which explicitly used the 100 lb. hundred-weight - Somerset - allowed satisfactory corrections to be made. Perhaps, given the very scanty data, and the somewhat questionable basis for comparison, the most remarkable feature of Table 24 is its uniformity

1. 3 William and Mary c. 12 (1691) section xxiv.

and consistency. Where figures exist, most benches seem to have allowed similar summer/winter differentials, and in general all counties exhibit the same stability in rates over time. They accord generally with those calculated by Jackman for the years 1749 onwards.[1] Rates of carriage apparently displayed the same stability as those for passenger travel over a long period.

It is less easy to be sure of the realism of these assessments. The act of 1691 was passed explicity to counter conspiracies of carriers to raise rates.[2] The sporadic incidence of assessments in our five counties may therefore represent attempts by the bench to counter upward pressure on rates. It is impossible to gauge their success.

In conclusion, therefore, the period 1660-1760 was marked by the expansion of carrier services employing inns as their bases; by the great expansion of waggons in the carrying trade than packhorses; and by a presumptive stability in the cwt./mile rates charged for these services. It is therefore possible to make some assessment of the relative roles played by water and land carriage in this period. Defoe after all, did not count river navigation as the equal of land carriage:

> 'In a word, our river navigation is not to be named for carriage with the vast bulk of carriage by packhorses and by waggons; nor must carriage by pedlars on their backs be omitted.
> This carriage is the medium of our inland trade; and, as I said, is a branch of the inland trade itself.'[3]

1. W. T. Jackman, Devel. of Transp., Appendix 7, pp. 716 f.
As already discussed above, Jackman's mileages are more than questionable.
See also, W. Albert, Turnpike Road System, Chapter 8, pp. 168 f.
2. 3 William and Mary c. 12 (1691), para. xxiv.
3. D. Defoe, Complete English Tradesman, Vol. XVII, p. 260.

Table 24: Assessed Rates of Carriage from Five Western Counties, 1692-1755.[1]

Date	County	Rate (d) per cwt/mile	Summer or Winter	Journey Specification
1692	Oxon.	0.66	S	Oxford to London
"	"	0.80	W	"
1693	Soms.	0.56-0.78	-	London to any part of Somerset
1694	"	0.74	-	London to 'frontier' town of Somerset
"	"	0.67	-	each additional 20 miles
1694	Warks.	0.7	-	for each 60 miles
"	"	0.6		for each additional 10 miles
1696	"	0.8	S	for each 60 miles
"	"	1.0	W	"
"	"	0.6	-	for each additional 10 miles
1696	Wilts.	0.6	-	per 20 miles [computed?]
1710	Soms.	0.74		London to 'frontier' town of Somerset
"	"	0.67		for each additional 20 miles
"	"	0.89		Bristol - Taunton
1710	Warks.	0.7		per 60 miles
"	"	0.6		for each additional 10 miles
1716	Herefs.	0.75	W	for parcels less than 6lbs., London - Hereford
"	"	2.25	W	" " over " "
"	"	0.64	S	" " less than " "
"	"	1.50	S	" " over " "
1719	Wilts.	0.6	-	per 20 miles [computed?]
1721	Herefs.	1.0-5.0	S	parcels less than 6 lbs., London - Hereford
"	"	0.64-1.50	S	" 6 - 16 lbs. "
"	"	0.64	S	" over 16 lbs. "
1729	Wilts.	0.6	-	for each 20 miles [computed?]
1755	"	0.55	-	for each 20 miles [measured]

1. Figures calculated from county assessments on same mileage basis as employed in Tables 18 and 19 above, pp. 193, 195 . Sources as follows: Oxford, Oxford City Records, Petty Sessions Register, Trinity 1692, 0.5.12; Somerset, Soms. R.O., Quart. Sess. Min. Bk., Ilchester, Pasch., 1693, 1694, 1710, vol. 3, f. 217, 261, vol. 4., f. 39; Warwickshire, Warwick R.O., IX, Easter 1693, and 1694, pp. 74, 127-128, Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., 8, f. 47, Easter 1710, 10, 8 June 1731; Wiltshire, Wilts. R.O., Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., 5, Easter 1696, 6, Easter 1719, 6, Easter, 1729, Hilary 1755; Hereford, Herefs. R.O., Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., Easter 1716, f. 6, Easter 1721, f. 76.

The high proportion of waggons serving the southern counties and the midlands reflected two factors: the need for bulk-carriers for processed cereals and similar commodities; and the ability of land transport to compete with water in an area in which trade was 'quick'. Such navigable rivers as the Thames, the Severn, the Tone and the Avon clearly provided this area with efficient carriage for bulky goods, but road improvements allowed faster if more expensive land carriage to play a large part. It is interesting to note that prior to 1750 the areas in which waggons played the largest role were also those for which the greatest number of Turnpike Acts was passed.[1] Thus for the bulk of Western England the period prior to 1760 was one in which road and river transport expanded together, and in which, in all probability, the 'social saving' of river improvement was smallest. The land carriage system, and the inns that were its base, competed most successfully in the area which comprised the core of the 'pre-industrial' economy. To the north and west, areas worst-served by navigable rivers, and which were also least passable to the bulk-carrying waggon, the 'social saving' of another form of water-transport, the canal, must have been immense.

Thus for an area within perhaps 120 miles of London, lying to the west and north of the city, land carriage competed successfully with water transport in the conveyance of high-value processed or manufactured goods. But in another sector, that of livestock, water

1. Jackman, Devel. of Transp., Appendix 13, pp. 742-743.

played no part. The drovers of England and Wales were only eclipsed by the railway and the steamship. In this trade, too, the inn played a major part.

The pattern of this droving trade is already well-known. The work of Hughes and Skeel on the Welsh drovers, and of Haldane on Scotland, summarized in Map 4, p. 246, describes the major routes taken by the drovers of cattle passing first to the great grazing areas of midland and northern England, and eventually to the fattening areas of Middlesex, Surrey, Essex and northern Kent.[1] As far as possible, the drovers avoided the main roads and travelled instead on what have been called the 'green roads of England'.[2] Both themselves damaging main roads, and finding fodder more difficult to secure, these drovers had everything to gain from these ridgeways and trackways.

But the drovers have left relatively few traces in the historical records of Western England. The routes and markets, identified by archaeological or literary sources tell relatively little of the story. Many other important aspects of droving still require further study. In a way, some of the drovers' functions were similar to those performed by common carriers. In our period they were frequently used to transmit moneys from the provinces to London. Strangely, the system was limited to the Welsh, rather than the Scots drovers. The conversion of moneys into cattle gave security against robbery and the cattle by virtue of

1. P. G. Hughes, Wales and the Drovers; C. Skeel, 'The Cattle Trade Between Wales and England ...'; A. R. B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland (London, 1952).
2. R. H. Cox, The Green Roads of England, (London 1914) pp. 1 f.

Map 4: Droving and Grazing Trades of England, Wales and Scotland in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

(After P.G. Hughes, C. Skeel and A.R.B. Haldane)



this became 'walking money'.[1] The logical conclusion of the system came in 1799 with the foundation by David James and Company of the Black Ox Bank at Llandovery. The currency was backed by oxen.[2] The inns were the points at which such monies, realized from the sale of cattle, were deposited for the creditor to collect. In London these were the inns grouped around the great cattle market of Smithfield: particularly the Bear and Ragged Staff which was at once the emblem and the inn of the drovers.[3]

In the provinces the functions of drove inns were more commonplace. The natural and pronounced tendency from the mid seventeenth century to the coming of the railway was towards the restriction of pasture for these travelling droves. By the later eighteenth century the restrictions of wayside pasture forced changes in the drove routes of Scotland.[4] In England, presumably, competition for the land led earlier to the drovers seeking alternatives to dependence on wayside pasture alone. A clause in the enclosure statute of 1597 may have indicated early pressure on wayside pasture. Land lying within two miles of Watling Street, between two and five miles from Dunstable parish church was exempted from compulsory conversion to tillage. This may well have been intended to secure a halting-place for drovers travelling to the cattle markets of south-eastern England.[5] Two inns,

1. P. G. Hughes, Wales and the Drovers, Chapter II.
2. A. R. B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland, p. 183.
3. E. Ward, The London Spy, (London, 1700) Part V, pp. 120-121.
4. Haldane, op. cit., p. 208.
5. Quoted in Thirsk, Agrar. Hist., p. 230.

one in Lincolnshire and one in Warwickshire, both great grazing areas in our period, clearly offered pasturage to these herds. The Red Inn, Langtoft, Lincolnshire, with eighty acres of adjoining pasture was offered to lease in 1705. The extent of the pasture alone suggested grazing for drovers, but the advertisement made this more clear, stating that the inn was 'fit to entertain Drovers, Coaches and Waggons'.[1] In 1740 a new inn was opened at the hamlet of Upton, near Edge Hill in Warwickshire. Offering the normal facilities to 'gentlemen, travellers and others' a footnote added 'There is likewise conveniency for lodging of cattle'.[2] Elsewhere, the tacit evidence of massive pastures attached to inns indicated some degree of involvement in the droving trade.[3] Many of the hamlets whose inns were dutifully listed in 1686 and 1756 by the War Office agents must have depended on drovers for their custom. Those 'out of the way' tippling houses so disliked by Justices made a virtue of their obscurity by catering for the drovers who avoided the main public roads.

These conclusions are supported by other less direct evidence. The inn sign 'Drovers Arms' noted above in Smithfield also occurred in Ruthyn, Knutsford, Maenclochog, Ludlow and Guildford.[4] In Warwickshire and Yorkshire, the inn sign of 'Durham Ox' had a clear significance. The Pound Inn, at Leebotwood, near Church Stretton, also suggested its association with the droving trade in its name.[5] Some innkeepers, like

1. Postman, 1395, 19 April 1705, p. 2.
2. Gen. Eve. Post., 993, 5 February 1740, p. 3.
3. See above, Chapter 3, pp. 107 f.
4. P. G. Hughes, Wales and the Drovers, Chapter III.
5. Hughes, Wales and the Drovers, Chapter IV.

James Istance of South Cadbury, were also themselves drovers or graziers.[1] Others, particularly those within range of London, offered alternative markets to the official, and restricted, channels.[2] Inns were therefore connected with the droving trade in several ways. They were vital to drovers in providing pasture in an ever more restrictive climate. After the end of our period, particularly up to 1815 when demand for cereals was buoyant, their importance increased. Drovers and inns remained connected until the link was dissolved, as was the old system of marketing, by the railways and the steamship.

Finally, the postal services were based on inns. As has been seen, many innkeepers received salaries and associated benefits in return for the onerous duty of being a postmaster. In practice, the unity of inn and post-office stemmed not from physical but from personal factors. The unifying force was the innkeeper not his inn. When such post-masters moved premises the post office normally moved with them. In Maidenhead, where in the 1750s William Green's Sun Inn was also the post office, the George Inn, occupied in 1677 by Mr. Bennett, was an earlier site for the office.[3] The Saracen's Head, Northampton, became the post house in 1747 when Joseph Robinson, post-master, removed from the Peacock on Market Hill.[4] Elsewhere, because of the personal nature

1. Somerset R. O., Quart. Sess. Min. Bk., 7, Bridgewater Trinity 1751, f. 189b.
2. P. V. McGrath, 'The Marketing of Food ...' Thesis, p. 166 and below, Chapter 8.
3. Post Boy, 214, 17 September 1696, p. 2.
4. Northampton Mercury, vol. 27, no. 40, 5 January 1747, p. 160.

of this unity, it was felt necessary to advertise that the Post-Office 'is and will be kept' at a certain house. Prospective lessees were advised that they would enter postal service with the inn. Such was the case with the leasing of the Griffin Inn, Nantwich, in 1748[1] and with that of the Antelope Inn, the Key [Sic], Poole in 1751.[2]

The main business of the post-office of our period lay, of course, in the carriage of letters and the ubiquitous Gazettes and in the provision of horses for those 'riding post'. Its association with the carriage of goods or packages was minimal. But in one way the fumbling attempts of legislation to make the office at once more monopolistic and more efficient created around the inns of England a more interesting unofficial system of carriage. From the top, the Post Office was ineffectual for the bulk of our period since its highest office lay 'off the usual route to the summit of power where the ambitious briefly paused and the majority came to rest'.[3] Thus reform came only gradually under those two great provincial figures of Ralph Allen (between 1720-65) and John Palmer (1784 onward).

The result of the restrictive inefficiency inside the Post Office - worst before Allen in the absence of cross posts - was the survival of the coach and carrier as unofficial - and illegal - postman. The problem was crystallized in the statute of 1711 'for establishing a

1. Adam's Weekly Courant, 795, 19 July 1748, p. 4.
2. Salisbury Journal, 718, 21 October 1751, p. 4.
3. K. Ellis, The Post-Office in the 18th Century, pp. 14-15.

General Post Office'.[1] It is generally accepted that this act was motivated not so much by the desire for efficiency as by the need for war finance. The farming of the major post roads was a further symbol of this. As in the case of postchaises, the unrealistic restrictions of this statute served to generate the very clandestine traffic it sought to eliminate.[2]

Thus unofficial carriage of packets and letters by coachmen, carriers and waggoners continued throughout our period. Thus many more innkeepers than the 239 in 1690 were de facto if not de jure involved in postal services.[3] Many of the carriers for whom innkeepers accepted parcels also carried small packages and even letters. It was after all a naturally associated function. The evidence for the survival of such private postal services is plentiful. On the reverse of countless manuscript letters curious directions demonstrate their existence:

> 'To
> Mr. Richard Greene at
> Mr. Jenks an Apothecary in ye Wild Copp
> Shrewsbury
> to go by the Wherry from Worcester
> Carriage paid to Worcester.'[4]

As late as 1772, carriers from the Falcon, Southwark were serving as unofficial postmen. John Baker received with his wife's 'new bombazine

1. 9 Anne c. 11. The Statute might better be dated 1710.
2. See J. T. Foxell and A. O. Spafford, Monarchs of All They Surveyed, Chapter II, and H. Joyce, The History of the Post Office to 1836 (London 1893), Chapter IX.
3. Foxell and Spafford, Monarchs of All They Surveyed, Chapter I.
4. Hist. MSS. Com., Joseph Greene, 26 March 1737, p. 35.

sack' a letter from Mr. S[winburne] requesting a copy of his brother's - Sir John Swinburne's - will. This was duly despatched next day to Horsham by the same coach.[1] Joseph Greene indicated the refinement of such a system in 1739. The Birmingham inn of an unreliable private carrier, Dyde, clearly had some sort of pigeonhole system for packets and letters arriving by unofficial postmen alias common carriers.[2]

Such men as Dyde obviously had their costs in terms of reliability of service: but perhaps contrasted well with the official alternative. On the grounds of cost, the unofficial carrier probably had the advantage, and his survival was ensured by the greater convenience of his service. The very regularity of the postal services on the main roads was their fault. As Whitley had seen in 1677 - and as was only gradually corrected by Allen - the timing of official posts departing say, Monday and Wednesday from London to Exeter, left four other days of the week open to unofficial competitors.[3] Thus both official and clandestine postal services operated from, and were almost wholly dependent on the inn.

While much attention in the period 1660 to 1760 has been given to the growth of waterborne transport networks, it is clear that there was a parallel expansion of land carriage. For certain commodities and in certain areas land carriage was clearly a competitor with water

1. W. S. Blunt, 'Extracts from John Baker's Horsham Diary' Sussex Arch. Coll. LII, (1909), 25 February 1772.
2. Hist. MSS. Com., Joseph Greene, 7 April 1739, p. 45.
3. St. Martin's-le-Grand, VIII (1898), p. 289.

transport, rather than a residual means of carriage. Large areas of Western England, which produced both manufactures and processed agricultural goods, were well-served by both forms of transport. But in these areas, the most efficient form of land carriage, its spread facilitated by the turnpikes, the waggon, may well have been the dominant means. The conclusions of this survey of the transport of goods in Western England are that not only was land carriage a vital if not dominant force throughout most of our area, but also that within most of 'champion' England the waggon rather than the packhorse was the more important form of that carriage. It was not therefore accidental that in 1776 Adam Smith chose the waggon with which to contrast the efficient water-carriage he advocated.[1]

In all these forms of transport, the inn was involved. A few, as in Bath, Bristol and Oxford were important staging-points in water carriage, but in general inns provided for seamen and river navigators supplementary facilities for rest and refreshment. The wharfs and warehouses along the quaysides provided the primary means for the successful conduct of waterborne trade. But in the carriage of goods overland, from the smallest feeder service to the long-distance carrier, the inn was the basic and essential unit of organisation. Although innkeepers did not in general extend their involvement in the trade as far as ownership, they provided the vital infrastructure for the carriers and waggoners they served. Although such carriers were substantial enough

1. A. Smith, The Wealth of Nations, Book I, Chapter III.

businessmen to retain independence in this contract with the publican, none were of any great scale. Thus before 1760 this true 'marriage' of inn and carrier provided the latter with essential services which his enterprise was as yet too small to afford for itself. In return, the innkeeper benefited from the custom generated and provided by the carriers.

The inns thus served as warehouses, booking offices, stables, restaurants, banks, and recovery offices in their association with the carrying trade. Through the drovers they were tied to the other overland trade in livestock. For the drovers they provided pastures and, perhaps, acted as banks for the monies transmitted on the hoof. Such men as the carriers and the drovers were also the media via which small packages, parcels and private letters were transmitted. The inefficiency and restrictiveness of the Post Office, particularly prior to 1720, provided no satisfactory competition for such pirate services, and the statute of 1711 may even have given them a fillip. Thus the familiar unity of Post Office and inn was given a new significance by the private and clandestine services which also used the inn as the base for their operations.

Thus, in spite of the weaker bond between inn and carrier than between inn and coach or chaise, the system of land carriage was centred on the inns in Western England. So too were they involved to a lesser extent in water-transport and in the droving of livestock and in the postal services, both official and clandestine. The reasons for

this union are clear. First, the inns provided essential services used by and needed by all of the above: resting, eating and drinking place. Innkeepers were also experts in the provision of fodder for livestock of all kinds, either draught animals or fatstock destined for human consumption. The close association if not duality of farm and inn at once made the institution flexible geographically - they could survive in 'out of the way' places to serve drovers - and by virtue of the by-employment cheap - for use as the agency of carriers of all types. The breadth and scale of its involvement as an institution in the carriage of goods were the proof of the success of the blend.

CHAPTER 7: THE INN AS SALEROOM

As the main unit in the passenger transport and in the land carrying trades, the inn was naturally a centre for the transmission of news and information. It had also a clear and respected function in various legal and administrative fields as the meeting place of adjourned and petty sessions, of Commissions of Sewers, and of Enclosure Commissioners and Turnpike Trustees. For the last, innkeepers acted as the agents who accepted tenders for toll leases. Perhaps pre-dating all of these functions, though probably developing from the natural advantages listed above, the inn evolved into the principal sale-room and exhibition hall of provincial England in the period 1660 to 1760. Both by auction and by private tender, land, houses, the stocks of shops, books, furniture and paintings were both advertised and sold through the inns. Even in London, where both specialized agents and agencies existed for such sales, inns, together with taverns and coffee houses, played their part.

Land was of course the main hallmark of status and the main capital good for the whole of our period. The clear evidence that its purchasers and owners were prepared to accept real rates of return perhaps one or two per cent below those available from 'the stocks' demonstrated the potency of its lure.[1] But the long-term trend was

1. H. J. Habakkuk, 'The English Land Market in the Eighteenth Century' in J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann, Britain and the Netherlands, (London, 1960), pp. 170-171.

for a more rational investment option. The 'stickiness' of landed returns in the middle of our period must take at least part of the blame for the 'jobbing mania' of the years 1711 and 1719-20. Producer's prices and, ultimately, rates of returns to landowners, only started to improve from the later 1730's, and took another two decades to attain the level current before the down turn in prices of the mid-seventeenth century.[1]

In spite of this there was a clear premium on the price of land. While mortgage rates and real rates of return on land both tended to fall in this period, the current price of land, at 20 or more years purchase, reflected persistent if not rising demand. The solution to this problem lay on the side of supply. Conditions in the mortgage market, when contrasted with the early seventeenth century, helped indebted landlords to hold on to their estates. At the same time, the growth of strict settlements during the later seventeenth century restricted the likelihood of ruining an estate by extravagance.[2] The number of estates coming on to the market therefore tended to fall, particularly from the 1730s onward.[3]

This trend in turn assisted the development of such specialised services as those of the estate agent, the scrivener, the surveyor and the auctioneer. Cheaper credit instruments, the desire to maximise returns when conditions generally determined their fall, and technical

1. Phelps-Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries ...' Essays in Econ. Hist. II, p. 185.
2. H. J. Habakkuk, in Britain and the Netherlands, p. 162.
3. Ibid., p. 165.

improvements in surveying, all helped the growth among landlords of the idea of 'improvement'. In this process, the services of the surveyor were essential.[1] In this he was associated closely with the estate agents who took over the major managerial functions from their employing landlords, and whose expertise - still at this period mainly in the law - ensured an element of continuity in the running of estates.[2] But at the same time, the reduction in the supply of, coupled with the persistent demand for, land for purchase, assisted the development of the modern type of estate agent.

The functions of such men were first performed by the London scriveners. Although the scriveners have been seen traditionally as early bankers and the fore-runners of the stock-broker, Professor Coleman has shown that they acted as estate agents, mortgage brokers and as middlemen who procured advances for investment.[3] But both in London and in the provincial towns, there were others who engaged in the activities of the modern estate agent. From the newspaper advertisement of the 1730s, 1740s and 1750s it is clear that the attorney, and not the scrivener, was the dominant intermediary in the great majority of Sales. Mr. Thomas Veale, Attorney, of Plymouth, acted as the agent for the sale of over 150 acres of land at Davidstow, Cornwall,

1. F. M. L. Thompson, Chartered Surveyors, the growth of a profession, (London, 1968), Chapter 2.
2. Thompson, Chartered Surveyors, p. 29; E. Hughes, 'The Eighteenth Century Estate Agent' in H. A. Cronne, T. W. Moody and D. B. Quinn, Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of James Eadie Todd (London, 1949).
3. D. C. Coleman, 'London Scriveners and the Estate Market in the Later Seventeenth Century' Econ. Hist. Rev. IV (1951) pp. 221-230.

in 1748.[1] The estates and seat of John and Robert Owen of Presaddfed, Anglesey, were sold through Mr. Henry Bowdler, Attorney of Shrewsbury, in 1760.[2] By the end of the eighteenth century the 'attorney' had been transformed into 'solicitors and agents'.[3] Perhaps the passing through probate settlement of estates into the hands of attorneys stimulated their more general interest in agency.

But the attorneys did not have the field to themselves. Other businessmen, and by the 1750s still more specialized agents, entered the property market. Bridging the gap between the twin descendants of the scrivener, the broker and the estate agent, were the bankers. The main agents for the property of the bankrupt John Garway of Worcester were the London bankers, Messrs. Vere, Asgill and Wickenden. Perhaps the enormous size of the estate - at least 350 acres of tillage, pasture and hop ground, with lands to the value of over £350 p.a. - determined the involvement of a banking firm.[4] Professional auctioneers too entered the agency business towards the end of the period. Richard Way of Thame, acted in this respect for numerous properties in the 1750s.[5] A Mr. Heath, of the Two Golden Balls, Long Acre, auctioned a large house and grounds in Richmond in 1750.[6] The modern association

1. Sherborne Mercury, 588, 23 May 1748, p. 3.
2. Whitehall Evening Post, 2226, 24 June 1760, p. 3.
3. R. Robson, The Attorney in Eighteenth Century England, (Cambridge, 1959), p. 152 and note.
4. Lond. Gaz., 9016, 22 December 1750, p. 3.
5. See, for example, Jacks. Oxf. Journ. 368, 17 May 1760, p. 3.
6. Whitehall Even. Post., 684, 30 June 1750, p. 2.

of the business of auctioneer and estate agent was thus developing in the earlier eighteenth century.

But the provision of such services was by no means confined to those occupations the modern mind would most readily associate with estate agency. Perhaps indicative of the great need for such services, but most probably the result of personal contacts and associations, men of varied callings performed the functions of estate agents. Mr. James Smith, Woollen Draper, dealt with the sale of a 'Pleasant Summer Seat' in Hertfordshire in 1690.[1] Mr. Gibson, a druggist, answered enquiries about the reversion of a freehold manor, near Swindon in September 1730.[2] In 1752 one Samuel Stork, merchant, of London performed similar functions for the Copyhold estate of the manor of Chalfield [?], which included a dwelling house to which was attached, 'a workhouse for carrying on the cloathing trade'.[3] Two final cases illustrate this point and suggest future development. Mr. John Read, Surgeon, of Spitalfields, acted as an estate agent in 1753.[4] His was perhaps the least probable entry to the service. But more significant, from 1757, Oxford at least had one man who proclaimed himself an 'estate agent' in this sense. John Chilton advertised his proposed services in the Oxford Journal at the beginning of October that year.[5]

1. Lond. Gaz., 2529, 3 February 1690.
2. Lond. Gaz., 6919, 22 September 1730, p. 3.
3. Salis. Journ., 748, 1 June 1752, p. 3.
4. Read. Merc., 421, 3 December 1753, p. 3.
5. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 231, 1 October 1757, p. 3.

By the end of our period, perhaps, the independent estate agent, was beginning to establish himself.

If the proliferation of such middlemen brokers during the second half of our period may be taken as a sign of changed conditions in the land market, in which supply was contracting, then so, too, was the growth of auction as a means of selling land. But such conditions were not permanent. The late 1720s to the 1740s were, it has been suggested, years of depression in agriculture. This depression was characterised by falling rentals, rent arrears and concessions to tenants by landlords.[1] Conditions were not conducive to investment in land. Thus the general trend of contracting supply of land for sale, combined with a growing appetite for it among the commercial classes, may have been reversed during these two decades. Possibly the social concept of land as a kind of 'superior good' may have mitigated the worst effects of depression on land values. Further research is necessary to determine the real extent and intensity of this 'depression'.

Even less certain is the history of auction as a means of sale of land or other goods. The first lawbooks devoted to its study did not appear until the second quarter of the nineteenth century and its earlier history is obscure. In the sale of land it may well have been used in the disposal of 'delinquents' estates.[2] If so, then it

1. G. E. Mingay, 'The Agricultural Depression, 1730-1750' Econ. Hist. Rev. VIII (1956) esp. pp. 323-324.
2. Mr. (then Professor) H. J. Habakkuk suggested this to me. I have been unable to find evidence to substantiate it.

reflected a market glutted with property carrying a high risk. Similar, but less risky, supplies may therefore have aided its growth as a means of land sale when it first appeared regularly from the 1730s onward.

While the depression may have led to the use of auction as a means of land sale, other factors probably made a greater contribution to its development. The worst years of the depression were the 1730s. It may have helped to expand the supply of land in the market, but demand was persistent. This demand, together with the development of the London and the provincial press, and the growth and improvement of passenger transport, sustained the use of auction in land sales, and permitted the development of specialist auctioneers.

Whichever of these factors was the real determinant, the home of the auction of land or goods was, as now, the inn. Between 1730 and 1760 some fifty estate auctions were held at the inns of London and Western England. In many of these fifty cases, more than one parcel, farm or estate was involved. The pattern may be distorted by the use of newspaper sources, but these cases perhaps suggest that the depression was but a small factor in the growth of auction as a means of land sale. The chronological distribution of cases would suggest that excess of demand rather than of supply determined the growth of the estate auction. In the period 1730-39 there were only 4 cases;

1740-49, 7; 1750-55, 18; 1756-60, 21.[1] The expansion in the 1750s may only be a function of increased opportunity to advertise in the press, but most probably indicated an expansion of activity in the estate market determined by a growth in demand which made auction an attractive form of sale.

The estates subject to such sales support this view, since over time both their scale and their occasion changed. Only one of the four cases from the 1730s occurred because of bankruptcy - for the others no reason was given. Of these others, one, held at an inn in Dunsford, Devon in 1730, offered exceptionally favourable terms.[2] Only two of the sales in the 1740s occurred as a result of the death of the owner. One, cryptically suggested a depressed market. In a sale on a 21 year lease of 'all tithes, profits and endowments' of the Rectory of Elerky [Veryan], held at the Red Lyon Inn, Truro, in July 1740, it was advertised that 'The Best bidder will have a reasonable Price'.[3] But seven of the eighteen cases 1750-55 occurred expressly as the result of bankruptcy or death, as did eight of twenty-two between 1756 and 1760. While such evidence is not sufficient to prove the point, it does at least suggest that reasons other than

1. Based on advertisements from the following journals: London Gazette, London Chronicle, General Evening Post, Whitehall Evening Post, London Evening Post, Daily Journal, Public Advertiser (all London newspapers), Brice's Weekly Journal (Exeter), Gloucester Journal, Jackson's Oxford Journal, Reading Mercury, Salisbury Journal, Sherbourne [sic] Mercury.
2. Brice's Weekly Journal, 257, 6 February 1730, p. 4.
3. London Evening Post, 1975, 10 July 1740, p. 3.

depression determined the growth in auction sales at the end of our period. It also suggests that the two extraordinary events of bankruptcy and death provided a substantial amount of marketable land.

Many of these auction sales held in the inn were of substantial estates. That this was so lends further support to the idea that there was a shortage of opportunities for investment in agriculture. The depression would have hit small proprietors hardest. One large estate was sold in 1733, supposedly a central year of the depression. At the Crown Inn, Bisley, Gloucestershire the estate 'lately belonging to Mr. John Mills', comprising between 400 and 500 acres, was auctioned on 19 July.[1] While this case is not clear enough to be counted as a sale resulting from death, the phrase is strongly suggestive of the fact. The most substantial sale of the 1740s, held in 1748 at the Angel Inn, Totnes, Devon, comprised the fragmented properties of a Gilbert Yard of Sharpham. For sale were 13 acres of cider orchard, 275 acres of arable land and meadow, and tenements of annual value of over £200.[2] Two further cases from the 1750s illustrate the growth of such auctions for integrated properties of great size. Under a bankruptcy commission the estates of John Garway were auctioned in 1750 at the Hop Pole, in Worcester, one of the leading inns of the city. Several lots were for sale, in all 100 acres of hop ground, 250 acres pasture and tillage, and other estates to the annual value of over

1. Gloucs. Journ., 583, 19 June 1733, p. 2.
2. Sherb. Merc., 588, 23 May 1748, p. 4.

£350.[1] Even greater was the sale in 1760 at the Grange Inn, Lincoln's Inn Fields. For auction was the 'entire and improveable estate' of the manor of Elmdon, Warwickshire, comprising the advowson of the rectory at £100 p.a., tenanted farms let at £597 18s. per annum, and all of the 1200 acres of the Parish except 10 acres of 'meadow in an extreme corner'. An additional advantage lay in the proximity of the estate to the Coventry to Birmingham turnpike.[2] Few estates could have been more attractive to potential investors. The use of auction to sell such estates clearly supports Habakkuk's view that the buoyancy of the land market was determined by the contracted supply of suitable properties.[3]

But the inn and its keeper played a further role in auction sales, beyond that of hospitality to the sale itself. Inns were suitable for use as salerooms because in general they combined large rooms, with ample accommodation for the traveller, and were in addition second only to the churches as landmarks. Perhaps for the last reason, they were employed as means to advertise sales, but more important, to provide catalogues and surveys of estates for sale. If the scrivener, the auctioneer, and the estate agent helped improve the efficiency of the land market, so, too, did the newspaper and the inn.[4]

1. Lond. Gaz., 9016, 22 December 1750, p. 3.
2. London Chronicle, 489, 14 February 1760, p. 157.
3. H. J. Habakkuk, 'The English Land Market ....' Britain and the Netherlands, p. 165.
4. Anyone reading such provincial newspapers as Jackson's Oxford Journal, will be struck by the very wide area covered in its advertisements. Professor A. M. Everitt found the same with the Northampton Mercury. Further research on the spheres of influence of such journals would be most illuminating.

The inns provided information beyond that which any newspaper could convey to its readership. Indeed their use as agencies for the vendor in both auction and private tender probably antedated the development of the provincial press. The Manor of Alford, Somerset, which contained the 'famous Castle Cary Waters' was offered for sale by private tender in April 1716. Surveys of the Manor were available at inns and posthouses, in Wells, Bath ('Mr. Ralph Allen'), London, Taunton, Shepton Mallet, Mere, Talaton, Tavistock and Exeter, in addition to Mr. Burdock's Apothecary shop in Bristol.[1] Enquirers after the lease of Moreton Hall, Shropshire, in 1739 were advised to call at houses in Wrexham or Ellesmere or at Mr. John Bondle's, the Three Tuns, Oswestry.[2] Similar details of the Manor of Westcott, near Swindon, were available in 1730 at the place of sale, the Three Tuns and Crown, Marlborough.[3] As the use of such printed catalogues and surveys grew, so did the use of the inn as the point of their distribution. Even small and relatively localised sales were thus advertised by 1760. Details of six assorted lots offered for sale on 9 June 1760 at the Red Lion, Aynho, Northamptonshire, by Mr. Way, Auctioneer of Thame were available at his house, the house of an attorney in Winslow, and at the inns in Buckingham, Bicester, Brackley, and Woodstock.[4] Before the development of branch offices of such auctioneers and estate agents,

1. Exeter Merc., vol. II, no. 60, 17 April 1716, p. 2.
2. Adams's Weekly Cour., 326, 21 February 1739, p. 4.
3. Lond. Gaz., 6919, 22 September 1730, p. 3.
4. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 368, 17 May 1760, p. 3.

the inns thus performed vital functions in the distribution of detailed information about properties for sale.

On a similar, but more personal level, innkeepers acted as the real local agents in the sale and letting of property. Where tenants were unable to show prospective purchasers or lessees the lands, innkeepers acted instead on behalf of the vendor. Mr. Carter, landlord of the Old Swan, Fish Street Hill, kept the keys of a wharf and Warehouse which were put up for auction in 1750. He acted as key holder on behalf of the auctioneer, Mr. Ford of the Haymarket.[1] An auction of some seventeen lots (of land) was advertised to take place in the Bull Inn, Worcester, in September 1753. Mr. South of the Red Lion, Tewkesbury, was named as the person through whom some of those properties could be viewed.[2] The use of innkeepers in this way was unusual. Tenants or occupiers normally showed properties. But where this was impossible, the innkeeper, the man who probably distributed information about property for sale, acted as an effective and necessary substitute.

Property, in the form of houses, was disposed of by similar means. Again, the inn played a significant part in the organisation of the sale. For obvious reasons, their role in the sale or letting of domestic dwellings was small when compared with their function in the disposal of lands, farms or industrial properties. Urban properties,

1. Whit. Even. Post., 671, 31 May 1750, p. 2.
2. Gloucs. Journ., 1624, 21 August 1753, p. 4.

with which we are mainly concerned here, generally commanded a more local market and were less in need of advertising by a survey catalogue. The bulk of prospective purchasers could view for themselves, and could also view by appointment with tenant or owner. But in exceptional circumstances, these functions were provided by innkeepers, especially when the inn was one of the properties for sale. In July 1757 the Chopping Knife, Brick Kiln Street, Andover, was put up for sale together with five other tenements in the same street. Mr. Bendall, at the Chopping Knife, was the agent through whom all these properties could be viewed.[1] The landlords of the Golden Lion, Brecon, and the Three Tons, High Wycombe both dispersed sale catalogues of houses in 1759 and 1760.[2] But the most extensive use of the inn as an agency advertising houses took place in High Wycombe in 1759. The Antelope and Crown Inn was the saleroom for 'two modern brick houses' and from here details of the property were available on behalf of Mr. Richard Sharpe, auctioneer of Lincoln's Inn Fields. Both Mr. Sharpe, and inns at Eton, Uxbridge and Beaconsfield, provided details.[3] On a lesser scale, therefore, and less commonly, inns were used in the sale of houses in the same way as in that of land.

Six cases of such sales of houses by auction in London alehouses and taverns are suggestive both of the building of artisan tenements and of their construction on speculation. The earliest modern

1. Read. Merc., 612, 18 July 1757, p. 3.
2. Whit. Even. Post, 2169, 16 February 1760, p. 3; Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 330, 25 August 1759, p. 3.
3. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 326, 28 July 1759, p. 2.

research in this field has suggested that the bulk of working-class housing built in English towns from the 1780s onward was financed by terminal building clubs and societies.[1] In London early examples of new housing being auctioned because of bankruptcy suggest dwellings of much higher quality. In 1740 'two newly erected brick messuages in Great Chapple Street, St. Anne's, Westminster' worth £40 per annum were auctioned at the Five Bells in the Strand.[2] Ten years later three houses auctioned by trustees at the King's Head in the Poultry were clearly dwellings for the middling artisan, let at £16 per annum. Three storeys high, with two rooms to a floor, plus shop and yard, they clearly approximated to later housing types provided for the middling artisan.[3]

But four cases from 1760 perhaps show a still lower level of housing, developed in a more substantial group. The best, in the Minories, near Aldgate, comprised 22 brick houses averaging £12 14s. per annum rent. These were auctioned at the Crown and Magpye, Whitechapel, in December 1760.[4] Two further auctions that year, both under the mallet of Mr. Phipps, who acted in the above sale, show the next best and worst housing, on the basis of rentals. One lot comprised ten 'substantial brick houses, two new' in Eagle and Bedford Courts, valued on average £11 7s. per annum. The second group

1. S. D. Chapman ed., Working Class Housing, pp. 102, 140-143, 223.
2. Lond. Even. Post, 1903, 24 January 1740, p. 4.
3. See for example, the discussion of housing types by S. D. Chapman and J. N. Bartlett, in S. D. Chapman, Working Class Housing, esp. p.229.
4. Public Ledger, 263, 13 November 1760, p. 1051.

were some 19 dwellings located in and near Workhouse Lane, Hoxton, and was let to 'good tenants' at £127 per annum.[1] Both the location and the value of these properties make it clear that they were early examples of the proletariam housing of the 'East End'. In April of the same year a freehold estate of 106 houses and gardens, also in Hoxton, of annual value £1061 14s. was advertised for auction at the Swan Tavern in Shoreditch.[2] The fifteen houses of Rosamen's Row, Clerkenwell, were auctioned at the Jerusalem Tavern, Clerkenwell later in the same year. While the sale advertisement did not record annual rentals, the minimal ground rent of the site, £2, suggests that these might have been the very smallest (if not consequently the worst) of all six cases.[3]

While this evidence is clearly insufficient for certain analysis, it is most clearly suggestive of developments in London of early working-class housing. The means of sale, by auction, further suggests that some of these developments were speculative, or, at the very least, that demand for housing of this type was such as to encourage speculative building.

A further speculative element entered the sale of houses and other goods in the later part of our period. The raffle was used as a means to dispose of such properties. The origins and exact form of such

1. Public Ledger, 232, 8 October 1760, p. 927.
2. Public Advertiser, 7950, 29 April 1760, p. 3.
3. Public Ledger, 207, 9 September 1760, p. 827.

sales are obscure, but the eighteenth century was a marked period of speculation. The elements of lottery recurring in Government finance, and perhaps in the stock market showed this. For the vendor sale of goods by raffle had the advantage of securing a sure price. Although raffle as a form of lottery was first listed in Anstey's New Bath Guide of 1766 earlier sales by this method clearly referred to lottery forms.[1] The means was that used for the sale of the plate, jewelry etc. of a 'Widow Gentlewoman' in 1739. 17,999 shares were offered at 5/- each, determined by 'Mr. Foubert's Mathematical Machine', of which 2,999 were advantageous: i.e., would win prizes.[2] Two houses were sold by this means in the 1750s. In 1757 a 'new dwelling house' in St. Clements, Oxford, was to be raffled in 126 lots at one guinea each. Clearly the scheme failed, for a second advertisement altered conditions and the date of the raffle sale, and offered a second prize of a bay gelding, a third of 'neat pistols' and a fourth of a silver watch.[3] The initial asking price for the house was clearly too high. The fixed price element of such raffle sales was further demonstrated by the sale of a house at the Bell Inn, Chipping Wycombe in 1758. The house was raffled in 100 half-guinea lots, but was not for sale unless 50 guineas were subscribed.[4] This curious form of sale, reflecting at

1. Oxford English Dictionary.
2. Northampton Mercury, vol. 19, no. 47, 5 March 1739, p. 187.
3. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 241, 10 December 1757, p. 3., 243, 24 December 1757, p. 3.
4. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 250, 11 February 1758, p. 3.

once the strength of the gambling element among small and medium investors, and also the desire of vendors to secure good prices for property, once more took place in the salerooms provided by the inn.

In the sale of estates and property, the inn thus acted as saleroom, and branch estate agency, and the innkeeper as local agent for the vendor or the auctioneer or estate agent. In the sale of furniture and the fittings of such properties, especially those of the gentry, inns performed similar functions. Sales by auction of the contents and movables of the houses of deceased gentry at their houses were once more advertised on behalf of vendors or auctioneers by innkeepers acting locally. In 1730 the movable outhouses and garden ornaments of Caversham, seat of the late Earl of Cadogan were auctioned. The Crown Inn, Reading, the White Hart, Windsor, and the post-offices in Henley, Abingdon, Oxford, and Newbury, issued catalogues on behalf of Mr. Cook, the Auctioneer of Broad Street, London.[1] The same functions were performed in 1756 for the sale of goods and furniture of the late Rev. Mr. Whitting Colton by the Crown, Reading, the Bush, Farnham, the White Hart, Hook, the Maidenhead, Basingstoke, and by the George, Odiham on behalf of George Plummer, auctioneer of Reading.[2] Two years later, the same Reading inn, with the Antelope in High Wycombe issued catalogues for sale by Mr. Heath of the furniture of the late

1. Daily Journal, 2867, 16 March 1730, p. 2.
2. Read. Merc., 540, 8 March 1756, p. 3.

Rev. Dr. John Stevens.[1] Once more the inns provided the supplementary and detailed advertisements of furniture for sale.

They also acted as salerooms for the auction of such household goods. It is not clear why in general such household fittings were removed to salerooms in the inns and taverns. The commonest and most satisfactory explanation was that given in two such sales in London. At the Phoenix Tavern, Hay Market, the goods of 'a deceased gentleman' were sold in 1720. The wide variety of mirrors, tables, chests etc., had to be sold and removed within 14 days since the house had been let to a new tenant.[2] In this case, while it is possible that the furniture had been moved to the tavern for sale, the goods involved were probably those of the deceased tavern keeper. But in 1740 the goods and furniture of a deceased merchant, Mr. Joseph Judge, were removed from his home to the 'great room' at the Swan and Hoop, Cornhill, 'for the conveniency of the sale'.[3] The explicit advantage for auctions of the large rooms of inns and taverns made them the natural salerooms of eighteenth century England.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the great expansion among the nobility, gentry, professional and 'genteel' classes of the collection and/or reading of books. One is naturally inclined to be sceptical of the extent to which this reflected a genuine growth of

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 262, 6 May 1758, p. 2.
2. Post Boy, 4877, 25 October 1720, p. 2.
3. Daily Post, 6599, 31 October 1740, p. 2.

literary interest. There is more than a suspicion that the classical devotion outwardly demonstrated by the self-proclaimed second Augustan Age was in many cases a mere facade. Bibliophilia was perhaps a considerable influence in this. Many collectors could perhaps be equated to some extent with those who now purchase antique volumes in fine bindings 'by the yard' for no purpose other than effect. Their wives and daughters like Sheridan heroines perhaps read the disreputable works of authors like Ward, or gushing romances behind the Homer and Milton they displayed to the outside world. Whatever one's assessment of this movement, it is clear that in the period 1660-1760 there was a growth in interest in books and their possession. As in the appeal made by the interior decoration of inns, books perhaps acted as tokens of 'quality' for those who aspired to that elusive social status.

For whatever reason this interest in books grew, its major symptom was the introduction of the auction as a means of disposal of books. If Lawler was correct, the book auction was first introduced to London in October 1676. This method of sale had been pioneered in Amsterdam and Leyden from the early seventeenth century by the Elzevirs. The first sales in the provinces followed in the later 1680s. The widening of literary horizons produced by the forced continental vacations of many of the nobility and gentry during the Civil Wars produced the demand for books that could sustain specialist auctions and auctioneers. The further development of the Grand Tour from this

led to expansion of this demand throughout our period. In Lawler's words

'.... it does not seem too much to say that the introduction of book auctions into England gave a great and important impetus to the spread of literature, and the increase of bookbuyers and of publications, as well English as foreign.'[1]

In London the location of these early booksales varied enormously from bookshops to tavern, to coffee house and even to booths at Sturbridge Fair.[2] Auctions such as that at Rawes Coffee House, Southwark, were relatively commonplace by 1701. For this sale of valuable English books on 'Divinity, Physick, History etc.' the Spur Inn, Southwark, dispensed catalogues.[3] Although the early provincial sales were, on Lawler's evidence, conducted in booksellers' shops, they were limited before 1700, mainly to Oxford and Cambridge, two towns in which specialist bookshops would be expected. One sale, in 1683, at Chelmsford, took place in the Black Boy, and may be the earliest example of a book auction in a provincial inn.[4] But the evidence of newspaper advertisements, as opposed to Lawler's sale catalogues, shows that in the eighteenth century many of these auctions took place in inns, even in such cities as Bristol where booksellers certainly existed. The natural advantage of the inns' spacious rooms determined their use as salerooms. Even in Totnes in 1725 a bookseller, Mr. Legassick, existed. But the sale in the same

1. J. Lawler, Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century (1676-1700) (London, 1898, reprinted Detroit, 1968) 'Introduction', esp. pp. xvii-xix.
2. Ibid.
3. Post Boy, 899, 9 January 1701, p. 2.
4. Lawler, Book Auctions, p. 217.

year of a 'valuable collection of books' was held at Mr. Oliver Wakeham's inn, the King's Arms.[1] Catalogues of 700 volumes were issued at another King's Arms, that in Middlewich in 1747, for an auction sale in the same inn.[2] The level of interest which developed in such book auctions may be gauged from a sale at the George Inn, Stroud, in 1753. Although these valuable volumes, property of a deceased clergyman, were for sale in Stroud, the only point of issue for catalogues advertised was Mr. David Bond's booksellers, in the Strand.[3] More remarkable for the number of books offered was the case of the library of Mr. Samuel Pye, late surgeon of Bristol in 1760. J. Williams, bookseller of St. Nicholas Street, Bristol, auctioned Pye's 4000 or more volumes at the Bush, Corn Street. In this case, the inn was only the place of sale, since catalogues were distributed by the booksellers in London, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge and Bath.[4]

The exhibition and or sale of works of art followed the same general course of development, probably for associated reasons. Thus London inns and taverns provided the main and earliest auction market for paintings and engravings. Only gradually did such exhibitions and sales move into the provinces, and even then to the most predictable centres. A 'collection of original paintings' was exhibited and then

1. Brice's Weekly Journal, 1, 30 April 1725, p. 4.
2. Adams's Weekly Cour., 756, 20 October 1747, p. 4.
3. Gloucs. Journ., 1624, 21 August 1753, p. 2.
4. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 357, 1 March 1760, p. 3.

auctioned at the King's Head, Southwark in 1690.[1] More explicitly, 'a most curious Collection of original pictures, and excellent statues etc., Being the Collection of a foreign Gentleman that is going to Travel' was exhibited at Mr. Luffingham's King's Arms Tavern, Covent Garden throughout March 1720, prior to its auction.[2] Such events were rare in the provinces prior to 1760. But the King's Head, High Street, Oxford saw such sales in the 1750s. In June 1757, a collection of imported German and Italian prints was auctioned there, after the normal days viewing.[3] Ten painted views of Oxford were raffled there in 50 one guinea lots in 1758, and more landscapes auctioned in the following year.[4] Purely for exhibition purposes, Mr. Motet's marble sculptures visited inns in Aylesbury, Tring and Berkhampstead in 1755.[5] Perhaps the more limited evidence of art rather than book sales indicated a more restricted appeal. Certainly the sale of paintings or engravings in inn or tavern salerooms occurred much less frequently outside London in our period than did book auctions.

As has already been seen, personal plate, jewels etc., were raffled for in 1739 in a London alehouse. Miscellaneous goods of this type were frequently sold in London. There are reasonable grounds for thinking that many of these were surplus or misguided imports. At the King's Head, Gray's Inn Gate, and the King's Arms, the Strand, in 1690

1. London Gaz., 2572, 3 July 1690, p. 2.
2. Daily Cour., 5745, 21 March 1720, p. 2.
3. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 216, 18 June 1757, p. 3.
4. Ibid., 295, 23 December 1758, p. 3; 305, 3 March 1759, p. 3.
5. Ibid., 102, 12 April 1755, p. 3.

two lots of expensive cloth goods were put up for auction. At the former, 'All sorts of silk point, laced cravats, cuffs, neckcloths of point lace, gold strip'd muslin, with ruffles and dresses on commodes of the newest fashion' were exhibited prior to sale on three days at the beginning of December.[1] The second sale more clearly suggested speculative importation. Fine Holland cloth and tapestry hangings, 'Indian screens printed in satin' and gold and silver watches were offered for auction by one Ferdinand Verryck. His name and his goods clearly suggested the alien origin of both.[2] Twice in 1730 were diamonds, both rough and cut, and other gemstones auctioned in London taverns, although no special reasons for these sales is apparent.[3] A final example of the disposal by auction at inn or alehouses of imported goods was the sale in 1750 of 'Grenoble wallnut [sic] tree veneers' imported from Italy at the Bolt and Tun, Fleet Street, The Landlord of the Bolt and Tun, one of London's major inns, acted for Mr. Hickman Young, auctioneer, by issuing catalogues and showing the goods. What is perhaps remarkable about inn sales of this type is the high quality and value of goods offered for sale. Gemstones, fine cloths, and veneers were specialized luxury imports. The use of inns for this purpose indicated the lack of more specialized sale institutions for the growing merchant and business community of London.

A still more specialized, and more irregular, activity for which

1. Lond. Gaz., 2614, 27 November 1690.
2. Lond. Gaz., 2597, 29 September 1690; 2604, 23 October 1690.
3. Lond. Gaz., 6874, 18 April 1730, p. 2; Daily Post, 3272, 16 March 1730, p. 2.

the inns and taverns of English seaports were used in this period was the sale of the goods of prize vessels, and of the ships themselves. Salvaged goods were also sold in this way. At the Fountain in Portsmouth in 1753 3-400 hogsheads of French wines were sold, the recovered cargo of the ship Demoiselle Jacoba wrecked on the Woolsner Shoal, at the entrance to Spithead. By application to Mr. James Bucknall, the wines could be tasted for the two days prior to their sale. By kind permission of H. M. Customs the wines were sold duty - free to lower salvage costs.[1] Inevitably, the greatest concentration of such auctions came during the Seven Years War.[2] In 1760 the cargoes and contents of prize vessels were sold at the Fountain, Portsmouth, the Star, Plymouth, and the Antelope at Weymouth. In each case the landlord of the inn or tavern showed goods etc. on behalf of the brokers to prospective purchasers. In such cases the convenience of disposing of cargoes at the port itself, and perhaps the unusual number of sales determined the use of inns and taverns for the auction or sale 'by the candle'. In peacetime the existing specialist brokers etc. were adequate to supplant such inn salerooms.

For the purposes of the business community a more normal use of inn salerooms was in the disposal of tradesmen's stocks as a result of

1. Salis. Journ., 820, 12 November 1753, p. 2.
2. Such sales no doubt took place in the war years prior to 1713. Evidence exists of Private Acts of Parliament 'naturalizing' prize vessels, but not of inn sales of their cargoes. See F. Clifford, History of Private Bill Legislation (London reprinted 1969). pp. 488 f.

death, or, more frequently, bankruptcy. At the Cross Keys Inn, Wood Street, the cutlery goods of James Birstall were sold in 1720.[1] Mr. James Shaw retired from the mercers trade in 1740 and exhibited his entire stock at the Three Black Lions prior to their auction at the Bear Tavern in the Strand.[2] More interesting in the light of auction sales of lands at inns, was the sale of goods at the Hop Pole Inn, Worcester in 1750. The entire stock-in-trade of John Garway, 'merchant and sail cloth maker' was auctioned under a bankruptcy commission in March 1751. Taken together with the advertised details of his lands auctioned at the same inn some months earlier the goods for sale provided a complete inventory of the stocks and lands of a substantial bankrupt. In several lots 28 tons of hemp and flax, 600 pieces of sacking and sailcloth, 70 hundred weight of Danzig yarn and 50 hogsheads of four year old 'Crab vinegar' were for sale. In addition Garway's hop stocks were put up for sale on Saturdays until all were sold.[3] Two Oxford inns were used to similar purpose in the 1750s. The stocks of Mr. Robert Carnall, bankrupt Linen Draper and Haberdasher, were auctioned at the Star, Cornmarket. The most significant aspect of this sale was that it was limited to the wholesale trade, and only shopkeepers and dealers were invited to attend.[4] At the Cross, in 1759, the goods of Isaac Maidman, bankrupt mercer, draper, dealer in hardware and shopkeeper, were auctioned. But other inns acted as

1. Daily Cour., 5854, 26 July 1720, p. 2.
2. Daily Post., 6629, 5 December 1740, p. 2.
3. Lond. Gaz., 8930, 24 February 1751, p. 3.
4. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 103, 19 April 1755, p. 2.

advertising points. Catalogues were issued at the place of sale, and at the Black Bear, Reading, the New Inn, Abingdon, the Black Bear, Wantage, the Red Lion, Henley, and the Sun, Maidenhead.[1] Thus as in the sale of lands and property, inns acted not merely as salerooms but also as the agencies through which purchasers could obtain details of the goods for sale. They acted in support and in extension of the advertising power created by the growth of the provincial newspaper.

In the attempt to assess the role of the inn in the period 1660-1760 as a saleroom, several problems arise. The first, and most important, is the general lack of evidence on this subject for the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The one really fruitful source for this study is the newspaper, and thus apparent growth in the number of evidences of the inn as saleroom might be no more than a function of the growth of the London and provincial press. Second, assuming that such evidence in fact shows the growth of auction sales of land and many other goods in inns, alehouses and taverns prior to 1760, it is necessary to explain why this period produced this development. At the same time, it is necessary to solve a third question: why, if auctions in inns started and developed at this time, and if specialist agents and auctioneers came into being, did not an equally specialist saleroom institution develop?

The evidence of book auctions painstakingly collected by Lawler perhaps suggests the most satisfactory answer to the first question.

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 332, 8 September, 1759, p. 3.

The impression to be gained from William Cooper's first book auctions is that this means of sale was something of a novelty, perhaps to other commodities even more than books. Cooper's own comments on the first such sale in 1676, in the preface to his second sale catalogue, indicated this:

'The first attempt in this kind (by the Sale of Dr. Seaman's Library), having given great content and satisfaction to the Gentlemen who were the buyers, and no great discouragement to the Sellers, hath encouraged the making of this Second Trial by the exposing (to Auction or Sale) the Library of Mr. Tho. Kidner, in hopes of receiving such encouragement from the learned, as may prevent the Stifling of this manner of Sale, the benefit (if rightly considered) being equally balanced between Buyer and Seller.'[1]

These were clearly the words of an innovator, but also of an upstanding and experienced bookseller and publisher. Perhaps his justification of his new means of sale also indicated the novelty of the means itself.

If so, then the beginning of evidence from newspaper sources in the 1690s would accord with our assumption of its recent origins and slow growth. In such a development process, sales 'by the candle' so favoured in shipping and importing, might represent an intermediate stage. Thus the growth of evidence of auctions of all kinds, concentrated in the period after 1700, is probably a fair indicator of the growth and spread of the means of sale in itself. In the absence of contrary evidence, the first problem may therefore be set aside.[2]

1. Lawler, Book Auctions, p, 7.
2. One of the first law books on Auction as such, was that by Richard Babington, A Treatise on the Law of Auctions, (London 1826). The cases in this all date from during or after the period under consideration. An additional argument for the development of auction in our period stems from the fact that the first regulating act for Auctioneers, and the first levy of duties on the trade, was that of 17 George III c. 50 (1777). See Babington, Law of Auctions, Chapter VII, p. 187 f.

It is equally difficult to explain the reasons why at this time auction and its madcap cousin, the raffle, first came into general use as means of sale. Some commodities are easier to explain than others. For the easy disposal of stocks, furniture, fittings, etc., which needed to be sold by a particular date to clear a house or meet a bill, auction, being a means of sale by time limit, satisfied contemporary requirements. But such an explanation is an historical truism: it therefore falls.

While the above explanation holds generally true for the use of auction when circumstances determined a pressing need for the sale, a more satisfactory general explanation lay in the inelasticity of supply of goods in great demand. The rare books auctioned by Cooper and others were sold to a public hungry for their ownership. The beginnings of 'Silver Renaissance' expanded the demand for books and other objets d'art to such an extent as to make auctions the most satisfactory form of sale. It reflected short supplies. So too with land. It is more than possible that if land auctions started from about 1730, as suggested above, their origin lay in depressed or uncertain market conditions. It is unlikely that such depression was the determinant. For the 1740s and 1750s, periods of agricultural recovery, the answer again lay in the inelasticity of supply. Most probably the growing proportion of large estates and substantial properties coming to auction through death or bankruptcy showed the importance of these factors in providing properties in a land-hungry

market. Sale by auction capitalised fully on these market conditions. The bankruptcies may themselves have resulted from urban speculators or ambitious landowners overreaching themselves.

The sale of all such goods and properties by auction was facilitated by two major factors: the development of the newspaper in London and the provinces provided advertising facilities; and the inns issued catalogues, displayed goods and above all had large rooms in which to hold sales. But why did not more specialised salerooms develop? Why were brokers and auctioneers content to use inn rooms for their sales?

Part of the answer lies in the level of business activity of such middlemen. In London many such brokers existed and few by 1760 achieved the size to tie up valuable trading capital in salerooms. Here also certain inns, taverns and coffee shops were already such specialist institutions: Lloyds itself had started as a coffee shop. In the provinces the amount of business generated in any specific locality was too little to finance the luxury of salerooms. Auctioneers especially were itinerants, servicing regions or counties rather than individual towns. Beyond this, inns had certain additional advantages. They were landmarks familiar to those who travelled and were consequently relatively easy to find. Purchasers travelling to sales found in them the additional attraction that they also provided accommodation. They were also, as the centres of both transport and

postal systems, the means to communication with bankers etc., who might finance purchases. The combination of all these factors secured for the inn a pre-eminant position as saleroom in the period 1660 to 1760. Its only rivals were the taverns and coffee houses.

CHAPTER 8: THE INN AS MARKET

Some allusion has already been made to developments in the marketing system in this period. Briefly, they may be summarised as follows: the scope and freedom of activity, and the absolute number of middlemen rose; the distinction between retail and wholesale trade hardened as wholesalers increasingly left the open regulated market and depended on private contacts for supplies; partly as a consequence of the above, but mainly because depressed agricultural prices placed a premium on efficiency, the numbers of 'real' market towns declined.[1] Before attempting to examine the role of the inn in this system, it is necessary to expand a little these general tendencies.

The major theme of Westerfield's standard work on middlemen was the decline and virtual disappearance during the period 1660 to 1760 of official regulation of their activities.[2] In the sessions records of the counties of Western England presentments for market offences declined during the seventeenth century, and virtually disappeared after 1710. Increasingly action against middlemen arose from special circumstances. Most important of these was dearth. Between 1668 and 1675 the Justices of Somerset and Wiltshire took general action against maulsters and middlemen in the grain trade on at least five separate

1. See above, Chapter 1, pp.30f.
2. R. B. Westerfield, 'Middlemen ....', passim.

occasions. In every case, reference was made in taking action to the high price of victuals.[1] Strangely, neither of our standard price indices for this period - the Schumpeter - Gilboy and the Phelps-Brown- Hopkins - supports the evidence of these two counties. Perhaps, as J. P. Cooper has suggested, the period up to c.1680 was one in which interventionism revived and reached new peaks. The interest in middlemen shown in Somerset and Wiltshire during the two decades following the restoration, when taken together with the chronology of alehouse suppressions, clearly supports this view. The traditional 'laissez- faire' view of the post-Restoration period, retailed by Lipson, Westerfield, and Hill, clearly requires some revision.[2]

Action in regard to middlemen was also determined by other concerns. Twice, in 1673 and 1676, the Somerset justices noted the smuggling of Irish fat cattle into the northern parishes of their county. Local Justices, constables, tithingmen etc., were on both occasions advised to keep close watch for such middlemen as engaged in the illicit trade.[3] Similar orders were again promulgated during the great cattle murrains of the 1740s and 1750s. The Warwickshire Justices only acted against middlemen in a general sense in 1682, but in protection of their local tradesmen against exploitation from

1. Soms. R. O., Quart. Sess. Min. Bk., Mich. 1668, Epiphany 1669, Epiphany 1670, Epiphany 1674, Wilts. R. O., Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., 3, Hilary 1675.
2. See J. P. Cooper, 'Economic Regulation and the Cloth Industry in Seventeenth-Century England' in Trans. Royal Hist. Soc. 5th series XX (1970).
3. Soms. R. O., Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., Epiphany 1673, Easter 1676.

London. Combinations among London and other middlemen cheesemongers to depress product prices, led to restoration of trade by licence only.[1] These and other cases substantiate our two important corrections to Westerfield's account of the dissolution of institutional controls of middlemen in this period. At least in the 1660s, 1670s and 1680s, Justices continued to take action against such trades, and in some counties even continued to grant licences. But even in these years it was becoming increasingly rare to take such action for general reasons of consumer protection. Increasingly, the determinants of judicial action were specific, and, after 1710, the incidence of action against middlemen was itself a rarity in the counties of Western England.

More significant perhaps was the gradual contraction of the numbers of towns and villages regarded as the possessors of 'real' markets by contemporaries. As indicated above, it is difficult to assess this contraction with any certainty. But the evidence of Table 2 is clear.[2] Looking to the end of the eighteenth century, the evidence provided on markets by some of the Board of Agriculture reports is suggestive of two further conclusions: while these do not fully accord with the listings of 1702 and 1720, they all indicated numerous market towns whose trade was 'inconsiderable' or 'much declined'; this evidence leads to the natural causal explanation for

1. Warwick County Records, VII, Easter 1682, pp. 254-255.
2. See above, p.31.

the decline, that the period of moderately-depressed prices from mid seventeenth to mid eighteenth centuries, was the time during which the bulk of our 'lost market towns' disappeared.

The case of Berkshire is here of great interest. As a county relatively near to the great centre of consumption, London, its markets showed stability, there being 12 in 1500-1640, and 11 by 1720. Mavor's account in 1809, again listed 12, but of these, three, Hungerford, Ilsley and Lambourn, were 'small' or 'declined'.[1] Pitt's list of 24 market towns in Staffordshire of 1808 included three new and growing marts, in the Potteries, and seven more classified as 'declined' or 'trifling'.[2] In contrast, by 1807, Middlesex had gained two more markets over the 1720 figure of 7.[3] This evidence thus adds weight to the hypothesis expounded in Chapter 1, that markets survived most satisfactorily in the London region, since there they provided alternatives to the restricted central city markets.[4] Elsewhere perhaps the market towns of predominantly pastoral counties suffered most.

While this subject is clearly ripe for further research, it can be concluded that there exists satisfactory evidence for the rationalisation of market centres in this period. In London the equivalent development lay in the increased specialization of markets like

1. W. Mavor, A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Berkshire (London, 1809) pp. 454-457.
2. W. Pitt, A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Stafford, (London, 1808), pp. 230-232.
3. J. Middleton, A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Middlesex, (London, 1807), p. 537.
4. See above, p. 31.

Billingsgate and Leadenhall, and in the spread to the suburbs of wholesale provision markets.[1] The explanation for this contraction clearly lay in the price level and in the growth of large centres of consumption, both in our period. The period prior to 1760 was not dissimilar in terms of the returns accruing to farmers from the period of 'high farming' in the nineteenth century. The fading of the small farmer, the introduction of crucial innovations in agriculture, and the investment in the 'infrastructure' of development, like rivers and roads, all in part resulted from landowners' attempts to secure and stabilize returns when they were subjected to downward pressure.[2] The cool breeze of competition in this period stunted the growth of, if it did not kill, the weaker market centres. Above all, it was the towns with spatial and economic advantages which survived, those possessing the greatest mean sizes in 1686 and 1756 as shown in Tables 11 and 12.[3]

Similar factors determined the development of the private market, selling by sample etc. While it is argued that in this period considerable development took place in this retreat from the open market, the Board of Agriculture Reports for Western counties do not indicate the universality of this system by the early 1800s. In his ...View... of Staffordshire of 1808, Pitt noted that the system of sale by

1. See above, pp. 29,36.
2. E. L. Jones, Agric. and Econ. Growth, 1650-1815, Introduction.
3. See above, p. 133.

sample had become normal in his county, but that in time of any scarcity it came under attack. He argued powerfully in favour of the system.[1] Mavor's comments on Windsor market may be seen in the same light. He noted that corn was sold by 'pitch' [i.e. in the open market place] but that '... it is said that too much is sold privately, by sample'.[2] That at the beginning of the nineteenth century expert commentators should find private or sample selling worthy of comment is surely significant. It may well be that they were themselves provided, like Defoe, with obsolete information. Perhaps in some market towns sample selling was relatively novel. The evidence on this matter from Pitt and Mavor serves as a useful corrective to dating the absolute triumph of the private market in the eighteenth century, and certainly to placing it prior to 1760.

But other evidence from perhaps more reliable sources would suggest that by 1760, in many if not all the major entrepôt market towns of Western England the wholesale trade for many agricultural commodities had retreated from the chilly draught of supervision in the open market. Symptomatic of this was the complaint of the tradesmen of Charlbury against the level of tolls exacted for pens, stalls etc., by Michael Gardner, who held a farm of the same from the Earl of Litchfield [undated, probably late seventeenth century].[3] Pressures

1. W. Pitt, ...View of ... Stafford, pp. 231-232.
2. W. Mavor, ... View of ... Berkshire, pp. 469-70.
3. Oxon. R. O., DIL IV/b./13.

on Abingdon's market led in 1737 to a petition to extend the borough's corn market to every day of the week.[1] At Devizes in 1699 the Common Council received complaints that

'..... divers quantities and parcles of flesh Cheese Wool and Woollen Yarne ..... have not of late been carried to and weighed all the severall and respective Common Beames for those respective purposes ... To the pjydice and loss of the Maior and Burgesses of the said Borough and theire Tennants of the said faires and marketts ...'[2]

In each of these three market towns, therefore, signs were to be found of the deterioration of the open market system. Charlbury, a declining town whose history in this period was marked by several outbreaks of violence and other outward expressions of landlord-tenant tension, showed this through the complaint of its tradesmen about the level of tolls. Abingdon, conversely, sought the answer to its booming market in the official extension of its market rights, and Devizes provided explicit evidence of private marketing.

The two great west midland entrepôts of Hereford and Worcester showed similar developments. Worcester's records show repeated problems with forestallers in the later seventeenth century, and as early as 1663 recorded that the traders who dealt in oatmeal ... 'doe remaine themselves too sevall corners and places of the said cittie' for the conduct of their business: they had left the proper market place.[3] Similar problems later developed with the city's hop markets.

1. Berks. R. O., D/EP3/3.
2. B. H. Cunnington, ... Annals ... of Devizes, 3 January 1699, p. 199.
3. Worcester City Archives, Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., 1655-73, 12 January 1663, p. 36.

Problems of this nature, in a case analogous to that of Abingdon, developed in Hereford in 1706. The Common Council of the City recorded that as a result of the navigation of the River Wye the grain market had outgrown the Market House. In consequence, shops and other houses around the market house had themselves given hospitality in their doorways to bags of wheat. A certain James Pitt, encouraged by these tradesmen, opposed the orders made by the Council to meet this problem of growth, and in consequence was punished by distraint of his goods.[1] Once again, the experience of both Worcester and Hereford in the first half of our period demonstrated the breakdown of the official market system.

Even in London the problems of the retreat from established markets can be found. McGrath commented on the problem:

'Although wholesale markets were growing up in the seventeenth century, and although the shopkeeping class was increasing, markets were not considered primarily as places, where the retailing shopkeeper could get his supplies.'[2]

The result of this attitude was, therefore, official hostility to such retailers purchasing in open market. Even in the increasingly specialised Billingsgate market, regulations against the wholesale trade were necessary in our period. The regulating Act of 10 and 11 William III c. 24 ordered that

1. Hereford City Records, The Pilley Collection, 091.42.
2. P. V. McGrath, 'The Marketing of Food ....' p. 37.

'No Person whatsoever should after the said 10th of May, buy or cause to be bought at the said Market of Billingsgate only quantity of fish to be divided by lot among any fishmongers ..... with an intent to be put afterwards to sale by retail, or otherwise. Nor any fishmonger to engross or buy in the said market any quantity of fish, but what shall be for his own use and sale.'[1]

Dealings thus existed in the hands of middlemen in the ultimate perishable goods marketed at Billingsgate: fish and soft fruit.

Thus the contradictory position of the open regulated market assisted in its decline. Most towns including the capital exhibited signs in this period of pressure on this system. The results varied, but most commonly took the form of the development of private markets. Often, as in Worcester, these later obtained official recognition. Above all other institutions, inns served as the havens to which these markets retreated. A wide range of commodities, from the agricultural staples to such specialized crops as honey, and hops, and even industrial products were marketed at the inns of Western England.

The traces left by such covert dealings in the inns are necessarily fragmentary. For many more bargains were struck in inn parlours than have left any trace. Most were agreed verbally, and the historian is left with no evidence bar imputation. Thus in attempting to assess the role of the inn in the marketing of grain, meal and livestock, one is left with isolated evidence of its use as such, but overall with the clear impression that the private market was a growing institution. The inns were the houses in which such private markets were held.

1. 10 and 11 William III c. 24, section XII, quoted in J. Strype, Survey of London, II pp. 165-166.

In the corn trades, inns acted as markets particularly in sales by sample. Much corn was sold in London at the warehouses and docks to which it was first delivered.[1] It was the bulk of the commodity that made it most suitable to sale by sample only. By the end of the eighteenth century, the reporters for the Board of Agriculture recorded selling by sample in most market towns of Western England. The Essay Against Forestallers of 1718 described the system:

'Others [farmers] bring only Parcels of Corn in a Bag or Handkerchief, which are called Samples; and these are expos'd, perhaps in private Houses, to a few Jobbers or Engrossers.'[2]

Defoe provided a more explicit connexion of this system with the inn:

'The farmer, who has perhaps twenty load of wheat in his barn, rubs out only a few handfuls of it with his hand, and puts it into a little money bag; and with this sample, as it is called, in his pocket, away he goes to market.

When he comes thither, he stands with his little bag in his hand, at a particular place where such business is done, and thither the factors or buyers come also; the factor looks on the sample, asks his price, bids, and then buys ; and that not in a sack or a load, but the whole quantity; and away they go together to the next inn, to adjust the bargain, the manner of delivery, the payment etc. Thus the whole barn, or stack, or mow of corn, is sold at once; and not only so, but it is odds but the factor deals with him ever after, by coming to his house; and so the farmer troubles the market no more.'[3]

Selling by sample was eminently suited to trade within the confines of the inn, rather than under the supervision of the open market.

Both by sample and in bulk, local records show evidence to support Defoe's indication of the use of the inn in this way. The 'Liber Legum'

1. P. V. McGrath, 'The Marketing of Food ....' p. 55.
2. An Essay to prove that regrators, engrossers, forestallers ..... are destructive to trade, (London, 1718).
3. D. Defoe, Complete English Tradesman, II, Chapter XLVI.

of the City of Worcester repeatedly included by-laws against private marketing of corn. Law no. 73 ordered sellers of malt and barley to sell in open market, and not to sell it 'att the key head or att inne houses'. Law 84 repeated the order.[1] The generality of the problem of private sales in inns was indicated by the Wiltshire J.P.'s in 1661. They recorded the 'dearth and scarcity' of corn in the County, and that the poor were in great want for bread. The two causes were excessive malting, and private selling. They therefore ordered

> ' all Counsellors shall bring forth their Corne to be sold in open faires and markets and shall not sell the same by Sample or otherwise in Inns or private houses.'

The order was to be published in every market town of the county.[2]

Two of the main inns of Aldersgate Street, the Bell and the Cock, developed into meal markets from their connexions with Bedfordshire carriers. These men acted as middlemen, bringing milled meal to market in the above inns.[3] Elsewhere, similar functions were indicated in inns which possessed 'corn chambers', and granaries for the use of farmers and factors. In 1757, both the Red Lion, Fairford, and the Feathers, in the market place of Reading, possessed such attractive facilities.[4] Thus as refuges close to the market centre, inns offered hospitality to private or sample markets for corn. Their obvious attractions in terms of comfort and refreshment, combined with

1. Worcester City Records, 'The Liber Legum', C. 16.
2. Wilts. R. O., Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., 2, Christmas 1661, p. 233.
3. J. Strype, Survey of London, III., p. 122; D. Defoe, Tour, II., p. 113.
4. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 202, 12 March 1757, p. 3; Read. Merc. 586, 24 January 1757, p. 3.

their large rooms, and their function as the termini of the land transport business secured for them a vital function in the marketing of corn and meal.

A further market transaction taking place in the inn, in 1768, but probably earlier, was related to its specific needs as consumer. Arthur Young noted a system of exchange taking place in Salisbury and Winchester, in which farmers supplied the major inns with straw, and in return collected the valuable manure deposited by the animals stalled in the inn stables.[1]

But in the livestock trade still less evidence exists. Around Smithfield, the main inns were haunted by drovers and herdsmen. The Bear and Ragged Staff was the main drover inn of the market, but most of the others catered in part for this trade.[2] This trade was again subject to the illicit activities of the middleman, but both McGrath and Westerfield agreed that jobbing in livestock took place mainly on the road or in suburban marts, long before cattle reached Smithfield.[3] Nevertheless negotiations for livestock took place in the inns around Smithfield, and in 1705 a large herd of Welsh goats 'in kids' was sold in the Bell Inn, Smithfield, not in the market itself. Possibly in this case the somewhat specialized, and presumably delicate, animals, required unusual means for sale.[4] Further indication of the

1. A. Young, Tour of the Southern Counties (London, 1768) pp. 170, 173.
2. See above, p. 247.
3. P. V. McGrath, 'The Marketing of Food ...' p. 166; Westerfield, 'Middlemen', pp. 190 f.
4. Daily Courant, 887, 17 February 1705, p. 2. Westerfield, op. cit., indicated some specialization in the Smithfield livestock mart in the early eighteenth century, p. 194.

livestock marts around the periphery of London came from the case of the Star Inn, Dunstable, in 1752. The inn was offered for sale, and one of its main 'selling points' was its function as the home of the Dunstable 'Cow Fairs'. The inn possessed 10 acres of convenient pasture, and was the only 'drove house' in the town. Apart from its 'stables and other conveniences' the inn possessed 'Sheep and hog lairs'.[1] Thus in both central London and in the home counties markets to which middlemen in the livestock trade resorted, the inn played a significant role in marketing.

In the same way inns acted as the markets for more specialised crops, livestock and agricultural by-products. In volume, if not in importance, the greatest of these was the use of inns as primitive studs, in which the prize stallions covered mares for those who sought to improve their bloodstock. This development was mainly a result of the growth of horse-racing in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century England.[2] Somewhat disappointingly, none of the stallion advertise ments which appeared in the provincial press from 1731 onward, were for draught animals. The pedigrees provided were of racing animals, and frequently claimed descent from Arabian stock. Such stallions toured the inns of Western England, with a groom, who charged piece rates for each 'leap' as well as taking a fee for himself. A stallion of the Duke of Devonshire was kept all summer at

1. Northampton Merc., vol. 33, no. 26, 2 October 1752, p. 104.
2. See below, Chapter 11, pp. 400 f.

the Three Tuns, Bath, in 1731, and covered mares at 1 guinea.[1] By the 1750s the system had become more sophisticated and stallions toured. Such horses as Sturdy, Young Sedbury, Driver, Dimple and Young Hercules appeared at inns all over Western England in their enervating careers. Aptly perhaps, Young Regulus stood at the Ram, Abingdon, every market day in 1759 [Monday] at 15 shillings per mare, plus 1 shilling for the groom. Tuesday to Saturday, he appeared at the Fighting Cocks, Thame, the Crown, Brackley, the Unicorn, Banbury, the King's Arms, Bicester and the King's Head, Oxford. Sunday, of course, was a day of rest![2]

More significantly, perhaps other quality livestock was marketed at inns. As in the case above of 'in kid' goats, special circumstances probably dictated the occasion for the sale, although the facilities of the inn made it the natural location for the market. At the King's Arms, Mortlake, in 1740, young milch asses were put on sale.[3] More interesting for the agricultural historian was the sale at the Old George, Southampton in 1750 of Guernsey cattle, clearly freshly imported.[4] Neither were commodities common to the livestock market, and hence perhaps their removal to a more lasting institution for their sale. The inn was used because one market day might not have sufficed to dispose of so rare a commodity. Thus, a further example

1. Gloucs. Journ., 471, 20 April 1731, p. 4.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 311, 14 April 1759, p. 4.
3. Lond. Daily Post, 1777, 4 July 1740, p. 2.
4. Salis. Journ., 664, 8 October 1750, p. 3.

of the development of the private market because of the unsatisfactory transient nature of the open market, may be discerned.[1]

Specialized consumables of all kinds, from ducks to cheese and even spa waters were similarly marketed. The Black Swan, Hereford, was used in 1682 as a market for butter in 'piggin pails'.[2] In 1740, Warwickshire cheese was sold every Saturday at the Dolphin, Northampton, and every Friday at the Angel, Kettering, by Harris and Co. from Coventry.[3] The Crown, Oxford, was used as a market for Cheshire cheese in 1759.[4] A similar agricultural by-product, and still before 1760 an important sweetening agent, was honey. Peter Briggins, a Quaker hop and honey dealer, purchased several parcels of both commodities at inn-markets, before in later years retiring to live mainly from the stocks. Between 1711 and 1715 he visited dealers in honey at several London inns, the Ram and the Rose in Smithfield, the Bull and Mouth, the White Hart, and the Cross Keys in streets nearby. His cryptic notes make it clear that these inns were regular marts for such supplies:

'I at home a foar N[oon] after[noon] went to ye White Hart Inn [Aldersgate Street] and b[ough]t hon[e]y.'[5]

1. See below, on retail trading, Chapter 9.
2. Hist. MSS. Comm., Portland, II, p. 293.
3. Northampton Merc., 21, no. 11, 30 June 1740, p. 47.
4. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 315, 12 May 1759, p. 3.
5. P. Briggins, Diary, 16/7/1715 [27 October 1715]. Briggins was probably still more active than I indicated. Notes from the first two volumes of his diary, kindly lent to me by Professor P. Mathias, indicated his earlier purchases, but not, unfortunately, all the venues or details. The remaining volume of his diary is now (safely) deposited in the Middlesex Record Office. The first two, covering the period, 1703-11 are, regrettably, lost.

Perhaps the Smithfield area which he frequented for this purpose received supplies via the carriers serving the northern home counties and the midlands, which perhaps specialised in the commercial production of honey. Wherever it was produced, these London inns were its markets. Stranger still, in 1755, the Griffin in Oxford was the market for 'Boarstall Decoy Ducks'. These, their advertiser claimed, were the genuine article, not those falsely claimed to come from Boarstall by the men of Lincolnshire who took lesser ducks to London. Even so, the market for such Judases must have been limited.[1]

But if such commodities as ducks, honey and cheese were unusual commodities to be marketed in the inn, then stranger still were the spa waters sold in 1720 at the Bell Inn, Ludgate Hill, and at the King's Arms, Holborn Bridge.[2] Curiouser still, was the sale at the Bear Inn, Bath, in 1730 of bottles Holt waters, useful for all ailments from the King's Evil to poor appetite. One could get little closer to taking coals to Newcastle. Carriers, apothecaries and the inns at Bath and Exeter retailed this panacea.[3] In such cases, as in the sale of cheese, the inns provided easy and perhaps cheap markets for the producer, marts which were in addition able to hold stocks and attract custom. In this sense, they supplanted the need for a shop.

Much more significant were the specialised, but more staple,

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 134, 22 November 1755, p. 4. On the decoy, or the 'duckoy' see Defoe, Tour, II, pp. 97-100.
2. Daily Post, 268, 10 August 1720, p. 2; 296, 12 September 1720, p.2.
3. The Craftsman, 221, 26 September 1730, p. 4.

agricultural by-products of wool and leather, and the special crop of hops. All were sold at markets held within the precincts of inns in Western England. A major, if unusual situation existed in Gloucester. Here the complex of the Booth Hall may distort the evidence, but an advertisement of 1705 seemingly proved the existence of major markets within the inn:

'In the West-Gate-Street in the City of Gloucester, is to be let, a large Inn called the Booth Hall Inn, within the Precincts of which are held the Assize and Sessions for the City and County, with the Wool, Yarn and Leather Market.'[1]

By 1725 perhaps, the dominance of the Reindeer Inn of Worcester as a leather market was such that the mayor 'straightly charged' all tanners, shoemakers and dealers in leather to buy and sell only at the inn 'at their Peril'. Thus what started as a retreat from the open market became a private wholesale market with official blessing.[2] Probably resistance to the movement was accepted as futile: its other symptom was the abandonment of tolls.

Hereford provided interesting evidence of private wool markets in the last decade of our period. Here again there is little evidence of interference from the town government, while plentiful evidence exists of rivalry between the inns hosting such illicit marts. Richard Eysham of the Greyhound provided information of the historical

1. Post Man, 1405, 17 May 1705.
2. Weekly Worcester Journal, 30 July 1725.

background to the problem in 1750. He noted that sellers of wool had put it up at the Ship and Castle inn until 1749, when they moved to the Greyhound as a result of the closure of the old inn. From 20 June 1750 the Greyhound would act as the centre of the great wool fair, and all traders, farmers etc., were invited to make use of the inn's 'good Conveniences' for weighing and trading in wool.[1] The following June, Robert Peet of the Crown and Sceptre set aside 'two good rooms for weighing of wool' and set up in rivalry.[2] Five years later, in 1756, Edward Cox of the Maidenhead, denied 'malicious reports' that he would not be taking in wool at the next fair. Such rumours were 'false and wicked' since he had built new rooms for weighing and packing wool.[3] Perhaps Eysham and Peet were the scandal-mongers!

Peter Briggins purchased hops at frequent intervals in Southwark, often at the inns which acted as markets for the commodity. In 1704, he purchased two bags at the Greyhound in Southwark from a 'Countryman'. Briggins diary makes it clear that Southwark was the centre of the London hop trade, for the bulk of his purchases were made there, as were his profitable sales, made when the price was at its seasonal peak.[4] Other evidence confirms both the general and the specific location of the London hop market. In April 1740 Joseph Willard, hop

1. Gloucs. Journ., 1459, 12 June 1750, p. 3.
2. Ibid., 1510, 4 June 1751, p. 3.
3. Ibid., 1779, 29 June 1756, p. 4.
4. P. Briggins, Diary, 12/8/1704 [23 November 1704], and on holding to seasonal peak, 23/4/1705 [3 August] to 25/6/1705 [6 October 1705].

factor, of the Spur Inn, Southwark, gave notice that he had left off business, in favour of his former partner, Mr. James West.[1] In the same year of disastrous fire at the Half Moon Inn, Southwark, destroyed a 'considerable quantity' of hops, stored in a warehouse in the inn yard. The use of the word 'warehouse' and the absence of mention of any other brewing stocks makes it unlikely that these were stocks only for domestic consumption.[2]

In the West Midlands, Worcester was the centre of the hop trade, by 1813, not merely for its domestic production, but also for that of its neighbouring counties, Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.[3] So substantial was the town's hop market that the relief of the poor was provided from its tolls. An Act of 1703 incorporated Worcester's Poor Law Guardians, and provided for the Hop market to be held in, and to finance, a workshouse. A second act of 1731 vested the market and its profits in the hands of the Guardians in perpetuity.[4] Thus when in 1733 Samuel Lucas, soap-maker of Worcester, started regular sales of hops at the Black Spread Eagle, Spiceall Street, Birmingham, he found it necessary to state that hops would be 'furnished' to country dealers 'as cheap as Worcester market (for ready money)'.[5] But at this time, Hereford also had its hop-market, held in the Shire Hall

1. Gen. Even. Post., 1029, 29 April 1740, p. 3.
2. Lond. Daily Post, 1885, 7 November 1740, p. 1.
3. W. Pitt, View of ... Worcester, pp. 275-277.
4. 2 Anne c.8 section 3; 4 George II c. 25.
See Worcester City Records, 'Worcester Hop Market' D18 B I i
5. Northampton Mercury, 14, no. 29, 5 November 1733, p. 115.

until 1751, when, perhaps because of declining trade, the official market ceased. To replace it, Edward Drew of the Blue Boar Inn, offered 'commodious rooms' and 'civil usage' for hops and the dealers in them.[1] But even in the midlands, Kentish hops were on sale. In 1751, John Holmes of Market Harborough, advertised that he would sell hops 'of the right Canterbury growth' at the Woolpack Inn, on market days. He sold, 'as cheap as London' for amounts over 20 pounds in weight, and offered in addition, credit terms.[2]

Some inns also acted as the wholesale markets for industrial products, notably textiles. The areas of the Chilterns and parts of Hertfordshire were centres for cottage lace-making industries. The markets for this specialist craft industry, were the inns situated in Aldersgate Street in London, to which waggons, carriers and coaches from these regions ran. One of these inns, the George, in Little Britain, had acted as call chamber and market from at least 1690, but several other adjacent inns were its rivals. Another George, that in Aldersgate Street itself and the Bull and Mouth, Bull and Mouth Street also acted as lace markets in this period.

The major problem of assessment arose from these two 'Georges' both of which lay close to Aldersgate Street. One, presumably that in Little Britain, was clearly the main if not sole market for lace in 1690. An advertisement of that year made this clear, even if its publication suggested that there was some doubt in the matter:

1. Gloucs. Journ., 1527, 1 October 1751, p. 2.
2. Northampton Merc., 32, 28, 7 October 1751, p. 111.

'These are to certifie all Persons concerned, that the Black and White Lace-men, which buy lace in the Country, at the first Hand, do resolve to continue the said George-Inn in Aldersgate Street, and will be there ready to Furnish all Customers with all sorts of Black and Coloured lace, and Fine White Lace, and Culverteen, or Coarse Lace, every Tuesday from Six in the Morning, till two in the Afternoon as formerly.'[1]

The hours and scope of this market make it probable that its main function was for the wholesale trade. Certainly the markets recorded in 1720 were of this type. The mart at the Bull and Mouth, for 'bone lace' was primarily intended for 'Shopkeepers'.[2] But in or about the same year, the main lace market moved, with the innholder, to the George, Aldersgate Street, next to 'Thanet House'. Strype noted in passing that the former market had 'a handsome lace chamber' to which the Buckinghamshire men used to resort. But the market from about 1720 was held in or under the control of the George Inn, perhaps as Strype suggested, in Thanet House, next to, and part of the George.[3] Probably the use of this 'Thanet House' was over by 1740, for in that year it was put to lease, enquiries being directed to the George Inn.[4]

Once again the reasons for the development of such a specialised market in the inn must be analysed. It is clear, first of all, that the Aldersgate area had a close association in the transport trade with these lace-producing areas: yet other streets were as nearly-related. The answer really lay in the special nature of the product. It

1. New Observator, vol. 2, no. 19, 18 April 1690.
2. J. Strype, Survey of London, III., p. 121.
3. Ibid., III, p. 122.
4. Lond. Even. Post., 1901, 19 January 1740, p. 3.

required perhaps careful handling, and was produced in relatively small amounts. No open market existed for such commodities, and the hospitality of the inn to which middlemen came on their journeys to London offered the effective and possibly better substitute. Perhaps the original determinant of the location of the market was as in its shift in 1720, the landlord himself. Either former laceman or man of Buckinghamshire might have been the point around whom the market originally focussed.

Other cases suggest markets of small scale for industrial goods at inns. One inn of Gracechurch Street was the market for the shovel-handles sought by the London coalheavers in 1758.[1] The Red Lion, Tiverton, was a market for serges in 1738, albeit an unpopular one.[2] And in the same year, the Golden Talbot, Chester, was a crowded inn, used in the Anglo-Irish trade. According to Pakenham, here Irish linen was traded for 'hops chiefly'.[3] At the White Swan, Snow Hill, in 1701, 'Flower Pots of several sizes, and fashions wholly new,' were sold.[4] Inns were thus used for sales of quite extraordinary industrial products.

But this marketing of industrial goods was rarely noted by contemporaries, even if its extent was greater than that of our evidence. Most probably contracts and private tenders and warehousing

1. Journ. of House of Comm., 2 June 1758, vol. 28, pp. 264, 265.
2. M. Dunsford, Historical Memoirs of the Town and Parish of Tiverton (Exeter, 1790), pp. 226-227.
3. G. E. Pakenham, Diary, 30 September 1738, pp. 66-67.
4. Post Man, 842, 24 May 1701.

obviated entirely the need for such wholesale markets, except perhaps in somewhat unusual commodities, or in the small-scale production of rural crafts. More significant than this, was the growing use of inns in this period as substitute markets not in the wholesale but rather in the retail trades. Evidence such as that of Abingdon in 1737, showed that even the most regular form of market institution was inadequate to meet changed circumstances of demand which now dictated daily trading. Just as in agricultural commodities, rising living standards of this period and the consequent increased demand for both luxury goods and industrial products made the true retailing shop a possibility. Even so, it is unlikely that shops as such spread outside the larger towns until the nineteenth century. The bulk of industrial goods produced by the craft and larger-scale industry were sold either by middlemen or in the ancient institution of the fair.

But the somewhat sparse evidence available at present of occupational structures of towns and villages in our period indicates growth in the retail trades. Indeed it could be argued that it was in this century that the commercial character of towns was established. Before 1760 the bulk of the complaints of decaying corporate towns so common in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century had been silenced. Perhaps the growing inland trade and the commercial dealings consequently generated in towns substituted the much-lamented loss of industry. Certainly by 1760 most towns had at least a grocer,

a mercer, and an apothecary in addition to their numerous innkeepers. Of some 269 heads of households displaced by the great fire of Warwick in 1694, six appeared as apothecaries, one bookseller, three chandlers, one confectioner, one tobacconist and three as mercers.[1] Even among these few would perhaps correspond to the retailers their names suggested. The growth of such retailers in the larger towns did not in any way supplant the fair as the main means of selling such industrial goods, nor did the shop before 1760, supersede the inn as the main form of retail outlet in England.

Thus before the growth and development of the shop, the inn provided substitute functions. In our period, when the seasonal fair was becoming inadequate for the more regular consumer demand, and when as yet, conditions were not yet right for a widespread distribution of true shops, inns filled the gap. They provided rooms for itinerant pedlars and salesmen which represented and substituted shops. As late as 1815-16, law-suits about the responsibility of innkeepers towards shop-goods in their premises occurred, with judgment going to the innkeeper on the dubious precedent of Calye's Case of 1584. Lord Ellenborough's judgment in the case Burgess v. Clements of Trinity 1815 made the position clear:

1. Warwick Borough Records, 'The Bills of the losses given in by the sufferers by the late fire in Warwick', WA H/Boxes 1 and 2. On shops, especially in country towns, see D. Davis, A History of Shopping (London, 1966), Chapter VI.

'The innkeeper not being bound to find him any more than lodging and a convenient room for refreshment, this does not satisfy his object, but he enquires for a third room, for the purpose of exposing in it his wares to view, and of introducing a number of persons, over whom the innkeeper can have no check or control, add thus it seems to me, for a purpose wholly aliene [sic] from the ordinary purpose of an inn which is ad hospitandos homines, Therefore the care of these goods hardly falls within the limits of the defendants duty as an innkeeper.'[1]

That such issues were still in contention in 1815 indicates both the recent growth of the custom of using inns as shops and that at this date proper shops were not sufficiently widespread to perform their essential marketing functions.

Thus the evidence of such itinerant shopless shopkeepers comes from the second half of our period, more particularly, post 1720. Again, the evidence of such uses is less plentiful than perhaps was the use itself, but in the sale of patent medicines and in mercery and drapery wares, the inn clearly played a significant part. Warwick, as has been shown, had six apothecaries in 1694. Bath, Reading certainly had as many, and London many more. But in each town inns acted as the shops for goods that one would expect to be the preserve of the apothecary. The use of the inn to sell such goods is clearly analogous with the sale of spa waters noted above.

The most repeated seller of such goods was 'The Grand Destroyer of Rats' who sold his preparations all over Western England in the late 1750s. His goods were on sale at the Highlander, Bath, and inns in Bristol in 1756.[2] They were in Reading in the following year, when his

1. Burgess v. Clements, Trinity 55 George III, Maule and Selwyn's Reports, IV, p. 311 (1817).
2. Bath Journal, 693, 29 November 1756, p. 190.

preparations were given additional merit with the claim that they had all but cleared the country round Bristol and Bath. At one shilling a packet the poisons were only available at the Bull, Reading, the Three Tuns, Henley, the Catherine Wheel, Newbury, and the Three Horse Shoes, Old Butcher Row, Oxford.[1] Whether in this area he was as successful is perhaps shown by his return to the same Oxford inn in 1759.[2] More surprising still was the sale at the Wheatsheaf Inn, Warwick in 1759 of 'The Right, True, Genuine Tooth-Water'. This preparation, which scoured gums, whitened teeth, prevented ulcers, sweetened the breath and cured in only three minutes 'The most violent pain in the teeth', was a commodity more meet for a apothecary's shop, even if it cost but a shilling a bottle.[3] Possibly its contents were nearer those more normally retailed at inns.

Apart from such medical and chemical wares, the main use of the inn as shop was in the textile trades. Just as inns were used for the wholesale of wool and textile products such as lace, so too, retail drapers, haberdashers and pedlars sold at inns. The early cases of this further suggest that in the smaller towns such specialist trades were not, in the period before 1760, viable forms of enterprise. As in so many other forms of activity, particularly in agriculture, specialists succeeded only through two means: by having a by-employment or leading a semi-itinerant life. Such a man was

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 218, 2 July 1757, p. 2.
2. Ibid., 342, 17 November 1759, p. 3.
3. Ibid., 314, 5 May 1759, p. 3.

Thomas Bishop, of Dinton near Aylesbury. In 1720 he was that rather under-studied animal, the jobbing weaver and retail clothier. He made and retailed diaper, table linen, 'figured linen', curtains and worsted. His market places were the inn of his region. On Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays he sold his goods at the Old Red Lion, Thame, the Turk's Head, Aylesbury, and at the King's Arms, Bicester. In addition he undertook special commissions.[1] John Lee of Chesterfield advertised himself in 1739 as the 'great dealer in BEDDING' and took rooms at the Three Eagles, Wrexham, to sell his wares during the town fair. He dealt from his warehouse in Chesterfield wholesale and retail, but this foray was clearly designed to attract retail custom: the inhabitants of Wrexham were urged to 'Miss not this Opportunity'.[2] More specialized still, and perhaps with an attraction for the wholesale trade, were the goods offered for sale during Bristol Fair in 1747 at the Bell Inn. The vendors were partners, Messrs. Laidler and Kent, who dealt from London Bridge and from their 'Hair Ware-house' in East Gate, Exeter. They sold hair, ribbons, silk, combs, brushes, razors, and 'all other things used in peruke making'. Thus their action perhaps amounted to that of the commercial traveller, providing raw materials for the wigmakers of Western England, while at the same time providing goods in their inn shop for the retail trade.[3]

1. Northampton Merc., 1, no. 9, 27 June 1720, p. 107.
2. Adams's Weekly Courant, 327, 28 February 1739, p. 4.
3. Bath Journal, 153, 26 January 1747, p. 178.

London inns and taverns were used to similar purpose. The Bull Head, Chancery Lane, was transformed into a shop for 'Stuff Goods' for one month in 1750. Camblets, Damasks, 'Callimancoes' and 'Irish Stuffs' were for sale at very low prices between 9 am and 1 pm, and 2 pm to 6 pm. Probably these were unsold imports, disposed of by this unusual method as an alternative to the more customary auction.[1] A final use illustrates the possible inconveniences of such sales. Dealers in bedding and carpeting held goods for sale by retail at their warehouse above the Blue Posts Tavern, Grays Inn Gate, in 1750. They were clearly disturbed at the rather unsavoury character which might attach to such a location, for their advertisement added:

'It is humbly hoped its being in a Tavern will be no Objection on any Gentleman or Lady's coming, as the Passage that leads to their Warehouses have not the least Communication with it ....'[2]

This possible objection was clearly insufficient to dissuade other dealers from such a use of the tavern or inn.

At the same time as such tradesmen used inns and taverns as shops, the more formal development of proper shops was taking place. In 1744, Andrew Rogers, bookseller and stationer from London, took a shop at the White Swan Inn, Oundle.[3] Richard Rock, druggist had a shop within the Bell Savage, Ludgate Hill in 1750.[4] It was not perhaps by accident that shops often arose within inn premises. The evidence adduced above

1. Gen. Advert., 4813, 26 March 1750, p. 2.
2. Gen. Advert., 5041, 17 December 1750, p. 2.
3. Northampton Mercury, 25, 40, 7 January 1745, p. 160.
4. Penny Lond. Post, 1343, 28 November 1750, p. 4.

of the inn acting itself as a shop suggested that this function was performed not in lieu of shops, but rather at the intermediary stage of development, at some median point in the evolution of shops out of the open markets and fairs. Given the level of income per head in our period, the size of the town and perhaps its transport facilities - working through costs - determined whether shops could survive, and which traders could set up shops. Architecturally, as well as economically, it was but a short movement from inn parlours used as shops, to their conversion to permanent shops.[1] The evidence of leases of inns clearly demonstrated the existence of such shops. As early as 1655 they existed on the frontage of the Hinde Head [also known as the 'Naggs Head'] Reading,[2] and from 1703 in the Elephant at Wantage.[3] The use of the inn itself as a shop should therefore be regarded as a transitory stage in the development in English towns of the shop as such.[4]

Our period was thus one of transition, in which the old regulated markets were in decline, in which perhaps some fairs were beginning to be trivialized as industrial goods and some materials sought less seasonal markets, and in which the beginnings of fixed shops selling by retail can be discerned. The inn played a vital role in this transition.

1. See above, pp. 103 - 104.
2. Berks. R. O., D/EFO T. 49.
3. Berks. R. O., D/EM T.175.
4. See D. Alexander, Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution (London, 1970).

In the marketing of agricultural products they provided alternatives to the regulated open market. In a period of depressed producer prices, of expanding conurbations, and of the consequent growth of inland trade, the changes in the marketing system took several forms, but most important were the expansion of private wholesale marts, and the rationalisation of centres regarded by contemporaries as 'real' markets. The facilities and location of inns, with their large rooms and proximity to the market places, made them the obvious agencies of such changes. Analogous reasons dictated their use as markets for other commodities, though with hops, honey, lace, wool etc., their position as the termini of the carrying trade, and their ability to provide protection , shelter and security, were crucial.

At the same time, and as the corollary of the above development, there were plentiful signs of the growth of, and the need for more regular outlets for, the retail trade. Ultimately, this produced the 'nation of shopkeepers' even if in a literal sense, Bonaparte was a little premature in his assessment. The scanty occupational-census material available for English towns before 1760 shows relatively few shopkeepers, and probably fewer still who were shopkeepers alone. Dent's diversification in a small town, Kirkby Stephen, in the second half of the century serves as an important corrective to the assumption that occupational names like 'grocer' or 'mercer' or even 'tobacconist' actually indicated proper shopkeepers.[1]

1. T. S. Willan, 18th Century Shopkeeper, passim.

The most recent research on the shop as an institution shows that it grew to prominence during the late eighteenth century. In so far as this growth can be quantified, for the first half of the nineteenth century, it was concentrated in the new industrial cities and towns which displayed the most marked rise in population. Dr. Alexander's conclusion from this was that '... in old and established towns an increase in population might result in larger average turnovers in existing shops, with only a small net increase in new shops.'[1] One might conclude, alternatively, that the different growth rates were merely those of 'old' and 'new' developers: in other words, prior to 1800 the older towns had already evolved sufficient shop outlets.

If this was so, then the inns, which in 1760 and earlier must have been numerically unrivalled as retail outlets, paved the way for the shops, both in wholesale and retail trade expansion. In the inns of western England specialist and wholesale markets grew up, as did the more specialist form of retailing which was later to produce the shop. Their parlours were at once the 'shops' of itinerant specialist retailers, and the rooms which were converted into shops in fact. Thus both the conceptual and physical origins of the nineteenth century shop may be found in the inns which provided an important transitory stage in the evolution of the shop and the wholesale mart out of the medieval system of open market and seasonal fair. At this period, the inn itself acted as a market.

1. D. Alexander, Retailing in England ...., p. 94.

CHAPTER 9: THE INN AS A PLACE OF BUSINESS

Much of the content of the following chapter has already been discussed above. That the inn was used as a place of business is a truism. The innkeeper, and perhaps independent ostlers themselves, gradually had developed this side of the inn's activity. But, as has already been seen, others too sought to use this institution as their place of business. Among these were the many legal or quasi-legal bodies discussed in Chapter 2. These chose to hold their sessions dinners, adjourned Quarter Sessions, Petty Sessions, recruiting meetings, and meetings for Turnpikes, Enclosures and Commissions of Sewers at the inns; the Commissioners of the Land Tax and administrators of such charities as the Funds for maimed soldiers, all met in the inns of Western England.[1]

The inns were also the business places for most of those engaged in land transport and for many of those running services on the rivers. Directly or indirectly they were the main offices and termini for all coach and carrier services. Within the inn complex independent ostlers, coachmen and private carriers had their headquarters.[2] Many inns were, moreover, Post Offices or Excise Offices, by virtue of their keepers. Similarly, they could be regarded as farm offices, and the workplaces and shops of many other forms of enterprise through the

1. See above, Chapter 2.
2. See above, Chapters 5 and 6.

dual employment of their keepers.[1] Above all the inns were used by the new itinerant auctioneers, whose services in so many goods and commodities proliferated in our period.[2] Nor was their business function thus limited: buying and selling took place increasingly in the inns of Western England as they developed as private or restricted market places. Above all they exercised the functions of that institution which, numerically, was later to eclipse them as the main retail market: the shop.[3]

It was suggested above that one of the reasons for the use of the inn rather than specialised salerooms for sales by auction, was that the demand for the auctioneers' services was in-sufficient to finance investment in one place in expensive rooms. The use of inns allowed him to move to the best markets and to the best clients and to maintain substantial trading capital. But a further reason, particularly in London, would seem to have lain in the shortage of business premises. Symptomatic of this were the pressures on business accommodation seen in the speculative booms of the years 1710-11 and 1719-20. In the months of December 1710 and January 1711, at least 23 insurance companies were formed in London. Of these 23 societies, 8 had their own offices, 3 met at premises which cannot be identified, 6 at inns, taverns or coffee houses, and 6 at the premises of other tradesmen.[4]

1. See above, Chapter 4.
2. See above, Chapter 7.
3. See above, Chapter 8.
4. British Museum collections of Proposals for Insurances etc., 1710-1711, 1890 b. 5.

This perhaps shows the shortage of available office space.

Examination of the advertised proposals in the years 1719-1720 in the London newspapers demonstrates the same situation. In the latter year, some 200 companies and 'co-partnerships' were formed, most having their headquarters in London taverns and alehouses. Indeed there may have been many more. While the speculative boom of these years is already familiar, and our conclusion that this mushrooming of companies led to great pressure on business accommodation, follows from it, there has been, perhaps, a tendency to regard these 'lower Alley Bubbles' as mere trivia. Textbook accounts of the period have stressed the speculative elements of the crisis:

'..... the South Sea Bubble panic of 1720 was the culmination of a ludicrous indulgence in speculation.'[1]

They have also stressed the destructive and limiting effects of the period in a teleological sense.[2] But it is clear that the results of the Bubble were not wholly retrogressive. Scott stressed the differential effect of the collapse, in which financial undertakings suffered worst, and companies such as those engaged in water supply, river improvement, mining and manufacture, often survived.[3] One must be careful not to exaggerate the disutility of the 1719-1720 projections.

If nothing else, the mushroom companies showed the areas of the economy which contemorary projectors and presumably also investors,

1. P. Deane, The First Industrial Revolution, (Cambridge, 1965) p. 226.
2. Ibid., p. 168.
3. W. R. Scott, Joint Stock Companies, I, pp. 430-436.

sought to develop or improve. Scott identified several phases of company formation in the years 1719 to 1720, starting with financial and fishery undertakings, moving in April and May 1720 to foreign and colonial commerce, and in June to textiles, manufactures and land improvement.[1] An overall analysis of companies formed in the months September 1719 to December 1720 [inclusive] would suggest that the largest single group, just under half, were devoted to trade or manufactures. The overtly financial institutions which attracted so much attention among contemporaries, and which according to Scott suffered most severely in the crash of the autumn of 1720, were but one quarter of the total. The results of such an analysis of 209 companies are shown in Table 25 below.

Table 25: New Projects or Revivals of Older Projects Classified by Sector, September 1719 to December 1720.[2]

	No.	%
Manufactures	65	31.1
Foreign and Domestic Trade	39	18.7
Insurance and Assurance	29	13.9
Other Finance	22	10.5
Agriculture and Land Improvement	16	7.6
Fisheries	15	7.2
Building and Town Improvement	14	6.7
Others	9	4.3
Total	209	100.0

1. Ibid., I, pp. 413-415.
2. Sources Scott, op. cit., Division XIII, vol. III, pp. 445-458; and advertisements from London and provincial press, for 1720 only. Of the 19 projects added to Scott's total only 7 fell in the months October-December 1720. The rest are additions to those identified by Scott for January to September 1720.

Problems arise in attempting to classify such schemes. Above all the problem is illustrated by the South Sea Company itself, which to all intents and purposes was a company trading with the New World. Others, like its ancestor, the Sword Blade, and the York Buildings Co., by moving against whom the South Sea Company started its downfall, equally belied their names and origins.[1] But in general one can accept that these projects meant to fulfill their expressed aims. Thus companies formed to exploit mineral deposits, to develop new processes, or to manufacture new products are classified under 'Manufactures' in Table 25. 'Agriculture and Land Improvement' comprehends drainage schemes, the introduction of new crops, and provision of capital improvements. Water supply, street cleaning and new building are classified under the 'Building and Town Improvement' category.

In general the pattern of projects accords well with general assessments of the British Economy in the early eighteenth century. The marked interest in manufacture and trade rather than agriculture is most significant. Within the manufacturing sector, a large number of projects were for import substitution in various forms, adding perhaps more weight to Ralph Davis's assessment of the period as one which a coherent policy of protection really developed.[2] 21 of these 209

1. See Scott, op.cit., passim in vols. II and III; P. G. M. Dickson, Financial Revolution, pp. 148-149.
2. R. Davis, 'The Rise of Protection in England, 1669-1786' Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd series, XIX (1966).

companies were concerned explicitly with import substitution of foreign manufactures, or were intended to produce at home goods which were normally imported. A further sixteen were designed to develop or settle colonies for similar purpose.[1] In contrast, the relatively low level of interest in the agricultural sector accords with the relatively depressed conditions of that industry in the early eighteenth century. The cataclysm of the Bubble may have confirmed the prejudice of the more cautious for the security of investment in land, which lingered at least until the time of Adam Smith.[2]

The massive flotation of companies during the years 1719-1720 led to 'spillage' of their activities outside the main coffee houses of Exchange Alley, in which the financial business of London was normally transacted. On the same evidence as that used above, it is possible to identify meeting places, business houses etc., of some 174 of our 209 companies and 'projections' over the period September 1719 to December 1720. These 174 met in at least 56 separate houses, of which all may be presumed to have been either coffee houses or taverns. Three, however, cannot be identified as such, and, rather surprisingly, the majority of the remaining 53 were not coffee houses but taverns. Each institution had a roughly proportionate share of these 'projections', but what at first sight is surprising is that 28 of the 53 were taverns, only 25 being coffee houses. The taverns

1. Based as p. 320, n. 2, on Scott and my own researches.
2. A. Smith, Wealth of Nations, Book II, Ch. IV.

accounted for 88 companies, the coffee houses for 83. But apart from first place, held by the Ship Tavern, behind Royal Exchange, where 19 companies met, coffee houses were the most significant business houses, as shown by Table 26, below.

Table 26: Share of Taverns and Coffee Houses in Projections, 1718-20.[1]

Name	No. Projects	% of Total
Ship Tavern	19	10.9
Sam's Coffee House	14	7.9
Garraway's Coffee House	12	6.9
Marine Coffee House	10	5.7
Globe Tavern [and Coffee House?]	7	4.0
Ship and Castle Tavern	7	4.0
Virginia Coffee House	7	4.0
Waghorn's Coffee House	7	4.0
48 Other Taverns and Coffee Houses	91	52.3
TOTAL	174	100.0

Of these houses, Garraway's became an auction centre, and Jonathan's 'developed lineally into the Stock Exchange'.[2] But even if by the end of our period some specialization in the stockbroking trade was apparent, many other houses survived as financial institutions of importance. Possibly government hostility to broking and jobbing was at once responsible for the prolonged decentralization of the stock-market (or, rather, absence of complete centralization) and

1. Source for Table 25 and the preceding section, from Scott, Joint-Stock Companies, Division XIII, and newspaper sources as above in note 2, p. 320.
2. P. G. M. Dickson, Financial Revolution, p. 490.

was itself reinforced by the convenience of conducting business in taverns and coffee houses. Although such houses as Jonathan's, and increasingly, Lloyds, attracted a growing share of the jobbing business, others continued in use for dealing throughout our period.

Two such houses serve to illustrate the point. Ranking high as a business house in the first half of the eighteenth century was the Crown Tavern, behind the Royal Exchange. According to Lillywhite, it stood in an alleyway leading out of Threadneedle Street, and its disappearance in the early 1760s probably resulted from the extensions then being made to the Bank of England. It was also a house closely-associated with the Sun Fire Office, which was next door.[1] In 1720, it was the business house for an insurance company,[2] and for 'the Gentlemen ..... concerned in the Invention of the Machine for carrying Ships out of Harbours, and on their Voyages, in Calms and Contrary Winds.'[3] Up to 1750 it was used similarly by the United East India Company, and Merchants trading with the Leeward Islands and Jamaica.[4] For the latter year, newspapers again provided prolific evidence of the Crown's use as a business house. The Trustees of the annuities on the life of one Thomas Scawen of Maidwell, Northamptonshire, presented their accounts to the annual meeting of interested parties at the Crown. A series of meetings took place in the Crown, in 1750,

1. Lillywhite, London Coffee Houses, no. 319, pp. 180-185.
2. Daily Courant, 5721, 22 February 1720, p. 5.
3. Daily Post, 274, 17 August 1720, p. 2.
4. Lillywhite, London Coffee Houses, pp. 183-184.

held by those concerned in the manufacture and import of Cambricks and French Lawns in the Linen trade. Both groups resented the restrictions imposed by the Act of 1745 '... for Prohibiting the Weaving and Importation of Cambricks and French Lawns' which was reinforced and clarified in 1748.[1] Two petitions were started at the Crown for the repeal of the 'Cambrick Act', and as a result of the enquiry by a Commons Committee, relief from import duty on linen yarns was granted to the manufacturing interest.[2] The series of meetings thus enjoyed only partial success.[3] The Crown's associations with overseas trade were shown by another meeting early in 1750 regarding inconveniences arising in the export of tea to Ireland and America.[4] It was a house with close connexions with the business community.

So, too, was the Swan Tavern, Cornhill, which lay within a few yards of the Crown. It was the home for two minor 'bubbles', the Brunswick Lottery, and an annuity company, in 1720.[5] Whereas the Crown was associated with the Sun Fire Office, the Swan was tied with the notorious York Buildings Company. To Scott, this company was 'in several respects ... an unique product of the South Sea period' which 'seemed unable to profit by the experience of its predecessors, save by selecting for its imitation the worst financial methods and

1. The Acts of 18 George II c. 36, and 21 George II, c. 26.
2. Journal of the House of Commons, 25, pp. 1066-1082; resulted in the Act of 24 George II, c. 46.
3. Daily Advertiser, 4759, 22 January 1750, p. 2; General Advertiser 4765, 29 January 1750, p. 2; General Advertiser, 4830, 16 April 1750, p. 2.
4. Ibid.
5. W. R. Scott, Joint Stock Companies, III, p. 426.

neglecting the best'. One of its remarkable features was that its death was remarkably slow, not finally occurring until 1829, when the company was dissolved by Act of Parliament.[1] The financial chaos of the York Buildings Co. necessitated frequent intervention from accountants and auditors. Stephen Monteage, accountant, was so engaged in 1733. In January and February of that year he attended the Swan, Cornhill, at least four times for meetings of the Court of the York Buildings Company, on one occasion for a meeting of the General Court which began at 12 noon and did not finish until after eight at night.[2] Meetings similar to those of 1720 took place in the Swan in 1750 to promote the intended British Fishery Company. Evidently the promotion was successful, since a month later, in February, the committee reported back to a general meeting, again held at the Swan.[3]

The Crown and the Swan were exceptional taverns. They lay in the great complex of business ale, wine and coffee houses around the Royal Exchange, which substituted the great offices of the present century. The life of such institutions extended and grew beyond the end of our period. Indeed such alehouses and taverns were extinguished at the same time as the coffee houses, from which they were virtually indistinguishable. Lillywhite placed the final demise of the coffee house business rooms in the mid nineteenth century. The 'rage for clubs' and

1. Ibid., p. 433.
2. Guildhall MSS., No. 205, Diary of Stephen Monteage, vol. I, pp. 3, 7, 8, 31, 5 January to 8 February 1733.
3. General Advertiser, 4747, 8 January 1750, p. 2; 4777, 12 February 1750, p. 2.

special houses, the inadequacy of the available tavern accommodation, and the consequent development of such institutions as the Baltic Exchange, were its cause.[1]

In the provinces, the business of this type, conducted almost entirely in London in coffee houses and taverns, was done at the inns. But perhaps because London was a dominant commercial centre, perhaps because no parallel existed to the great complex around the Royal Exchange, there is very little evidence of such transactions in provincial inns. The bankers, financiers and brokers who presumably existed in some provincial towns have left few traces. That such men were active in the provinces is beyond dispute, and many may have covered their activities under the title of 'gentleman' in the occupational census material available to us. Perhaps it was easier in provincial towns to secure premises of one's own, and the absence of a single polarising financial institution like the Royal Exchange obviated the need to be near any one spot in the town. If such financiers looked towards London, as one would expect them to, then they did not need the same jobbing houses as the capital.

Two cases from the provinces, both in the 1750s, fit closest thematically to the jobbing business carried on around the Royal Exchange. The early stages of company flotation took place in the Golden Lion, Brecon, in May 1752. At this inn a 'committee of gentlemen'

1. B. Lillywhite, London Coffee Houses, pp. 26-27.

met to agree how to supply the town with water through leaden pipes. Their enterprise proceeded with speed, since by June of the same year they invited tenders for the works.[1] To judge from the insurance company operating from the Mitre, Oxford, in 1758, the lessons of the weaker floatations of 1710-11 had been learned. The early influences of the developing art of the actuary had been to make such life cover very hard to obtain for those who were, by eighteenth-century standards, beyond middle age. Hence through Mr. Galten, landlord of the Mitre, those aged between 35 and 55, could enter a 'Benefit Society' quite specifically designed for their age group.[2] It is unknown whether this rather risky scheme was a success or not.

For the rest of business conducted within the walls of provincial inns, we are left with a few isolated traces, which by their rather commonplace nature, suggest that few contemporaries found the practice worthy of remark. John Richards, of Warmwell, Dorset, recorded contracting in grain and other agricultural goods at the Antelope, Dorchester, in the years 1697-99.[3] Dr. Claver Morris negotiated the contract for building the clye on Kennard Moor in 1726 at the Rose and Crown in Glastonbury. Agreement was reached with John Evil of Kington and Joseph Allen of Barton to perform the works for £25.[4]

1. Gloucs. Journ., 1562, 2 June 1752, p. 3.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 296, 30 December 1758, p. 2.
3. W. B., 'Extracts from the Diary of John Richards of Warmwell, March 1697 to March 1702,' Retrospective Review, new series, vol. I., (1853), pp. 408, 409.
4. West Country Physician, 19 July 1726, p. 134.

These few examples of business being conducted at provincial inns are sufficient to show that the practice was sufficiently commonplace as to be rarely worthy of remark. But other sources lend support to these specific examples, particularly by criticising the practice. Most coherent of the attacks was the Dissertation Upon Drunkenness of 1728 which noted the advantages of doing business in tavern or inn, reducing the haggling over the bargain to be struck. Its author added the moral comment:

> 'This is to give a Friend an Opiate to circumvent him, and when his Direction begins to nod, to seize the opportunity, and surprize him: But this Practice will scarcely stand the test of a Man's Conscience, because it is drinking with a felonious intent, it doubles the crime, and adds Injustice to Intemperence.'[1]

The Middlesex Justices accepted the criticism in regard to drink in general, but gin in particular, and attacked the practice 'among chandlers and others' of giving drink to servants, whose masters ultimately paid for it in 'price weight or measure'. Hence in 1736 they resolved to petition the Commons about 'this great and dangerous evil'.[2] The author of Low Life recorded the continuance of such practices in 1764, both among Gentlemen's coachmen, at the Tap-Houses of Inns, and by merchants and others in the taverns around the Royal Exchange.[3] In spite of the criticisms, drink, it seemed, remained a necessary part of business dealing in both London and the provinces.

1. A Dissertation Upon Drunkenness (London, 1728) pp. 29-30.
2. Middx. R. O., Orders of Court IV, ff. 54-57d, 1736.
3. Low Life, (3rd. edition, London, 1764), Hour VIII, p. 35; Hour XX, p. 86.

The problems facing the specialist, especially in the service industries, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, were those created by the size of the market: as discussed above, the answer sought throughout our period was frequently the 'dual economy'.[1] But the other answer lay in the adoption of an itinerant or semi-itinerant life. The growth of consumption in rural England, especially in the larger villages and small towns, from the late sixteenth century onward, created the pedlars and hawkers who traded at fairs and who visited villages, at least until the mid nineteenth century. Only then did the 'retailing revolution' put an end to the growth in such itinerant tradesmen.[2]

But such men were not generally held in any great esteem, and indeed in the sixteenth century had been regarded as little better than vagabonds. Significantly, perhaps, few hawkers or pedlars seem to have been licensed as they were supposed under the Act of 1697.[3] They have, therefore, left few traces, and are far better documented for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, than for our period. But such hawkers and pedlars were not the only itinerants of England before 1760, even if they were probably the most numerous single group.

Pedlars and hawkers were the lowest level, and longest lived,

1. See above, Chapter 4.
2. See D. Alexander, Retailing in England ....., pp. 61 f.
3. P. Mantoux, Industrial Revolution, pp. 111-112. He refers to statute of 8 and 9 William III, c. 25.

of all the groups whose market depended on the itinerant and semi-itinerant life. Others of higher social and economic status, trades now essentially 'middle-class', such as doctors [quacks] practitioners of Law, and dancing-masters travelled around to sell their services. Warwick, a town of perhaps 2,500 souls in 1694, had in that year four attorneys, a midwife, a doctor of physic and an apothecary.[1] The town alone could hardly have supported them all. None were recorded in Abingdon in the same year.[2] By 1768 Northampton was a substantial town of about 6,000 persons, but even there, its two scriveners, six doctors and surgeons and four apothecaries, seemed rather greater than the needs of the town alone would have demanded.[3] Beyond this, it is clear that these occupational names comprehended a wide range of skills and educational attainments. Doctors and physicians ranged from the sincere and skilled to the mountebanks, and many local 'lawyers' were little more than experienced barrators. Nevertheless, both ends of the spectrum of responsibility travelled to do business in the eighteenth century, and all these men conducted their affairs in the inns of Western England.

Since the publication of the works of McKeown and Brown in 1955, medicine in the eighteenth century has been given an almost universally bad press by historians. Only Sigsworth and Razzell have in any way

1. Warwick Borough Records, WA 4/Boxes 1 and 2.
2. Berks. R. O., D/EP3 A/M2/6.
3. Based on analysis of Northampton Poll Book for 1768 kindly loaned to me by Professor Alan Everitt.

rebutted this new orthodoxy, and neither of their interests - hospitals and innoculation - are relevant to the discussion of those itinerant practitioners whose surgery was the inn. Indeed, above all others, physicians were those selected for the most virulent condemnation by our critics of eighteenth-century medical progress. Following close behind were the two other spheres of medical practice performed by our itinerants: surgery and midwifery. As late as 1874, a leading surgeon noted of his practice, that 'skill in the performance has far outstripped the success in the result'. Nor did changes in the practice of midwifery contribute substantially to alteration in the vital statistics of eighteenth century England.[1]

The apparent failure of medical practice to improve in the eighteenth century helps to account for the mass of patent medicines like 'Jesuits' Drops' and 'Daffy's Elixir', and the preventive tokens, necklaces or bangles, advertised and sold through eighteenth century newspapers. A society in which death was always very near lay open to the appeal of such panaceas.[2] This may account for the apparent paradox of the existence on one hand of numerous medical practitioners, and the frequent ridicule of their pretensions on the other. The

1. Based on T. McKeown and R. G. Brown, 'Medical Evidence Related to English Population Changes in the Eighteenth Century' Population Studies, IX, (1955). E. M. Sigsworth, 'A Provincial Hospital in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries' College of General Practitioners, Yorkshire Faculty Journal, June 1966; P. E. Razzell, art. cit., Econ. Hist. Rev. XVIII (1965).
2. See virtually any contemporary newspapers; Willan also comments on this, Eighteenth Century Shopkeeper, pp. 17-18.

sores and wens that provided so many eighteenth-century writers and artists with their imagery also provided plentiful business for all sorts of medical practitioners.

The mountebank Mr. Smith, coincided with Macky in his visit to the George Inn, Winchester in 1722. His patents, sold at 6d per packet, may have been effective, for two years later the same source commented on the extreme longevity of the inhabitants of the town.[1] Two other travelling doctors practised at inns in our period, of whom one, R. B. Shappee, proclaimed a pedigree sufficient to warrant respect. He was a practitioner in 'Physic, Surgery, and Man - midwifery' and had been trained during 14 years military service by his uncle, Dr. Shappee. He travelled, he said, presumably to rebut accusations of 'quackery', because travel helped to relieve his gout. Whatever the real reason, he took up residence in the Black Bear, Shipston-on-Stour, in April 1757.[2] Early in 1758, he practised on market days at both the Crown, Faringdon, and the George, Burford.[3] Travelling on a slightly different basis, John Herber 'Apothecary, Surgeon, and Man Midwife' from London, practised at Buckingham in 1759, but held surgery every Wednesday at the Black Swan, Brackley, Northamptonshire. Like Smith and Shappee, Herber was clearly a permanent provincial resident, and held 'branch' surgery in Brackley, to extend the market for his services.[4] But in either type, the institution which could provide

1. Macky, Journey Through England, II, pp. 24, 29-30, 1722-24.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 208, 23 April 1757, p. 2.
3. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 246, 14 January 1758, p. 2.
4. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 335, 29 September 1759, p. 2.

consulting rooms, and accommodation at a familiar local landmark, was the inn. Not only were inns the shops for many patent medicines, but also the surgeries for the travelling doctors of dubious skills.

Two associated services were those of the dentist and the barber, Both also used the inn as their place of business, although again, the evidence of this is necessarily fragmentary. The only dentist traced, was a Mr. Foy, who in 1757 practised from Oxford. His achievements, to judge from his advertised claims, were considerable. He cleaned the 'blackest and foulest teeth' and set in artificial teeth; sold tinctures for curing 'scurvy of the gums' and a pill which ended 'pain in rotten teeth'; and as a preventive measure, sold his own 'Dentifrice Powder'. Although based in Oxford, he held surgery in the Angel, Reading for a week in October 1757, and broke his journey home at the George Inn, Dorchester, 'where those with tooth disorders' were desired to attend.[1] His travels and the consequent use of inns as surgeries, were apparently infrequent, since this was the sole advertisement of his services.

The barber was a more commonplace resident of the inn. In a sense, his simpler functions were performed at virtually every inn, in which shaving was available from the servants. The highwayman Dangerfield was served by a barber at the Crown Inn, Bridgenorth, in December 1684.[2] Hall, the Barber, frequented the Bull's Head, Leadenhall Street, in

1. Read. Merc., 623, 3 October 1757, p. 3.
2. Dangerfield, Memoires, 24 December 1684, pp. 12-13.

about 1720, although the source does not make it clear whether he practised his trade there.[1] But there was little doubt about Partridge, the learned barber-surgeon and presumptive father of Tom Jones, who was encountered by the hero of Fielding's novel at the inn at Cambridge [?], and was clearly used to waiting on customers at the inn, even if he did not live there.[2] The travelling public, who had the funds to stay at inns, were also those who, if they did not have servants to shave them at home, would certainly not admit to the fact, and therefore provided in the inns of Western England a livelihood for the barber or barber-surgeon.

Similar trades, in the sense that they were those teaching the arts of the gentry, were the fencing master and the dancing master who practised at inns in our period. Again one doubts whether such men were at the top of their profession, and the use of the inn for the practise of their business, probably confirmed that they provided training to those of lesser 'quality'. Nevertheless, the fencing-tutor, was in every way a remarkable man. For some years, until at least 1670, Mr. John Weale, a native of Cornwall, gave fencing lessons at the Angel Inn, Backside St. Clements. His distinguishing feature was that he was blind in both eyes as a result of his battles. In 1670, this led to a command exhibition before Charles II.[3] A second single

1. Vade Mecum for Malt Worms.
2. Fielding, Tom Jones, Book VIII, Chapter IV; the location was identified by Dudden, Henry Fielding, II, p. 605.
3. Lond. Gaz., 503, 8 September 1670.

instance evidence showed at the very end of our period, a dancing master, touring the South Midlands to provide his services. Mr. Christopher Towle had a dancing school at the Griffin, Southam in 1759. But a year earlier he had advertised the ball for his scholars, to be held at the King's Arms, Bicester. In this notice he announced that he taught two days per fortnight at Oxford, Coventry, Bicester, Aynho, Southam, and at Brandon Boarding School, Warwickshire.[1] By June 1759 Towle still held his ball at the King's Arms, Bicester, but sold tickets for another at his house, the Griffin, Southam later in the month.[2] Seemingly he had continued his travelling services, but had based himself at Southam, roughly at the geographical centre of his area of activity.

The fourth main area of services which used the inns as their place of business, was the group which can very broadly be comprehended under the name 'tailoring', including the bespoke creators of trusses and stays. The former provided the first example of this in 1721. With a modesty appropriate to his namesake, one 'Dr. Walpole' of Elton, 'rupture master', advertised that he cured such ailments 'infallibly'. He was, punningly, to 'be spoke with' every Saturday at the Spread Eagle, Market Hill, Northampton.[3] James Morgan, stay maker, of Ross, returned home in 1757 from London with 'stay goods'. He was willing

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 295, 23 December 1758, p. 3.
2. Ibid., 318, 2 June 1759, p. 2.
3. Northampton Merc. 1, no. 47, 20 March 1721, p. 563.

to wait on the ladies of his area at the various inns at which orders could be left: the Royal Oak, Hereford; Greyhound, Abergavenny; Cock, Pontypool; and White Hart, Bridge End, Usk.[1] In 1759, Edward Fell, Junior, late of London, and wholesale tailor of Chipping Norton, offered all varieties of cloth for sale at the Crown Inn, Cornmarket, Oxford. But in addition he was also a true tailor, and would make on order suits of 'superfine' cloth for 'a medium sized person' in a day for a mere £5 5s. The Crown was both market and business house to him every Saturday.[2] The Crown was clearly a popular resort for business of this type, for in 1760, Stephen Haynes, Leather Breeches Maker of Witney, was in attendance there every Saturday to wait on customers.[3] For such trades, in which the bespoke element was essential, and for which local demand in such towns as Witney, or Chipping Norton, was strictly limited, the facility of inns in the larger towns provided central places of business without the costs of settling in, a great city like Oxford.

This use of the inns as business place, and as the home for courts, carriers and coachmen, and marketing institutions was explained earlier largely in terms of the structural and geographical advantages of the inns. But a further general reason of importance, and one to which we may now turn, since it was perhaps most important for these providers of services, is that of credit.

1. Gloucs. Journ., 1814, 1 March 1757, p. 4.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 305, 3 March 1759, p. 3; 314, 5 May 1759, p. 4.
3. Ibid., 365, 26 April 1760, p. 2.

From the sixteenth century onward, the prevailing malaise in the English silver coinage, had led to the use of monetary expedients, such as tokens and coins of baser metals, and, possibly, to the growth of book credit. Regrettably, this latter problem is as yet unresolved by economic historians. That some form of credit was advanced by traders at all levels of society above the very poor, is demonstrated by the evidence of probate inventories. The evidence of Table 13 showed still more clearly that innkeepers in our period were fully representative of this pattern. Indeed, in the 17 cases in which bonds and debts were recorded, they accounted for something over 27% of the total value of the inventories, and for 18% of the value of the total sample of 37.[1] While such evidence is clear, and in aggregate useful, it is only very rarely that any clear impression is given of the occupation of the debtor, or the occasions of his debt. Indeed, results of usch investigation would only stem from research in association with a series of full family reconstitutions on the basis of Parish Registers. Even then, it is far from certain that the occupations of debtors would appear.[2] We are thus far from certain about the exact constitution of such debts, and hence, about the level and sources of book credit in pre-industrial England.

1. See above, pp. 154-155 . The figures clearly show the skewed distribution of debt towards those with the largest total valuations: exactly what one would expect.
2. In the author's (limited) experience of Parish Registers occupations are rarely given before entries for the mid eighteenth century: exactly the point at which the probate inventory series cease.

The answers to such vital questions may only come from fragmentary series of accounts, which are themselves open to question. Only one such series has appeared for an innkeeper in our period; that of William Redding, innkeeper of Maidenhead, between 1743-47. His jottings of outstanding debts are of dubious value in helping to answer the great questions posed above. But it is clear from Redding's book that he lent to itinerant tradesmen, as well as extending credit to all and sundry. The distinction between the two is vital. Redding did not merely record monies outstanding for ale and victuals taken 'on the slate'.

The bulk of such loans were small, being no more than a few shillings each, and frequently only a matter of pence. But although it is impossible to establish aggregate debts at any one point in time - Redding's accounting system was not that refined - it is clear that he either lent monies to, or was owed for goods by, a large number of persons. Sixteen persons' debts were most clearly noted, and totalled £6 6s. 6d. This very moderate sum rose to a total of £12 12s. 11½d. for 24 debtors when debts equivocally recorded as 'Taken of the Score' were added.[1] Of these 24 persons, only five owed Redding more than a pound, and all seem to have been substantial persons. One, a Mrs. Reaffener, who owed £1-4s-10d, kept a lodging-house and incurred most of her debts for drink and victuals sent in, particularly during her own lying-in.[2] Eastward [otherwise Edward,

1. Berks. R. O., D/EX 43/1.
2. Ibid., f. 9.

and Eadward] Adomes [Adams] owed over two pounds for various items of food and drink provided at hay making: he was, presumably, a farmer.[1] A third debtor, George Freeman, similarly owed only for goods provided.[2] These three reflected the basic compostition of the sums owed to Redding: the bulk stemmed from goods taken, presumably 'on the slate'.

But seven debtors were specifically the recipients of loans in cash from Redding, the most notable being Thomas Harrison, who, although owing only sixteen shillings when the final account was taken, had borrowed £2 1s. up to August 1744.[3] Among his fellow borrowers and among the sundry debtors were several tradesmen. Mr. Cook, the 'Coachharnismaker' [sic] borrowed six shillings, and owed seven for horse hire in his total debt of £1 12s. 3d.[4] William Read, described as the 'Dotektor' also borrowed cash from Redding, although his outstanding debts amounted only to 5s. 3½d.[5] Overall, the monies specifically lent represented but a small part of the overall transactions, no more than, perhaps, a fifth. Of a total expenditure of between £16 and £18 over the years 1743-47, only £3 10s. 11d. represented monies loaned.[6]

Overall, Redding was owed money by Read, the doctor, Cook the coach-harness maker, a baker, 'Mat the pedlar', a barber from Southall,

1. Ibid., f. 23.
2. Ibid., f. 6.
3. Ibid., f. 22.
4. Ibid., f. 31.
5. Ibid., f. 43.
6. Expenditure in the sense of unrealised revenue and loans. The earlier calculation was of debts <u>outstanding</u>.

a brick layer, and a butcher's waggon-man.[1] While these debts were not startling in size either individually or in aggregate, they do at least suggest the mixture of trade debts and cash advances of which the figures of probate inventories in Table 13 were probably composed. While in themselves small, such advances may have been important to the small tradesmen who received them from innkeepers like Redding. The provision of credit at the inns which they used to conduct their business represented a useful, if not vital, addition to their trading capital. Almost certainly it proved an additional incentive to trade and to conduct business within the walls of the inn.

Quite independent of all the trades, professions and occupations discussed above lay a final group of persons who provided services and who used inns, alehouses, taverns and coffee houses as their place of business: the prostitutes. That such women existed in seventeenth and eighteenth century London needs little proof. The evidence is clear and their existence an accepted fact. Laslett attempted to contrast the mores of the countryside with the certain prostitution that existed in the capital, and reference to virtually any of the literary sources for our period confirms the commonplace nature of the trade.[2] In 1668 the great area of brothels in the Moorfields area, was attacked by rioting apprentices. According to Pepys, it was common speculation as to when they were to attack the whores in the brothel

1. Ibid., ff. 31, 43, 44, 49.
2. Laslett, World We Have Lost, pp. 131-132.

of Whitehall.[1]

In London, the connexion between inn, tavern and prostitutes was sometimes very direct. Many 'alehouses' or even bath-houses were no more than disguised brothels, hence the corruption of the meaning of the word 'bagnio'.[2] Two such houses, notorious by the early 1750s, were the Turks Head Bagnio, Aylotte Street, Goodmans Fields, and the Taphouse Wells Alehouse, in the same part of London. Both were described in a presentment of 1751 as 'common, reputed or notorious known bawdy houses', which had led to the committing of 'divers outrages and disorders to the disturbance of the inhabitants' of the area. Moreover, a corrupt justice, Sir Samuel Gower, had connived at their existence.[3] As early as 1697, the 'Barkshire Coffee House', had been a mere front for a brothel. Newland Manley reported to the Lords of the Treasury that

'..... the said Edisbury carryed this Deponent to a Baudy house called the Barkshire Coffee House in Red Lyon Street in Holbourne where they had three women and spent three half crownes .....'[4]

In the most extreme cases, therefore, alehouses and prostituion were so closely - connected as to be a unity.

Part of the problem of differentiation stemmed from the character, both in fact and in popular belief, of the women who served at and frequented inns, alehouses and similar houses of entertainment. Those

1. Pepys, Diary, 24 March 1668.
2. M. D. George, London Life ....., p. 280.
3. Middx. R. O., Orders of Court, V, f. 221-222 d., 1150/51.
4. G.P.O. Archives, Treas. Letter Book, Post, 1, No. 2. f. 245, 9 February 1697.

girls, recorded in Parish Registers, who gave birth to a succession of bastard children, were perhaps rural prostitutes. Laslett found evidence of such women in seventeenth century Ludlow and in Clayworth.[1] Such a girl may have been Elizabeth Morrell, who gave birth to a bastard child at her father's inn in Milverton, Warwickshire, in 1661. Possibly the reason for the suppression of Morrell's licence lay in the immoral behaviour of his daughter, and not merely in her association with William Search, presumptive father of her child.[2] Clearer evidence that inn servants were expected to be accommodating by travellers came in a case in Abingdon in 1675. Andrew Harvey, victualler of Oxford, stayed the night of 27 October at the inn of Symon Hutt in Abingdon. Next morning he accused Anne Allen, Hutt's servant, of picking his pockets. Anne countered

> 'that she served him [Harvey] with beer in his chamber and that he offerd himselfe very unusually to this defendant would have layne with her which she refused and ye next Morning taxed this defendant with picking his pocketts.'[3]

This case has a certain timelessness about it, but if one extends the benefit of the doubt to Anne Allen, then Harvey's expectation of an inn servant are quite unequivocal. Joseph Greene substantiates this general attitude. In 1735 he noted a great battle between the landlord of the Crown, Stratford-upon-Avon, and his wife, commenting with a certain degree of irony:

1. Laslett, World We Have Lost, pp. 131-132.
2. Warwick. R. O., Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., Epiphany 1662, f. 166.
3. Berks. R. O., A/JQd. Box 1.

'I can't imagine whats the matter with the man, but to be sure he damn'd her grievously t'other day, only because he catch'd her in bed with a Trooper: one wou'd think he might put up with such trifles as those, but he swears he won't bear it, neither will he.'[1]

The apparently easy virtue of those women who served in inns and alehouses was renowned among the travelling population. Their sporadic involvement in prostitution provided supplementary income, allowing them perhaps, some of the finery, suggested by Scott as the fundamental motive for such activity.[2] Its root lay in the peculiar nature of the inn, which threw various social classes together for perhaps single occasions, thus making the fleeting assignation attractive to both servant and traveller.

Two extreme cases of the association of inns with the prostitute's trade have therefore been formulated: the one in which inn, or more commonly alehouse, tavern or coffee house, was little more than thinly-veiled brothels; the other in which servants at inns engaged in what Scott, in a contradiction of terms, called 'amateur' prostitution. It is important not to exaggerate the prevalence of the former case. The inns of seventeenth and eighteenth century England were not like those of Japan, of which Kaempfer alleged, 'there is hardly a public inn upon the great island of Nippon but what may not be called a bawdy house'.[3] Many such houses there were, but there is little evidence of

1. Rev. Joseph Greene, 29 April 1735, pp. 30-31.
2. G. R. Scott, A History of Prostitution, (2nd. edition, London, 1954), Chapter 4, pp. 21-22.
3. E. Kaempfer, History of Japan (London, 1728) quoted in Scott, op. cit., p. 129.

their existence outside the sordid metropolis, and none of their universality.

Nevertheless, many houses in London and the provinces fell into an intermediate position, and were resorts for whores, or where unduly 'licentious' practices took place. It was significant that William Lawrence's travelling companions in 1675, sought to raise their coach fares at the overnight stop at Windsor, even though they failed to secure any custom.[1] An information against an unlicensed alehouse in Hereford in 1686, further illustrates the position of such houses. At the house of Edmond Hawley, barber, on Johan [sic] Jackson, enticed workmen into the alehouse, and, moreover, 'sitts on mens lapps and climbs on the lap of Francis Milward who has a wife and children'. That she was, or had been, a prostitute, was made clear, for she had previously gone to London 'bare in clothes' and had shortly returned 'with her silkes'.[2] Such, of course, were the 'disorders' for which houses were suppressed. The passages of Bridges Street, Covent Garden, were frequented by prostitutes in 1712, when alehouse keepers petitioned the Middlesex Bench for their removal, perhaps as a defensive measure.[3] Lesser publicans were procurers. One Tommy Pike [?] had as his business '.... to hunt the Bitches down with Country Squires' in 1720.

1. Diary of William Lawrence, August 1675, pp. 27-28.
2. Hereford City Records, Misc., V, f. 72-73.
3. Middx. R. O., Session Book, 700, January 1712, p. 24.

At the Helmet and the Acrobat, in London, the barmaid and a servant named 'Geographic Moll' entertained customers with more than food and drink.[1] Even where inns or taverns were neither resorts for prostitutes, nor brothels they were used by prostitutes and their customers. In 1751 in Gloucester, two 'Brutes of Great Fortune' resorted to a tavern with a prostitute, and 'roasted' a servant who came to her defence when she was used 'in a most indecent and barbarous manner'.[2] Violence was almost as much an integral part of the business of prostitution as the inn or alehouse.

The inn and tavern was, therefore, in the period 1660-1760, as now, probably the most important centre of prostitution. The evidence adduced on the subject by Dorothy George clearly demonstrated the scale of the problem, particularly of alehouses as 'fronts' for brothels, in the capital.[3] Other evidence, such as the isolated examples of the migration of prostitutes, confirms the view that London had an extensive system of genuine prostitution from at least the mid seventeenth century. But the absence of such material from the provincial towns would suggest that it would be wrong to suggest that the business was practised on the same scale outside the capital. In the provinces prostitution again took on the character of a by-employment, and its major practitioners were the servants of inns. But more important than either form of prostitution, was the position of the inn as the major

1. Vade Mecum for Malt Worms, nos. 11, 42, 31.
2. Gloucs. Journ., 1488, 1 January 1751, p. 3.
3. M. D. George, London Life ....., pp. 274-281.

resort for prostitutes, almost as an 'exchange'. In every way, therefore, the inn acted as an important place of business for them.

The English inn therefore had very broad functions as a place of business. Many of these have already been discussed elsewhere, such as the legal and official meetings, and the transport business. But beyond this alehouses and taverns supplemented the coffee houses of Exchange Alley as London broking and business houses. Although this was most important in the years of 'jobbing mania', especially 1710-11 and 1719-20, this use of taverns and alehouses persisted throughout our period. While there was a clear trend towards the specialisation of broking and jobbing in the main coffee houses - Jonathan's, Garraway's, and Lloyd's - the achievement of unity was not complete by 1760. Their use stemmed largely from their location and facilities. Office accommodation was very deficient in London before the end of the eighteenth century. The alternatives for a business man or stockbroker were, therefore, to conduct his affairs personally in the Royal Exchange, to deal with his associates by post, or to meet them in the comfort and perhaps freer atmosphere of coffee house, alehouse or tavern. Such houses sought to encourage this custom by providing newspapers, price-current lists etc. For both sides, the use of alehouse, or tavern as a place of business, was a marriage of convenience.

There is, however, relatively little evidence of the use of inns or associated public houses for such purposes in the provinces. That inns acted in a similar way has been made clear, especially in the

promotion of river improvement or turnpike schemes. Dealings and contracting of all sorts took place in the provincial inns, though probably on an informal basis. Thus the materials available to the historian to assess this function are meagre. But what is quite clear is that the use of inns for jobbing business did not exist outside London. For this there were several reasons. In our period the capital market was relatively inefficient, and few brokers as such were to be found outside London even in the early nineteenth century. In essence, the dealers and small bankers of the provinces tended to look to, and conduct the bulk of their business with, London. There was, therefore, no call for provincial exchanges, and provincial stock exchanges as such were unknown before 1820.[1] Hence, in the provinces dealings from private houses with London were sufficient: the absence of a local capital market obviated the need for an exchange in the local inn.

Quite apart from these higher levels of 'business' smaller itinerant traders used the inn as their place of business. Most important of these were those who provided services of one kind or another. Doctors, tailors, and pedlars were probably the most important members of this group, although numerically prostitutes were almost certainly the greatest 'services' provided at inns or alehouses in our period. Significantly, the evidence of the 'dual economy' among trades of all types, and of the occupational censuses of provincial towns, suggests that the number of tradesmen, providers of services etc., who for at

1. J. R. Killick and W. A. Thomas, 'The Provincial Stock Exchanges, 1830-1870', Econ. Hist. Rev., XXIII (1970), pp. 96-97.

least part of their working week, travelled to their customers, was very great. The place at which the bulk of such men conducted their affairs when travelling was the inn.

The use of the inn by such men stemmed from several factors. In London and perhaps in some of the larger provincial towns shortage of space or accommodation, especially around the main business centres, may have determined the use of inn, tavern or coffee house. The tailor and the leather breeches maker who attended at the Crown, Cornmarket, Oxford in the 1750s, both gained a place of business at the commercial centre of the city, whereas they might not have been able to afford or secure their own house or shop with the same cost and locational advantages. Many innkeepers were satisfied with the accretion of custom they enjoyed as a result of the presence of such traders, and hence saw no need to charge 'economic' rent.

To those who traded or conducted business at inns, the benefits were numerous. In addition to the locational advantage over many private shops, they enjoyed the benefit of trading in an institution which was already an important meeting place and which was probably second only to the churches as a local landmark. The critics of such trading suggested a further advantage for the less scrupulous tradesman, In a manner analagous with modern business 'gamesmanship', it was suggested that advantages accrued from bargaining over alcoholic beverages. The only thing worse than the use of this as a business ploy, in the view of many critics, was the exploitation of servants,

and hence master, by means of the gin provided by shopkeepers.

A final and more tangible benefit accruing to such traders from the conduct of business at inns was the apparent provision of credit facilities by innkeepers. In the more extreme cases, to judge from some of the probate inventory material of Table 13, such advances justified Everitt's characterisation of the inn as a primitive 'bank'.[1] Unfortunately, very little can be ascertained about the exact composition of the debts owed to those innkeepers. Redding's evidence does suggest that at least part may have been cash advances, and the rest credit for goods or facilities. Together these two forms of credit constituted an important addition to the capital of such tradesmen. For the innkeeper investment in traders was perhaps more secure than holding cash, and had a further advantage of tying his debtor to conducting his future business in his house. The combination of this and other factors therefore made the inn an important place of business in the period 1660-1760.

1. Agrar. Hist., IV, p. 559.

CHAPTER 10: THE INN AND THE LABOUR MARKET

In the minds of many Justices, inns and alehouses, by their provision of ale and beer to the labouring population, were from the sixteenth century regarded as causes of 'Lewde and excessive expenses and other vices',[1] But the connexion of inns with the work force was more than casual. They acted as agents for the oppression of the labour force as houses of call, resorts of the press gang, and as 'spunging houses'. In a less repressive way they provided labour exchanges, and the homes for combinations, and the box clubs or early friendly societies. It is to this aspect of the history of the inn in the period 1660-1760 that we now turn.

As a preliminary, it is necessary first to survey the more general aspects of the labour market in this period. Very little is yet known about labour in this period: for the eighteenth century, less is known about wage rates, for example, than for some earlier periods.[2] But sufficient evidence exists to allow us to make some assessment of general trends, and perhaps to supply us hypotheses to explain some of the phenomena discussed below.

Some very general conclusions about the significance of wage labour and the actual levels of wages can be drawn from the contemporary 'arithmeticians' and from the price and wage series of E. B. Schumpeter

1. 'Memorandum on the Statute of Artificers' c. 1573, R. H. Tawney and E. Power, Tudor Economic Documents (London, 1924), vol. I, p. 360; see also, Chapter 2 above.
2. Mitchell and Deane, Abstract of Brit. Hist. Stats., p. 338.

and E. W. Gilboy. It is clear from the three calculations of King, Massie and Colquhoun that the share of wages and salaries in gross national income in the eighteenth century was rising, although a *per capita* assessment is precluded by the difficulty of establishing a basis for comparison. This rising share was, moreover, of a growing gross national income.[1] Without any real precision, Deane and Cole suggested that the share of incomes from employment was between 25-39% of national income in 1688, and that it had risen by *c.* 1800 to 45-46%. The same authors suggested an increase in the National Product of from £48.0 million in 1688 to £130.1 million in 1770, and £232.0 in 1801.[2] While it is difficult to accept any more than a general trend from these estimates, that trend is clear: incomes from employment were responsible for a growing proportion of a national product that grew slowly to *c.* 1770. and after that with greater velocity.

As indicated above, it is also possible to suggest that for the bulk of our period real incomes from employment also rose both through the increase in money rates and the fall in consumable prices. Reference to the standard price indices for the period is sufficient to indicate this.[3] But the regional differences in both money and real wages that one would expect are less easy to document. The most

1. The most general assessment of these calculations is in P. Mathias, 'The Social Structure in the Eighteenth Century: A Calculation By Joseph Massie' *Econ. Hist. Rev.* IX (1957) pp. 30-44.
2. At constant prices - based on Deane and Cole, *Brit. Econ. Growth.*, pp. 20, 154f.
3. See Phelps-Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries ...' *Essays in Econ. Hist.*, II, fig. 2, p. 185.

satisfactory available estimates are again those by Deane and Cole, based on the Gilboy figures. Taking only labourers' rates, on the basis that these 'tend to reflect more directly conditions in the labour market as a whole' these are abstracted in Table 27, below.[1]

Table 27: Indices of Money Wages in Building, Compared with 'Cost of Living' Indices, 1700-74.[2]

(1700 = 100)

	London Labourers	Kent Labourers	Oxfordshire Labourers	Lancashire Labourers	Gilboy Index	Phelps-Brown & Hopkins
Daily Rate in 1770	24.5d	18.5d	(14.0d)	18.0d	-	-
1700-04	85.9	97.3	100.0*	46.4	81.0	83.4
1705-09	90.3	97.4	100.0*	50.7	89.8	84.3
1710-14	90.4	97.3	100.0*	52.8*	95.3	99.6
1715-19	89.8	97.3	100.0	52.8	81.7	86.2
1720-24	90.8*	97.3	100.0	63.9*	80.5	81.4
1725-29	89.8	97.3	100.0	61.1	89.0	88.9
1730-34	93.1	97.3	100.0*	65.3	74.2	77.6
1735-39	96.9	97.3	100.0*	66.7*	80.5	77.3
1740-44	96.1	97.3	97.6*	66.7	82.2	86.4
1745-49	96.9	97.3	97.1	66.0	81.2	81.5
1750-54	98.2	97.3	98.6	66.7*	80.0	83.1
1755-59	98.0	97.3	100.0	61.1*	90.8	92.9
1760-64	98.8	97.3	100.0	75.9*	89.8	91.4
1765-69	100.0	95.7	100.0	100.0*	98.5	105.6
1770-74	100.0	104.1	106.0*	97.8	109.1	114.4

So far as any reliance can be placed on such series, it is clear

1. Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth., p. 19.
2. Based, as above, on Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, Table 5, p. 19; Gilboy Index transposed from series entitled 'Indices of Wages of Labourers in London and Lancashire - 1700-1796' in B. R. Mitchell and P. Deane, Abstract of Brit. Hist. Stats., pp. 342-347; Phelps-Brown and Hopkins index of 'basket' of Consumables, from art. cit., Essays in Econ. Hist., II, p. 195. *, indicates figures averaged from fewer than four yearly quotations.

that, Lancashire and perhaps London excepted, any growth in the value of real wages in this period stemmed more from the downward trend in prices than from any great movement of money wage rates. As one would expect, the greatest rises were shown by Lancashire and London rates, while the other rates remained steady. If such money wages fairly represented total income, then some tentative conclusions can perhaps be drawn from them.

Although neither the Lancashire nor the Oxfordshire figures inspire any great confidence - in both cases seven figures were attained by interpolation - it is clear that only the Lancashire and London wages showed any rise in money terms in our period. In the two more agricultural counties, Kent and Oxfordshire, wage rates showed a remarkable stability, the presumptive rise in real terms resulting from falling costs of living. But all these figures have been discussed in relative, not in absolute terms: the economic historian's search for trends may belie the significance of differentials in absolute terms.

The same may be said of calculations of rates of migration and natural increase. Deane and Cole's aggregate rates for half-centuries may in fact hide some interesting shorter-term variations. It is clear that we are still very far from having figures of migration which, are superior to the rough guide presented by those at present available, and which are calculated on the dubious basis of the Parish Register Abstracts. But what is clear is that on the basis of migration figures and of wage rates, wages alone would not have been sufficient

to induce movement of population from 'Agricultural' to the 'Mixed' and 'Industrial and Commercial' counties according to Deane and Cole's figures.[1] The evidence of wage rates and of migration, although both are poor, supports the conclusion drawn earlier from the evidence of the distribution of inns and alehouses:[2] that arable counties of the south and east for the bulk of our period were releasing population to the less restrictive pastoral lands of the west and north.

Nonetheless, even if most of the other counties of the west and north lagged behind Lancashire in this rise in wage rates, and similarly did not approach parity with counties like Kent and Oxfordshire until after the end of our period, there is evidence that pressure on wages was growing. It was above all in such counties that the assessment of wages by Justices best survived, showing perhaps the growth of upward pressure on rates.

Thorold Rogers found only six of these assessments for our period: from Essex (1661); Suffolk (1682); Warwickshire (1684); Yorkshire, W. R. (1703); Gloucester and Kent (1732). He concluded that these had been largely unrealistic and that their interest for economic historians was consequently no more than 'ephemeral'.[3] But further assessments took place in our period, which apparently represented the last years in which assessments were made on any scale. Table 28 below

1. Based on figures above, pp. 353 and on Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, pp. 106 f.
2. See above, pp. 109.
3. J. E. Thorold Rogers, A History of Agriculture and Prices in England (Oxford, 1887-1902), vols. V, pp. 615-616; VI, pp. 697-700; VII, Part II, pp. 610-612, 623.

represents the number of these occurring in each decade.

Table 28: Incidence of Assessments by Decade, 1660-69 to 1770-79.[1]

	Average per decade		
1560 - 1659	57.4	1720 - 1729	79
1660 - 1669	80	1730 - 1739	70
1670 - 1679	85	1740 - 1749	61
1680 - 1689	88	1750 - 1759	55
1690 - 1699	93	1760 - 1769	40
1700 - 1709	88	1770 - 1779	27
1710 - 1719	71		

It is clear, therefore, that whatever meaning is read into such assessments, if this pattern reflects attempts to enforcement and not pure accidents of survival, then Cooper's criticism that historians have a tendency to antedate 'laissez-faire' is further validated.[2]

To analyse the meaning of such assessments is less easy. In general historians have agreed that they were an 'interesting curiosity'. The Hammonds quoted the Annals of Agriculture of 1795:

> 'It appears from Mr. Ruggles' excellent History of the Poor that such orders must in general be searched for in earlier period, and a friend of ours was much surprised to hear that any magistrate in the present century would venture on to bold a measure.'[3]

Adam Smith concurred that such 'practices have now gone entirely into

1. W. E. Minchinton (ed.), Wage Regulation in Pre-Industrial England, (Newton Abbot, 1972), pp. 20-21.
2. See above, p.287.
3. J. L. and B. Hammond, The Village Labourer (Guild Books edition, London, 1948) vol. 1, p. 130.

disuse'.[1] Julia Mann, noting the demands in the 1750s among the Gloucestershire weavers for the rating of wages, remarked of earlier assessments that probably 'no attention was paid to the rates laid down'.[2] All these therefore agreed with Thorold Rogers' dismissal of the significance of such assessments.

Yet it is hardly satisfactory to dismiss such action as 'curiosities' given their peculiar chronological and geographical distributions, and the tendency in our period to restrict regulation to agricultural wages. Nor indeed can their irregular survival among sessions orders be satisfactorily explained simply as administrative habit. It is simplest to suggest that this maximum wage regulation stemmed from local upward pressure on wage rates. That so many of the cases came from the west or north, or at least from counties and mixed economy, further suggests that long before 1760 these pressures were being felt in traditionally low wage areas. Their abandonment at the end of the eighteenth century rather supports than weakens our case. Suchassessments may therefore represent the slow advance of the pastoral areas of the west and north.

Alternatively, it could be argued that they were purely local phenomena, reflecting the rigidities of a labour market ruled by the Law of Settlement, or as Kelsall suggested, the desire to direct labour locally.[3] Smith argued that the Settlement Law was responsible for

1. Smith, Wealth of Nations, Book I, Chapter X.
2. J. de L. Mann, The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1640 to 1880 (Oxford, 1971) p. 110.
3. Minchinton, Wage Regulation ....., p. 24.

'the very unequal price of labour which we frequently find in England in places at no great distance from one another'.[1] The Law had, after all, been the demise of the Statute Fairs for the hiring of servants, few of which persisted throughout the eighteenth century: as early as 1727 Defoe thought such fairs 'not so much frequented as formerly'.[2] The law, it was alleged, dissuaded employers from granting settlement through the statutory contract term of one year.

The correct judgment perhaps lies in between the two hypotheses. There seems little doubt that in spite of the great number of settlement cases, and the weight customarily attached to the Law of Settlement, there was considerable mobility of labour in our period. Indeed, settlement cases might be taken rather as signs of local depression and of natural mobility than of its restriction. There seems little reason to accept the integration of the national food market and to deny its logical conclusion: the breakdown, albeit gradual, of geographical rigidities in the labour market. Professor Minchinton's most recent research on the topic is remarkably inconclusive, but the evidence of wage assessment probably confirms this view: so too does the role of the inn in the labour market, and the signs of Change signified by early combinations of both employers and employed. To these developments we now turn.

The wage rates of skilled members of the workforce are normally supply inelastic compared with those of the unskilled. Hence in our

1. Smith, Wealth of Nations, Book I, Chapter X.
2. Defoe, Tour, vol. II, p. 31.

period of relatively stable population and a generally growing demand for workers, one would expect craftsmen's wages to show increases less dramatic than those of the semi-or unskilled. Conversely, in the 'arable' regions in which perhaps aggregate demand for labour lagged behind that of the counties of mixed economy, craftsmen's wages should have performed rather better. As indicated above, it is very hard to test such hypotheses: not only are all wage figures poor, but it is hard to eliminate qualitative considerations from craftsmen's figures. Nonetheless the comparison by region of craftsmen's and labourers' rates by Deane and Cole seems in some measure to substantiate the general hypothesis. The extremes which further indicated the regional variation are illustrated by the differing performances of Oxfordshire and Lancashire labourers and craftsmen: between the averages of the years 1700-09 and 1760-69 labourers' rates in the former county showed no change, while the index of craftsmen's rates rose some 16.7 points; in Lancashire, conversely, the variance was less dramatic, both groups gaining substantially, but labourers' rates led those of craftsmen by nearly three index points over the same period.[1] Within the confines of this very unsatisfactory quantitative data, the hypothesis is confirmed.

In specialized areas of the market for skilled labour employers had long shown themselves prepared to purchase both skill and labour

1. Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, p. 19.

at a premium. In the middle ages, quite unusual markets existed for, say, stonemasons, in both structure and geographical extent. In our period certain skills were clearly subject to greater mobility than others. It has already been seen that innkeepers and their servants migrated over considerable distances to secure employment. Seemingly, from the evidence of a few newspaper advertisements in the 1750s, other skills in demand were recruited from more than local markets. Although our evidence is again fragmentary and confined to the last decade of our period, it does show the inn playing a significant role in such recruitment. As before, the probability is that, like the tip of the iceberg, the surviving evidence for the study of labour recruitment is no more than a small fraction of the whole.

This 'tip' can be indicated by the use of four Oxford inns in recruiting specialized labour in the 1750s. The earliest example is perhaps the most significant. In 1753 Isaac Dent, mason, of Crutched Friars, London, advertised for 'good free-stone workmen' who were to be employed in building a house of Bath stone near London, Dent was prepared to pay travelling expenses for 'any such, that are good workmen' and he employed the landlords of the Cross Inn, Oxford, and the Swan, Cirencester, to give 'great encouragement' and expenses to his new employees.[1] Edward James, Landlord of the Cross, also acted on behalf of a gardener who could care for horses in 1757: i.e. the reverse function.[2] One 'A. B.,' a carpenter who had a knowledge of book-keeping and building plans, also used an inn as an address to

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 10, 7 July 1753, p. 3.
2. Ibid., 201, 5 March 1757, p. 3.

which employers could make offers in 1756.[1]

Although the use was not repeated on the same scale, two other Oxford inns were employed as agencies for the filling of specific, and specialised posts. In 1757, an advertisement was placed for 'a Person educated under an attorney' with good reputation, to act as both clerk and domestic steward to a Justice of the Peace. Enquiries were to be made to a Mercer in Stow [On-the-Wold], or to Mr. Townsend Pitman of the White Hart, Oxford.[2] Perhaps for the inn itself, perhaps for another employer, a smith, 'skilled in shoeing and coachwork' of honesty and sobriety, was requested to present himself to the New Inn, Oxford, for employment in 1758.[3] All of these, perhaps because of the advertised desire for qualitative superiority, can be regarded as 'scarce goods'. The development of provincial newspapers, which provide the bulk of our evidence, helped extend the market for such men. Since inns long antedated newspapers as centres of information, the evidence of such use of inns is almost certainly rarer than the use itself.

More commonplace was the use of inns as recruiting grounds for servants. The prodigality and lassitude of domestic servants was a byword among eighteenth century literary sources, probably because servants themselves have left few records of their life. Although it

1. Ibid., 179, 2 October 1756, p. 3.
2. Ibid., 204, 26 March 1757, p. 3.
3. Ibid., 291, 28 November 1758, p. 3.

is perhaps wrong to see in domestic servants a class entirely separate from their employers, this theme is a recurrent one.[1] In London at least, there had been insurance schemes to secure employers against thefts by and the absconding of, servants in both 1710-11 and 1719-20. In the former years, the 'Hampshire Society', the 'Substantial Society for the Public Good', 'Just and Amicable Societies', and the 'Utible Society' were all offering insurance on servants.[2] In June 1720, a society was formed, appropriately, at the Devil Tavern, Charing Cross, to insure masters and mistresses against losses resulting from thefts by servants. Servants were to be 'Ticked and Registered' in the Society.[3] In consequence of this general 'servant problem', the inns of Western England were thus used as a kind of philosopher's stone, through which the ideal servant would be secured.

Whatever the reason, inns were certainly of major importance as markets for domestic servants. Once again, a major methodological problem is posed by the concentration of evidence for this in the 1750s. The historian, relying almost entirely on evidence of newspaper advertisement for his study of this sector of the labour market, can only impute the early uses of inns in this way: hard evidence is lacking.

But such evidence as exists suggests both the scope of and the

1. See for example the discussion of the nature and status of servants in Laslett, World We Have Lost, pp. 2 f.; and in Alan Macfarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 145 f.
2. Brit. Mus., volume of misc. insurance scheme pamphlets and broadsheets, 1890 b. 5.
3. Daily Post, 216, 10 June 1720, p. 4.

reasons for this connexion between servant hire and inns. The first such connection was in a casual sense: inns, mainly in the towns, as indicated above, were suspect to authority as resorts of servants: servants not solely in the contemporary generic sense, but in the modern sense as well. As will be seen below, more formal developments of this casual connexion lay in the houses with pay tables, the 'Houses of Call', and ultimately in the true truck system. But in the casual sense, the main concentrations of servants waiting for employment at or in the inns, lay in and around the great markets of the city of London. In 1720 the White Lion, Gracechurch Street, was the 'Receptacle of Porters and Carousing Carmen', who came, presumably, from the nearby Smithfield market. At about the same time, the Woolsack, Foster Lane was the habitual resort of numerous day labourers.[1] There are grounds for thinking that such equivocal literary evidence may have been covered houses recognized as, and acting as, recruiting grounds for such servants, especially for the casual day labourer.

A second and direct connexion of inns and the labour market lay in the migration of those seeking places in service. London, of course, was a centre of attraction for migrants in this period, having, according to Deane and Cole's figures, a negative rate of natural increase, compensated in the period 1701-50 by an immigration rate of 11.4 per thousand. Taking Middlesex and Surrey alone, this rate was very much higher, reaching 15.8 per thousand in Middlesex.[2] John

1. Vade Mecum for Malt Worms.
2. Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, Table 26, p. 115.

Fielding noted the problem of large numbers of servants entering London in the early 1750s, and the consequent problem of poverty resulting from the vagaries of obtaining places. These were 'one of the grand sources' of London's prostitutes.[1] Such were some of the concerns of the Middlesex bench in our period when surveying or suppressing metropolitan alehouses.[2] One such innkeeper to suffer was William Etheridge of Wood Green, who was suppressed in 1684 as 'a common receiver of vagrants and masterless persons'.[3] Much of the material in Sessions on vagrancy needs systematic analysis as evidence of migration, but crude assessment of the original settlements of such migrants suggests an eastward flow toward London in our period from the counties of Western England.[4]

The clearest case of such migration in search of employment and, perhaps, wealth came from the very end of our period, in 1760. A young man and his sister put up for sale through the Star Inn, Charing Cross, the two horses upon which they had travelled to the city. The same advertise ment sought a place in service of a gentleman and his family, or a single gentleman for the young man, who had previously worked thus. His sister sought employment for her skill with the needle, especially

1. Sir John Fielding in 1753, quoted in M. D. George, London Life ...., p. 119.
2. See above, pp. 68 f.
3. Middx. R. O., Sessions Book, 420, December 1684, p. 46.
4. Impressions from Sessions Records examined in the course of this study. D. V. Glass, 'Socio-economic Status and Occupations in the City of London at the End of the Seventeenth Century' in A. E. J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway Studies in London History (London 1969), pp. 586 f. suggests on the basis of apprentices admitted to freedom that this impression is correct.

in lace or 'small linen'.[1] Further frustrated optimism in a similar migrant was recorded in the Annual Register in 1759. Another 'young man' put up for sale at the Talbot in the Strand the gray mare his father had given him to get him away from home. He had come to London from Shropshire on the beast, but, being unable to find employment, was forced to sell the animal to live.[2] While both very late in our period, the experience and fact of the migration of such young people, and their consequent dependence on the address and contacts of the inn at which they stayed for securing employment, were probably more widespread than the evidence. As the temporary home for those who sought their fortunes in the gilded streets of the capital, the inn was, by association, a significant factor in the market for such servants: as poste restante, lodging house, and as the place to which employers might direct enquiries for servants.

In the provinces, too, one finds isolated evidence of such migration. According to Deane and Cole, one of the peculiarities of pre 1750 migration patterns was the net gain of Hampshire alone among the 'counties of 'mixed' economy.[3] The bulk of employment even in Hampshire was agricultural, and the unexplained attractiveness of the county, brought to it a young man of 25 years, seeking a place as gardener or gamekeeper in 1757.[4] He requested offers of employment to

1. Public Advert., 7986, 10 June 1760, p. 4.
2. Annual Register, 1759, p. 170.
3. Deane and Cole, Brit. Econ. Growth, Table 25, pp. 108-109.
4. Ibid., p. 112.

be directed to him at the Swan, Alresford. Possibly the large number of gentry in the county attracted such migrants, for he claimed to understand 'hot houses and hot walls'.[1]

But the relationship between the inn and the market for servants extended beyond such very informal and accidental cases. There was a consequent premium on good servants, and with the growth of the provincial press, advertisements for servants of quality grew in number. Experience in the inns apparently conferred such quality. Mr. Rooke, Mercer, of Cornmarket, sought a 'woman servant that has lived in an INN' in 1756.[2] A year earlier, a very detailed advertisement, asked for a woman servant of good character, honesty and sobriety to apply to the Stag and Hounds, Hare Hatch, Berkshire where she might hear of a place with a small family. Desired qualifications included experience on a gentleman's farm, ability to milk cows, make butter, feed poultry, clean a small house and dress dishes of meat or fish, and age about 40 years.[3] Here, therefore, not only were connotations of quality conferred, by experience of life on a gentleman's farm, but also an inn was used as the intermediary between employer and applicants. Mr. Bennett of the Blue Anchor, Cornmarket, Oxford, acted similarly as receiver of applications for the post of an experienced shopman in the mercery business in 1756.[4] Through inn agencies inn servants were also

1. Read. Merc., 616, 15 August 1757.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 148, 28 February 1756, p. 3.
3. Read. Merc., 505, 7 July 1755, p. 3.
4. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 162, 5 June 1756, p. 3.

recruited: in 1759 an experienced cook and drawer were required for a country inn. Applications, with references, were to be made via Mr. Edward James, of the Cross, Cornmarket, Oxford.[1] Thus extending beyond chance connexions was the use of inn both as a token of quality of servants sought for hire, and as a means of hire itself.

From the most casual resort for servants the inn was therefore used as a recruiting ground: not only as a pool of labour upon which employers might draw, but also as a more sophisticated employment exchange arising out of its various functions as lodging house, post office, and local centre of information. From the most general market servants employed from day to day, it was one of the nodes of a market in quality servants, and as an institution provided a quasi-apprenticeship system which conferred the connotation of 'quality' on its graduates. This evidence, albeit fragmentary, is relevant to the wider issues of migration and specialization in the labour market discussed above.

One peculiar class of 'servant' was a less popular resident of western inns: members of the armed forces. The problems of billeting cannot be discussed at length here, since it represented one of the most contentious issues in dispute between the executive and the populace in our period. The records of both War Office and County Sessions include frequent references to the anxiety of publicans about their duty to billet troops: this after all had been the occasion and the possible flaw in the making of the War Office inn lists of 1686 and

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 339, 27 October 1759, p. 3.

1756. In Middlesex and elsewhere, publicans were threatened with the loss of their licences for refusing to billet troops. Probably the further tensions resulting from the occasion of the visit of troops to a town exacerbated the situation. In our period such circumstances occurred not in the main periods of European or global war: 1689-1713; 1739-48; 1756-63; but rather at times when the impact of conflict was domestic and immediate. Prior to 1760, the main occasions for this tension were the Jacobite rebellions and the more commonplace occurrence of popular or industrial unrest locally, to quell which the troops were employed. Vaughan in 1727 perhaps best summarised the occasions of and the complaints arising from billeting duties in our period:

> 'I am now perfectly persuaded that all tumults are at an end and that there is not the danger that I apprehended, and as there are methods taken to remove the cause, there will be no further riots and I believe the lessening the numbers of troops would now be proper, and be well understood, besides I must assume your Lordship that they are very burdensome to the publicans and so incommodious to themselves that at Bradford (where there are two troops) the horses have barely room to lie down .....'[1]

Further dangers could result from the lingering of what in local eyes was an 'army of occupation' beyond the time of immediate need.

But if the relationship between inns and the army was a tense one, nevertheless inns were also the major recruiting grounds for both soldiers and sailors. Once again, there is a problem of evidence. The only satisfactory local and newspaper evidence comes from the years 1745 and from 1756-60. In 1745, Justices organised recruiting under the act of the same year 'for the speedy and effectual recruiting of His

1. Third Report of G. Vaughan to Viscount Townshend, 9 January 1727, S. P. Dom. 35/64.

Majesty's regiments of foot'.[1] The act ordered Justices to appoint meetings of commissioners to execute its provisions. In both Middlesex and Devon, inns were chosen as the meeting places for these commissioners, and licensing divisions were the basis of their operation. In the former county, eleven separate commissions were appointed to recruit for the army, and met fortnightly from May to Michaelmas. Eight of these eleven were to meet at inns: two vestry rooms and Hicks Hall supplied the other three.[2] In Devon four meetings were held in each 'division of the county' from May to September. Eleven of the fourteen meeting places were inns, and the other three were unspecified except for the village.[3] While the stimulus to this action lay specifically in the statute, it is nonetheless significant that the Justices employed their basic divisions of the county, and the source of those divisions, the inns, as the grounds for recruiting. The King's shilling was perhaps best taken in beer.

Ships and specific regiments served as less general employers. Ships, mainly privateers, advertised for crews, and His Majesty's navy pressed from specific houses. In 1756, the Tyger privateer, captained by one Peter Griffin, urged officers, seamen, and able-bodied landsmen to resort to the Three Cups, 'Bristol Back' where 'all proper encouragement would be found.[4] In London, vagrants, unsatisfactory

1. 18 George II, c..10.
2. Middx. R. O., Orders of Court, V, ff. 58d - 59d, May 1745.
3. Devon R. O., Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., Pasch. 1745.
4. Bath Advert., 35, 12 June 1756, p. 3.

apprentices and other lesser landsmen were encouraged in a more forceful way to enlist in the navy.[1] Inns, alehouses and taverns were the resorts of the press gangs, although there are only isolated references to this in our period. Francis Place described the refined press gang system at the house into which his father moved in the summer of 1780: the King's Arms, Arundel Street, the Strand. Here was a noted resort for sailors and, according to Place, it was recognized by the government as a place for the press gang. Here men forcibly-enlisted were locked up until taken to sea. The house flew the Union Jack and in it resided a sailor, named Jack Fletcher, who, by implication, was an agent of the press gang. At its expulsion, the gang merely moved to the Waterman's Arms in the same street.[2] Idleness and drink were thus the allies of impressment.

Many young men may have been recruited into the ranks, like Candide, through a draught of ale, although impressment was not the best means of supplying an army. To judge from newspaper advertisements, during the Seven Years War, the bulk of recruitment was through direct incentives: money offered to the ranks, and honour to gentlemen. In September 1760, the gentlemen of the county who were both able and willing, were invited to attend at the Talbot, Sidbury, Worcestershire, to enter their names in the militia.[3] In the same year, men of over 5' 3" in height were enticed to the Mitre, Oxford with an offer of

1. M. D. George, London Life ..., pp. 146, 227, 231, 355, 415.
2. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 35142, f. 67f.
3. Lond. Gaz., 10036, 20 September 1760, p. 1.

2 or 3 guineas to enlist in Captain John Napier's Independent Company. A man who brought a further recruit was to be rewarded with an additional guinea.[1] Similar arrangements applied in 1759 at the George, Northampton, the Mitre, Oxford, and the Dolphin, Birmingham for Colonel Crawford's 'Royal Volunteers' although an additional inch in height was demanded.[2] In contrast, some weight may be given to the 'conspiracy theory' of recruitment by a case of desertion in 1756. Abraham Whirley, of Great Tew, had absconded from Colonel Anstruther's Regiment of Foot. Sergeant Joseph Stafford offered a reward of 20 shillings above what was allowed by statute for his return.[3] He was to be returned to the sergeant at an inn. Inns were thus important agencies for military recruitment.

Inns were therefore intimately involved with the army and navy. Those reluctantly forced to billet such 'poor wretches in red coats'[4] were in more than one sense participants in a truck system: military pay provided a substantial income in kind; and, if the complaints of innkeepers are to be believed, their military guests accommodation at an unprofitable rate.[5] Inns were also involved in more explicit truck systems, and in the combinations of workmen, which, paradoxically, were part of them.

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 362, 5 April 1760, p. 3.
2. Ibid., 328, 11 August 1759, p. 3.
3. Ibid., 162, 5 June 1756, p. 3.
4. The phrase is Henry Fielding's: Joseph Andrews, Book 1, Chapter 9, vol., 1, p. 73.
5. See, for example, P.R.O., WO 4/23 f. 131, 22 December 1720.

'Truck' may be defined, in Dr. Hilton's words, as 'a set of closely related arrangements whereby some form of consumption is tied to the employment contract'.[1] The system was designed to lower real wages, although one may object to its logic on theoretical grounds. Several lines of interpretation have been used by historians, some of which are of particular relevance here. The Webbs' suggestion that the system was a means of circumventing standard rates of wages set by collective bargaining suggested a link with primitive trades unionism. Alternative interpretations were that the system was a monopsonistic device for restricting workers to their employers through debt; that it was a means of monopsonistic discrimination, giving higher real wages to the unmarried males whose freedom to move was greatest; that it was, to Unwin, the result of the chronic coin shortage of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; and, finally, that it was a sumptuary device designed to encourage better habits among the work-force, a concept largely restricted to the nineteenth century.[2]

Systems involving some of these elements can be identified in our period. In a sense, the Statute of Artificers provided for truck in that assessed rates commonly differentiated rates with and without 'meat and drink'. In our period, this would represent one form of truck, exercised by the employer direct, the other occurring when an undertaking middleman, as in the London coal trade and the Lancashire cotton industry,was involved.

1. G. W. Hilton, The Truck System (Cambridge, 1960), p. 1.
2. Ibid., pp. 2-7.

Three main areas of occupation were historically subjected to the truck system: of these, the first we can call the 'Heavy Manual' class, comprehending mining and similar activities. In our period truck was in evidence in the coal trade rather than in mining as such. The keelmen were subjected to a type of truck system in Newcastle. They were obliged by the Hostmen to consume beer sold at the 'can-houses' by fitters' servants. Sold at the normal price, this beer was literally of lethal quality, and was consequently known as 'Savage Beer'.[1]

The most notorious case was that of the prolonged dispute between similar middleman-publicans and the London coalheavers. Four acts of Parliament were passed between 1758 and 1807 prohibiting truck in this trade. The coalheavers were organised from an early date, various forms of communal organisation dating from the 1690s.[2] In this trade the merchants had allowed their managerial functions to devolve onto publican 'undertakers' who overcharged the coalheavers for beer and victuals on the job, and enforced their control through the use of pay tables in their houses. John Gray and William Street, two coalheavers, gave evidence to the Commons enquiry that the work would be far cheaper - saving as much as 85% - by direct labour. They had indeed attempted to break free from the system, but the undertakers had replied by cornering the market in the essential heavy shovels of the trade. Mr. Camphire, one of the undertakers, held the corner, and the coal-heavers attempts to use a friendly smith, Caleb Dyer, to manufacture

1. D. G. D. Isaac, 'Popular Disturbances..' pp. 87-88.
2. Hilton, Truck System, p. 80.

their own, were frustrated by rigid control of the only maker of handles, a Mr. Mapes, by Messrs. Ivison and Oakham, two undertakers. The 'cornered' market was the Cross Keys Inn, Gracechurch Street.[1] The failure of this attempt to break the control of these publican undertakers was evidenced by the subsequent statutes.[2]

The second category of trade affected by this system was the textile industry, initially in wool, and, towards the end of our period, in cotton. In these trades also the existence of truck was coincidental with that of workmen's combinations. This sector above all accords with the Webbs' analysis of truck, since for a large part of this period the West Country cloth industry stagnated or declined.[3]

Although Dr. Mann dates this depression from the 1720s, other evidence suggests that at least part of the West Country industry had been under pressure for half a century or more. Probably the most vocal, if not necessarily reliable, evidence of this dated from the publication of Britannia Languens in 1680. In a vast catalogue of depressed trades, wool textiles were identified as among the leaders of decline.[4] This, with the evidence of crown patronage of the industry in the 1680s, and that of the burst of alehouse suppressions at about the same date, is perhaps a valid assessment. The conflict arising in our period between clothiers and weavers, often taking

1. Journal of House of Commons, 28, pp. 264-265, 2 June 1758.
2. For a fuller account of the coalheavers, see, M. D. George, 'The London Coal-Heavers', Economic Journal, Economic History Supplement, 2, (May, 1927), pp. 229-248.
3. J. de L. Mann, Cloth Industry ..., Chapter II.
4. J. R. McCulloch, Early English Tracts on Commerce, (Cambridge, 1952), passim. As a caveat McCulloch noted in his introduction that the tract was 'a curious medley of truth and error, intelligence and prejudice'. (p.x)

violent form, was thus productive of truck systems and combinations, and stemmed itself from depression.

Combinations of clothing workers appeared in towns all over the West Country from the late seventeenth century, often based on inns or alehouses. The hostility of Bradford publicans to the troops brought in to quell weavers' riots in 1727 may have been the result of association themselves with the weavers' cause.[1] As early as 1707 a combination at a Taunton inn had attained 'a common seal, Tipstaffs and Colours' associated with a more than casual organisation, and the same petition complained of similar weavers' clubs in most towns of the western woollen manufacture.[2] The Half Moon, Tiverton, was the clubhouse of the wool-combers in 1749 and was used as their base of operations in their dispute with the weavers who used imported Irish yarn to make duroys.[3] In the many similar cases there is no explicit evidence of the use of the inn as a focal point for the combination, though it seems more than probable.

While evidence of truck in these industries is equally plentiful, only one case of the connection of truck with inns appears. A riot took place in Tiverton in 1738, not over the Irish yarn issue which produced unrest in 1720 and 1749, but over the activities of one Grimes, keeper of the Red Lion. He purchased at low price the serges returned to their makers as inferior, and sold them to the same

1. S. P. Dom. 35/64.
2. Journ. of House of Comm., 15, p. 312, 16 February 1707.
3. M. Dunsford, History of Tiverton, pp. 230-232.

merchants at low prices. Not unreasonably the labourers of the region decided that this was prejudicial to the trade and smacked of truck-like conspiracy: their resort was riot. Grimes' house and stock of serges were pillaged, and he was himself paraded through the streets after being found hiding in the oven of his bakehouse.[1] While such a man, analogous to the London coal undertakers, was probably rare, the cases of truck normally occurring in a more direct way in this industry, inns, as centres of workmen's organisation, and places which perhaps helped fire their unrest, were deeply involved. The evidence of truck systems and combinations suggests that the inn was an important go-between in the industrial relations of the industry, albeit largely on the side of the workers. Both elements were signs of the depressed state of the industry.

The third sector of the economy in which inn or alehouse served as truck agencies lay in the 'sweated' trades of London, especially tailoring. In this case, the inns were used as 'houses of call' through which alone the masters recruited their labour and supposed collateral benefits accrued to both sides of industry. Campbell's account of the house of call and the conditions of employment in 1747 is extremely important, and is quoted in extenso below:

'They [the tailors] are as numerous as locusts, are out of business about three or four months in the Year, and generally as poor as rats: The House of Call runs away with all their earnings, and keeps them constantly in debt and want. The House of Call is an

1. Ibid., 226-227.

Ale house, where they generally use, the landlord knows where to find them, and the masters go there to enquire when they want hands. Custom has established it into a kind of law, that the House of Call gives them Credit for Victuals and Drink, while they are unemployed; this obliges the journeymen on the other hand to spend all the money they earn at this house alone. The landlord, when once he has got them in his debt, is sure to keep them so, and by that means binds the poor wretch to his house, who slaves only to enrich the Publican.[1]

The employment exchange which provided labour in these trades in which demand and wage rates fluctuated, thus became an element in a kind of truck system.

Such systems recurred in the London tailoring trades in our period, and lasted into the nineteenth century.[2] In tailoring, at least, the acceptance of the system of houses of call by the employers came only in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1721 they petitioned the House of Commons against combinations among the seven thousand or more journeyman tailors in London. They attacked the houses of call as the means of sustaining these dissidents, and the focus of their combination. In an explicity, and perhaps accurate, 'conspiracy theory' the innkeepers were seen to egg on the tailors, the better to exploit their earning power.[3] If this petition represented a correct assessment of attitudes, then the development of the house of call as an institution favoured by the employers took place between 1721 and 1747, the date of Campbell's comment. Certainly after the latter date, the system was a consistent one. In 1759 four houses were specified, and a shortage of labour incidentally shown, in

1. R. Campbell, The London Tradesman, pp. 192-193.
2. See M. D. George, London Life., pp. 284 f.
3. Bland, Brown and Tawney, English Economic History, pp. 622-624.

an advertisement in the Oxford Journal: journeymen could find employment at the Crown Water Street, the Bell and Dragon, Chandois Street, the Vine, Vine Street, and the Thistle and Crown, Orange Court.[1] Curiously, quite different taverns were employed for a strike-breaking move by the employers in 1760. They met at the Feathers, the Strand, and decided 'to bring the Journeymen to reason'. For this purpose, those who would forsake their combinations and work 'on moderate terms', were asked to resort to the King's Arms, Holywell Street, the Golden Horseshoe, Chandois Street, or the White Hart, Tower Street. Mr. Mills at the Feathers supervised the trade.[2] Perhaps the landlords of the old houses of call had, as in 1721, helped foment the wage agitation.

One case, from 1755, in the same trade showed a house of call in use in Bath. Tailors were asked to resort to the Apple Tree where the master would treat with them for employment.[3] But the evidence of houses of call is otherwise confined to London. Systems similar to this, and similarly involving truck of a kind, existed in hatmaking and in printing. In early 1732, Messrs. Glover and Morseed, both hatmakers, reported that in conditions of depression - exports to America had fallen off - they both kept public houses to help journeymen obtain work. London, apparently, teemed with unemployed hatters.[4]

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 308, 24 March 1759, p. 3.
2. Lond. Daily Advert., 9861, 21 November 1760, p. 3.
3. Bath Advert., 1, 18 October 1755, p. 3.
4. Journ. of House of Comm., 21, p. 824, 29 February 1732.

The chapels of both pressmen and compositors at Watt's printing house, near Lincoln's Inn, consumed beer heavily, and tried to exact payment for this from Benjamin Franklin in 1726. While not a true truck system, the provision of beer was associated with an alehouse pay-table. Some of the printers lost as much as thirty shillings per week at the point of payment for beer provided, a situation analogous with that of the coalheavers.[1]

The truck and truck-like systems with the associated combination of workmen in these three areas of employment require a general explanation. In spite of the range of activity, some general characteristics can be identified. All were, in a sense, 'skilled' trades; all were subject either to periodic depression, as in textiles, or severe seasonal fluctuations, as in the coal and tailoring trades. In each, at peaks of activity, pressure on wages induced combinations and perhaps called into being retaliatory truck systems. Inns and their keepers entered this sector of the economy in several ways: they provided premises for the clubs and combinations; they supplied entrepreneurial functions especially where the work involved heavy labour; and gained a hold in other trades through what might be regarded as welfare functions, sustaining the workforce in trades of irregular employment. On balance, it might be argued that they exploited both sides, helping to sustain wage levels while themselves helping to reduce their real value. At least part of the economic cost of truck, as discussed by Dr. Hilton, was thus the profit of the intermediary

1. B. Franklin, Autobiography, (Oxford, 1970), pp. 41-43.

innkeeper.

The history of workers' combinations and truck systems were intermingled with the beginnings of the friendly society movement, and all were closely associated with the inn. That these three areas of the labour market, which were to take relatively distinct lines of development, were interconnected in our period stemmed in part from the legislative restrictions on the two former: combinations were illegal, whereas Box Clubs were not. Having examined the 'conspiratorial' interpretation of such workmen's association, favoured by such as Adam Smith,[1] we may now turn to the welfare functions of such primitive friendly societies.

Neither of their recent historians has looked closely at developments of friendly societies before 1760. Both remarked on the generality of the concept of these organisations comprehending the village society, the society with friendly purposes, rather than 'the particular type of providential association with which the name was subsequently connected'.[2] Many were indeed, disguised combinations.[3] How many existed before 1760 is uncertain, and many of these must have been short-lived. Dr. Gosden has argued that the imperfect figures of development taken from the foundation dates of societies surviving to 1883 can be taken as representative of the whole. Only 73 societies founded before 1780 survived to 1883, and Table 29 shows the incidence

1. Smith, Wealth of Nations, I. viii.
2. M. D. Fuller, West Country Friendly Societies (Reading, 1964), p.1.
3. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

of their formation by decade to 1790.

Table 29: Foundation of Friendly Societies, 1711-90[1]

Date of Foundation	No. of Societies
1711-20	4
1721-30	1
1731-40	3
1741-50	3
1751-60	8
1761-70	24
1771-80	27
1781-90	48

Of the 7,200 local clubs or societies estimated by Eden to be extant in 1801, the bulk, Dr. Gosden suggested, were post 1760 foundations.[2]

While it is not proposed here to consider these early societies in depth, it is possible to examine some of the currently-accepted assumptions: mainly that it was only late in the eighteenth century that true friendly societies developed.[3] The test to apply to such societies as did exist prior to 1760 is to compare them with the predominant features of the local societies of the nineteenth century. These essential characteristics may be taken as follows: rules of government, aims and membership; elements of saving and 'insurance'

1. P. H. J. H. Gosden, The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875, (Manchester, 1961), p. 2.
2. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
3. Dr. Gosden admits their existence from that of Bethnall Green of 1697. Miss Fuller's comments, however, have cast doubt on the matter, she appearing, incidentally, unaware of Dr. Gosden's work.

benefits; regular social meetings, often weekly, with periodic 'feasts'; and distinctive emblems or colours. Economically, of course, the second, conditioned by the first was overtly the most important, although one can argue that the social functions and their role in creating group consciousness and unity may have had equally important indirect effects, and to the members of such societies may have been the more important element in general.

It would be wrong to suppose that such clubs and societies have left much evidence for the period prior to 1760. On the above criteria one can discard the evidence from most primitive unions, but some subscribed funds for mutual protection, - as in the case of the journeyman Tailors in 1721[1] - met in inns, made quite elaborate rules, and acted under colours. The combination in Taunton in 1707 clearly duplicated the functions of both trade union and friendly society. For the latter, it qualified under the tests outlined above: its rules were strict, labourers who refused to join were discriminated against; they met at a Taunton inn which was known as their 'club-house'; funds were subscribed, not for the traditional end of a satisfactory final Sacrament, but to assist weavers and their families to migrate; and they met and paraded under a 'common seal Tipstaffs and Colours'.[2] The same report alleged the existence of many similar clubs in all the

1. Bland, Brown and Tawney, English Economic History, pp. 622-624.
2. Journ. of House of Comm., 15, p. 312, 26 February 1707.

western clothing towns.

The evidence of more specialist box clubs is less available. Both Dr. Gosden and Miss Fuller have suggested that one must rely on impressionistic evidence from literary sources. Such was the laudatory account of 1742, in the New and Compleat Survey of London. The box clubs therein uncritically described met as was normal, at an alehouse, contributing 2s. 6d. per week, and spending two pence per head on ale,

'..... that every member, when sick, or lame, whereby he's rendered incapable of working, during his illness, or incapacity, receives seven shillings and sixpence a week; provided his indisposition does not proceed from a veneral cause.'[1]

But fragmentary evidence, often of the feasts and ceremonies of such societies, does exist. The benefit society formed at the Mitre, Oxford, in December 1758, for those aged between 35 and 55, by its age condition and subscriptions qualified under two of our four rules. The further resolution of this society to meet at the Mitre on the first Friday each month, left out only the emblem element.[2] In 1756, the 'New Friendly Society' of Basingstoke, was meeting regularly at the Fox and Hounds, although it rather grandly held its annual feast in the Town Hall. That some further ceremony than the feast was involved may be imputed from the request to members to assemble at the inn at nine in the morning, prior to the feast at one.[3] From 1765 to 1786 the 'Scriblers Club' of Devizes met at the Black Horse, and in the

1. A New and Compleat Survey of London, (London, 1742), II, pp. 1141-42.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 296, 30 December 1758, p. 2.
3. Read. Merc., 556, 28 June 1756, p. 3.

first ten years of its existence had a membership over a hundred. In the latter year, the Bath and West of England Society resolved its approval of such clubs.[1] Not everyone subscribed to Smith's conspiracy theory.

A final society, the 'Blewberry Club' provides detailed information both of these clubs in general, and, more particularly, of the reasons for their meeting at inns. Founded on 31 May 1756, the club had some forty-three separate rules, the first of which appointed William Doe's house, the Man and the Woman, Blewberry, as its meeting place. The club met monthly on Tuesdays, from six till eight in the evening in winter, and seven to nine in summer. Each member paid a shilling to the box a month, and twopence to the house, the regulated price for a pint of beer in club hours. Absentees paid a fine of twopence. Doe was to provide, without further charge, a dinner and a plate of tobacco, worth twopence. Subsequent rules provided for qualification, the annual feast at the Man and the Woman, sickness benefit 'except veneral or fighting', funeral benefit, the exclusion of both 'strangers' and 'gentlemen', the cleaning and furnishing of the Club Room, and various behavioural offences subject to fine. The rules were agreed by fifty-five members, ten of whom signed with a mark, and William Doe was included among the forty-five 'literates'.[2] His significance was further

1. Letters and Papers on Agriculture, Planting etc., sellected from the Correspondence Book of the Society Instituted at Bath, (Bath, 1786), vol. III.
2. Berks. R. O., Blewberry Club, Indenture of Rules agreed, 31 May 1756, D/ETY Q 5/11.

shown by the fact that the Clerk, a James Givin, who acted for the club until 1776, endorsed the front cover of the volume with the motto 'To be held at Wm. Doe's The man and woman, 1757'. Nor was this small club content merely to hoard its funds in the traditional box: at about 1761 some £25 was invested with Mr. Fuller, 'to pay the same interest as before'.[1] This small society, with the detailed evidence it provides of the early history of the friendly society movement in the countryside, It was a small and specifically artisan group, with a level of literacy consistent with a male society, and, above all, prov d the early and intimate relationship between the English inn and such societies.

In conclusion it is clear that the elements discussed above, while apparently discrete, were in fact closely interrelated. Conditions in the labour market were generally characterized by a growing share of wages in a growing Gross National Income, and by a presumptive shift of population away from traditional 'arable' areas. Combined with a growing unity in the labour market, and a waning of local rigidities, the survival of wage assessments under the statute of Artificers may have reflected the workings of these developments as upward pressure was exerted in traditionally low wage areas.

Many trades, such as that of the mason, had long worked in supra-local markets, special skills and qualities needing the support of larger market areas. In our period, for masons and others, the lodges

1. Berks. R. O., The Blewberry Club Book, D/ETY Q 5/1/1.

were the inns. In another sense, the special qualities sought in servants by eighteenth century employers, in this very important sector of employment, induced them to use the inn or rather experience of service at an inn as a major criterion of such 'quality'. Alternatively inns were employed as agencies through which those servants of high quality were sought.

Unpopular with normal travellers and innkeepers as billets, inns were nevertheless the main recruiting grounds for the King's other servants. But more important was their use in certain trades as houses of call, the homes of pay tables, and of undertaking publicans. If they were thus used as forms of truck agencies, they were also, perhaps even at the same time, the homes and the nurseries of workers' combinations.

In this way they were also the houses of the primitive friendly societies which sometimes masked illegal combinations. In some cases such mixed institutions represented the reaction of workers to the attempt by employers to claw back funds from wages through truck, as in the West Country clothing industry. Although our evidence of true friendly societies is both limited and late it is clearly consistent with Dr. Gosden's general analysis of their development. Above all, the detailed evidence of the tiny Blewberry Club refuted Miss Fuller's doubts about the existence of real friendly societies on the basis of four criteria derived from her own work. It showed the early existence

of the mixed social and economic functions of the village friendly society in its essential place of business and meeting: the inn.

The common elements of pressure on the labour market in our period was thus shown by upward drifts of wage rates, continuing wage assessment, the appearance of recruitment agencies, truck and combinations. True friendly societies may have been disguised combinations, but they revealed a growing group consciousness among artisans, perhaps engendered by the developments outlined above. But the real common or recurring element were the inns. They acted as agencies, centres of news and information, as meeting places and clubhouses. They were a common element for the variety of reasons discussed above, but mainly for their unique facilities for refreshment and accommodation which had drawn to them the functions discussed previously. This very variety of its use in the labour market was a tribute to its amenities and flexibility.

CHAPTER 11: THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE INN

The inn's functions as the home of primitive friendly societies and box clubs involved it in activity as a meeting place akin to the village hall of our own times. The inns of Western England were more generally used for a wide variety of such social functions. These clubs lay at the least formal end of the spectrum, whereas the theatre booths, sports and games, and associations, political or otherwise, used the inns on a grander scale. This wide variety of use of the inn for commercial entertainment, for sports, and for less formal pastimes, is the subject of this final chapter.

This use of inns was far from novel in our period: as early as the sixteenth century writers had complained of 'haunting of alehouses'. But in 1720, Strype listed what he called 'modern sports' as: drinking; cockfighting; bowling greens; tables; cards; dice; billiard tables; music; entertainments; dancing; riding; and hunting. All these, by implication, were the sports of the 'better sort' since he subsequently listed those played by the 'more common sort'.[1] The cudgel matches and bull-baiting sports of these lower orders were those which earned the odium of Justices. As early as 1700, the Somerset bench complained of the vice and debauchery resulting from the holding of such entertainments at the inns of the county. The common criers of the shire, who had helped advertise these sports, were enjoined to discontinue the

1. J. Strype, Survey of London, Book I.

practice.[1] It was clear, therefore, that at both metropolitan and provincial level, the use of the inn as house of entertainment was well-established early in our period, and probably long before. But the scale and form of many of these pastimes undoubtedly expanded in our period, and it is these, in descending social status, that we now consider.

The standard histories of the England of our period stress the importance of noble or royal patronage to music and the use of theatres for its performance. Apart from theatres, Marylebone, Vauxhall and Ranelagh Gardens were the main places of musical performance.[2] The histories of Hadow and Sydney were equally heroic in their approach: Handel and Arne were taken as representatives of the whole art. For this there is clearly some justification. The great musical performances of Handel's works were limited to the capital and to places of fashion and elegance. Only public rejection led to the first performance of the Messiah in Dublin, and the work was generally decried on its arrival in London.[3] The capital was the centre for the major musical performances: within it, theatres and the great pleasure gardens were the concert halls.

But both inside and outside the capital, musical performances of a different nature thrived, many employing inns as ticket offices and halls. In London, taverns acted as the homes of musical societies

1. Somerset R. O., Quart. Sess. Min. Bk., 3, Bridgwater, Trinity, 1700, f. 432.
2. See, for example, Sir Henry Hadow, 'Music', Johnson's England, II, pp. 196 f; W. C. Sydney, England and the English in the Eighteenth Century, (Edinburgh, 1891), I, 140-142.
3. Johnson's England, II, 195.

which seem to have provided incentives to improve standards, as in the case of the 'Academy of Ancient Music' which existed at the Crown and Anchor from 1710.[1] At the Castle, Paternoster Row, a musical society existed by 1744, when subscribers were advised to take up tickets for a 'Water Concert' to be held on 13 June. Admission was limited strictly to the holders of tickets.[2] The Castle continued its association with music to the 1750s playing host to the music of a Mr. Ward and his son and to various charity concerts. At least three such concerts took place in 1750 alone, on behalf of 'a Gentlewoman under misfortunes', Mr. Ward himself, and Mrs. Larkin, a singer.[3] The earliest example of such concerts came from the year 1705, when vocal and instrumental music was performed at the Ship, Greenwich.[4] Concert performances were thus given at London inns and alehouses in our period, suggesting perhaps that the dominance of theatres and pleasure gardens can be, and has been, exaggerated.

Probably, such concerts catered for the lesser members of society or the middle classes who aped their social superiors. The evidence of advertisements also suggests that these were of a different nature from the grand performance of oratorios. They were varied in both composer and type of music performed, and seemed overtly popular. The development of English music and musicianship in the eighteenth century may have owed as much to these lesser concerts as to the grand successes

1. Ibid., p. 199.
2. Daily Advert., 4169, 28 May 1744, p. 2.
3. Gen. Advert., 4747, 8 January 1750, p. 2; Ibid., 4825, 9 April 1750, p. 2; Ibid., 19 November 1750, p. 2.
4. Daily Courant, 1029, 1 August 1705, p.2.

and failures of Handel.

Music in the provinces has also been underestimated. Outside such places as Bath, which culturally may be regarded as part of the capital. Country houses were the concert halls of the squirearchy, but music was also part of life in the towns. As has been suggested above, the 'pseudo- gentry' were not generally more backward than the gentry themselves in the pursuit of fashion. For these, concerts were held at the Mitre, Wells in 1718.[1] Perhaps in recognition of an established role, the Wells musical society moved its concerts to the Mitre in 1726, when, after some 30 years, the old Close Hall proved no longer suitable.[2]

Elsewhere, the major musical events of the year were the festivals and assemblies held in Town Halls or cathedral churches. Inns acted as adjuncts to these, providing dining rooms and booking offices. In September 1751, St. Cecilia's Festival was celebrated in Salisbury with performances of Handel's Te Deum, Samson, and Alexander's Feast, the latter two in the assembly room, the former in the cathedral. Reflecting the quality of the performers, drawn from London, Oxford and Bath, the tickets cost five shillings each at the Fountain, Three Lions, Angel and King's Arms inns.[3] In the summer of 1753, the Crown and the Royal Oak were booking offices for a concert at the Town Hall, Tenbury.[4] Tickets for a concert at Henley were sold at the Bush, Wokingham in

1. West Country Physician, 11 November 1718, p. 65.
2. Ibid., 28 June 1726, pp. 133-134; 5 July 1726, p. 134.
3. Salis. Journ., 714, 23 September 1751, p. 3.
4. Gloucs. Journ., 1624, 21 August 1753, p. 2.

1759.[1] Meetings of the stewards, and associated balls and ordinaries, of the Three Choirs Festival were held at the Bell, Gloucester in 1757.[2] Two years later, the festival was held at Hereford, where the Swan and Falcon acted as ticket office.[3] By the 1750s and earlier, music flourished through clubs, concerts and festivals in provincial England, to all which activities the inns were useful servants.

Music was also part of inn life. Music of a sort naturally emanated from the consumption of liquor, but those who sought to provide musical accompaniment to carousal ran the risk of censure. Possibly Walter Hamlin of Glastonbury, whose fiddle was burnt at an inn in Wedmore in 1656 had displeased his audience.[4] Two years later Thomas Hosier was released from his indentures of apprenticeship to Anthony Curtis of St. Giles in the Fields, musician. Instead of providing the proper training, Curtis had sent his apprentice out to profer music at taverns and alehouses 'being not sent for'.[5] In the absence of more general evidence one can assume that the event was sufficiently commonplace to warrant no record. Music may have been part of the frequent 'disorder' of inns.

Two further examples from the very end of our period substantiate the use of the inn for lesser musical performances. The competitive

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 318, 2 June 1759, p. 3.
2. Ibid., 227, 3 September 1757, p. 3.
3. Ibid., 329, 18 August 1759, p. 3.
4. Somerset Record Society, vol. 28, 'Quarter Sessions Records 1646-1660', p. 290.
5. Middx. R. O., Sess. Bk., 181, p. 37, December 1658.

and sporting nature of eighteenth century England was characterised by local musical competitions. In 1754 a contest for 'part songs' was held at the King's Head, Wokingham. Each company entering was to attend the ordinary at 1 p.m. prior to the competition at 2 p.m. Each group had to bring an umpire, and the prize was a silver cup, valued at 40 shillings, or its money equivalent.[1] At Whitsun, 1759, a 'Ringing and Singing' competition was held at the oxford Arms, Watlington. Hats of one guinea and half a guinea were the prizes.[2] These non-violent alternatives to the commonplace rural sports probably built on the foundation of the less formal musical performances which already took place within the inn.

Theatrical performances also entered the inns under special circumstances. Theatres existed in plenty in London, excluding the notorious booths and houses in Goodman's Fields, known collectively as Sadler's Wells. The more ribald and popular plays were performed at theatrical booths in inn yards at fair time. According to Sydney, for a time in the 1720s and 1730s such booths were patronised by the 'quality' and consequently attracted famous actors.[3] Bartholomew Fair especially attracted the attention of the drama booth. In 1730 and earlier, a theatre booth was set up in the yard of the George Inn, Smithfield. In 1730, Oates and Fielding, its proprietors, offered performances of

1. Read. Merc., 439, 1 April 1754, p. 3.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 315, 12 May 1759, p. 3.
3. W. C. Sydney, Eng. and the Eng., I, pp. 165 f.

'The Generous Free-Mason, or the Constant Lady': in 1729 they had shown a 'diverting dramatic opera' entitled 'Hunter, or the Beggar's Wedding'.[1] Even at the end of our period such booths still operated, with notable actors playing them. In 1760, Mr. Yates, from the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, advertised that he would 'dress his dramatic turtle' at the Greyhound, Smithfield, during Bartholomew Fair.[2] In the special circumstances of the great London fairs, the theatre migrated to the inn yard.

Popular taste, or bad taste, which dictated the character of the theatre, led also to the importance of the variety stage, which far eclipsed 'legitimate' drama in popularity in the early eighteenth century.[3] 'Variety' was the operative word for this category of entertainment, since it comprehended individual performers of skill, animal acts, and the exhibition of various freaks and mechanical devices: entertainment within the inn comprehended the music hall, the circus and the fun fair.

In 1705, a Mr. Clinch of Barnet performed at the Bear Tavern in the Strand. He was a mimic and impersonator and charged a shilling a head to view his act.[4] Five years later he added an Essex song of his own composition when giving a similar show at the King's Head, Fenchurch Street.[5] In 1753, a more dramatic entertainer, Mr. Powell, toured the

1. Ibid., I, p. 168; Daily Post, 3415, 29 August 1730, p. 2.
2. Pub. Advert., 8058, 2 September 1760, p. 1.
3. A. S. Turberville, English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century, (2nd. edition, Oxford, 1929), p. 408.
4. Daily Courant, 969, 24 May 1705, p. 2.
5. Ibid., 2569, 17 January 1710.

inns of Wiltshire and Hampshire. He was billed as the 'Celebrated Fire-Eater' and ate red hot coals, tobacco pipes flaming with brimstone, charcoal-grilled slices of beef and mutton on his tongue, and drank a noxious soup made of rosin, pitch, beeswax, sealing wax, brimstone, alum and lead, 'to the great surprize of all spectators'. This fascinating entertainment was available for two nights at a time at the Swan, Devizes, Castle, Marlborough and the White Hart, Chippenham, His future progress was to Salisbury, Winchester, Southampton, Newport [I.O.W.], Portsmouth and Chichester. Tickets were sold by Mr. Powell at his lodgings, the inns at which he performed.[1] Such performers offered alternatives to the standard entertainments of our period: cruel sports and the execution of the law.

Two other entertainments toured Western England in the 1750s. A Mr. Nevill possessed, and presumably devised, a mechanical representation of the English woollen manufacture. Figures eighteen inches tall demonstrated all branches of the industry from shearing sheep to the dressing of cloth: the machine, it was alleged, had over 5,000 moving parts. In November 1755, this was exhibited at the Chequer Inn, Oxford at a shilling a head.[2] Two years later the industry had progressed to the King's Arms, Leominster.[3] A device of some sort was shown at the King's Arms, Speenhamland in 1757. 'The Iron-House' had travelled

1. Salis. Journ., 794, 14 May 1753, p. 2.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 133, 15 November 1755, p. 3.
3. Gloucs. Journ., 1806, 4 January 1757, p. 4.

thence from London, and having been stopped there by 'Robinhood and Little John' was on view every day except Sunday.[1] Entertainments of this type also took place in Essex inns, although it is uncertain whether any occurred prior to 1760.[2] A detailed analysis of any local newspaper would reveal similar inn entertainment.

Circus or zoo animals were also exhibited at inns. These were not, as in the case of the wild animals from Carolina exhibited at the Plough and Anchor, Abingdon in 1753, shown prior to sale, but rather exhibited as curiosities.[3] At the Duke of Marlborough's head, Fleet Street, such animals were on show between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m. in 1710. This collection included two 'wood-masters' from Ethiopia [some form of baboon?], a picary 'much admired by the learned', a possum and an Egyptian panther, and a pygmy.[4] During Southwark Fair in 1720 an elephant was on show at the Falcon inn, it already having enjoyed successful exhibition at Bartholomew Fair and before the Prince of Wales.[5] At the Bell, Haymarket, the male rhinoceros was displayed in 1740 at a shilling a head, and it was advertised as 'much more curious than the female' which, by implication, had already been on show.[6] Such exhibits also visited provincial towns although they were most common in London: in 1757 the 'amazing Dromedary from Persia' and the

1. Read. Merc., 608, 27 June 1757, p. 3.
2. A. F. J. Brown, Essex at Work, 1700-1815, (Chelmsford, 1969) Essex Record Office Publications no. 49, pp. 72-73.
3. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 3, 19 May 1753, p. 2.
4. British Apollo, II, 100, 18 February 1710, p. 4.
5. Daily Post, 292, 7 September 1720, p. 2.
6. Lond. Even. Post., 2032, 20 November 1740, p. 3.

'LOFTY CAMEL from Great Cairo' were shown at the Chequer, Oxford, after Abingdon Fair.[1] Perhaps this last example serves to explain the lesser incidence of such exhibitions in the provinces: they were fair attractions and as such required little advertisement, sufficient spectators being drawn by the commerce of the fair itself.

Human freaks were shown on the same terms as other animals to satisfy 'curiosity'. London inns were the centres for this trade, although an Indian king and his tribe dined publicly at the Mermaid, Windsor, after their presentation to George II.[2] An Angolan hermaphrodite was displayed at the Cross Inn, Charing Cross in 1740. After 6 p.m. he was available to visit families who cared not for the public exhibition rooms.[3] Another African, 'with enlarged upper parts' was shown at the Rummer, Charing Cross in 1744. Since the landlady's husband had just died, this animal answered questions for himself. He could be seen by ladies who were accompanied by a 'prudent member' of their own sex.[4] As a change from the display of the unfortunate members of Ham's race, a dwarf Dutchman appeared at the Mitre, Charing Cross in 1750. At age 35, he stood only 2' 8" high, and it was further noted that 'He has a very comely countenance so that ladies may satisfy their curiosity without running any risk, in whatever condition they may be'. As usual, constant attendance was available at the inn.[5]

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 216, 18 June 1757, p. 3.
2. Universal Spectator, 90, 27 June 1730, p. 2.
3. Lond. Daily Post, 1885, 7 November 1740, p. 1.
4. Daily Advert,, 4169, 28 May 1744, p. 3.
5. Gen. Advert., 4873, 4 June 1750, p. 3.

The character and tone of advertisement of such unfortunates placed them barely above the level of animals: they were foreign, even servile, freaks, and as such were viewed without human connexion. To a nation whose commerce and whose commercial empire were expanding, they were examples of the 'curious' outward world: they were as important examples of eighteenth century 'taste' as the Georgian antiques now so prized.

Also in the sphere of entertainment, were the assembly balls held in inns in the last decade of our period. In Essex such entertainments started as early as 1730, but there is no evidence of them in Western England until the 1750s.[1] It is possible that the evidence has distorted the analysis, but since these balls were the associates of sporting events, which grew at about the same time, the evidence of advertisements can be taken at face value. The evidence of the establishment of assembly balls also accords with that discussed elsewhere for other aping of the nobility among the middle classes. The very fact of advertisement suggested novelty, and newspaper evidence may be taken as reliable within these specified limits.

The Assembly balls themselves are of little interest, except in showing the descent of courtly pursuits to the urban aristocracy and the gentry. As a Bath, they often formed part of a unified system of entertainment, being held in association with horse races, cockfights, and concerts. Inns again played two roles: as booking offices and as

1. A. F. J. Brown, Essex at Work, p. 73.

ballrooms. The Bell and Lamb inns sold tickets for a concert at Dursley town hall in 1751. At the conclusion of the concert, ticket holders were given a free ball.[1] In such a small provincial town, audience-participation was perhaps a necessity. At Chipping Norton, races were the occasion for balls at the Swan, the Talbot and the White Hart from 1754 onward.[2] In Gloucester an assembly and ball was held at the Bell inn during the Assizes in 1752.[3]

Whereas these balls were held on specific occasions, and with express purposes, in many towns 'subscription assemblies' were developing in the 1750s. The 'Assembly Room' at the Fountain, Salisbury, was used for this purpose on Tuesday 22 October and 'every Tuesday during the season' in 1751. Provided were a 'good band of music' good fires and illumination, and a 'proper audience'.[4] Similar assemblies took place regularly at the Black Bear, Wantage, from 1759,[5] the Bull, Burford (1756)[6] and the Angel, Gloucester (1753).[7] Nearly all were held during the winter months, the 'season' referred to above. While the badness of road conditions at this time has been exaggerated, few would embark on a journey for pleasure in the winter months. Proper 'seasons' took place in towns like Bath during the summer, and these

1. Gloucs. Journ., 1536, 3 December 1751, p. 3.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 49, 6 April 1754, p. 4; ibid., 63, 13 July 1754; similar advertisements appeared in subsequent years.
3. Gloucs. Journ., 1567, 7 July 1752, p. 3.
4. Salis. Journ., 718, 21 October 1751, p. 3.
5. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 347, 22 December 1759, p. 3.
6. Ibid., 180, 9 October 1756, p. 4.
7. Gloucs. Journ., 1593, 16 January 1753, p. 3.

winter assemblies in provincial towns filled the gap during inclement weather. They were signs of growing luxury in provincial life and of changing patterns of consumption within the towns.

Inns were also associated with sporting activities, many of which were really entertainments. Puritan hostility to 'wakes and revels' at which many games were played failed to eliminate them, and many continued or even revived after 1660, in the face of continued official hostility. At the same time certain sports achieved higher status through noble patronage, a status sometimes hardened by legislative restriction. Clearest of these was hunting, but in our period horse racing and coking were similarly elevated. These remained sports for the lower orders, but were not their preserve in the way that wrestling, cudgels and football were. In these higher sports, gentlemen entered as gamblers, matchmakers and owner-trainers. All these activities involved inns, and, with many, there is more than a suspicion that innkeepers were the instigators of sporting competition. Sports in general have an adequate historian, and individual sports plentiful chroniclers: the following account deals strictly with the role of the inn and the innkeeper in their development.[1]

Of the superior sports, probably the most exclusive was horse-racing. At the beginning of our period, Charles II gave it his patronage, and encouraged the development of Newmarket. While the Crown retreated from direct involvement in racing, Brailsford concluded that

1. Based largely on D. Brailsford, Sport and Society (London, 1969), especially Chapter VI, pp. 198-219.

'the "Sport of Kings" was to be, for nearly the whole of the eighteenth century, the sport of the aristocracy, with the kings themselves not playing a major part in its government'.[1] There is an element of truth in his analysis. The owners of many of the prize racing stallions put to mares at the inns of Western England were members of the aristocracy.[2] Nobles also donated prizes to new race meetings: in 1720, the Earl of Tankervill gave to 'Uxbridge Moor Races'.[3] While there is plentiful evidence of the expansion of racing and the establishment of meetings at many provincial towns in our period, the involvement of the aristocracy in this growth is not obvious. The growth of horseracing was conspicuous in catering not for the aristocracy but for the gentry and the lesser 'pseudo-gentry' of the towns.

The proof of the spread of lesser races was given in the act of 1740 which set the weights to be carried by horses, and set minimum prizes of £50. The act further aimed to remove

> 'all temptation from the lower class of people who constantly attend these races to the great loss of time and labour, and whose behaviour still calls for stricter regulation to curb their licentiousness and correct their manners.'[4]

The strength of the contrary lobby was shown in the repeal of the act in 1745.

The earliest races promoted outside the upper levels of society

1. Brailsford, Sport and Society, p. 213.
2. See above, p. 298.
3. Daily Courant, 5882, 27 August 1720, p. 2.
4. 13 George II, c. 19, quoted in E. D. Cuming, 'Sports and Games' Johnson's England, I, p. 365.

were probably challenge matches between jealous local rivals. John Richards wagered against Captain Trenchard not on the result but on the duration of such a race at the Antelope, Dorchester in 1699. Two local gentlemen, a Mr. Play and a Mr. Hull, raced against each other over a considerable distance, since Richards wagered that the winning horse would not arrive within 4½ hours of the start.[1] Local newspapers catalogued the early race meetings of provincial England. Racing started at Worcester in 1718, when, for entry fees of 2s. 6d, any horse could compete for a saddle and bridle valued at £3; lest the spectators found that the races lacked involvement, foot races for men, for a pair of silver buckles, and for women, for a 'Handsome hat', were run over the same course.[2] If not the first, then early organised races took place at 'Hallion Heath' Northampton in 1701.[3] In 1710, races were run at Lichfield[4] and at 'Artlingborough Meadow' Wellingborough.[5] By 1720 races were held on Putney Heath[6] and by 1739 at Wrexham.[7] In 1740 Westminster and sixteen provincial towns held race meetings, nine in June alone.[8] The fact of advertisement and the explanation of prizes conditions etc., more than suggested the novelty of these meetings. In the middle of our period, horseracing was a growing sport away from the most fashionable centres: it grew parallel

1. W. B., 'Extracts from the Diary of John Richards of Warmwell, March 1697 to March 1702' Retrospective Review, new series, I (1853), p. 205.
2. Worcester City Records, 'Worcester Racecourse' D 18 Box 1.
3. Post Man, 15, 18 March 1701.
4. Lond. Gaz., 4713, 4 July 1710.
5. Ibid., 4720, 20 July 1710.
6. Post Boy, 4856, 6 September 1720, p. 2.
7. Adams's Weekly Cour., 323, 31 January 1739, p. 4.
8. Based as above on newspaper advertisements.

to the balls and assemblies which frequently accompanied it.

Inns were the centres for most of these meetings. They functioned as hotels for race-goers, and as stables for the competing animals, as weighing rooms, and as the places at which horses were formally entered for races. The inn, not the nobleman, was the one common element in the early history of provincial horseracing. Initially, as at Dorchester in 1699, the association was partly casual and perhaps a more than incidental function of drink. The same bravado incited by alcohol which led to many 'disorders' also stimulated less violent forms of challenge. Such casual races were unlikely to produce lasting and regular meetings. Unlike cooking, horseracing soon lost its personalised element of challenge: meetings were held regularly, at agreed dates, and not as the result of a specific contract or challenge.

Inns served as hotels for those who attended these early races, served the formal dinner or 'ordinary' during the meeting, and stabled both contestants and less elevated horses. Innkeepers at race towns sought to attract the fashionable clientele these events brought to towns, frequently through the balls and assemblies described above. In a sample, based on newspaper advertisements, of some 25 provincial towns which held race meetings prior to 1760, inns provided these subsidiary events in 15 cases. In 1740 such assemblies took place during race meetings at the Raven, Shrewsbury,[1] the George, Salisbury,[2]

1. Lond. Even. Post., 1938, 15 April 1740, p. 3.
2. Ibid., 1948, 8 May 1740, p. 3.

the Swan, Birmingham,[1] and the Wheatsheaf, Daventry.[2] At a very early stage the race meeting was a broadly-conceived and significant feature of provincial life: it was a social event of considerable importance.

Such balls and assemblies were frequently advertised 'for the ladies': men were attracted by cocking, and both by the 'ordinary' held at inns prior to each days racing. Like the assembly and ball, the ordinary was an event associated with, rather than a necessary part of racing. In one case, from 1750, a publican offered refreshment and a meal before racing at a grander racecourse: Epsom. He migrated for the duration of racing to a tent on the downs. For those who wished, the 'best entertainment' and dinner at 2 p.m. was available at George Williams' 'Red Cap Tent' - he was normally keeper of the White Lion, Streatham.[3] Elsewhere, lesser meetings served ordinaries at the inns themselves. The George served racing at Northampton in this way in 1701.[4] In 1740, the George, Lichfield, King's Arms, Oswestry, and Three Lyons, Salisbury provided ordinaries during racing.[5] Like the assembly and ball, and the cock match, it provided the means for the publican to profit from the race meetings he served.

With their stabling, inns served to house competing horses. An inn, or, in some cases a series of inns, served racing in this way, entry normally being conditional upon stabling at a particular inn.

1. Ibid., 1944, 29 April 1740, p. 3.
2. Ibid., 1937, 12 April 1740, p. 3.
3. Daily Advert., 6016, 15 May 1750, p. 2.
4. Post Man, 15, 18 March 1701.
5. Lond. Even. Post., 1989, 12 August 1740, p. 3; ibid., 1942, 24 April 1740, p. 3; Lond. Gaz., 7908, 10 May 1740, p. 6.

In 1718 horses had to be entered and stabled at the Crown, Broad Street, Worcester, the day before racing. By 1754, the meeting had grown to three days, and on successive days horses were to be stalled and entered at the Star and Garter, the Bell, and the Green Dragon.[1] Such restrictions applied at Northampton, and by the 1740s were commonplace. Where specific rules applied, such as in the running of 'galloways' [small horses] the qualifications of entrants were also checked at the inn. Galloways below 14 hands were raced at Lichfield in July 1710, and handicapped according to size at the Swan Inn.[2] A race for smaller galloways took place at Putney in 1720, the Green Man serving as the point of entry where size was checked.[3]

Parallel was the extension of the interval between entry and racing, which served also to bring trade to inns. By the 1740s it was common for several days, or even a week to elapse between entry and racing, during which horses stood at inn stables, and were, presumably, open to inspection. Although one cannot be certain, the balance of evidence suggests that this time qualification became more strict and lengthier up to 1760. Only one day was sufficient in 1710 at Lichfield races; in 1720, Uxbridge Moor Races demanded four days of its entrants; in 1739, entries for Wrexham races had to be made at the Raven at least six days before running; and by 1740 and later, as at Launceston,

1. Worcester City Records, D 18 Box 1.
2. Lond. Gaz., 4713, 4 July 1710.
3. Post-Boy, 4856, 6 September 1720, p. 2.

a week was almost uniform.[1] Thus in the management of racing, as well as in its supporting entertainments, the inn played an important and growing role. Innkeepers benefited by, and sought to attract the trade created by early horse-racing. Their inns served as the assembly rooms and substituted all the buildings and equipment of the grander race-course.

Such race meetings might almost have been devised for the benefit of innkeepers as much as the entertainment of the public at large, and there is evidence to suggest that they were the active sponsors rather than the passive servants of early provincial racing. In some instances racing appears to have been an exercise in the sales promotion of the local inns. Taking the year 1740 alone, seven race meetings were founded by local inns. Typical were the rules at Denbigh and Wrexham, which required all entrants to be stabled at houses [inns] which had subscribed 10s and 1 guinea to the prizes.[2] A parallel restriction from the same year came from Lichfield. Only the inhabitants of Lichfield, or those who had subscribed at least 2s 6d 'towards making the course', were to sell liquor on the heath.[3] Here was unequivocal evidence of publican interest in racing. At Maidenhead in 1759 horses could only stand at Mr. March's inn, at Maidenhead Bridge, or at houses subscribing 2 guineas to plates.[4] Reading Races in 1754 were sponsored

1. Lond. Gaz., 4713, 4 July 1710; Daily Courant, 5882, 27 August 1720, p. 2; Adams's Weekly Courant, 323, 31 January 1739, p. 4; Lond. Even. Post, 1953, 20 May 1740, p. 2.
2. Lond. Even. Post, 1916, 23 February 1740, p. 2; ibid., 1952, 17 May 1740, p. 2.
3. Lond. Even. Post, 1989, 12 August 1740, p. 3.
4. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 331, 1 September 1759, p. 2.

by smiths as well as innkeepers. Entries had to stand at subscribing houses, to be plated by subscribers, and, as usual, none but subscribers were to sell liquor on the heath.[1] Robert Trotman, keeper of the Lamb, Witney, was also clerk of the course to racing in 1756: an unusual condition applied to the race on Curbridge Downs, since the winner was to be sold to the Clerk of the course 'if required' for £8.[2]

Inns and their keepers therefore served and stimulated early horse-racing. Many of the subscribers to Reginald Heber's Horse Matches of 1761 were therefore innkeepers.[3] They served both racing and the racegoer through balls, ordinaries, assemblies and subscription. If the account of the old-established meeting at Worcester in 1754 was typical, the gains were potentially great. 'Upwards of 160' sat down to public breakfast at the Widow Wythes' house at 'Digley Bowling Green'. Among them were the Earl and Countess of Coventry and other gentry. The general report on the meeting concluded:

> 'The First Day's Sport was exceeding good, and the Company present both days was very grand and numerous. Several noblemen and Gentlemen dined each day at the Ordinary, and the Concert and Balls there was a very great and brilliant appearance.'[4]

This major race meeting therefore provided customers not merely in numbers, but also of desirable 'quality' for the local inns. Paradoxically, in its early days, 'the Sport of Kings', was not merely

1. Read. Merc., 446, 20 May 1754, p. 3.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 175, 4 September 1756, p. 3.
3. Reginald Heber, An Historical List of Horse Matches Run ..... in the year 1760, (London, 1761), volume X.
4. Worcester City Records, D 18 Box 1.

dependent on the inn, but may have had its origin there. It seems clear that the innkeepers and the tradesmen of provincial towns, the 'pseudo-gentry', had as much to do with early horse-racing as the gentry and aristocracy who, largely, provided the horses. The race meeting was certainly an event of high fashion in eighteenth century provincial England, but it also provided, and was designed to provide, great opportunities for gain among the local tradesman, principal of whom were the innkeepers.

Closely associated with racing were various blood-sports, principally cocking, which provided supporting gaming and entertainment. In twelve of the twenty-five race-meetings referred to above, cocking was an associated activity,[1] even in the earliest cases from Northampton and Wrexham in 1701 and 1739.[2] Such meetings took place at the same inns as were used to receive entries and otherwise organise races: in the cases above the George and the Crown. But the connexion, though commonplace, between racing and cocking, was neither necessary nor contemporaneous: in time and place both existed independently.

Development in cocking after the Restoration was marked by the growth of gambling on a large scale. The censorious atmosphere of the Interregnum may have arrested earlier development, but even in the 1650s the sport continued. Innkeepers were normally the owners of

1. See above, p.403.
2. Post Man, 15, 18 March 1701; Adams's Weekly Courant, 323, 31 January 1739, p. 4.

cockpits, hence played host to the 'battles'. But a case from 1657 showed both the continuance of the sport and a rather unusual role of an innkeeper as keeper of fighting cocks. John Swallow, mason, of Castle Cary, complained that his cock, kept for him by Michael Chamberlyn, innkeeper, which had been stolen, had been brought to him [for sale presumably] by one John Francis.[1]

Few innkeepers other than Chamberlyn seem to have actually kept cocks for their owners. They provided the cockpit and the refreshment for a match, but owners and 'feeders' were, by the early eighteenth century, specialists. The reason lay in the heavy gambling involved in cock-fighting, which Cotton alleged was a pre-eminent sport among the gentry in late seventeenth century England.[2] Specialist feeders and breeders raised the sport from the farmyard to the court or manor house. For the last quarter of our period, for which direct evidence is available, the stakes and the organisation of the sport are clear. For some 31 separate cockfights held at the inns of Western England between 1739 and 1760 evidence of gambling and the 'combatants' is available.[3] This cannot be regarded as a scientific sample, but is nonetheless deserving of closer analysis. It suggests that the subject will bear, and will require more systemati research.

The 31 fights took place in 26 different towns, ranging from

1. Somerset R. O., Quart. Sess. Rolls, 95, II, no. 35, pp. 336-337.
2. Charles Cotton, The Compleat Gamester (1674), cited by D. Brailsford, Sport and Society, pp. 214-215.
3. Based as in similar cases on advertisements from the following news-papers: London Evening Post; Jacks Oxf. Journ.; Salis. Journ.; Read. Merc.; Adams's Weekly Cour.; Gloucs. Journ.

Brentford, to Crickhowell and Holywell in the West, Lichfield and Bridgnorth in the Midlands, and Hartford Bridge in the South. The greater concentration lay in the South Midlands, but this was probably a reflection more of the source material than the historical fact. But more interesting is the analysis of the 'combatants'. Table 30 below summarizes the sides in the 31 cases, showing a marked concentration of 'county' matches.

Table 30: Sides in Cock - Matches, 1739-1760 [1]

Class of 'Side'	No. of Cases
County vs. County	18
Personal Matches	4
Knock-out Contests	3
Type unspecified	3
Town vs. Town	2
Town vs. County	1
TOTAL	31.

The evidence of these matches clearly reinforces the familiar theme of county loyalties in early modern England. On one occasion, in 1757, a fight took place between the allied gentlemen of Monmouth and Hereford, and those of Brecon and Radnor.[2] Such cases clearly suggest that in many ways, county pride and feeling, as expressed in sport, were analogous to inter - rather than infra - national relations.

1. Sources as above, p. 409, n. 3.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 196, 29 January 1757, p. 3.

While following a basically similar framework, such fights varied greatly in the number of cocks shown in the 'main' and 'side' or 'bye' battles, in the stakes on each, and in the high stakes placed on the 'odd battle'. The number of cocks shown varied from 11 to 41, the commonest numbers being 15, 21, 25, 31 and 41. Stakes were placed on each 'battle' with another sometimes for the overall result. For individual 'battles' these varied between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 10 guineas, with anything up to 200 guineas for the 'odd battle': i.e. one between outstanding cocks. On average, the stake on these individual fights was about 4 guineas, and 45 on that of special attraction. In 13 cases, 'side battles' were also held, of between 15 and 21 cocks, at an average of $2\frac{1}{2}$ guineas the 'battle'.[1] The clear conclusion from these figures is that very considerable sums, up to 1000 guineas according to E. D. Cuming, were staked on the outcome of cockfights.[2]

Totalling the stakes, and allowing, notionally, one 'odd battle' where this was relevant, some interesting variations appeared in total stake money. Calculation of total stakes were possible in 27 cases, the average value of the cockfights being 162 guineas. But one small group, the personal matches between two individuals stood far above this. Personal battles averaged 473 guineas in stakes, the greatest

1. 29 cases of individual stakes for 'main' battles exist, stakes totalling $110\frac{1}{2}$ guineas; 25 'odd' figures, total 1160 guineas; 13 'side' figures, total 32 guineas.
2. E. D. Cuming, in Johnson's England, I, 372.

being that between Lord Craven and Val. Knightley Esq., at the Spread Eagle, Rugby, in 1740. In this case the stakes totalled a minimum of 710 guineas.[1] At the other extreme, the 'gentlemen', of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire met six times between 1756 and 1759 at Wheatley, Stokenchurch and Watlington for an average stake of 44 guineas.[2] While the evidence is not sufficient for certainty, it looks as though the greatest, and least frequent battles took place between gentlemen who especially prized their reputations. Such were the meetings of champions.

In all this inns were servants not masters of the sport. Innkeepers provided facilities for the clear gains engendered by such gambling meetings lasting as long as three or four days. While this held true for the generality of cases, innkeepers sometimes were the initiators, as in horse-racing. As one might expect, the contests so arranged by innkeepers tended to be 'Welsh mains' or other knock-out contests for a final prize or prizes. Such clearly was the case early in 1739, when Philip Down promoted a contest for a tankard value £8 to launch his new cockpit. He advised gentlemen who were 'pleased to send' cocks, that they would be 'fed free'.[3] A 'Welsh Main' of

1. Lond. Even. Post, 1938, 15 April 1740, p. 3.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 168, 17 July 1756, p. 3; 201, 5 March 1757, p. 2; 161, 29 May 1756, p. 3; 213, 28 May 1757, p. 3; 268, 17 June 1758, p. 3; 322, 30 June 1759, p. 3.
3. Adams's Weekly Cour., 322, 24 January 1739, p. 4. The comment about cocks being 'fed free' is a little ambiguous: it probably means that no fees were to be charged on entry, thus further emphasising the promotional aspect of this cockfight.

8 cocks was held at the Oxford Arms, Watlington in 1759 for a prize of 1½ guineas, the owner of each cock paying 2s 6d entry money.[1] Similarly in 1761 one was held at the Swan, Highworth, for 16 cocks, entry 5/- each, for a first prize of 4 guineas and a second of 1 guinea.[2] The significance of all three cases is that they point to the benefits expected by the organising innkeeper. In each case the host offered prizes exceeding entry fees (where appropriate) in value. Clearly for these, and for the other inns which offered hospitality to cock-fights, the gains, real and anticipated, through trade were very considerable. The cockpit was another recurrent feature of the inn complex.

Cockfighting was the principal, if not the sole blood sport of eighteenth century England and its inns. Baiting of badgers, bears and bulls occurred, and, as parallel to 'free feeding' of cocks, those who brought dogs were, on at least one occasion, admitted free.[3] Only one clear evidence, from Salisbury in 1751, has been found for these sports outside London. At the Fountain, High Street, a badger, 'a large and beautiful beast of its kind', was baited in the Assembly Rooms, and, prior to the event, could be viewed *gratis*.[4] This event was apparently part of the regular entertainments of the 'season'. Hunting too sometimes attached to inns. The stewards of a foxhunt

1. *Jacks. Oxf. Journ.*, 299, 20 January 1759, p. 3.
2. *Ibid.*, 399, 20 December 1760, p. 3.
3. W. C. Sydney, *England and the English*, I, 180-181.
4. *Salis. Journ.*, 719, 28 October 1751, p. 3.

urged gentlemen to meet them at the Swan Inn, Stafford in 1750. The hunt went on for at least two days, with an ordinary at the Swan every day, and a ball for the ladies on the evening of the second day. Like the Salisbury badger baiting, it seems to have been part of a more general entertainment for the winter season.[1] Both events took place at the end of October and may have been the first of a series. Finally, in 1756, an alternative was provided at the Angel, Marlborough to the cockmatch in the morning before horse-racing. From this inn a deer was turned out to be hunted on the downs on each day of racing.[2] This and other cases more than suggests that innkeepers organised events to promote trade. A substantial part of commercial leisure in the eighteenth century and perhaps earlier may have stemmed from the initative of innkeepers.

Sports and games, like so many activities, depended on the status of their practitioners for their respectability. Many lesser sports, those enjoyed by the lower orders, seem to have been regarded by cockfighting society with suspicion if not always overt censure. In many areas of the West and North, football, backsword, cudgels and like sports were associated in the minds of Justices with 'wakes and revels' and hence regarded as sources of popery and sedition, the latter being imputed to any substantial gathering of the lower orders.

1. Gen. Even. Post,, 2626, 29 September 1750, p. 2.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 177, 18 September 1756, p. 3.

In Somerset in 1656 the Justices were informed that a 'wain load' of beer was specially brought in a cudgel match at Timsbury at the inn of John Templar. Three or four hundred strangers were present and 'divers disorders and abuses' were committed, 'chiefly by the sale of the said beer'.[1] As late as 1731, the Gloucester Justices noted wakes, revels and cudgel matches in the county, in spite of their previous repressive action. The cause of these disorders was expressed explicitly, 'which are promoted and concouraged by Alehouse-Keepers'. In consequence, they ordered 'That no such Wakes, Revels, or other Meetings for Wrestling of Cudgel-Playing for Hats or other Prizes, be for the future held in any Part of this County'.[2] The measure of their success was an advertisement in 1750 for just such a series of martial entertainments, feasting etc., at Northleach, on the occasion of the town's 'great market' [fair].[3]

Of the main sports of the lower orders which survive to the present day, both cricket and football were sometimes associated with inns, the latter, being a less ruly sport, being sustained by the goods of the inn rather than organised from the inns themselves. Football was a popular street game, suspect on political and religious grounds, but, after the Restoration both widespread and largely uncensured.[4] Macky found the Catholic strength of Flintshire expressed

1. Soms. R. O., Quart. Sess. Rolls, 93, pt. 1, no. 2, p. 285, 1 August 1656.
2. Gloucs. R. O., Quart Sess, Ord. Bk., 5, Pasch. 1731. [printed].
3. Gloucs. Journ., 1453, 1 May 1750, p. 2.
4. Cuming, Johnson's England, I, 380; Brailsford, Sport and Society, p. 205.

in the game in 1722. Football was merely the prologue to a Sunday of entertainments:

'They retain several Popish customs in North Wales; for on Sunday after morning service, the whole parish go to Football till the Afternoon service begins, and then they go to the Alehouse and play at all manner of games; which alehouse is often kept by the Parson, for their livings are very small.'[1]

While clearly a living and unruly sport, football, perhaps had a stronger connexion with drink than the institution that retailed it.

Primarily a rural pastime before 1660, after the Restoration cricket became a sport of growing importance and social status. Its adoption by the gentry which conferred this higher status was attributed by its historian to the enforced rustication of gentry during the Interregnum: like ice-skating it had its origins in the Civil War.[2] Inns were again involved in a minor way in this sport. The Ram, Smithfield, was rated for a cricket field in 1668, although no subsequent reference to this or similar inn fields has been found.[3] In common with so many other sports, gambling entered the game on an increasing scale from the early eighteenth century, mainly in south east England.[4] This was, supposedly, facilitated by its exemption from the Act of 1711 which prohibited the playing of any game for a stake of more than £10.[5] By the end of our period, with the beginning of the county matches, the Artillary Club, and the great deeds of the

1. Macky, Journey Through England, II, 146.
2. Brailsford, Sport and Society, 208-209.
3. Ibid., 209.
4. R. Bowen, 'Cricket in the 17th and 18th Centuries', Wisden, Cricketers' Almanack, 1965, (London, 1965), p. 137.
5. 9 Anne c. 19.

men of Hambledon on Broadhalfpenny Down the game was on the rise.[1] While the connexion with inns was clear, only one explicit example from 1750 has been found. Here, cricket was part of a broader series of games, held between the Hundred of Wootton and the Hundreds of Plongley and Bullingdon, at Bicester. The Swan, Bicester, provided the ordinary in support of this match.[2] The connexion of cricket with the inn was generally in this way, relatively informal.

Bar the great gambling sports of horseracing and cockfighting, the most important rural sports were those of a more directly martial character: backsword, cudgels, and to a lesser extent, pugilism and wrestling. All had clear connexions with the inn. The cases from Somerset and Gloucester already showed the role of the innkeeper, and the Cotswold games in the later seventeenth century were strongly supported by the innkeepers of Campden.[3] Dr. Claver Morris was unable to stable his horses at the Red Lion, Somerton, in 1726, because the inn was 'full of Company' by means of a Cudgel Match for 8 guineas there'.[4] Philip Macdonald, carpenter of Dublin, and James Figg, met in a backword contest at the City of Oxford, Oxford Road, London, in 1730. Their contest was prefaced by a supporting match between five Londoners and opponents from Hammersmith and Harrow-on-the-Hill for a prize of a laced hat.[5] Cudgel matches were held at the Bear, Wantage,

1. John Nyren, the greatest cricketer of Hambledon, was also an innkeeper.
2. North.Merc., 34, 9, 4 June 1753, p. 35.
3. Brailsford, Sport and Society, pp. 206-207.
4. West Country Physician, 13 May 1726, p. 131.
5. Daily Post, 3290, 6 April 1730, p. 1.

in 1750, for moderate prizes,[1] and backsword at the Nag's Head, Gravel Hill, near Newbury in 1755. At the latter inn, where wrestling also took place, a local champion clearly threatened the success of the event. To assuage fears, the advertisement added: 'N.B. The famous John Edwards will be excluded from playing'.[2] Wrestling again featured in games at the White Hart, Overton, in 1756, and backsword at the Hare and Lurcher, Wootton in 1760.[3] In all these cases, there are grounds for believing that the innkeeper played a more than passive role in organisation. The second common feature of these sports was the low level of stakes and prizes - low relative to those seen in horse and cock matches. The top prize in the examples cited above was 8 guineas, at Somerton, and prizes for individuals at backsword or cudgels rarely exceeded 10 shillings. There was no evidence of entry fees, and the combination of this with the low level of prizes - albeit sums substantial to those of average income - suggests once more an innkeeper promotion. If Morris can be relied on, the gains through trade would easily have financed prize money.[4] In every way, these were the sports of the village inn.

Other games flourished within the inn: bowls, skittles, cards, dice and billiards. Most are still to be found in some form within the public houses of England: in the seventeenth and eighteenth

1. Gloucs. Journ., 1462, 3 July 1750, p. 2.
2. Read. Merc., 505, 7 July 1755, p. 3.
3. Ibid., 531, 5 January, 1756, p. 3; Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 356, 23 February 1760, p. 3.
4. This is supported by innkeepers acting as referees: in the case of Wootton in 1760, half the prize money was to go to the poor of the parish in the case of dispute.

centuries, as now, they met with mixed feelings from society at large. Bowls, and its near relative, skittles, had long been a pastime of all levels of society: one scarcely needs to dwell on the most conspicuous sixteenth century examples. The game had been permitted by James I and its rules laid down in 1670 by Charles II.[1] According to Brailsford, it was in relative decline in our period, certainly in terms of social status as the aristocracy and gentry found more exclusive sports upon which to wager.[2]

The local evidence of such a decline is contradictory, There was little doubt that in many towns, especially London, growing pressure on land for building, coupled with the change in sporting fashion, tended to work against the survival of bowling greens. Outside the capital, the picture may have been different. In 1764, according to Bertram Brotherton, Worcester had two bowling greens, one in Frog Lane and the other in Silver Street. The former, 'Digley's' dated from 1718 and the other was relatively recent. Both survived into the nineteenth century and both were sites subsequently occupied by inns.[3] Baskerville assiduously noted inns with bowling greens during his travels in 1681, particularly at the Swan, Bedford, and the Bear, Speenhamland.[4] But most interesting as a comment on the sport was the bowling green

1. Brailsford, Sport and Society, pp. 116, 212.
2. Ibid., pp. 212-213.
3. Worcs. City Records, D. 18 Box 1. Bertram Brotherton was a local antiquary who compiled notes from local sources to c. 1960.
4. Hist. MSS. Comm., Portland, II, pp. 263, 285.

established at the Swan, Buckingham which, according to an advertisement of 1756, had been opened by a subscription of the local gentry.[1] While Brailsford's research made it clear that bowls was not the sport it had been it seems probable that he over-estimated the extent of its decline. It remained an important sport at the inns of Western England and there are signs of its growth in our period. The siting of greens at inns may however indicate its falling social status, the true gentry seeking entertainment elsewhere.

In 1720, Strype divided alehouse games by class. Bowls appeared among 'modern sports' but its relative, skittles, was a diversion of the 'more common sort'. There is clear supporting evidence for our period of the growth and popularity of skittles, and of the suspicion with which it was viewed by the 'better sort'. Skittles or ninepins was very much an alehouse game and was often an element in the disorder for which licences were suppressed. John Neal of Rowde was presented in April 1675 'for keeping a skittle alley and yll orders'.[2] The Worcester City bench fulminated in 1739 against 'billiard tables and bowling alleys' in the 'houses and backsides' of city victuallers, which apparently occasioned disorder and endangered the public peace. They therefore ordered the prohibition of these games under penalty of forfeit of recognizance and suppression of licence.[3] Ten years later they again prohibited 'Nine Pegs'.[4] The keeper of the Three Cranes in

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 170, 31 July 1756, p. 3.
2. Cunnington, Records of Wilts., p. 250.
3. Worcs. City Records, Quart. Sess. Ord. Bk., 9 July 1739.
4. Ibid., 1 May 1749.

Hereford was presented in 1750 for keeping a skittle alley and a disorderly house.[1] The repetition of the Worcester order and the presentments elsewhere show both the hostility to and the resilience of the game of skittles. In consequence a skittle alley was a good 'selling point' for inns and alehouses, and attention was drawn to the alley in an advertisement for the sale of the Castle, Old Bailey in 1720.[2]

Nor was it a purely urban game: it was widespread in the country as it still is, but there escaped the surveillance of the county bench. But its popularity in the countryside, and its position of importance in small villages, was shown by a presentment to the manorial court of Pewsey in 1713. Six inhabitants, none known to be a victualler, were presented for 'making an encroachment and enclosure upon the highway and waste ground at the World's End, comonly called the Bowling ally, within this manor'. They were ordered to restore the encroachment by Michaelmas on pain of a five shilling fine.[3] The game clearly flourished in both town and country, frequently located at the inn or alehouse. The combination of its popularity and its location earned it the distrust of authority.

Part of the danger lay in that the game possibly, and from the innkeepers point of view necessarily, encouraged 'haunting of alehouses'.

1. Hereford City Records, Quart. Sess. Records, Trinity 1750.
2. Daily Post, 379, 17 December 1720.
3. Wilts. R. O., Manor of Pewsey, I, p. 28, 16 April 1713.

On this ground cards and dice too were suspect. The universality of their use has probably worked against its documentation. While frequent mentions occur in such literary sources as the Vade Mecum for Malt Worms of 1720, relatively few appeared in legal records, probably because the game was so widespread and if not permissible in law, was condoned by authority. In 1668, William Boreham, of the Ensign and Colours, Westminster, was indicated for allowing William Greene and others to play cards. Perhaps, as the sign suggested, this was a house with military connexions and was thus more closely-supervised.[1] That magistrates regarded moderate gaming with compassion was suggested by the conviction of John Smith, innholder, Martha Hill, victualler, and Jonas Stapler for keeping unlawful games in 1680 at Oxford. They were fined the almost token amount of sixpence each.[2]

If Justices were indulgent, convictions continued, presumably as the result of specific information or as norms of such gaming were exceeded. Jeremiah Taylor, blacksmith and alehousekeeper of Somerton, was convicted of allowing others, also convicted, to play at cards in his house in 1758. Perhaps as an indication of judicial attitudes, his licence does not seem to have been suppressed.[3] As a final note to this type of minor gaming, and to the raffle sales mentioned above, two men convicted at Michaelmas for 'raffling' [i.e. playing at dice]

1. Middx. R. O., Sess. Bk., 243, January 1668, p. 24.
2. Oxford City Records, Petty Session Register, Trinity 1680, O. 5. 12.
3. Soms. R. O., Quart. Sess. Min. Bk., 8, Wells, Epiphany 1758, f. 117b.

for two mares, valued each at £7, successfully appealed to the Middlesex bench in 1757.[1] The scale and character of even major gaming was such as to deter Justices from adopting hypercritical positions. Cards and dice were a commonplace part of the entertainment and attraction of the inn and alehouse: they were treated with relative indulgence.

The inn therefore played a leading part in the provision of 'entertainment' in its widest sense, from music and theatre to the baser sports and lesser games. These possessed different degress of formality and organisation, the games of cards, dice and the others of which evidence is found, 'shovelboard', and draughts, representing the most informal area. Within this latter area, again possessed of varying degress of formality, came inn and tavern society, with its clubs and less formal gatherings. At the lowest level of formality came the casual drink at inn or alehouse, the locality being determined by the desire to drink with friends or men of like disposition: at the top came the organised club which used the inn as meeting place. To this area, of recreation, if not entertainment, we now turn.

The role of coffeehouses, taverns and inns in the social life of London is already fairly well documented. But the historiography of the tavern club has been dominated by concentration on London and by a highly anecdotal approach. Sydney's account demonstrated both to excess,[2] and Dr. George's a third, what one may call 'Boodles

1. Middx. R. O., Sess. Bk., 1132, January 1757, ff. 29-30.
2. W. C. Sydney, England and the English, I, Chapter VI, passim.

teleology' to a lesser extent.[1] But both correctly saw the clubs formed in these houses as transient phenomena in the long term, such clubs either finding their own premises or fading away altogether: a process exactly parallel to the use of alehouses and taverns by business undertakings.[2] What is perhaps more interesting is to examine the factors that brought men together in specific groups in London and the provinces, to look at the typology of these associations, and to seek the factors determining less formal association. The answers to the first two problems may provide keys to the analysis of the third.

The modern concept of leisure and group activities engaged in during leisure time are not strictly relevant to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Modern work-discipline and the great concentration of population in the industrial town make the basis for the understanding of the dichotomy of 'work' and ''leisure' and provide the key to man's socialisation in small associations.[3] These conditions applied to London in our period, but to a lesser extent to other cities and towns. But such considerations are revealing as general motives for socialisation, motives which one can discern behind the clubs and societies in our period.

Men associated for a variety of reasons. Clearest were those for a specific purpose: business interest groups, trades unionism, and

1. Johnson's England, I, pp. 177-178.
2. See above, pp. 317 f.
3. See the discussion in N. Anderson, Work and Leisure (London, 1961) pp. 25 - 46.

political clubs all fit this general category. Almost the converse of this was the club formed by those already associated through work or who came together because they shared views or religious beliefs: such were the clubs of the jobbing tailors, high or low churchmen, Jacobites or republicans. The desire to conform clearly lay behind such groups.[1] Associations were also the means to enhance social status. Clubs existed in London which were thought to confer status or were themselves the means to demonstrate status: into this group fell freemasonry and many of the charitable societies. In these social organisations, London was pre-eminent. The reasons are clear, It was a centre of fashion, and of conspicuous consumption, but was also a large and growing community, its growth secured almost entirely by immigration.[2] Here above all substitutes for the social bonds of family and neighbours were supplied by clubs and similar organisations.

Each of these general characteristics may be discerned in the types of social association that exist in the inns of our period. Some allusion has already been made to gatherings for business purposes. The brokering houses around the Royal Exchange and the associations of workmates in friendly societies and box clubs are evidence of this.[3] In 1720 lawyers gathered, by court, in the different houses of Fetter Lane, principally the Swan and Bell, and the Three Tuns. At the Peacock, Whitecross Street, a 'Fore Club' of gold and silver wire-

1. Anderson, Work and Leisure, pp. 206-207.
2. E. A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy', Past and Present, 37 (1967), pp. 44-70.
3. See above, Chapters 9 and 10.

drawers existed in the same year, and was promoted by an ambitious and educated landlord.[1] These were associations of superior groups. From outside our period, Place's evidence on lesser clubs is of value, in identifying social gradations within these organisations. Speaking of his father's time [his own early life] he noted the almost universal custom of those who had the means to spend their evenings in some public house or tavern. The club, the 'House of Lords', which met at the Three Herrings was composed mainly of lawyers with some tradesmen of the 'better sort'. This was similar to those above.[2] At the opposite end of the scale came the 'Cutter Club' of apprentices which arranged rowing during the summer.[3] Social gatherings of workmates were natural and commonplace features of London Life.

Associations were formed for more purposeful ends. Meetings for company flotation, to secure private acts of Parliament for road or river improvement, or enclosure, all took place in the inns. As well as being meetings of interested parties, these were also those of elite social groups. So too were many of the associations for which evidence from the 1750s exists. In 1751, a meeting took place at the Angel Inn, Salisbury, of noblemen and gentlemen 'who have associated for the preservation of game in the county'.[4] Here, therefore, the elite of the county united in a movement to preserve one of their

1. Vade Mecum for Malt Worms.
2. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 35142, ff. 57-58.
3. Ibid., f. 73.
4. Salis. Journ., 704, 15 July 1751, p. 4.

major assets: assets protected by a savage criminal code. At a lower level a meeting was held at the Mitre, Oxford, in 1753 to discuss the future of the city corn market and possible measures to support it.[1] The economic purpose established a social organisation of those engaged in the corn trade.

Most interesting of these protective associations was that dating from 1756 in Oxfordshire. It was formed to promote the prosecution of 'Murderers, Thieves and robbers' in the county: another association of propertied interests.[2] This group overlapped the 'Old Interest' of the 1754 election. Many innkeepers were collectors of subscriptions and two collectors, William Heynes of the White Hart, Chipping Norton, and Squire Townshend of Staplehall, Whitney, were active in the election.[3] Blackstone was the counsel retained, and one of the two solicitors was a Mr. Walker: both can be linked with the Old Interest.[4] The other solicitor, Mr. Norton, seems to have voted for the New Interest in 1754. One cannot say whether he changed his political allegiance, or if his presence showed a united front against crime by the propertied classes. His apparent loss of clientele as a result of his involvement in the 'Rag Plot' of 1754, his disenchantment as a result with the Whig cause, and the subsequent acrimony of political division in the shire more than suggest that Norton changed sides.[5]

1. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 20, 15 September 1753, p. 3.
2. Ibid., 156, 24 April 1756, p. 3.
3. R. J. Robson, The Oxfordshire Election of 1754 (London, 1949) pp. 98, 57-58.
4. Ibid., pp. 63 and note, 78.
5. There were two Nortons acting as attorneys in Oxford at this time, Cornelius and his son. The relevant one here was Cornelius who voted for Parker and Turner in 1754. Robson, op. cit., p. 130 and note.

If this was in fact the case then this association for the prosecution of criminals may have had a narrower political significance: it may have been the nom de guerre of the Old Interest.

Other associations with a broadly 'economic' linkage were for promoting activities and what would now be called 'restrictive practices'. A meeting of all petty chapmen, hawkers and pedlars took place at the Crown and Sceptre, Charing Cross, in 1730, to discuss matters of mutual interest.[1] There are signs here of group interest, possibly a protective reaction to the widespread hostility to their trade in this period.[2] An overt case of restrictive practise came from Stourbridge in 1760. A general meeting of 'scythe smiths' was held at the Talbot inn, and it was agreed that the price rise agreed at a meeting at Christmas 1759 would be maintained because of the continued high prices of iron, steel and coal.[3] Here, therefore, was a case of collusion and co-operation among small craftsmen for mutual benefit and protection: a social and economic bond of agreement based on an inn.

By the mid eighteenth century, the art of gardening was well-established in England. Market gardening flourished around London and several of the provincial towns. There is evidence also of decorative horticulture on a fairly wide scale. Florists formed another business

1. Daily Journn., 2 March 1730, p. 1.
2. See J. Thirsk and J. P. Cooper, Seventeenth Century Economic Documents (Oxford, 1972), pp. 412, 417-419, 420-421, 423-426, 428-429.
3. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 363, 12 April 1760, p. 3.

group association, meeting socially in the inns of Western England. The first case of such a meeting, from 1748, implied earlier association. A meeting of florists was called for Monday 18 April at the Plume of Feathers, Bridge Street, Chester. Because of the backward spring, it had been postponed for four days.[1] A 'friendly society of gentlemen florists and gardeners' met at the Red Lion, Northampton in 1753. At this meeting there were signs of a desire to improve the art, since prizes were offered for carnations of the 'bursting kind' and for 'whole blowers'. Significantly, among the prizes were 100 tulip bulbs, donated by Mr. Wells of Adderbury, nurseryman.[2] Further meetings of a similar kind took place in the same decade in Oxfordshire: all were competitive as well as social, and all for carnations. Meetings occurred at the Rose and Crown, Woodstock in 1758 and 1759, at the New Angel, Woodstock, in 1756 and 1758, and at the Swan, Tetsworth in 1755, 1756 and 1757.[3] Here, therefore, was plentiful evidence of floral gardening, of the existence of a community of such gardeners, and of group incentives for the improvement of their art. The inn was the venue if not the source of their organisation.

In politics the inn acted as meeting place and as the place at which electoral entertainments were offered. Its use for direct

1. Adams's Weekly Cour., 781, 12 April 1748, p. 4.
2. North. Merc., 34, 18, 6 August 1753, p. 71.
3. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 275, 5 August 1758, p. 3; 326, 28 July 1759, p. 3; 170, 31 July 1756, p. 3; 275, 5 August 1758, p. 2; 117, 26 July 1755, p. 4; 172, 14 August 1756, p. 3; 222, 30 July 1757, p. 3.

electoral entertainments is well-known and documented. Candidates were normally adopted, exhibited and feasted at inns, and their supporters or potential supporters entertained. Their use in the 1754 campaign in Oxfordshire is particularly interesting. The Tories held ordinaries at the White Hart, Chipping Norton, while the less numerous Whigs treated at the Talbot. In Oxford, the Cross served the Old Interest and the Bear, the New.[1] Some time before the election, Lord Parker dined with Mr. William Meers of the Split Cow alehouse at the King's Arms, Holywell, presumably for political ends.[2] Elsewhere, Morris attended Bridges' entertainment at the Bulls Head, Wells, in 1719, and three years later met with Captain Hody and the two candidates for the next parliament, Messrs. Moor and Burrough, at the Swan, Ilchester.[3] Thomas Smith of Melksham attended a meeting at the Three Tuns, Marlborough in March 1721 to discuss a future successor to the sitting member for the shire, Mr. Hyde. Mr. Goddard, of Swindon, was chosen, and repeated his acceptance at a great dinner in the Angel, Salisbury in April of the same year.[4] Similar nomination and adoption meetings took place at the Crown, King Street, Westminster, the Cross, Oxford, and the New Inn, Exeter, in 1740.[5] Political activity of this type took place in English inns as each election approached. One

1. Robson, Oxford. Election, pp. 60, 17, 23 f.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 20, 15 September 1753, p. 3.
3. West Count. Phys., pp. 3, 90-91.
4. J. A. Neale, Charters and Records of the Neales of Berkeley, Yate and Corsham, (Warrington, 1907), pp. 170-172.
5. Gen. Even. Post, 1030, 1 May 1740, p. 3; Lond. Even. Post, 1900, 17 January 1740, p. 3; ibid., 2021, 25 October 1740, p. 3.

might even argue that the inn was as important an element in practical politics as the hustings itself.

Oxfordshire in the 1750s was an unusual political unit: it had been split by unusually factious politics since the doubtful behaviour of much of its Tory gentry in 1745. The election of 1754 and its sequel, the 'Rag Plot' both demonstrated and hardened political divisions. It produced Oxford's newspaper, delayed Thomas Bray's preferment, allowed Dashwood further to indulge his bacchanalian proclivities, and may have discouraged the principals from engaging in the next septennial election.[1] The historian of its election concluded:

> 'The old Tory party, which had made as great a contribution as the Whigs to the Revolution settlement of 1689, but which had never been entirely easy in its conscience about the exiled Stuarts, was dead. It had had its last fling in Oxfordshire in 1754, and its discomfiture in the very citadel of the Midland counties had been symbolical.'[2]

But the spirit of the Old Interest did not die as quickly as Robson suggested. As has been suggested above, the old Tory alliance survived in the disguised form of what might be called a 'law and order' association.[3] But at two towns in the county, regular Old Interest meetings took place until at least 1760. At the White Hart, Chipping Norton, and the Bell, Henley, 'Old Interest' groups met quarterly from 1755 to 1760.[4] At the Bell, the meeting called itself a 'club' from January 1757.[5] Nor can this survival be explained

1. Robson, Oxford. Elect., Chapter XII, passim.
2. Ibid., p. 169.
3. See above, pp. 426-427.
4. Many cases from Jacks. Oxf. Journ.
5. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 195, 22 January 1757, p. 3.

merely in terms of the landlords: Heynes at Chipping Norton, and Burdett at Henley, had supported the Old Interest, the former very actively,[1] but the Club at the latter's inn survived his departure in 1759.[2] A similar Old Interest group lasted only to June 1756 at the Bull, Burford.[3] The combination of the support of the publican, and presumably strong local feelings carried what Robson called the 'aftermath' of the election to the end of 1760. In Oxfordshire at least, two cases of formal 'party' organisation have been found, carrying on their business to the eve of the 1761 election, when the county, like most others, was uncontested.[4]

Informally, men of like mind tended to use the same inn, and hence certain inns became the centres for informal political groupings. As in Oxfordshire in the 1740s and 1750s, such 'political' groups had strong religious elements: the divisions that can be traced back to the eve of the Civil War. Into this peculiar politico-religious category fell the gatherings in the West Country discussed above: the wakes and revels suspect on both grounds.[5] The evidence of this type of social organisation is concentrated in the first half of our period, again reflecting the changing character of political life in the middle of our period. In 1681 The Middlesex Justices ruled that

1. Robson, Oxford. Elect., p. 98.
2. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 326, 28 July 1759, p. 2.
3. Ibid., 163, 12 June 1756, p. 3.
4. E. G. Forrester, Northamptonshire County Elections & Electioneering, 1695-1832, (London, 1941), pp. 10-14; Robson, Oxford. Elect., pp.15-16.
5. See above, Chapter 2.

innkeepers had to prove their conformity before being licensed. The reason was that in their houses factious persons met 'to keep clubs and consult together how to disturb the government'. The bench decided to keep a close watch on the political problems of conventicles.[1] A different problem arose at the Catherine Wheel, Hereford, in 1695. Samuel Sestocant deposed that William Corbett had offered Howland Andrews a toast to William III, but had been refused, Andrews countering with the health of '..... him that had lost fifteene shilling three crowns', A disturbance ensued, and subsequent evidence showed that Andrews, Richard Bell, and William Bowdler met three times each week to drink the health of the Pretender. Behind a door guarded by the maidservant, they also 'read such news letters that they will not expose to any but of their owne company'.[2] Here, therefore, was a small but active Jacobite community, exposed through its very strength of principle. Sir Dudley Ryder attended the Whig tavern clubs of London in 1715 and 1716, one of which, the Roebuck, Cheapside, was attacked by a Tory mob and only saved by the clubmen firing on their aggressors.[3] As one can discern from the cryptic information of the Vade Mecum of 1720, many London taverns remained as strongholds for political views of perhaps archaic character. Although the evidence of such informal political social groups for the last quarter

1. Middx. R. O., Sess. Bk., 391, October 1681, pp. 43-44.
2. Hereford City Recs., Misc. MSS., V, f. 86-87, 15 January 1695.
3. W. Matthews (ed.), The Diary of Sir Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716, (London, 1939), pp. 121, 138, 279-80.

of our period is not clear, there can be little doubt of the significance of this third area of connexion of inn or alehouse with social associations of a political nature. In the absence of any contemporary census the relatively sparse evidence has to prove the case.

London, as we have seen, was a great and demanding consumer of people in this period: it housed about 7% of England's population in 1650, and 11% in 1750, the whole of the increment being supplied by immigration. Dr. Wrigley had calculated that because of a shortfall of births over deaths of c. 5000 per annum, net immigration must have averaged about 8,000 per annum over the whole period.[1] The signs of this migration were frequent: the 'servant problem', the prostitution of country girls, and some of the sweated trades all exhibited the effects of London's inward migration.[2] Several social organisations provided evidence of migration, perhaps at a higher social level. Throughout our period, shire associations met in the London taverns. A Kentish club met at a Greyhound Tavern in London in 1671,[3] and although no further records of this particular club or tavern exist, the Kentish Society met and dined at the Crown, behind Royal Exchange in 1760.[4] It is just possible, though unlikely, that the Greyhound in question was the Southwark inn, which in 1715 had a considerable coaching trade with Kent.[5] At least as early as 1705, a Gloucestershire

1. E. A. Wrigley, 'London's Importance ...', Past and Present, 37, (1967), pp. 45-46.
2. See above, Chapter 10.
3. Notes and Queries, CLIX, (1930), p. 454.
4. Pub. Advert., 7864, 5 February 1760, p. 3.
5. A. Hinde, Merc. and Trad. Necess. Comp., p. 8.

Society existed at the City of Bristol, Friday Street,[1] and there is evidence of Herefordshire Societies in 1720 and 1760 all meeting at London taverns or alehouses.[2] The Yorkshire Society, which first met at least as early as 1740, issued printed dinner tickets in 1758.[3] These societies were sufficiently general as to deserve more systematic analysis. If their roots lay in the migration to the capital, then it would be interesting to know whether one's impressions that the more distant county societies were formed later, and hence give some support to Dr. Glass's tentative judgments on late seventeenth century London.[4] Some of these groups may have been political institutions, as in the meeting of burgesses called by 'A Friend to the Town of Berwick upon Tweed' at the Crown and Rolls, Chancery Lane in 1760.[5] But most seem to have been 'political' only in the broadest possible sense: they were networks of 'county' in the metropolis, possibly even of 'country' near the 'court'.

Similar, although more socially exclusive, were the school associations of which evidence appears from the 1740s. But these were not restricted to London: in the provinces too, old school-fellows met regularly together. The Gentlemen educated at Shaftesbury School met to dine and to choose stewards for the following year in the George

1. Post-Man, 1364, 13 January 1705, p. 2.
2. Daily Post, 389, 29 December 1720; Pub. Advert., 7864, 5 February 1760, p. 83.
3. Lond. Daily Post, 1694, 29 March 1740, p. 2; Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MSS., 899, f. 30.
4. D. V. Glass, in Hollaender and Kellaway, Studies in London History, p. 386 f.
5. Pub. Advert., 8052, 26 August 1760, p. 3.

Inn, of the town in June 1740.[1] In the same year, similar meetings took place in London inns and taverns for rather greater schools: Merchant Taylors; New College School, Oxford; Harrow; Charterhouse; and St. Paul's.[2] In the latter case, the dinner gave birth to a more frequent meeting, held every Wednesday evening at the Crown, Ludgate Hill.[3] In 1755 the gentlemen educated at the Latin School of Truro were summoned by stewards to dine at the King's Head.[4] On the occasion of the 'annual visitation of the School' the former pupils of Abingdon School met at an ordinary at the Crown and Thistle in 1759.[5] While it is possible that the sources (newspapers) distort the analysis, it does look as though these social groups were a phenomenon of the mid eighteenth century, not earlier. This being so, it is not easy to suggest specific motives for associations of this kind. Probably in a general sense they helped reinforce class or caste for those who felt vulnerable in a changing and highly-fashionable society. Perhaps they cushioned the Lumpkins of the world against the insecurity of metropolitan society, and assisted the fortunes of the pseudo-gentleman in the provincial capitals.

Other societies of varying kinds existed, which met at London and provincial inns. The 'Antient and Honourable Society of Free and

1. Lond. Even. Post, 1940, 19 April 1740, p. 2.
2. Ibid., 1989, 12 August 1740, p. 3; 2034, 25 November 1740, p. 2; Gen. Even. Post, 996, 12 February 1740, p. 3; Lond. Even. Post, 2038, 4 December 1740, p. 3; 2013, 7 October 1740, p. 4.
3. Lond. Even. Post, 2015, 11 October 1740, p. 3.
4. West. Fly. Post, 338, 18 August 1755, p. 3.
5. Jacks. Oxf. Journ., 327, 4 August 1759, p. 3.

Accepted Masons' met at the Devil, Temple Bar at the end of December 1729. They chose the Duke of Norfolk as Grand Master, and created at the same time a charity bank for the relief of poor brethern, widows and orphans.[1] At almost the same time, Free Masons meeting at the George, Northampton, instituted the Inn as a Lodge, of which Sir Arthur Haselrig, Bart., was chosen Master, in the Presence of the Duke of Richmond.[2] The involvement of the aristocracy in both cases, and in the latter in the spread of the organisation, perhaps requires further investigation. One can assume that the order of Gregorians who met at the Pope's Head Tavern, Cornhill, in 1744 was a similar, if not related, organisation.[3] But in 1750, a Society of Antiquaries met 'on special affairs' at the Mitre in Fleet Street,[4] and the Society of the Clergy and Sons of the Clergy of Dorset met at the Antelope Inn, Poole in 1753.[5] Both serve to prove the generality of use of inns, and taverns as meeting places for formal and informal social groups.

The informal social networks dependent on the inn were determined, as in the Oxfordshire Old Interest case, by convenience, the character of the landlord, and perhaps by the transport networks which brought travellers to specific inns. Groups of friends met together at the local inn as a natural part of life: Roger Lowe and Sir Dudley Ryder

1. Week. Journ., 240, 3 January 1730, p. 3.
2. Ibid., 243, 24 January 1730, p. 3.
3. Daily Advert., 4169, 28 May 1744, p. 2.
4. Gen. Advert., 4843, 30 April 1750, p. 3.
5. Salis. Journ., 794, 14 May 1753, p. 2.

were two young men of quite different class who both spent a great deal of time in their local inns and taverns.[1] Men tended to seek out sympathetic landlords for their customs. Travelling south from Edinburgh in 1714, the Rev. Hart sought out the sole inn whose landlord favoured the dissenting interest at Darlington, the White Hart.[2] The Cross Keys, Holywell, Flintshire was a Roman Catholic stronghold and meeting place in 1722, a substitute for the church which had been turned into a Protestant school.[3] As a further incentive to the development of informal social gatherings, provincial innkeepers kept newspapers very much as did London coffee house keepers. J. Meeisey, who took the Dolphin, Winchester in 1756, advertised the fact.[4] In discussing possible economies in the administration of the Post Office in 1700, Frankland pointed out the benefits derived by the underpaid provincial postmasters from the free copies of the London Gazette they received. It was an essential perquisite of their office, from which they derived benefit through custom.[5] Such facilities may have conferred marginal advantage.

In essence the factors determining the use of the inn as meeting place were overall facilities and its widespread location combined with the natural convivial atmosphere resulting from the sale of liquor.

1. W. L. Sachse (ed.), The Diary of Roger Lowe, 1663-1668, (London, 1938), passim; W. Matthews (ed.), Diary of Sir Dudley Ryder, passim.
2. Rev. A. Lee (ed.), Journal of Mr. James Hart, 1714-15, (Edinburgh, 1832), p. 8.
3. Macky, Journey Through England, II, 144.
4. Read. Merc., 538, 23 February 1756, p. 3.
5. G.P.O. Archives, Treas. Lett. Bk. Post, I/3, f.65, 9 December 1700.

Lacking sample survey techniques it is impossible to define the informal networks dependent on the inn. But it was clearly an important social unit, used for entertainment of all types, as home and source of many sporting activities, and as a general meeting place. There were, on average, between two and three to every parish in the country in our period, without counting the related retail outlets of wine shops and coffee house. It was therefore far more widespread than the units of the established church, and its number probably far exceeded those of all churches and chapels prior to 1760. In a society markedly lacking in religious enthusiasm, if not in schism, the inn was clearly a more attractive and probably more important social centre.[1] In the City of London and in the major provincial towns it represented a great centre of social activity: in the lesser towns and villages it served the role played by the modern village hall or working men's institute.[2] Innkeepers benefited from all the social functions housed by their inns, and clearly promoted many. The leisure of their fellow men was clearly an important source of revenue to innkeepers: their inns were social centres of considerable significance, to the mutual benefit of their trade and to society at large.

1. See V. Bonham-Carter, The English Village (London, 1952) pp. 213-214.

2. See, for example, the role played by public houses in Gosforth, W. M. Williams, The Sociology of an English Village: Gosforth (London, 1956), pp. 135-139.

CHAPTER 12: CONCLUSION

Few institutions were as widely-dispersed as the inn in Western England in the period 1660-1760: three, on average, lay in each parish. In the towns they were the dominant commercial institution, in number, if not in the value of their trade. Inns and the activities within them fully rewarded the study invited by Professor Everitt.[1] Before suggesting why at this time the inn was so varied in its functions, it is useful first to reiterate some of our broad conclusions.

In a period which, historiographically, is still a 'dark age', the inn is a neglected but important institution. It has been examined in the context of an area diverse in its agriculture, of growing industrial significance and one bounded by notable road and river transport systems. 'Western England' was neither the perfect microcosm nor a wholly homogeneous 'region', but in a period to which the 'preconditions' of the Industrial Revolution are naively ascribed, was more representative of the growing economy than the cereal-oriented east and south. In this context the inn as an institution has been studied.[2]

Inns, alehouses and taverns were distinct entities in legal terms but were related functionally and somewhat blurred in contemporary terminology. Licensing of inns and alehouses was not as lax as suggested by the Webbs. Local experiments and practice rather than

1. Agrarian Hist., IV, pp. 559-560.
2. See above, Chapter 1.

parliamentary initiative lay behind the statute of 1753 which introduced the 'Brewster Sessions'. Three generations before the act, the system was in practice and was used with remarkable consistency. The suppression of licences revealed the concern of Justices with local problems, especially poverty, and with the major political and religious issues which characterised the later seventeenth century. As well as demonstrating some of the issues which stimulated Justices to action, the history of inns comprehends that of the many legal and quasi-judicial bodies which met within their confines. The relation of inn and law extended beyond the bond of a licence.[1]

Inns were generally large and luxurious buildings, not easily-distinguishable from the houses of urban gentry. As they were increasingly purpose-built, the two main forms, courtyard and block-house, became more clear. The former, which more easily permitted other commercial use for its frontage, may have been the dominant type in the town. The inn was a complex architectural unit. The yard was its core, as in the buildings of the farms with which inns were often combined. Internally, inns aped the fashions of the day, and indicated in their wall hangings, furnishing and wainscotting the growing wealth of provincial England.

The largest and best-appointed inns were found in the towns. Several rather questionable methods suggest that they grew in number by at least 50% between 1577 and the 1750s. As implied by the

1. See above, Chapter 2.

suppression cases, there seems to have been a close correlation between their numbers and the size of the population. On this basis, the evidence from the War Office lists of 1686 and 1756 not only indicated their widespread distribution, but may itself be the means of assessing the role of transport facilities in our period. At the very least one can use the inns to rank every settlement in every county against each other. This showed that within almost every county, one or two towns stood to the rest of the shire as they themselves to the metropolis. At once, the study of the location and the distribution of inns reinforced and corrected Dr. Wrigley's analysis of the role of London.[1]

The poverty of source materials did not permit a comprehensive study of the innkeeper as a businessman. But when Abraham Dent and William Stout stand out as the only tradesmen for whom such detailed information survives, the study of innkeepers contributes significantly to knowledge. Innkeepers were normally lessees, and their inns were a fairly competitive area of the land market. They entered their houses largely from within the trade, many rising from servant status. Possibly as a result of distorted evidence, they seem to have remained in trade until death, though the most successful advanced to larger inns, to the wine trade or to the life of rentiers. Most seem to have been by-employed. Social status ranged from the 'pseudo-gentry' to the lower reaches of farming, in which innkeeping may have been the means

1. E. A. Wrigley, '.... London's Importance', Past and Pres. 37 (1967). For the discussion of the matter of the above paragraphs, see above, Chapter 3.

to market farm produce or the equivalent to a 'cash crop'. Innkeepers were a varied class of businessmen, whose history in this period suggests both that by-employment was a far more common feature of business life than perhaps Professor Willan appreciated and that commercial society was still relatively 'open': the career of mixed trades offered social achievement to the economically successful.[1]

Inns varied in size according to their location on or away from main transport routes. The principal money-earner for most innkeepers was the trade generated by the transport industry. While some inns enjoyed the fruits of water-borne traffic, including that of passengers, the bulk depended upon roads for their earnings. Coaching grew from a small scale to a major industry in the period 1660 to 1760, although its apogee came in the period after 1780 with Palmer's mail coach system. This trade was based on the inn and its growth largely stimulated by innkeepers as investors and agents. The same men also ran the horse hire system which coaches gradually supplanted, and the 'quality' service of the post-chaise. Inns served also the slower and cheaper stage waggons which engaged in passenger traffic. Inns and travel were virtually synonymous.[2]

Carriers used inns as the base of their operation although innkeepers rarely entered the trade as owners of services. They played little part in the capitalisation of the expanding businesses of

1. See above, Chapter 4.
2. See above, Chapter 5.

trowmen and land carriers, but provided useful services as collection points, information centres and postes restantes. During the period 1660 to 1760 waggon trade expanded to the detriment of packhorse traffic, a feature greatly indicative of the overall expansion. The clerical/administrative services supplied by innkeepers subsidised this development. Beyond the carrier trade, inns were also used by droving traffic, and in an official and clandestine sense ran postal services. Although they were agencies in the carriage of goods in a less positive sense than in passenger traffic, the inns were far more than passive partners.[1]

Stemming partly from this position at the centre of the transport system, the inns of Western England acted in a very real sense as salerooms. Sales of all kinds, of land, of property and of goods, took place at inns. In our period, auction as a means of sale seems to have developed in the inn saleroom, largely stimulated by the sellers' market for land in the early eighteenth century. As the market for the specialised services of auctioneers, estate agents and middlemen of all kinds was developing inns served as salerooms. Their advantages of accommodation and transport assisted this development. Prior to 1760 the market for the services of such specialised agents was regional rather than local. Until such time as local transactions alone could sustain such a specialism, and hence repay investment in

1. See above, Chapter 6.

salerooms, inns served these semi-itinerant agents.[1]

Closely related to this, inns offered hospitality to traders in consumables or shop goods who retreated from the open market square. The growth of London and of other urban centres, the great improvement of transport services, the consequent expansion of the activities of middlemen, and the decline of legal restriction, all combined to drive trade from the open market and out of the lesser market centres. Sample selling and future buying marked the triumph of the wholesaling forestaller whose office was the inn. Inns too acted as markets for specialised agricultural commodities, including bloodstock, and their rooms as shops for itinerant salemen and the providers of services. They featured, therefore, in the intermediate stages between the open market and the Corn Exchange in the wholesale trade, and between fair and market and the world of shopkeeper and hawker in the retail trade. The eventual conversion of their street parlours to shops was the logical outcome of their earlier temporary use for the same function.[2]

Businessmen other than factors and shopmen also made extensive use of inns as premises. In London, especially in the speculative decade of the Bubble, the shortage of business premises in the main commercial centres led to the spillage of such business from the main coffee houses to taverns or alehouses. But inns and alehouses served provincial businesses as well: perhaps for similar reasons, doctors, tailors, dancing masters and barbers used the inns favoured by

1. See above, Chapter 7.
2. See above, Chapter 8.

auctioneers and estate agents. Other factors made them the homes for prostitution in both the capital and the provinces. On top of their geography and amenities, the availability of credit from the innkeeper was a further incentive to the extensive use of inns in this way. In some cases this may even have represented a kind of trading subsidy from publicans content to derive profit from the custom attracted to the itinerant trader.[1]

The study of inns as institutions has also added a little to our knowledge of the labour market in this period. Inns themselves may have been institutions which conferred desirable qualities on their servants: the advancement of inn servants to publicans or to housekeepers suggested this. There is also evidence of these and other special skills being bought and sold through the two media of the inn and the provincial newspaper. In London, inns acted as general clearing houses for 'servants' of all types. More formally, some evolved into houses of call or truck agencies, including the offices of military recruitment. Innkeepers seem to have acted as subcontractors in the labour organisation of some trades such as tailoring and coalheaving. At the other extreme, though for related reasons, inns were the homes of primitive trades union organisations and box clubs. In many cases, therefore, inns played a positive role in the labour market.[2]

The origin of such trade associations or truck agencies probably

1. See above, Chapter 9.
2. See above, Chapter 10.

lay in the informal use of the inn as a meeting place. As a social unit the inn gave hospitality to association of a wide range: from the most casual meeting of friends to the formal club. Entertainments such as music, theatre and the variety stage found a home in the inn. Inns also were important in the development of such sports as horse-racing, and cockfighting and, at a lower social level, wrestling and cudgels. In all these sports innkeepers served as promoters as well as servants. All this made the inn an important social institution, perhaps, in the 'secular' eighteenth century, even ousting the Church from its primacy in the community.[1]

This great range of commercial activity taking place through and within the inns of Western England related to, and adds to our knowledge of, broader changes in the 'pre-industrial' economy. In the period 1660 to 1760, the inn existed in an environment of an economy advancing on the twin bases of agriculture and overseas trade, with industry assuming a growing importance. The consequence of these changes was the great 'quickening' of internal trade and the significant growth of the domestic transport industry. In this context, road improvement and road transport advanced in a great and previously unappreciated manner.[2] These trends combined to the potential advantage of the inn, the node of that transport system.

But, as this study has already shown, prior to 1760 neither

1. See above, Chapter 11.
2. This conclusion is confirmed by the recent work of Dr. W. Albert, in his book, The Turnpike Road System in England, 1663-1840 (Cambridge, 1972) especially pp. 30-56.

transport technology nor the typical size of firms engaged in road transport were such as to eliminate the co-operative service of inn and coachman or carrier. Inns prospered along main coach routes as road conditions, even on turnpike roads, necessitated relatively frequent halts and, presumably, team changes. Improved coachbuilding and road surfacing in the succeeding half century served to make more efficient use of horsepower and, coincidentally, to eliminate some of the inns to which this relative inefficiency had hitherto given a livelihood. Increased competition, especially from the canals after 1760 served to concentrate carrier traffic and favour the growth of larger firms. Beyond 1760, the integrated enterprise, like Pickfords, was the growing type in carrier traffic. Perhaps symptomatic of the change and its effect on inns was the fact that Pickford's first London office was the former Castle Inn, Wood Street.[1] In coaching, the trend toward concentration was exemplified by the rise of Palmer, himself a former innkeeper, to pre-eminence as a coach proprietor. For at least a century to 1760, inns had been real agents in the growth of land transport. After that, sustained growth favoured specialists and inns tended to play a more parasitic role drawing custom from transport but contributing less positively to its growth.

Much of the increment of wealth which England derived from trade after 1660 was devoted to increased consumption. Conditions favoured the growth of urban society of which London was the ne plus ultra.

1. I am indebted to my colleague, Mr.G.L. Turnbull, for this information.

Primary production, especially in agriculture, became increasingly separated from urban commercial society. The connecting links, especially in the context of stable or depressed cereal prices, were provided by the growth of middleman factors and agents. Travelling widely and improving the efficiency of the home market as they went, they met and traded with producers and customers at the inns at which they stayed. The depression of late medieval English towns which historians have attributed to the flight of industry to the countryside and to internal restrictive practices was lifted for many in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by quickening commerce. Urban rebuilding, including that of inns, signified this growing wealth, as the rural rebuilding a century earlier had shown the rising prosperity of the countryside. Inns may be taken as much as the symbols of the 'commercial revolution' in English towns as the factory of the industrial revolution in the cities.

The signs of this growth in commercial activity and in personal consumption are plentiful. Services such as peddling, tailoring and alehousekeeping grew parallel with increased consumption of colonial goods, beer, and spirits such as brandy and gin. Such prosperity may in itself have increased the time and money spent at inn or alehouse. As early as 1583, William Harrison had suggested this. Yet rarely was the local market sufficient for a complete specialism at this stage of England's development. Hence innkeeping and virtually all retail trades were but part of a dual or a multiple employment. For many, the

alternative lay in an itinerant or semi-itinerant life. At once, therefore, in its growth, in the quality of its furnishing and appointment, and in providing premises for itinerant providers of services and retailers, the inn provided evidence of this rising consumption. It served as an example of that interim stage between essentially medieval retailing systems and modern specialised trading which characterised our period.

Other related factors help to explain the unique position of the inn in this period. Increased social and geographical mobility, illustrated by the careers of innkeepers, assisted the development of new forms of social organisation. Balls, ordinaries and race meetings added new wealth to the life of provincial towns. Trades organisations and primitive trades unions stemmed from change within industry. Shire associations may have formalised political life in the provinces and reflected in London the significance of migration to the metropolis. Yet seventeenth and eighteenth century England was not yet sufficiently wealthy to sustain the specialist social institution for which the inn substituted: ballroom, racecourse, restaurant, friendly society or trades union lodge, village hall, club and concert hall were all provided by inns. At the same time, therefore, English society was growing in both complexity and openness: the latter created the demand for extended means of social differentiation, via clubs and other networks. Increased wealth permitted the development of leisure

activities on a new commercial basis. By providing room for such activities, inns may have fostered their development while deriving benefit from the trade they generated. In so doing, however, they also promoted the ultimate independence of many of these social institutions.

The inn therefore assumed a significant position during Britain's growth towards the modern industrial state. But, like the 'navigated' river, and the 'dual economy', it was but an interim convenience. Its facilities permitted advance on the status quo at a rate cheaper in the short run than investment in specialised units. Just as cottage industry, by virtue of the agricultural by-employment of its workers, reduced real labour costs, so the multiple-purpose institution of the inn subsidised advance in transport, in marketing, and in social institutions. Paradoxically, its very versatility may have retarded sectoral institutional advance, catching businessmen and organisations in a kind of 'welfare trap'. But the balance of evidence suggests otherwise. It served valuable purpose in allowing businesses to expand areas of operation, stocks or scale without a pro rata growth in the costs of premises or administration. In this way it may have contributed significantly to the growth of the economy at large.

The history of the inn in the seventeenth and eighteenth century England thus extends far beyond its functions as servant to the transport trade and as retail outlet for liquor. It was an institution central to the everyday commercial and social life of the country.

Contemporary itinerants warned their followers to look first to the inns to assess the towns in which they found themselves: students of commercial society in seventeenth and eighteenth century England might with justification follow that advice.

APPENDIX 1: THE INVENTORIES OF SIX MIDDLESEX INNHOLDERS, 1680-1779.

(a) Matthew Garrett, of Hounslow, 17 May 1680.

(b) Matthew Peter, of Staines, 5 December 1683.

(c) Roger West, of Cowley Street, Hillingdon, Victualler, 13 March 1704.

(d) Edward Lock, of Heston, 9 February 1722.

(e) James Leith, of St. James's Westminster, Victualler, 4 January 1728.

(f) Thomas Marriot, of the Vineyard, Coldbath Fields, Clerkenwell, 27 March 1779.

Sources: All the above are to be found in the Middlesex Record Office, and are numbered M1/1680/43, M1/1684/73, M1/1704/6, M1/1721/3, M1/1728/1, and M. Acc. 358/1 respectively.

(a) Inventory of Matthew Garrett, of Hounslow, Innholder, 17 May 1680.

	£	s	d
In the Swan Parlor:			
A feather bed and bolster, clothe curtains and vallens, blankets and rugg one drawing table Six leather chaires & other lumber	5		
In the Long Room:			
Old table, & forme & leather chair			6
In his owne chamber:			
Bedstead & bed curtins & vallens, rugg & truckle bed with rugg & blankets, a side table an bar clock...	4		
In the Roome over his Chamb:			
An ordinary bedstead with bedding 2 or 3 old chests & trunkes with other lumber @	2		
In the whole under the Stairs:			
Old lumber at			2
In the Lyon:			
Three bedsteads with feather beds ruggs and blanketts curtins & vallens, an old table, 4 chaires fire irons	8		
In the dyneing room:			
10 Turky worke chaires and large ovall table with a carpitt, pair of brass andirons, old cupboard and side table @	4	15	
In the Anchor:			
2 very old beds & bedsteads with curtins	2		
In the Phenix:			
2 bedsteads, with feather beds, ruggs, curtins fadd coloured serge, & ye other of India silk, 6 Turky wrought chaires	6		
In the Castle:			
Three brass bedsteads	5		

	£	s	d
In the Barne:			
Hay at	5		
In the Brewhouse:			
Cold coppers, a calder, a mashing flatt & other old vessells	5		
In the Yard:			
A sow & pigg 2 hoggs & old through at	2	10	
In the little Parler:			
7 pipes 5 barrels, 1 powdring tubb		13	
In the Kitching:			
5 spites, fire shovel, 2 large iron dripping panns, 22 12 pound dishes, 12 8 pound dishes, 10 chamber potts, 12 flagons, 6 dozen of plates, 2 brass pottes, bell kettle, plarving pan, 3 pestles and mortars, 3 skelletts, 1 fish kettle, 2 warming pans, 1 frying pann, 2 old iron potts, old iron kettle, 6 brass candlesticks	17	10	
Linnen:			
Sheets, table cloths, napkins and towels	25		
Plate:			
60 peeces of plate at 5/- ounce	15		
Waring apparrell & money in his pockett	12		
Sum Total	113	19	8

(b) Inventory of Matthew Peter, of Staines, Innholder, 5 December 1683.

In ye shovell board room:	£	s	d
One shovell boards table, 3 formes 2 leather chaires and one wooden chair	1	1	
In one Garrett:			
2 feather bedds, bolsters, bedstead, various bedclothes a little cupboard and one chair	2	10	
In one other garrett:			
2 feather beds, 2 feather bolsters, 2 bedsteads, two blanketts three leather chairs	2	18	9
In one other garrett:			
1 feather bed, bolster, bedstead, rugs, blankets, etc., 2 leather chairs, 2 Gosse chairs and table, pair andirons	1	8	11
In and other Garrett:			
Two feather beds, bolsters, 2 bedsteads, matts & cords, one pr. curtains and valls, 2 ruggs, 3 blankets two leather chairs.	2	10	
In ye Great Dining Room:			
1 great round table and a little round table, one stand, 2 sideboards, 15 Rush leather chaires, a p. of brass andirons, a payre of doggs fier shovel and tongs	6	13	4
In ye chamber over ye kitchin:			
One large feather bed & bolster, one pillow, 2 blanketts, 1 rugg, 1 quilt bedstead outer and inner curtains, 8 blew chairs, and round table, 1 stand a sideboard, 1 pr. brass andirons fire shovell and tongs and doggs	10	5	6
In ye little chamber next ye yard:			
a feather bed, bolster, 1 flocke bolster, a bedstead, matts, 2 old rugs, 2 blanketts, one little table, 4 coloured stuffe chaires, andirons	3	5	

	£	s	d
In ye little chamber next ye street:			
Feather bed, flock bolster, bedstead, a little table, 4 green chairs, andirons etc.	2	15	
In ye little low room next ye street:			
A table and 3 forms, a press bed, a flock bed therein, a feather bolster, an old rugg, and blanket 2 window curtains a pr. of coaldirons & tongs		18	
In ye little low room next ye yard:			
2 featherbeds, 2 feather bolsters, 1 high bedstead one half bedstead, one rugg etc 1 table, 2 chaires one wicker chaire a chest of drawers & a joyned stooll	5	2	6
In ye Hall:			
Three tables, a dozen of leather chaires, a payre of andirons and tongs	3	15	
In ye kitchen:			
A pr. of grate fiers shovell and tongs, iron rackes, one table and jacke 4 spitts, two dripping panns, two pr. of hangers, three pr. of pott lockes, one jacke, two brass potts, one iron pott, three brass kettles, 2 warming panns, three skilletts, a brass fishing pann, a brass sawce pan, four brass candlesticks 3 joyned stooles, all the pewter and other lumber	11	9	6
In ye wash house:			
A copper, five brewing tubbs	2	5	
In ye Chamber over ye wash house:			
An old flock bed and bedstead and blankett		6	
In ye chamber next ye yard in ye back building:			
2 Feather beds, 1 trundle bedstead, one half head bed, and two balnkets & a rug	2		
In lower room of ye back building:			
One feather bed, 1 flock bed, 2 feather bolsters, one half head bedstead, one trundle bed, 2 ruggs one blankett	3	5	

	£	s	d
In ye beer sellar:			
18 barrells and a half of beer	13		
In ye wine cellar:			
A pipe of canary about ¾ full. A hogshead of clarret & a dozen bottles of clarret	35	5	
In ye yard:			
A gross of bottles, dung, 3 hoggs and fower piggs	8		
In Lower Stable:			
About 3 chaldron of coales, faggotts & sprays	4		
In ye hay loft:			
hay and straw	3	2	6
One little black mare	2	5	
Oates, beanes, leadden cisterns in ye yards & other lumber	2	10	
16 pr. of sheets 4 table cloaths 4 dozen of napkins	7		
His wearing apparrell & money in his purse	8		
Good and bad debts	14		
Sum Total	111	19	7

(c) Inventory of Roger West, of Cowley Street, Hillingdon, Victualler, 13 March 1704.

	£	s	d
Purse and apparrell	7	10	
Silver spoon and Brandy taster		10	
In the parlar:			
A clock, table and other lumber	3	18	6
In the Hall:			
3 Tables and a forme		12	
In the Chamber over the Hall:			
A feather bed bedstead blankets with a Table and chare	3		
In the chamber over the buttery:			
A feather bed, with the appurtenances	2	2	6
In the chamber over the kitchin:			
A feather bed bolster, blankett a chest of drawers, looking-glass table, gratez warming pan and a trunk some chairs and other lumber	5	5	
In the trunk and chest of drawers same room:			
4 pr. of flaxen shirts, 6 pr. of hempen shirts, 2 doz. napkins and other linen	3	10	
In the chamber over the Mill House:			
A feather bed bedstead curtains etc.	1	10	
In the Mill House:			
Lumber valued @		2	

	£	s	d
In the kitchin:			
8 pewter dishes, a dozen and a half of plates, 5 pewter pint pots and 2 pewter quart pots, two chamber potts, 3 kettles, 2 brass potts, 5 skillitts, an old jack and other lumber	3	17	6
In the Brewhouse:			
A Copper, brewing vessell, and a malt house	6	15	
In the cellar:			
4 hhds. and 4 kilderkins of strong beer, with the vessells and some other empty vessells	9	10	
Without doores:			
A cow and bullock	4		
Two stone piggs	1		
Some wood and a small parcel of hay	1	2	6
Sum Total	54	5	0

(d) Inventory of Edward Lock, of Heston, Innholder, 9 February 1722.

	£	s	d
Waring apparrell and ready money in the house	23	2	
One featherbed, bolster & 1 rugg, and blanket and all bedstead and curtains and valence	4		
One silver tankard and 4 silver spoons	5	5	
Six gold rings and one silver watch	2		
One fann and 6 seives for theaning off corn		4	
One old cart and wheels and three harrows	3		
2 old horses and harness for 3 horses	10		
The Hay in the 2 barns	50		
Sum Total	92	11	0

[There followed a list of debts of which the following are extracts.]

By Thomas Tanner £12 5s. but this executant cannot find where TT lives.

30-40/- from one [blank] at Brentford for a load of hay.

By Daniel Inward £177 by judgment which intire summe this executant looks upon to be desperate!

There may also be severall other sums owing [etc.]

(e) Inventory of James Leith, of St. James's Westminster, Victualler, 4 January 1728.

£ s d

In the Garrets:

A field bedstead with blew harrateen furniture, a feather bed & bolster, 2 blankets & a rug, a grate fixed, fender, a square table, a sacking bottom bedstead, feather bed, bolster, 2 blankets, old quilt.

In the Room two pair of stairs forwards:

3 pr. of windows shutters, all the shelves in the closet, a close stool & an earthen pan.

In the room two pair of stairs backwards:

A stove grate, bedstead & curtains, feather bed, bolster, pillow, 3 blankets, quilt, 1 oval table, looking glass, walnut tree chest of drawers, 15 prints the paper hangings ofthe Room, a shelf over the chimney, a pair of window curtains, vallence and rod.

In the room one pair of stairs forwards:

2 wall tables, twelve leather chairs, 12 cane chairs, a stove compleat a bell lines and pulleys, a tin sconce, 15 screws for to hand hats on.

In the room one pair of stairs backwards:

A grate fixed, fender, 6 leather chairs, 1 oval table, a wainscot writing desk, 3 pictures in gilt frames & 20 prints.

In the bed chamber:

A green damask bed compleat, a feather bed, bolster, 2 pillows, 3 blankets and a quilt, a walnut tree chest upon chest a peer glass, a stove grate, shovell tongs & poker, dressing table, a swinging glass, a round corner cupboard, 3 matted chairs, a tea table, 8 china cups, 6 saucers, a sugar dish & cover, a small oval table.

In the Drinking Roome: £ s d

A round grate, checks and keeper fender shovell tongs poker & bellows, a table & chairs, 2 tin warming pots, one candlestick, 1 pr. of short window curtains & rod, a glass lanthorn with lines pulleys & iron, a cupboard over the door by the bar, a small leaden cistern, a sash door and pipe box joining the bar, 1 gallon pot, 1 two quart pot, 1 three pint pot, 14 quart pots, 15 pints, 2 half pints, 1 penny pot, 1 quart tankard, 1 pint tankard, 2 wine quarts, 3 pints 2 half pints, 4 quarterns, 3 half quarterns, 1 large chamber pot, 2 small chamber pots, the sign at the door and a bunch of grapes.

In the little back room:

A grate fixed, shovell, tongs, poker & fender, a table & bench, 6 leather chairs, 2 short window curtains & rod, an iron to the window in the yard.

In the Kitchen:

A range checks, fender, shovell, tongs & poker, pr. of racks, a crane and hooks, a gridiron a trivet an iron pot a wind up Jack compleat, 3 spits, a chafing dish, 4 boyling pots & 3 covers, 2 sauce pans, 1 stew pan, 11 brass candlesticks, a pr. of snuffers & stand, a pestle & mortar, a drudging box & pepper box, a brass ladle & skimmer, a warming pan, 8 pewter dishes, 4 dozen of plates, 1 bason, 1 cullender, a square table, a joint stool, a forme & 4 chairs, 5 brass cocks & abt 2 chaldrons and a half of coales.

The decds. wearing apparrell:

One grey drugget suit lined wth. red, a Sagathee suit, 2 pr. breeches, a horseman's coat, a turned coat & breeches, 2 old coats & a waistcoat and breeches, 4 pr. silk stockings, 2 pr. worsted stockings, 1 pr. shoes, 2 hats, 5 periwigs a cane & a sword.

Linnen:

10 prs. sheets, 5 table cloths, 3 dozn. of napkins, 4 pillowbeers, 4 night caps, 14 shirts, 3 white waistcoats, 4 old neckcloths, 15 Hocks, 6 turnovers & 5 old coloured handkerchiefs.

Plate, Rings & Watch:	£	s	d
1 pint mug, 1 porringer, 6 large silver spoons, 6 small tea spoons, a salt, a silver watch and chain, 3 gold rings, 2 small bits of gold, 17 bits of silver.			
	84	3	10
Debts good and bad, the sum of	45		
Coals	3	10	
Liquors	63		
Sum Total	195	13	10

(f) Inventory of Thomas Marriot, of the Vineyard Inn, Coldbath Fields, Clerkenwell, 27 March 1779.

No.1. Two pair left hand:

A Bath stove, fixed, fender poker tonges, shovel bellows and Brush.
A Four post bedstead, Crimson check furniture.
A Feather bed bolster and two pillows.
A Blanket and quilt.
A Mahogany three drawer Dressing Chest with a slider.
A Dressing glass wal nut frame.
Four Mahogany Chairs, stufed seats & check cases.
An old Persia carpet.
A stock lock and key to door.

No. 2. Back Room:

A Deal bureau bedstead. A Feather bed two bolsters and one pillow. Two blankets and two quilts. Two Walnutte chairs. A Brass fender. A lock and key and latch to door. A Deal safe in passage. Two stock locks and keys to the right hand room doors.

No. 3. One Pair of Stairs:

An iron bath stove and gally tiles. A Brass fender poker tonges & shovel. A chimney glass wal nut and gilt frame and brass arms. Four check window curtains laths lines etc. A scone glass wall nut and gilt frame frame and gilt frame and brass arms. A Mahogany oblong dining table. A Mahogany card table. A Mahogany claw table. Six carved Mahogany chairs horsehair seats. A painting on glass. Six coloured printes framed and glaized. A deal bureau bedstead. A feather bed bolster and two pillows. Three blankets. A mahogany French elbow chair and cotton case. A club chair leather seat and step. A bell and pull. Two pewter chamber pots. A window bell. Two glass decanters a tumbler and twenty six drinking glasses. Two bottle boards. An iron lock and key to door. An iron lock and key to chamber door.

No. 4. Parlour:

A bath stove and fender. Two check window curtains laths and line. A scone glass walnutte and gilt frame. A large Mahogany oval table. An Elm oval table. A flower peice. A peice of shipping. Four portraits. A map on India picture and three printes. An eight day clock in a japaned case. Eighteen leather bottom chairs. Two glass decanters. Two bottle boards. A bell and two pulls. A lock and key to door.

No. 5. Barr:

A bath stove fixed and galley tiles fixed. A brass fender poker tonges shovel brush and chimney hooks. A pair of coloured bowles. A pair of flowered bowles. Two coloured bowles. Four coloured bowles, mended and cracked. Four coloured basons. Four pint glass mugs. Eight tumblers. Ten drinking glasses. Two salts and a mustard pot. A cribbage board a punch ladle and a beater. A mahogany tea chest. A coffee mill fixed. A pair of copper scales and 6 wts. Two check curtains two rods. A mahogany cake stand two tin cannisters and a glass arm. The galley tiles fixed in chimney board. A quart two pint one half pint 2 gills and two half gill wine measures & two funnels. A backgammon table boxes and men. A lead tobacco pot seven slates and a scoring board. Four mahogany tea boards. A french plate sauceboat. Three case bottles and 8 others. Three prints. Two wood bottom chairs. A window board with two cupboards one drawer lock and key. Eighteen shelves fixed. A lock and key to cupboard door. Two lockers fixed.

No. 6. Kitchen:

A range with checher keeper and iron back. A Crane and 7 hooks. A fender poker tonges and two shovels. Two trivets and two gridirons. A wind up jack iron weights and a case. Two spits and a pair of racks. A balance skewer and six other skewers. Two flesh forks a footman and a turnabout jack. Four pair of snuffers. Two boxirons and two hanging irons. A stewing stove fixed. A pair of steelyards and wt. A copper boyler and cock. A brass pottage pot and cover. Two tea kettles. A copper fish kettle plate and cover. Four copper saucepans. A copper drinking pot. A copper stewpan and a frying pan. Two pair of brass candlesticks. Four pair of brass candlesticks a sadle and a slice. Two dish rings and a pair of snuffers and stand. Eighteen pewter dishes forty seven plates. A cullender and two spoons. A pewter water dish and eight plates. Two tin dripping pans and ironstand three warming pots four covers and ten pieces of tin ware. Three stone dishes eighteen plates and sundry earthen ware. A towel roller a salt box and sundry wood ware. Two wainscot oval tables. A ditto claw table and four chairs. An eight day brass dyal. Three check curtains and two rods. A dresser with three drawers two doors and fourteen shelves fixed. A wainscot voider 10 knives and 10 forks.

Beer measures:

One gallon pot. One half gallon pot. Eighteen Quart pots. Twenty three pint pots. Six small pots.

No. 7. Washouse:

A lead cistern with a brass cock and stand. A brass dish kettle. A form a table and plate rack. A wine sconce a pair of steps and a cloaths horse. A table and a chair. An old door sundry fire wood.

No. 8. Passage and Door:

A globe lamp. Two lines weights and pulleys to doors. An old sign and two boards of inscriptions next the door. A sign and sign iron and bunch of grapes at the back door. Two boards of inscriptions. A drinking table and two benches fixed.

No. 9. Skittle Grounds:

A skittle stone and brasses. A set of skittles and a bowle. Two benches fixed.

No. 10. Cellars:

A brazier. A parcel of old iron and wood. Ten brass cocks. The blank of 6 tap tubs. A tin funnel a pewter do. a stone bottle and four dishes. A blank ale. The inclosure of liquor cellar with a door lock and key. Two shelves. A lock and key line weight and pulley to door.

The Effects contained are valued at Seventy Pound Five Shillings.

£70..5..0

By Thomas Dyke
Clke. to Mr. Skinner
Aldersgate Street.

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