

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF LANCASTER 1780-1914

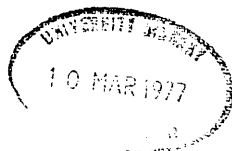
A dissertation submitted in fulfilment
of the degree of Ph.D.

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

B.P.P.	British Parliamentary Papers
B.T.C.	British Transport Commission
CWAAS	Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
H.O.L.R.O.	House of Lords Records Office
Lancaster C.L.	Lancaster City Library
Lancs. C.R.O.	Lancashire County Records Office
TCC	Trinity College, Cambridge
Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. Chesh.	Transactions of Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
Trans. Lancs. Ches. Antiq. Soc.	Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society

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INTRODUCTION

i. Historiographical.

Urban history is the natural product of an urban civilisation. The boom in urban studies on both sides of the Atlantic since the late 1950's has been phenomenal. Gradually the field has widened and today an enormous variety of aspects of urban life are examined.¹ While the interest of social scientists has fixed upon contemporary urban questions, that of historians has tended to concentrate on the nineteenth century. Nineteenth century urban history is a by-product of intensive study of the Industrial Revolution. The impact of the city on nineteenth-century society was to some degree obvious; the inner workings of individual cities were largely unknown.

In Britain the first inroads into the field of town studies were made by historians of local government. The work of the Webbs and others provided the administrative skeletons which subsequent writers have sought to give economic flesh.² Social considerations came later.

The social aspects of town government were at first considered the political historian's rather than the economic historian's concern. H.J. Hanham's Elections and Part Management (1959) provided one of the first insights into how towns were run from the political standpoint. Asa Briggs's Victorian Cities (1963) exposed the whole quarry face of urban history. In it he pointed out our ignorance of Victorian shopkeepers who played an 'always considerable and often decisive' role in local government, and indeed of the solicitors whose influence - at least in Lancaster - was also important.³

Even though urban history was a comparatively new field to academic historians, towns had long been the subject of interest for antiquarians, topographers and local historians. Several antiquarian histories of Lancaster, for example, have been written over the last hundred years or so. Rev. Robert Simpson's The History and Antiquities of the Town of Lancaster (1852) traced the town's history from pre-Roman times through to his own day. Cross Fleury's Time honoured Lancaster (1891)⁴ and

W.O. Roper's Materials for a History of Lancaster (1907), both took the form of a series of essays on points of interest in the town's history with large quantities of 'untreated' material by way of lists of Members of Parliament, details of tombstones, descriptions of charities etc. These works on Lancaster may be regarded as typical of what antiquarians were compiling on English towns in general. Since then more essays have been written on aspects of the town's history, notably by T. Cann Hughes and K.H. Docton.

The transition from the 'old' urban history characterised by excessive interest in topography, anecdote and guidebook presentation to the 'new' urban history characterised by analysis of voting patterns, town councils and land values may be shown by reference to a number of town biographies which have appeared in the last ten years. Sir Francis Hill's Georgian Lincoln (1966) has provided lines for further research on the town by pointing to the social division between the cathedral and county society up the hill and the commercial and trading interests at the bottom.⁵ A. Temple Patterson's two volume History of Southampton (1971) has likewise given an overall view of the town with a strong political slant. In the first volume he showed an eighteenth-century urban oligarchy in decline, and, in the second, a town which saw the greatest political changes not in 1835 but in the late 1840's on the eve of the rise of the port in the 1850's. Robert Newton's study of Victorian Exeter (1968) showed much more of the influence of the 'new' urban history with emphasis on Town Council membership, social patterns of religion and the changing social and economic structure of the town. By this time the demand for urban historians to concentrate on certain aspects of urban development for general purposes had begun to be felt, and there were widely differing responses. G.W. Jones's Borough Politics (1969) examined Wolverhampton largely through the composition of its town council from 1885 to 1964, J. Foster attempted to measure social distance by marriage patterns in Oldham in the 1840's and 1850's, H.J. Dyes showed the importance of land values in his study of Camberwell in Victorian Suburb (1971), while Alan Armstrong's Stability and Change in an English County Town (1974)

was very much an exercise in historical demography and concentrated largely on the social structure of York derived from the Census returns of 1841 and 1851. Dyos, Jones, Foster and Armstrong showed excellent use of specialist techniques in the study of different towns and retained the story of a town which must be an important feature of such a biography. In future such biographies are likely to be rarer as the comparative ideal strengthens in its appeal. Yet once the themes take over entirely from the individual town studies, much of the humanity of the enterprise is in danger of being lost. This study of Lancaster is conducted in the belief that each town is unique and that the story of a small town can still be told while combining modern techniques of analysis with older concerns for qualitative appreciation and historical 'flow'.

The predominant theme in this study of Lancaster is the nature and role of the elite. The nature of elites is an important question for sociologists, and large numbers of case studies, particularly of American towns, have appeared in the wake of such pioneering studies as the Lynds' Middletown in Transition (1937) and R.A. Dahl's Who Governs? (1961), also C. Wright Mill's The Power Elite (1956). This American interest in elites influenced both American historians and English sociologists. So far there has been little response from English historians. The composition of town rulers is a major theme of urban history and only recently has it received the attention of a major study, that of E.P. Hennock in Fit and Proper Persons (1973).

ii. The Choice of Lancaster

The choice of Lancaster for the study of a town elite was motivated by its size, by its varied economic performance and by the variation in its economic undertakings in the period under review. There were, however, accompanying difficulties. The fact that Lancaster was a small town by regional, if not national standards meant that it did not figure prominently in parliamentary reports. Considerable use of the blue books was made, but apart from occasional surprises, the total yield was disappointing. The shortage of census material on Lancaster for 1881 and 1891, in its period of growth, was one gap. Another was the omission of Lancaster from the studies of the cost of living in 1906, and the general shortage of material on wages.

Locally, available sources were excellent for a study of the Town Council, with the Corporation and Council minutes available in the Town Hall and the city library. Detailed newspaper reports of council meetings allowed a more speedy appreciation of the major issues and the main periods of party or personality conflict. They also imparted more life to the proceedings than was obtainable from the minutes themselves. The availability of several newspapers made cross checking possible.

The standard of reporting was found to be very high, particularly in the years of greatest competition in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth.⁶ Newspapers also provided valuable biographical information on Town Councillors and others. Formal decision making in local government was thus satisfactorily covered.

The economic history of the town was obtained to a lesser degree of satisfaction. A close study of the port was not intended, partly because Schofield had already carried out an excellent outline study.⁷ Business records were sought for Greg's, Gillow's, Williamson's, Storey's and the Wagon Works but with mixed success. The Greg material mainly related to Caton; the Gillow material was patchy; Williamson's had records only of the very earliest days of the firm; Storey's directors only permitted reference to the firm's official history.⁸ The Wagon Works, the only

major employer which was a joint stock company through most of the period had annual reports in the newspapers, but little besides. This made economic decision making very elusive.

The shortage of private papers made a knowledge of informal decision making, behind the scenes, hard to acquire. Town Councillors did not seem to have left family papers or kept the diaries which revealed the inner thoughts of so many Victorians to posterity. The records of Lord Ashton's secret information service from 1908 to 1911 were undoubtedly the most useful private papers unearthed. It was reassuring to discover that even if his information was secretly obtained, his decisions were public - indeed trumpeted forth in the press - and there was never any doubt that they were his and his alone.

The shortage of blue book information made adequate knowledge of 'the state of the people' a problem. The main difficulty was here a shortage of statistical information. Newspapers, although providing some statistics, mainly contributed an impressionistic picture through reports of meetings of institutions: political meetings, strikes (after 1870), school reports, temperance society and church activities. Unfortunately they tended to reinforce the shopocratic view of Lancaster given by the minutes of Council meetings and revealed less than one would have liked about the partially submerged two thirds of the population. The period 1780 to 1914 was that which roughly corresponded to Rostow's stages of industrialisation as applied to Britain.⁹ This was incidental. The period involved enormous changes for the whole of British society, Lancaster included, but Lancaster was not a leading town in the Industrial Revolution. The benchmarks of 1780 and 1914 were chosen not because of their association with wider national developments, but because they had local significance both economic and social. 1780 marked the hey-day of Lancaster's West India trade; 1914 marked the zenith of the town's oilcloth and linoleum industry. The fact that these two dates were also of national importance may give the study greater value for comparability. Lancaster's economic history was not an exact mirror of national developments. Yet there were elements which were typical as well as untypical. The town

was typical of many country towns in its spasmodic periods of growth alternating with years of stagnation and decline. Only a minority of the population, however, lived in such towns, but Lancaster took part in the West India and cotton industry unlike most.

To study the society of one town was to presume a degree of self-sufficiency and isolation. This might be ascertained from Lancaster's geographical position, nineteen miles north of Preston and twenty-one miles south of Kendal, in the middle of rural Lonsdale, the largest hundred of north Lancashire. Lancaster had one adjacent village in Skerton which became part of the parliamentary borough when its boundaries were drawn in 1832, but did not become part of the municipal borough of Lancaster until 1888. The town had a population of 8,000 in 1780, 14,000 in 1850 and 41,000 in 1910. Until 1850 it was too small to have recognisable suburbs. After 1850 suburbs arose at Freehold, Pointer, Primrose and Moorlands, then at Bowerham, Scotforth, Marsh and Bulk.¹⁰ Nevertheless these were distinct from the surrounding countryside and were all incorporated into the municipal borough by 1900. The town and its suburbs had close relations with the surrounding region, but remained a distinct world. There remained a difference between urban and rural gentry, shopkeepers and farmers, urban and rural wages, Lancaster and Lunesdale. For administrative purposes the town was separate from its region. This affected both the poor - which rural Lunesdale felt were attracted to urban Lancaster, and the police which remained under separate jurisdiction for the whole period.

The nineteenth-century town was a world of its own. The Mass world did not make its full impact upon Lancaster until after 1914. The strength of local newspapers was one indicator of this. Lancaster's first newspaper, the Gazette, was begun in 1800; by 1850 it had two newspapers, by 1900 it had three.¹¹ Multiple stores were only beginning to make their mark on Market Street and Penny Street in the 1890's and 1900's. Most businesses were locally owned. Those which were not tended to close down, like the Wagon Works in 1902. Lancaster's business decisions were taken within the community and though the town was

obviously very much influenced by regional and national economic developments over which it had little or no control. The small size of the town and its peculiar combination of manufacturing and service industries tended to protect it from the extremes of boom and slump, or at least so many of its businessmen believed. Certainly Lancaster never enjoyed as much economic success or as great economic hardship as its south Lancashire cotton neighbours. It was always believed that the effects of booms and depressions were late in reaching the town. Only minute examination could establish this. It is sufficient here to assert the town's sense of individuality.

iii. Class Models.

One of the major considerations of social history is the emergence and development of class. The historian of the nineteenth century is confronted with the problem head on as there is little disagreement that the Industrial Revolution transformed the structure of British Society. The problem of class has puzzled historians and sociologists ever since the great economic and social changes were initiated in the eighteenth century. The very act of analysing society has involved generalising about bands of economic and social interest. Class once established as an economic reality acquired social and political identity and social classes were seen to be the major directors of ~~history~~ history.

A variety of class models have been used by historians and sociologists. The model used by Marx and the classical economists inherited from the Scottish philosophers of the eighteenth century was a three class model of landlords, capitalists and labourers.¹² Such a model was invented to explain the dimensions of wealth. When models were sought for explanations of divisions of power something simpler had to be used. Aron and Laslett have pointed to a classless or one class society where they have found a single elite holding all power in its hands, at the head of the social pyramid.¹³

Marx and Engels saw the divergence of capital and labour, the former ~~absorbing~~ absorbing the landowners who had adopted capitalist methods, and the latter ~~absorb~~ absorbing the so called 'lower middle class' whose independence was endangered by the rise in the scale of production. The outcome was to be a political struggle, on the one side for more effective enslavement on the other for liberation.¹⁴ The Marxist interpretation of nineteenth century social development has been found to be most helpful for the first half of the century and particularly in the cases of outright confrontation between capitalists and workers.¹⁵ Elements of Marxism, such as the idea of the struggle between various levels of society, have become part and parcel of most historical writing about the period.

Dickens and his followers would think in terms of conflict between status groups rather than classes.¹⁶ In historical writing this approach has been applied mainly to mid-Victorian politics where Vincent found the essential division was between 'distributed property (mainly urban) and concentrated property (mainly rural)' between an urban 'free peasantry' and the landowners who ruled that 'real' proletariat, the labourers in husbandry.¹⁷ To some extent this view has been endorsed by the work of Hossiter and others who have also laid stress on the independence and radical orientation of the Victorian 'shopocracy'.¹⁸

Other political historians have not chosen to veer so determinedly from Marxian class terminology as Vincent, but have tried to replace the three class model with four or five class models. Rowe opted for a four class model to explain the 'radical middle class initiative' in the development of Chartism.¹⁹ A 'fourth class' may also be seen performing a similar function to the class identified with the Philosophical Radicals in Perkin's 'forgotten' middle class of professional men, although Perkin's class describes an economic and social rather than a political phenomenon.²⁰ Neale's study of Bath led him to the conclusion that a five class model was necessary not only to show the importance of the 'middling class' of petty bourgeoisie and Philosophical Radicals, but also to explain the difference between the deferential and dependent rural and country town working class and the non-deferential and collectivist industrial proletariat concentrated in industrial areas.²¹

At this stage of social analysis we are rapidly leaving the bounds of history and entering those of historical sociology. Razzell in his work on the social investigations of the Morning Chronicle has used Lockwood's three-fold division of the working class into 'proletarian', 'deferential' and 'privatised'.²² If we were to tack this onto Neale's model, to make for a more sensitive understanding of the industrial north-west we should have a six class model. With Checkland's enumeration of a 'haute bourgeoisie' we could easily end up with a seven class picture.²³

The purpose of a class model must once again be considered. A class model is created to understand economic change in Marx's eyes, political

change in the eyes of Rowe and Neale. Economic exploitation and confrontation is best understood by a two-class exposition; a political movement may be best understood as a sub-class or 'in between' class which usefully incorporates many who seem to be neither fish, fowl nor good red herring.

The problem of movement, of social change, of the model itself becoming out of date, is one which prevents most historians from being too dogmatic. Most avoid definition of social categories and stick to vague terms. This must be especially true of the broader histories where the vastness of the historical undertaking becomes apparent and the inadequacy of sociological guides to social change becomes obvious. Flexibility is at a premium and even a social historical framework becomes hard to support.

A divergence has taken place in historical writing between the historians who seek to understand the meaning of social class from the poll-books and the blue books and those who look to the census returns. The latter became the sine qua non of nineteenth century social studies in from the late 1960's and have tended to lead the historian from wider considerations of social class to the narrower problems of methodology and interpretation of census enumerators' sheets.

Instead of the vague categories used to understand national social changes, historians have been obliged to settle down to the knotty problems of defining social terms and working out categories for use in census investigation. Historians, who in some other fields are noted for their somewhat cavalier approach to other disciplines, have here been noted for their caution. Historical demographers realised the limitations of their field very early and patiently await the conclusions of a vast army of local researchers. Historians of social structure based on the census enumerators' sheets of 1841 71 are much surer of the reliability of their material, but are equally anxious about methodology and the representativeness of individual studies. Meanwhile the relevance of their work is sometimes called in question by other historians. Household structure seems a far cry from the blue books, and is likely to remain so until the number of

studies and censuses released both increase.

Meanwhile the demographers have provided us with their own class models for use in the interpretation of census data. Armstrong's five social classes and Anderson's ten socio-economic groups seem, on the one hand, to reflect historians' interest in five class models and, on the other, to reflect the more detailed occupational analysis introduced with the Registrar-General's system of classification.²⁴ In both cases a closer look at the systems employed brings disappointment. Armstrong's five classes are those of 1) Capitalists and Professional, 2) Lower Professionals and Large Shopkeepers, 3) Small Shopkeepers and Skilled Workmen, 4) Semi-Skilled Workmen, 5) Unskilled Workmen. It is a system based on the Registrar General's classification of 1954 and will undoubtedly have uses for comparison for similar surveys of census returns as more are released, but it has little bearing on such other historical work as described above. Similarly, Anderson's work on Preston, divided into ten socio-economic groups, is primarily concerned with investigation of the family and not with the understanding of contemporary historical developments, on a broad scale. Each study makes a major contribution in its own way, but both operate determinedly in their own special fields of historical sociology.

In this study of Lancaster no new class model has been devised. The works on class development mentioned above have been drawn on for comparison, but none has been used exclusively. To do so in a topic with as broad a timespan and terms of reference as this and in such a narrow geographical context would be dangerous. Class models are here used mainly for descriptive purposes and for closer delineation of local developments. There has been no attempt to develop a new order out of the historiographical chaos, although some selectivity of method has been necessary.

Primary interest is here shown in Lancaster's elite. The main divisions of society used as a shorthand - albeit unscientific - are as follows: the elite, the tradesmen and the working class.

Here we are back to a tripartite understanding of society. Its advantage is that of simplicity. It is believed too to contain a note of realism. In spite of a detailed consideration of the manifold sources of one town in the nineteenth century, one is left with serious doubts as to the availability to historians of sufficient social and economic information relating to individual families up and down the social ladder to devise a multiple class model whose divisions can be regarded as accurate or meaningful. The English census enumerator, unlike his American counterpart, asks too few questions. The family under consideration emerges from the ant heap of the past and immediately disappears. Comparative material bearing on his income, savings, politics and religion is rarely available. It is only available where the family was locally important. This usually means that it is a 'notable' or tradesman family. This limits us to under a third of the total population. Detailed family reconstitution techniques might throw up more material but would it provide significant conclusions? The assimilation of class models into the main body of nineteenth-century history seems an important concern of the future. This study attempts to place the sociological and traditional history side by side, with attempts at integration where it is possible. At present the limitations of sociological material prevent complete integration. Social history remains an art with scientific appendages.

iv. The Elite.

It has been argued above, that Lancaster society possessed an element of autonomy. The question arises of its elite structure. Did this structure follow a Millsian pattern of concentrated power in the hands of those who occupied leading positions in the strategic hierarchies?²⁵ Or did it reflect the 'polyarchy' of minority leaders that Dahl used as the model for Newhaven?²⁶ How relevant to Lancaster was his division between political, economic and social notables and his distinction between potential and actual power? Most important of all was the problem of which techniques were to be used in identifying the elite.

The adaptation of the interests and methods of the sociologist to a historical study showed some of the strengths and weaknesses of the current efforts at rapprochement between history and sociology. It had long been appreciated that an investigation of the holders of top positions in the major industrial, credit and business units in the community did not provide a full picture of a town's economic decision makers. Nor did a list of its office holders, both elected and appointed, give a sufficient view of political decision makers. In other words, to examine the occupants of formal positions of authority was perhaps to miss the key men, or at least to miss the men with the greatest informal influence. Hence Hunter and others developed the 'reputational' technique by which men in key formal positions were asked to choose those whom they regarded as the most influential men in the community.²⁷ In this way an entirely different elite was uncovered with its own separate cohesion and channels of influence.

A historical study makes proper use of a 'reputational' technique virtually impossible. Some indication of reputed decision makers can be gleaned from contemporary comment, but heavy reliance has to be laid on editors of newspapers as the leaders of local opinion. Any reputational technique must rest as much on objective criteria as a positional one. By formulating a set of criteria, a list of notables can be made. These criteria might include wealth, education, family connections, office in 'key' voluntary organisations etc. Such a list, however, will tend to

be less reliable and more open ended than one chosen by 'contemporary judges'. In Lancaster's case, such alternative lists have been tentatively used, but the study of the social elite, as it has been termed, has been far more limited than that of the formal rulers in the Town Council.

The 'positional' method was most easily available. Membership of the Lancaster Corporation - later the Town Council - was regarded as an important indication of social importance in the town, while the Aldermen and Mayors were regarded as the senior holders of offices with purely local connotations (as opposed to Members of Parliament whose office was both local and national). Councillors' membership of institutions in the town, other than the Town Council was also noted to estimate the position of Town Councillors in the community. The assumption was that membership of the Town Council represented one of the peaks of social and political achievement. This assumption was difficult to prove, except in so far as other institutions in the town could be seen as stepping stones for men who aspired to become Town Councillors. Some institutions carried higher rewards than membership of the Town Council. For example, membership of the County Club gave greater social satisfaction, the directorship of the Wagon Works more economic power, the presidency of the Reform or Constitutional Club more political power. What emerged was the inter-connection of all these institutions through their membership and the extent to which Town Councillors were involved in other organisations. The low level of politicisation of the Town Council suggested that Councillors were, on the whole, not the products of a political party machine, but of the voluntary organisations which played such an important part in the life of the town.

Hierarchies of status were easily visible in the political parties and the churches. Both church office and party management were regarded as highly important by those who aspired to the leadership of the town. Similar importance was attached to the committees of other local voluntary bodies such as the Mechanics' Institute, the Masonic or Oddfellows' Lodges etc. Statutory bodies such as the Port Commission, the Charity

Trust, the Board of Guardians and the School Board had similar appeal, and their personnel was always closely linked with that of the Town Council.

It was in the Town Council that most of these disparate hierarchies merged. Many Town Councillors headed a number of voluntary associations (see below). They seem to have regarded membership of the Town Council as the final goal in the pursuit of satisfaction in the service and management of the community. Membership of the Town Council meant the assurance of wider popular recognition than any voluntary association. The greatest tribute to personal success was unopposed election. In addition the Town Council maintained a link between the town's government and the town's social elite.

For many leading citizens or 'notables' the assurance of popular election was superfluous. Great wealth, membership of an old local family, or a variety of other forms of personal distinction made membership of the Town Council an arduous and unnecessary form of recognition. They saw membership as a duty incumbent on notables, rather than as an honour or a form of advancement. Throughout the period there was only a minority of this genteel section of the community who were prepared to involve themselves in borough politics. At most times through the nineteenth century, access to the Mayoralty was easier for them than for non-notable Councillors. Ex-Mayors and Aldermen seem usually to have been regarded as part of this social elite ex officio, whatever their economic status.

Membership of this social elite was usually hereditary, confirmed by education at exclusive school (including LRGS) or university, and/or membership of elite institutions such as the John o'Gaunt Bowmen, the Philippi Club or the County Club. The group usually included landowners, Anglican clergy, second generation professional men, well established or retired merchants and manufacturers. In other words, the 'notables' came close to being identifiable with the Registrar General's Class 1. Their involvement in municipal and parliamentary politics probably became rarer at the end of the nineteenth century. They played a part in voluntary organisations too, but not on the same scale as the Councillors.

and they often relied on their inclusion of Aldermen and ex-Mayors for social contact with the rest of the Town Council and thus with the middle class of the local community.

An examination of Lancaster society in this period involved tracing the development of the town's elite from its domination by West India merchants in the late eighteenth century, through the period of the cotton manufacturers in the mid-nineteenth century to the domination of Lord Ashton, the oilcloth and linoleum manufacturer, at the end of the century. Throughout the period, close relations were maintained between the town's notables and the rural gentry, and some form of modus vivendi had to be reached between the social elite and those who carried out the town's government through the Town Council. Equally important were the relations between the ruling group represented by the Town Council leadership and the ruled. The ruled included the vast bulk of the inhabitants from the large shopkeepers downwards through the small shopkeepers and craftsmen to the factory workers and labourers. The study necessarily came to involve class relations, social identity and social mobility. No full study of pauperism was made as it was felt that this was less relevant to the main theme (see Appendix C8).

v. The Shopocracy.

The class which was most prominent in small provincial towns such as Lancaster, after the elite, was that of the tradesmen. These were the people of George Eliot's Middlemarch, occupying the lower spectrum of the English middle class so popular, as Marx observed, with that 'splendid brotherhood of fiction writers'.²⁸ 'Servile to those above them and tyrannical to those beneath them', the Victorian shopkeepers were admired by few but themselves. Historians have grudgingly admitted their existence as 'third rate men of business', but rarely admitted their social and political importance.²⁹

Nationally, shopkeepers are usually described as belonging to the lower middle class, but in provincial towns and especially in smaller ones such as Lancaster their status was greater, owing to the absence of the aristocracy. In Lancaster they formed the town's middle class, inferior to the town's handful of merchants, manufacturers, solicitors and doctors, but superior to the craftsmen and manual workers. As historians have pointed out, shopkeepers were men of some status. Apprenticeship to retail trade lasted well into the middle of the nineteenth century, and premiums although small were still required to enter on a shopkeeper's career. Trade demanded a variety of skills, not only of buying from wholesalers and selling to customers, but also of making up some of the items - as in a chemist's or grocer's - and keeping the books.³⁰ Trade required initiative and was not without risk. The calmness of the world displayed by mid-Victorian novelists - with the exception of Mr Micawber and one or two others - was hard won. Francis Place, in his Autobiography, makes quite clear the ease with which shopkeepers in his youth in the 1780's and the 1790's had fallen into ruin.³¹ Place emphasised the qualities which were necessary to survive, to prosper, and even - as he had done - to move out of retailing into the wholesale world of the merchant. Place, regardless of his politics, personified the successful shopkeeper. Respectability was the key to his moral ethos. Careful living, economy in all things, avoidance of drink and gambling, hard work, polite manners, neat dress - all were

vital to success.³²

The premises had to be impressive too. In 1799 Place set up in 'a respectable neighbourhood':

The shop had been nicely painted, and our names put along the front in large gilt letters, so as to have the appearance of means to do business in good style. 33

Appearances counted for much. They bred confidence in others and reflected that inner self-confidence which Place saw as a vital requisite:

No working man, journeyman tradesman is ever wholly ruined until hope has abandoned him. 34

Furnished thus the tradesman could expect to enjoy the title 'Mister', leave a moderate sum at his death, and, if lucky, retire beforehand, like Place, among his books and favourite pastimes, well esteemed by all.

Place himself knew that much of this was a sham. Respectability and independence were purchased at the price of many pleasures. Chapel attendance and participation was often the limit of the tradesman's education and social life. Bankruptcy frequently stared smaller tradesmen in the face. Dishonesty and adulteration were the necessary resorts of many. How many Victorian shopkeepers could say, like Place:

I have deceived no one, never practised the common tricks of a tradesman. 35

A major difficulty in describing the shopkeeper class is to set bounds on it. Marx included it in the bourgeoisie although he realised the pressures it was undergoing during the jolts of the trades cycle. Retail trade and handicraft were put together in the census of 1831, and there were no separate categories in subsequent censuses. Censuses and directories of course provide figures for individual trades, but these are not easy to handle and give no total view of the size of the shopkeeper element. 18% of the Lancaster heads of household in the 1851 sample fell into the retail category and 19% in the 1861 sample. In Preston in 1851, 11% of all males over 20 were in the retail trade. In both Lancaster and Preston the proportion of the population at large in the retail category was half that in the artisan/craftsman group.³⁶

There are other indications of the strength of the shopkeepers in Lancaster. The notable value of the township of Lancaster valued for

the new county rate in 1852 was £36,474. 14% was made up by shops and an additional 7% by inns and public houses. Cotton mills made up under 5%. The contribution of cottages under £10 and private houses over £10 was roughly equal: 26% and 28%.³⁷ In 1855 roughly half the private accounts at Lancaster Savings Bank (excluding charitable society and friendly society accounts) were under £10. Most of these were under £5.³⁸ Lancaster had a far better total per head of population than Preston, Bolton or Blackburn.

Although it is difficult to pin down the growth of the retail trades in the ^{uncertain years} ~~locality~~ of 1845 to 1865, the success of the shopkeepers seems to be noticeable in terms of property ownership. In the early nineteenth century much of Lancaster was owned either by the Corporation or by big landowners such as Marton and Dalton. By 1851 over two hundred householders (about seven per cent of the total) were owner occupiers. Nearly a third of these were in SEG I (gentlemen, professional men and manufacturers) but another third were made up of shopkeepers (SEG III). Retailers were prominent in the promotion of building societies and by 1861 they held a third of the building plots on the Freehold. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, many wealthier tradesmen acquired separate residences in the new suburbs of Bowerham and Scotforth. By 1911 many tradesmen were substantial investors in cottage property, with rows of cottages to their name in the growing suburbs.³⁹ Share lists show that they played a similarly important role in the financing of local joint stock companies.⁴⁰

At all times through the nineteenth century the shopkeeping class merged at either end of the social spectrum with the social groups on either side of it. For there were always at least two types of shopkeeper. There were those shops on the main streets (in Lancaster's case, Market Street, Cheapside and Church Street) which supplied the upper class. Their trade was usually reliable, it was they who provided the model of shopkeeper respectability and it was they who took advantage of municipal reform to take a full part in the town's political life. James Williamson in the 1850's was such a man, having started as a journeyman painter

he became a foreman and then a partner in the firm on the death of his employer, and finally settled himself up on his own in Church Street with a clientele of genteel customers which stretched throughout rural Lonsdale. Shopkeepers of this kind sometimes became wholesalers, others, like Williamson, became manufacturers, but rarely with much success. Most became tradesmen, although, by the end of the nineteenth century most had acquired separate residences in the suburbs of Freehold, Bowerham or Scotforth.

Inferior to the main street shopkeepers and far less secure were those with shops on the less important streets (in Lancaster, Penny Street and St. Nicholas Street). Such shops came and went with more rapidity, and their owners were less established members of the town and less likely to be Councillors. At the lowest level, these merged with the corner shopkeepers whose importance was not as obvious in Lancaster as in the mill towns, but who were a familiar part of the scene by the censuses of 1851 and 1861. Corner shops were often risky ventures set up on a little capital borrowed from relatives or sometimes completely on credit. These shops had to be well managed to survive, and the Preston Bankruptcy Court was frequently hearing cases of those which had failed. Corner shopkeepers often came from the ranks of manual workers and were often not much better off, but the ownership of a shop gave them a status above that of the working class.⁴¹ Their life was hard, involved responsibilities for the whole family, but the conferred status and the degree of financial independence made it all worthwhile. Sociologists remind us that this is still true, and that the values of independence and dislikes of bureaucracy, government intervention and trade unionism are as strong as ever.⁴² Such values were the mainstay of the tradesman politics which found its voice in James Williamson in the 1850's and in his son in the 1880's and 1890's.

Yet with all this emphasis on the shopkeepers as a social class, or a sub section of the middle class, Lancaster politics in the nineteenth century fitted to some extent the Vincent pattern. Liberalism in

Lancaster was associated with the 'radicalism' of small shopkeepers and craftsmen, by the Tory press. Poll-books suggest, however, that ideology was not necessarily tied to economic status. General elections showed a fairly even division between the Liberals and Conservatives. Popular radicalism fluctuated in its appeal. It was strongest after municipal reform, in reaction to Public Health expenditure and again in the late nineteenth century in reaction to local government by clique. Chartism and complete suffrage found ^{only} limited support in Lancaster (see p. 320 et seq.).

Economically the division came between the big and small shopkeepers. In terms of status the division came between the shopkeeper and the manual worker. Political divisions rarely corresponded with either economic or social division, as far as one can tell. In a town the size of Lancaster, the political terms of reference were more often those of community than those of class. In terms of municipal politics, shopkeepers played second string to the manufacturers, merchants and professional men who provided the bulk of council leaders. Nevertheless shopkeeper values provided the main ideology of the council through most of the years 1835 to 1914. It was not surprising, for one fifth of the rates were paid on their business property, not counting the contribution they made on the basis of their own dwellings or cottage property. The interests of the tradesmen could never be ignored by the elite, even if socially they were regarded as inferior.

vi. The Working Class.

The working class although numerically the largest (approx. 63% of the householders in 1851) was, for the purposes of this study, the least significant class. The problem of source material was acute, and where it was redeemed by newspaper coverage the following generalisations could be made. The Lancaster working class was, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, largely craft-orientated, with workers divided among numerous small workshops which supplied the West Indies trade. Even cloth weaving was on a small scale. The fluctuations in the West Indies trade and its eventual decline caused much hardship among these journeymen craftsmen, although major disaster was averted by migration and by the provision of alternative employment. Upper class application to charitable undertakings also alleviated distress in the worst winters. Impoverished craftsmen who were often freemen provided political patrons with mass voting power. Friendly society activities also suggest deferential patterns of social behaviour. Hostility was focussed on the French who could be blamed for most of the town's misfortunes. At elections hostility was shown to the religious minority groups of Roman Catholics and Quakers.

The early Victorian period saw the growth of trade union activity and the revival of friendly societies. Political activity became more influenced by national developments. Radicalism made its first impact on Lancaster in the 1830's, yet remained primarily a concern for manufacturers, their workmen and their attendant small shopkeepers. The establishment of small mills in fact strengthened the local tradition of deference and created a source of friction of the Lancaster working class. Strikes at the mills were rare, although Lancaster was not immune from the Plug Riots of 1842. Migration from the town became a necessity for many of the children of Lancaster workers. Those who remained and became members of the aristocracy of labour found themselves forming the tail of predominantly middle class institutions such as the Mechanics' Institute and the churches. Even the friendly societies became orientated towards tradesmen as much as towards workers. Chartism constituted the town's first independent working-class

initiative, but it found itself the victim of attack on two fronts and was little more than a short-lived protest movement. Political corruption reached its height in this period, leading to the disenfranchisement of the town in 1866.

In late Victorian and Edwardian Lancaster the working class came more into its own. The town was now sufficiently prosperous to obviate the need for large-scale migration, and population growth provided the anonymity which the town had previously lacked. Friendly societies remained committed to the self-help ethic, but the Co-operative Society showed itself at least aware of the social problems of the day and favourable to independent labour initiatives, even if it took little action to further them. Trade unions grew in number and membership and, without markedly improving the wage position of the town, prevented any major deterioration. The area where they were powerless to ameliorate a low wage position was at James Williamson and Son Ltd. where tight paternalistic control operated. Outside labour leaders saw this as an important opportunity to intervene, but with little success. Nevertheless the long-term development of an Independent Labour Party was helped by the intransigence of Lord Ashton towards trade unions and labour politics. By the outbreak of the First World War, Labour had acquired two seats on the Town Council, but politically it had ceased to make progress. The Lancaster working class, taking its lead from its social superiors, retained an innate hostility to 'agitators' and outsiders.

INTRODUCTIONFootnotes

1. The Urban History Newsletter showed an increase in the number of researchers in the field from 220 in June 1965 (No. 4) to 717 in Autumn 1972 (No. 18).
2. S & B Webb, English Local Government: The Manor and the Borough (1908).
A. Redford, The History of Local Government in Manchester (1939-40).
3. A. Briggs, Victorian Cities (1963), pp. 108-9.
4. Cross Fleury was the pen name of R.E.K. Rigbye.
5. For a continuation, see J.F. Mill, Victorian Lincoln (Cambridge, 1974).
6. Provincial journalism had reached a high standard, see
E. Phillips, How to Become a Journalist (1995) and D. Ayerst, The Guardian Biography of a Newspaper (Glasgow, 1971).
7. M.H. Schofield, Outlines of an Economic History of Lancaster from 1680 to 1860 (Lancaster, 1946 & 1951).
8. G. Christie, Storeys of Lancaster (1964).
9. W.J. Rostow, The process of economic growth (Oxford, 1960), pp. 313, 319, 324.
10. Scotforth and Bulk were independent village communities upto 1900, as Skerton had been up to 1888.
11. Lancaster Observer, 3 June 1910.
12. H.J. Perkin, Origins of Modern English Society (1969), p. 27.
13. Ibid. p. 37.
14. F. Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England (1844, Panther, 1969), pp. 318-322.
15. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1963)
G. Rude & M.J. Hoosbawn, Captain Swing (1969)
J. Foster, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution (1974).
16. R. Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (1959), p. 236.
17. J. Vincent, Pollbooks: How Victorians Voted (Cambridge, 1967), p. 25.
18. T.J. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England (Brighton, 1975), pp. 146-149.
19. D.J. Rowe, 'The London Working Men's Association and the "People's Charter"', Past and Present, No. 36, April 1967, pp. 73-86.
20. H.J. Perkin, ibid, p. 252 et seq.
21. R.S. Neale, Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century (1972), p. 30.
22. P.E. Razzell and R.W. Wainwright eds. The Victorian Working Class (1973)
pp. xxix et seq.
23. S.G. Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England (1964), p. 297.
24. See Appendices B.

25. J. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York, 1956), pp. 4-9.
26. R.A. Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven, 1961), *passim*.
27. F. Hunter, Community Power Structure - A Study of Decision Makers (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1953), *passim*.
28. K. Marx & F. Engel, Articles on Britain (Moscow, 1971), p. 218.
29. S.G. Checkland, op. cit. p. 301.
30. D. Davis, A History of Shopping (1966), p. 256.
T.J. Mossitor, op. cit. pp. 144-5.
- 31.
31. Ed. M. Thale, The Autobiography of Francis Place 1771-1854 (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 38-9.
32. Ibid. pp. 106, 220.
33. Ibid. p. 193.
34. Ibid. p. 128.
35. Ibid. p. 266.
36. See below, Part II, Chapter II.
37. Lancaster Gazette, 30 October 1852.
38. Ibid. 8 December 1855.
39. Lancaster Town Hall, Rate books, 1811, 1851, 1861, 1911.
40. See below, Part III, Chapter I.
41. J. Vincent, op. cit. p. 38 also
R. Roberts, The Classic Slum (Manchester, 1971), pp. 17-18.
42. F. Bechhofer etc., 'Small shopkeepers: matters of money and meaning', Sociological Review, 22, 1974, pp. 465-482.

Summary Part I

Lancaster's population doubled in the second half of the eighteenth century, came to a virtual standstill during the first decade of the nineteenth century and gradually recovered to reach a new peak in the 1820's. The Treaty of Paris in 1783 introduced a new period of expansion for Lancaster's overseas trade which was mainly with the West Indies. Coastal trade was equally important in terms of tonnage, and was closely linked to the overseas enterprises. Lancaster not only imported sugar, cotton and hardwoods, but also supplied the white settlers in the West Indies with their everyday requirements. The town's service trades boomed. The Port Commissioners built a new harbour at Glasson Dock, and Lancaster merchants sponsored the building of the Lancaster Canal. The height of the boom came in 1797-1800 and it ended in 1802. Overseas trade thereafter stagnated at a low level as the West Indies trade faded into insignificance. The major crisis of 1802 led to a massive switch of Lancaster shipping to Liverpool. The shipping that remained did not take advantage of the growing American trade. Profits on West Indies sugar estates were virtually annihilated by 1807. After 1815 Lancaster merchants ceased to trade with the West Indies. Bankruptcies among them were fewer than might have been expected. Many merchants moved to Liverpool. A number retired to the land. Some took refuge in the professions. Others became entrepreneurs with rarely much success.

Migration to Liverpool was common to Lancaster people of all classes. Retailers suffered too, but were helped by the expanding Assize business. Efforts were made to replace the West Indies trade. Appeals for improvements to the Lune met with little enthusiasm. The boom of 1824-5 brought the first revival of large-scale economic activity, mainly offshoots of developments in the cotton industry. In the collapse which followed, Lancaster businessmen had once more to look to their own solvency as another local bank collapsed - the second in four years. The Lancaster Banking Company which replaced it was joint stock, with a proportion of shares held by tradesmen.

Lancaster, although the county town, was overtaken by most of the manufacturing towns and boroughs in the county in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In view of the burdens borne by the Justices of south Lancashire, there was a growing demand for a much more central meeting place than Lancaster. After further disputes over appointment of county officers, a bill was drawn up for the permanent adjournment of the county's Quarter Sessions from Lancaster to Preston. This bill was passed in 1798, in spite of the opposition of the Lancaster Corporation. The attack then concentrated on the location of the Assizes, traditionally held in Lancaster. Heavy expenditure in the 1790's to provide judicial facilities in Lancaster Castle, set the course of county policy. Lancaster's determination, and the rivalry between the south Lancashire towns also helped to preserve Lancaster's monopoly of the county Assizes until 1835. Both the County Gaol and the new County Asylum in Lancaster provided trade for the town's retailers and additional work for the professions.

About half the gentry who lived near Lancaster took some active part in the life of the town. Office holding of some kind - especially on religious or political committees - was regarded as the test of participation but the level of such participation was not found to be very high. They were often more active in the social 'season' associated with the Assizes. This 'season' was in its hey-day in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. In religious, political and social activities the gentry worked and played alongside the aldermanic families of the Corporation, and even some wealthy Dissenting families. The undisputed head of local society was the Duke of Hamilton, although his supremacy was often exercised in absentia especially after the death of the ninth Duke in 1819. The local gentry were a mixture of ancient blood, and more recent mercantile arrivals. The Garnetts were the sole representatives of manufacturing wealth. In spite of the apparent self-sufficiency of the local county and municipal elite, the end of the Assize monopoly in 1835 swiftly undermined the 'season', and the rising class of tradesmen in the town put their own stamp on the new forms of entertainment.

The Corporation consisted of thirty-six major officers (thirty-four with the right to vote), as well as a number of minor officials who carried out their orders. The elected officers were all co opted. The only officer elected by the burgesses was the bailiff of the commons. This gave access in theory to new men, but in practice the freemen deferred to the wishes of the Corporation. After 1800 fines had to be revived for refusal to take Corporate office. With the growing troubles of the West Indies trade, absenteeism and resignation became major problems. By 1809 these had provoked a constitutional crisis within the Corporation. Quo warranto proceedings led to the grant of a new Charter in 1819. Recruitment varied with the prosperity of the town, legal problems and the growth of the Assizes favoured the recruitment of solicitors. So did the decline in the number of merchants. There was no noticeable influx of tradesmen, although some manufacturing businesses were not large. The Commissioners in 1833 declared the Corporation less dominated by 'particular family interests' after 1819. Closer examination, however, suggests that greater fluidity of Council membership was matched by a tightening of the group who monopolised the aldermanship and the mayoralty. There was little local opposition to the Corporation between 1819 and 1835. Oddly enough, Lancaster bank turnovers suggest that councilmen as a group were better off than aldermen. Corruption was not a major feature of the practices of the old Corporation. The old Corporation was representative of most of the town's major industries. It included leaders of cotton, iron, cabinet making and ship building. Politically, Corporate membership was divided until the French Revolution. It rarely found its own candidates at elections, but preferred London and Liverpool merchants to local squires. Loyalty and Toryism became dominant principles after the outbreak of war with France. In religion the Corporation was Anglican; only a handful of Dissenters were elected after the repeal of the Corporation Act.

From the eighteenth century, Lancaster Corporation, like other select bodies, found its powers restricted by the establishment of statutory bodies. The first in Lancaster was the Port Commission, set up in 1749.

Nevertheless, the Corporation and its members took the lead in the development of municipal policy. As Lancaster grew, the Corporation played an important part in the development of the town plan, particularly as regards its own property on the Green Area. It also helped improve older parts of the town. Economic decline and corporate insolvency from 1800 onwards, however, put a stop to further initiatives. In 1819 the Corporation gave up lighting the town and declined approaching Parliament for an Improvement Act. A separate initiative was made by a public meeting in consultation with the Corporation and a local Lighting and Watching Act was obtained in 1824. The Commissioners included many of the Corporation, but also included local landowners and wealthy tradesmen who had not been elected to the Select Body. Meanwhile, Corporate insolvency and mismanagement of property continued until the Corporation was dissolved in 1835. The sense of general responsibility for the borough which the late eighteenth century Corporation had been able to maintain, lapsed until after the act of 1835, while the dual system of municipal government survived until 1849.

Tradesmen did not feature prominently on the Corporation, the Port Commission or the Police Commission, but they played a substantial role on the ad hoc committees which were a feature of voluntary effort in Lancaster in the early nineteenth century. So did Dissenting merchants and manufacturers. Such committees provided them with experience which would prove useful when they were elected to the new Town Council after 1835.

Radicalism in Lancashire was associated with economic distress. The leadership was often taken by hand loom weavers. Lancaster had no strong textile tradition, and, in spite of the growth of cotton, silk and worsted mills in the district, no large community of weavers. There were riots and disturbances in the county town, but few signs of radicalism. The strong loyalty of the town's leaders in the Wars against France may have been met by similar toryism from below. Economic decline was faced with resignation not organisation. Many left the town. The physical presence

of the Castle was a deterrent. Garrisons, the Volunteers and the Militia did the rest. The town was surprisingly quiet in the bad years of 1812, 1818-20, 1826, 1829 and 1831. The characteristic working-class organisation was the friendly society. By 1804 over one third of the population were members of seventeen societies. The town's economic decline put them under severe pressure, and by 1821 there were only two societies with a total of 120 members. The Provident Bank and Savings Bank only partially replaced them. In the 1830's the friendly society remnant looked to the new provincial orders.

Lancaster shared with other old corporate towns a long tradition of paternalism. Charity enhanced the status of the urban rulers. Increased social provision, pioneered by Liverpool in the eighteenth century, was followed by Lancaster. The ideological driving force for the revival of paternalism came from the evangelical revival. Taking root first among Dissenting ministers and then among Anglican clergy, it was felt both in church building and in the Sunday School Movement; also in political attitudes, philanthropy and religious societies. Attacks on Sabbath violation, drunkenness and the Races had variable success. The rise of Methodism showed the response to 'enthusiastic' religion. District visiting was introduced for religious, sanitary and charitable purposes. Alternatives to Evangelical religion were not strong. The politics of religion came late to Lancaster. Evangelical political interest ran against local vested interests. Compromise was the order of the day. Lancaster was ~~not~~ an Evangelical stronghold. Charity was stretched by the town's financial difficulties after 1800. Both, however, helped to modify the worst concomitants of poverty and squalor.

CHAPTER I

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND 1780-1835

In the course of the eighteenth century Lancaster grew from a small market town of about 2,000 people to a flourishing port of 9,000. It was a classic case of an eighteenth century town benefiting from the growth of coastal and foreign trade. Lancaster's experience was that of Liverpool or Glasgow, albeit on a much smaller scale. Once it had established itself as an independent port with its own port commissioners by a private Act of Parliament in 1749 its growth was rapid.

TABLE A1aComparative Populations of Lancaster and Other Towns c.1750-1831¹

	Lancaster	Carlisle	Chester	Preston	Liverpool	Manchester
c.1750	4,750(100)	4,000(100)	13,000(100)	5,500(100)	22,000(100)	18,000(100)
c.1780	8,000(168)	5,500(138)	14,750(113)	6,500(118)	56,765(258)	42,821(238)
1801	9,030(190)	9,415(236)	15,174(116)	12,174(221)	77,653(353)	70,409(491)
1831	12,613(265)	20,006(500)	21,344(163)	33,871(615)	189,242(860)	182,812(1145)

N.B. Figures for c.1750 and c.1780 are estimates; those for 1801 and 1831 are from the Census.

In the period of Rostow's 'Take-off', Lancaster continued to make progress, but no longer at rates comparable with Liverpool. Nevertheless Table A1b shows that although Lancaster had grown more slowly than most other major towns in the North-West (except Chester) its growth rate had been higher than the national rate over the full eighty years.

TABLE A1bComparative Population Indices for Lancaster, Lancashire and England & Wales²

	Lancaster	Lancashire	England and Wales
c.1750	100	100	100
1780	168	133	123
1801	190	229	149
1831	265	436	229

Even so, in the last thirty years (1801-31) it was slightly slower than the national performance.

This decline in demographic performance was the result of the sudden decline in importance of the Port of Lancaster.

Lancaster after growing rapidly in the second half of the eighteenth century ground to a halt with the opening of the nineteenth century.

TABLE A1c

Comparative Growth Rates (%) for Lancaster, Lancashire and England & Wales 1801-31.

	Lancaster	Lancashire	England and Wales
1801-11	2	23	14
1811-21	10	27	18
1821-31	29	27	16

This was the result of a series of bad jolts to the town's overseas trade between 1800 and 1825, which formed part of the long term decline of the West Indies trade. Recovery came with the commencement of the cotton industry in the town and surrounding district. The important increase in population in the 1820's was largely due to the expansion of the cotton industry and the parallel revival in coastal traffic after the completion of Glasson Dock in 1826.

The aftermath of the War of American Independence saw Lancaster's port in a very flourishing condition. Schofield has charted the steady growth of the port after the Port Commission Act of 1749.³ St. George's Quay had been erected between 1750 and 1753 and the New Quay to the east of the Old Bridge was begun in 1767. The total number of ships paying tolls rose from an average of 120 (5,908 tons) in the 1760's to 204 (11,041 tons) in the 1780's.⁴ Both coastal and overseas trade had almost doubled in the twenty years, although the actual number of ships involved in overseas trade had only grown from 32 to 49. Lancaster's coastal trade was mainly with ports along the north-western coastline from Holyhead to Galloway with a little Irish traffic too. Her overseas trade was mainly with the West Indies, and to a less extent with ^{the} Baltic. There was a small Guinea trade in the 1760's and 1770's but it was interrupted by the War of American Independence and disappeared altogether after 1793. Unlike Liverpool, Lancaster derived little direct benefit from the slave trade. In 1771 Lancaster had only four ships carrying 950 slaves while Liverpool had 107 with a human cargo of 29,250.⁵ In 1787 Thomas Clarkson was told that what slave merchants there were at Lancaster 'made their outfits at Liverpool as a more convenient port'.⁶ The large Quaker Community at Lancaster may also be a partial explanation for the town's backwardness in exploiting such a lucrative trade. The Society of Friends was early in condemning slavery, although it is evident that the wealthiest Quaker family in Lancaster, the Rawlinsons, owned slaves on their West Indies plantations.⁷ Nor was there any attempt by the Lancaster Monthly Meeting to discipline them for it.⁸

The volume of Lancaster's coastal and overseas trade respectively was roughly similar in the years 1750 to 1800. Coastal tonnage increased from an average of 2,981 tons in the 1750's to 11,304 in the 1800's, mainly carried in small ships.⁹ Cargoes were miscellaneous: grain, timber, salt, slate, iron, tobacco, pottery, textiles and coal.¹⁰ Lancaster served as an entrepot. ~~port~~ It collected materials not only for its own consumption and for that of its region but also for the West Indies. The volume of

coastal trade stabilised after 1600 and it was not until the building of the Lancaster Canal branch to Glasson Dock in 1826 that further growth occurred with a big increase in the volume of goods imported to Preston, mainly from Ulverston and the Furness district.

Lancaster's most valuable trade was, however, her overseas trade. This was conducted principally with the West Indies - at least until after 1815.¹¹ The volume of the West Indies trade increased from about 1,000 tons in the 1750's to nearly 5,000 tons on the outbreak of the American War. It fell by half during the War, 1778-83, but recovered and grew to between 6,000 and 7,000 tons in the 1790's, accounting for over three quarters of the town's total overseas trade.

From the West Indies, Lancaster merchants imported sugar, cotton, coffee, rum, hides, cabinet woods and dye woods. To the West Indies were exported a wide variety of goods, supplied either by the town itself or neighbouring villages, or collected in the course of the town's coastal trade. In Lancaster itself one of the major exporters was Gillow's, the cabinet makers who imported mahogany and other hard woods through its agents in the West Indies and exported furniture to the planter community.¹² Other local traders made up the ballast of the Gillow's West Indiamen with stores for the planters, including leather goods, woollen and linen cloth, stationery, shoes, boots, felt hats, candles and soap. In 1799, the town had eleven tallow chandlers, four cabinet makers and seven clock and watch makers according to a directory. ~~all of which reflects the success of the port.~~¹³ In war time there was a great demand in the West Indies for provisions as their normal supply from the American colonies was cut off. This continued after 1783 owing to the ban on trading with the rebel colonists imposed by the British government.¹⁴ Lancaster and other British ports rushed to fill the vacuum, and we can see evidence of increased numbers of cattle being brought from Yorkshire to the cattle market at Lancaster in response.¹⁵ Other products came from outlying villages too, such as felt hats from Wyresdale.

Meanwhile the coastal trade brought in wares from Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, Glasgow and lesser centres as well.¹⁶ Warehouses were set up in

Lancaster to receive these goods and many were exported along with local products.¹⁷

Lancaster's port industries thrived during the hey day of the West Indies trade. Shipbuilding - represented by the two firms of Brockbank and Smith - flourished and orders were received as far afield as London. Many of the ships turned out in the 1790's and 1800's were West Indianmen of 300-400 tons.¹⁸ Ancillary trades also did well. Lancaster had five sailcloth manufacturers in 1799, and still three in 1828. In addition there were ropewalks (three on Mackreth's Map of 1778 and on Binn's Map of 1828). Rope and sailcloth were exported in some quantity to the West Indies as well as being used to service Lancaster's own fleet.¹⁹ There are references also to anchorsmiths and blockmakers in the directories. Finally there were refineries for imported raw materials from the West Indies - principally sugar, but also snuff and dyes. Cabinet-making by Gillow's has already been mentioned.

Consequent on the prosperity of these industries, the town's craft and service trades all grew rapidly during the late eighteenth century. By 1799, there were ten inns and forty-four taverns in the town.²⁰ Although there are no comparable figures for earlier years, the number of brewers had increased from one to three between 1783 and 1799. By 1834, there were to be two brewers, five inns and sixty taverns. In 1784 six mercers were listed. By 1799, there was a countless array of hosiers and drapers of various kinds. If the town's prosperity can be partly noted by its luxury trades, we may notice that seven hairdressers were listed in 1799. By 1831, fifteen were listed. Meanwhile the number of professional men in the town also increased with the growth of the Assize business and the development of the county town function, (see Chapter II). Nine attorneys were listed in 1799, nineteen in 1814-15, and thirty-three by 1828. Five surgeons and physicians were listed in 1784, twelve in 1799, nineteen by 1828. Obviously these figures do not have the authority or the consistency of census figures, but they do give an idea of the steady growth of the retail trades and the professions during what was a very unsettled period for Lancaster's overseas trade.

The growth of Lancaster's West Indies trade was constantly

interrupted. During the years after the Peace of Paris of 1763, Lancaster's trade, firstly with Barbados and Antigua and then increasingly with Jamaica, thrived. The outbreak of the War of American Independence, however, at once threw the trade into jeopardy. American privateers, later reinforced by the French and Spanish fleets, played havoc with the British sugar trade.²¹ The Lancaster Port Commission applied to the Admiralty for convoy protection from the autumn of 1776 until 1781.²² Early in 1777 a committee was appointed to arrange co-operation with the merchants of Liverpool. Convoys were introduced from the Downs to the Caribbean which Lancaster and Liverpool ships joined at Cork. The situation worsened with the entry of France and Spain into the War, but the nadir of Lancaster's trade occurred in 1782, partly as a result of the loss of St. Kitts and all the Leeward Isles except Antigua to the French, and the disastrous sugar crop in the two preceding years.²³ In Lancaster, hundreds were put out of work and massive relief operations became necessary.²⁴

Nevertheless, Lancaster's West Indies trade was not permanently damaged and it recovered with the peace of 1783. The boom which the port enjoyed in the years after 1786 was not seriously interrupted until the collapse of 1802. Lancaster undoubtedly benefited from the doubling of the price of sugar in Britain in the 1790's and the end to restrictions on importing foreign sugar in 1792. The Port Commission opened Glasson Dock in 1787 as a new harbour nearer the mouth of the Lune, for larger vessels now operating in overseas trade. Work was finally completed on the dock in 1791. The building developments which took place in this age of prosperity are discussed in Chapter V.

At the same time Lancaster merchants, intoxicated by their success, determined to improve the town's communications with its hinterland. Lancaster's hinterland, like Whitehaven's, was sparsely populated compared with Liverpool's and consequently by the end of the century it was making a bid for a share in the south Lancashire market. The building of the Liverpool-Wigan Canal (1770-4) initially sparked off interest in a canal link between Lancaster and Wigan. A meeting was held in November 1771 and

£2,000 was subscribed towards the cost of a survey of the intended route.²⁵ Although it was proposed that the canal should extend up to Kendal, interest in the canal was largely confined to Lancaster. The route was long and, with two aqueducts, expensive, and the problems of first the American War and then the Glasson Dock scheme seem to have set back the canal project. It was not until 1791 when the completion of a Leeds-Liverpool canal link seemed imminent that Lancaster merchants once more took an interest.²⁶

The Leeds-Liverpool Canal:

will add further benefit and give the merchants and traders in that place (Liverpool) so decided a superiority in the vend of their Imports as greatly to diminish the commerce of this Town and in its consequences materially affect the landed interest in the Neighbourhood. 27

A public meeting was held in Lancaster in June 1791, and a committee was formed to negotiate an Act of Parliament. With support from Kendal and Preston and from the Dukes of Hamilton and Bridgewater, the Lancaster Canal Act obtained parliamentary approval in 1792. The canal was opened from Preston to Tewitfield in November 1797 and was linked to the southern section by tramroad at Preston in 1803. Tewitfield to Kendal was finished in 1819, and finally a link from Galgate to Glasson Dock was opened in 1826.²⁸

The long boom in the West Indies trade came to an end in 1802. The volume of shipping in overseas trade paying tonnage duties at Lancaster had risen from just over 6,000 tons in 1797 to a meteoric 15,000 tons in 1800, and collapsed to under 3,000 in 1802.²⁹ It was not until 1810 that the 1797 figure was again surpassed and then only momentarily. Hereafter Lancaster's overseas trade stagnated at between 3,000 and 7,000 tons for the next fifty years. The West Indies trade, once the mainstay of the town, after suffering in the Napoleonic Wars, went through another severe jolt in 1814-15 and thereafter its share of the town's overseas trade faded into insignificance.

What caused the downfall of Lancaster's West Indies trade? One answer has been the effect of the French Wars from 1793 to 1815, and in particular the effect of large-scale piracy. Certainly Lancaster did lose a good number of ships. With a West Indies fleet of only fifty-three ships at

the peak in 1800, the town could not afford the twenty-two ships lost to French, American and Spanish privateering between 1793 and 1800 or the seven ships wrecked.³⁰ Yet it must be remembered that the port had learned from the experience of the American War. Convoys were in operation at an early stage and, in any case, Lancaster's West Indiamen were now fully armed.³¹ The newspapers carried as many reports of privateers successfully repelled by Lancaster crews armed to the teeth as of ships lost. One or two prizes were taken. Brockbank's and Smith's built rapidly during the war and seem to have more than kept pace with the number of ships lost. The success of the town's shipbuilding may be seen in the steady maintenance of West Indies tonnage at about 6,000 throughout the 1790's, and the great boom of 1798-1801.

The boom of 1798-1801 and the slump of 1802 must be explained in national and international terms. The British West Indies trade reached a peak in 1799-1800 as a result of the bumper sugar crop in the West Indies in 1799.³² The English market was glutted just at a time when the French conquest of Holland had upset English imports to the continent which were already being replaced by American-borne foreign sugar. The price of sugar in Britain fell from 68/5¹/₄d per cwt in April 1799, to 35/6d at the close of 1802. Parliament authorised a loan of £500,000 in exchequer bills to Liverpool and Lancaster merchants with property valued at two million pounds given as surety, and measures were taken to encourage greater domestic consumption of sugar. In this crisis ~~the~~ pressure on Lancaster merchants proved too much. It was reported in the Lancaster Gazetteer of 7th November 1801:

In the last twelve months Lancaster and Ulverston have been deprived by capture, wreck and transfer to other ports of 44 vessels of 5,255 - 4 - 94 tons and 622 men.

The Liverpool Registry of Merchant Ships shows that between 1800 and 1803, 32 Lancaster vessels, totalling 5,985 tons re-registered at Liverpool.³³ The net gain to Liverpool in these four years was 5,168 tons of shipping, over half of Lancaster's average overseas volume in 1791-1800.

Chances of revival were slim after this. Lancaster's brief bid to

rival the major west-coast ports of Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow, in the 1790's, had been cut short. In 1799, plans were laid for a new dock at Thornbush, downstream of Glasson Dock, and for a seven-mile ship canal from there to Lancaster.³⁴ An appeal was aimed at Manchester manufacturers - some of whom bought imported raw cotton at Lancaster rather than Liverpool - and £45,000 was subscribed. When the cost of the project was re-estimated at £97,000 by William Cartwright, the project had to be abandoned. Large-scale investment in the port of Lancaster did not make economic sense. Lancaster's share of the imported raw cotton was minute. Although ranking sixth in 1791, according to one estimate, Lancaster only imported 1,200 bags or 1.6% of the total number imported.³⁵ From 1795, Liverpool, with seven times as many ships and twelve times the tonnage of Lancaster, became the leading importer of raw cotton and, by 1803, imported over half of the national supply with an ever-increasing share. At the same time, the U.S.A. had replaced the West Indies as Britain's main supplier of raw cotton, the culmination of expansion since the invention of Whitney's cotton gin in 1793. Lancaster did virtually no trade with the American states. It continued to import raw cotton from the West Indies, particularly from Demerara where the soil was more fertile than on the old British islands, but the quantities which arrived were small. In a good year, such as 1813, only 1,041 bales were imported.³⁶ Lancaster's main import remained sugar to the end - the staple product of the West Indies. West Indian sugar continued to be notoriously unstable both in supply and in price. After 1804, the volume of West Indian goods generally increased, but competition from East Indian and foreign sugar led prices to fall. Profits on British sugar estates (where several Lancaster merchants had interests) were virtually annihilated by 1807.³⁷ Nevertheless Lancaster's West Indies trade slowly revived reaching a peak similar to that of the average for the 1790's in 1811. The war of 1812, however, produced another slump, and although the trade partially recovered, the final disaster proved to be the peace of 1814-15. British sugar was now undersold by Brazilian and Cuban, and the price of British West Indian sugar entered on a long decline.³⁸ In the years after 1815 Lancaster ceased to take part in the trade.

What happened to Lancaster merchants in the disastrous years of the West Indies trade after 1802? The number of bankruptcies was fewer than might have been expected. The studies of Schofield and Rees suggest that the bankrupts of 1801-2 were mainly merchants new to the trade: tradesmen who had entered the trade in the boom of the late 1790's.³⁹ Out of forty-five merchants who were members of the Corporation, only three went bankrupt in this period: Jacob Ridley (1811), James Bradshaw (1812), and Richard Willock (1825). Two other bankruptcies of notable Lancaster merchants were George Dawson (1801) and Ripley Brothers (1817). Bankruptcy did not necessarily mean final catastrophe. George Dawson, for example, a West India merchant with two warehouses and a house on St. George's Quay and two pews in St. Anne's Chapel, went bankrupt in 1801. Soon afterwards, he was acting as an agent for West Indies rum and sugar, Georgia cotton, and Danzig wheat supplied through Liverpool by coastal vessels such as the eighty-one ton dogger, 'The Providence'. By 1804 he had resumed direct trading with the West Indies, sometimes in partnership with a Mr. Walmsley.⁴⁰ He was still active as a West Indies merchant when he died in Jamaica in 1812. Similarly Richard Willock (bankrupt 1825) was soon back in business as an importer of foreign wines. The most famous example of all was Thomas Ripley, bankrupt in 1817, who moved to Liverpool, carried on in the West Indies trade and, with part of the fortune he subsequently amassed, endowed an orphanage in his native town.

The movements of all the forty merchant families represented at some time on Lancaster Corporation have not been easily followed. There was definitely a movement of the younger generation to Liverpool, as in the case of the Willocks, Charnleys, Hindes and Moores. Of non-Corporation merchants one of the most important who moved was the Quaker George Crosfield junior, sugar refiner and soap maker, in 1819. His brother James joined him in 1835. Their father died in Lancaster in 1820.⁴¹ Some Lancaster merchants became merchants of Liverpool such as George Saul, Richard Bateson and John Dennison. Such changes are identifiable from the Lancaster poll-books of 1786, 1802 and 1818. Most successful Lancaster

merchants found it necessary to operate from Liverpool as well. These included the Rawlinsons, the Hindes and George Dawson, but in such cases there was no permanent break with Lancaster. Certainly there was a good deal of coming and going between the two ports. Samuel and William Hinde, sons of a Lancaster merchant, were both described as merchants resident in Liverpool in the 1802 Lancaster Poll-book, but, by 1818, one was a worsted manufacturer at Dolphinholme near Lancaster and the other was described simply as 'Esquire, Lancaster'. Many families maintained strong bonds between Liverpool and Lancaster relatives throughout the nineteenth century. One such was the Gregsons, the Lancaster branch providing the town with two Mayors, while the Liverpool branch supplied a member of Parliament.⁴²

A good number of Lancaster merchants appear to have retired to the land. Abraham Rawlinson Member of Parliament for Lancaster 1780-90 was a notable example of a successful West Indies merchant who bought a landed estate at Ellel, and who had shares in plantations on Grenada and St. Vincent.⁴³ After his death and the death of his brother, John, in 1799, and his cousin, Thomas, in 1802, the family firm seems to have disappeared, and their estates in the Lancaster area passed to John Ford, merchant of Manchester, and John Thomas Edmondson, flax manufacturer of Halifax. The Fords also inherited land from another local family of Quaker merchants, the Lawsons.⁴⁴

Richard Thomas Gillow, grandson of the founder of the cabinetmakers, who succeeded to the family business in 1811, retired from it soon afterwards.⁴⁵ In 1823 he bought the Manor of Leighton, near Carnforth from the bankrupt Lancaster bankers and former ~~Catholics~~ West India merchants, the Worswicks, who had acquired the estate in 1802, for £22,300. Control of the famous firm passed to Leonard Redmayne, the first chairman of the new Lancaster Banking Company (1826).⁴⁶

Other Lancaster West India merchants retired from active business to less spectacular landed estates in the neighbourhood. Some may have been purchases made during the hey-day of the trade, others were probably

inherited from yeoman predecessors. Examples include: Arthur Armⁱtstead who went to live at Bolton-le-Sands, Richard Atkinson at Ellel Grange, Samuel Gregson at Caton, Thomas Inman at Silverdale (while his younger brother's family founded the Inman line of transatlantic steamers from Liverpool), John Marr at Wray, James Barton Nottage at Claughton (Lune Valley), E.D.Salisbury at Wennington and Leamington, Edward Suart at Leasgill.⁴⁷ By 1832, seven of the thirty-three acting magistrates for the Lonsdale Hundred were from Lancaster merchant families.⁴⁸

A certain adaptability displayed itself in many Lancaster merchant families in the changed circumstances of the nineteenth century. A number took refuge in the professions. John Fearenside turned from soap-boiling to surveying. Thomas Dodson was an attorney as well as a merchant (as was Samuel Gregson) and his son became a clergyman, as did the sons of Robert Houseman and Jacob Ridley. Francis Carter was both surgeon and wine merchant, although his son was just a surgeon and a druggist.

A number of merchants became entrepreneurs. Lancaster's shortage of waterpower delayed the establishment of mills in the town until after the Lancaster Canal had been built, but in the neighbourhood the Hodgson brothers, merchants of Liverpool, John Armstrong, former tallow chandler of Lancaster, and Thomas Robinson, former merchant of Lancaster, showed the way with country mills at Caton, Galgate and Halton. Lancaster's first cotton mill was not erected until 1802, but thereafter interest was shown by merchants such as Arthur Armⁱtstead, John Dennison, Thomas Mason and George Burrow. Armⁱtstead and Dennison had little success as cotton spinners but Burrow and Mason both flourished, and were later joined by Higgin (the Keeper of the Castle Gaol) and Samuel Greg of Styal.⁴⁹ By 1835, Lancaster had eight mills with 1,515 hands - some substitute for the loss of the West India trade, if not very impressive when compared to Preston's thirty-one mills with 6,665 hands.⁵⁰

Lancaster had access to raw cotton through her port and both capital and premises were available. Lack of water retarded her from the start,

as did a similar deficiency at Liverpool. Later on, distance from coal supplies and the failure of attempts to find coal locally, added to the town's distance from the exchanges and finishing facilities in the Manchester area, all militated against rapid growth. Finally there was little apparent dynamism in Lancaster's adoption of cotton manufacture. The entrepreneurs were not men of unusual flair. They had a background in the West Indies trade, not in woollens, and moreover, there was no reservoir of local skill, except in sailcloth, to draw on. The younger men who were anxious to make money had moved to Liverpool. Many had died in the West Indies trying to salvage family fortunes;⁵¹ those who wanted a quiet retirement moved into the countryside. All had to adapt to changed circumstances, but only a few were willing to adapt to the manufacturing industry.

What was the impact of the decline in the West Indies trade on the town as a whole? Population figures, reinforced by the poll books, suggest that many ordinary people, besides merchants, left Lancaster in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Voters living in Lancaster formed 41% of the total number of freemen voting in the 1784 election. By 1802 the proportion had fallen to 31% and by 1818 to 22%.⁵² Most of the out-voters were resident in Lancashire, but it was from South Lancashire that an increasing number of out-voters came. By 1818 the freeman rolls included many freemen living in Liverpool whose fathers at one time resided in Lancaster, but the bias introduced by the Liverpool candidate of that year (John Gladstone) is difficult to eliminate.⁵³ The freeman rolls do not give full details of place of residence and occupation of freeman (or ~~his~~ father) until after 1800. They hint at a migratory pattern from rural Lonsdale via Lancaster to South Lancashire. This pattern was probably normal and was only reversed at such times as Lancaster provided a major counter-attraction to the towns further south. There was also some emigration.⁵⁴

Retailers suffered as much as the merchants. The press was full of minor bankruptcies in the worst years. They caused less stir than the assignments of merchants but reflect the stress which was put upon the

whole of the commercial community. Directories suggest fewer changes than might have been expected.⁵⁵ Some smaller firms were swallowed up or went out of business altogether. The town had eleven tallow chandlers in 1799, but only seven in 1815 and five in 1828.

Various attempts were made to reverse Lancaster's economic difficulties. Enthusiasm for cotton manufacture was registered in the local press, and small-scale ventures developed from 1802.⁵⁶ Larger factories did not appear until the early 1820's. Those of Burrow and Higgin and Greg in that decade are discussed elsewhere in Part I and in Part II. There were various appeals for rendering the Lune more navigable. Francis Lee looked to the 'public spirit' of Lancaster Corporation and expected much from 'the good judgment and firmness of the Society of Friends and other rich and respectable members of the community'.⁵⁷ The Corporation did not respond. It saw no strong prospects for investment in the Lune even if its individual members had the capital and even^{if} after 1819, it, as a body, had acquired the legal security. The Society of Friends was as much affected by removals as the town at large, including families as important as the Crosfields. The shortage of capital in the town, owing to the West Indian difficulties, was made worse by the failure of Messrs. Worswicks' bank in 1822.

The boom of 1824-5 at last brought a burst of new activity. In November 1824 a Lancaster Steam Navigation Company was formed to facilitate the transportation of raw cotton to Lancaster and for the convenience of passengers to Liverpool.⁵⁸ In July 1825, Samuel Greg's new mill on Moor Lane was completed.⁵⁹ In September, it was decided at a public meeting to form a company to manufacture coal-gas in the town.⁶⁰ Renewed efforts were made to discover coal in the vicinity. Canal-borne Orrell coal was over half as expensive^{again} in Lancaster as in Preston.⁶¹ Suggestions were made for levying a local rate on the whole parish of Lancaster to finance the search. A local land surveyor re-opened an ancient colliery at Burton-in-Lonsdale and shafts were sunk at Overton but the craze quickly passed, when the boom ended.⁶² Of more use to the town was the completion of the

branch of the Lancaster Canal from Galgate to Glasson Dock in 1826. This enabled the port of Lancaster to supply Preston and Kendal far more effectively than hitherto, and it led to a substantial increase in coastal traffic using the port. Even so, the company dividend remained small in comparison with other Lancashire canals.⁶³

The end of the boom meant an end to the more extravagant schemes for economic revival. In fact, Lancaster businessmen once more had to look to the solvency of their own businesses.

In February 1826 there was a run on Lancaster's one surviving bank, that of Messrs. Dilworth, Arthington and Birkett, and it was forced to close its doors.⁶⁴ An excessive supply of local notes was blamed, but the enquiry held by the Lancaster Monthly Meeting revealed considerable mismanagement of the firm. No balance sheet had been kept for at least four years, and of the two active partners, one was in his eighty-second year, his 'faculties and memory having much failed'.⁶⁵ The partners were found to have assets of £148,000 and a deficiency of £117,565. In response, the Lancaster Joint-Stock Banking Company was formed with a capital of £300,000. Under the leadership of the local manufacturers and members of the Corporation headed by Leonard Redmayne (the new proprietor of Gillow's), half the capital was subscribed in the first fortnight, and almost entirely by local people.⁶⁶ The bank, in time, provided a sound investment for manufacturers and tradesmen alike. More important, it introduced a stability into Lancaster business transactions which had been sadly wanting in the previous twenty-five years. The joint stock nature introduced an element of tradesman participation which gave the retailers an increased sense of their own importance in underpinning Lancaster's volatile economy.

CHAPTER I The Economic Background 1780-1835.

Footnotes

1. Sources:

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- Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities (1963), p. 86.
1801 & 1831 Censuses.
- Lancaster estimates are based on Dr. W.G. Howson's estimate (c1750) and Thomas Batty's census of May June 1784, in which he found the population to be 8,582 excluding seamen.
2. P. Deane & W.A. Cole, British Economic Growth 1688-1959, (2nd Edition, Cambridge, 1969), p. 103.
N.B. Estimates for population before 1801 based on Rickman.
3. M.M. Schofield, Outlines of an Economic History of Lancaster from 1680 to 1860, Part I (Lancaster 1946), p. 17.
4. Ibid., p. 31.
5. B. Edwards, History of British West Indies (1794).
6. T. Clarkson, The Abolition of the African Slave Trade, I, pp. 410-11.
7. Former slave captains, Thomas Weeton, captained Rawlinson's pirate ship 'The Nelly' under letter of marque in the War of American Independence; see Ed. E. Hall, Miss Weeton - Journal of a Governess 1807-11 (1936), p. 6.
8. The Rawlinson's were, however, 'disowned' for privateering in 1779. I owe this information to the late Dr. W.G. Howson.
9. Schofield, op. cit., p. 31.
10. Ibid., p. 33.
11. 21 out of 36 ships built by John Brockbank between 1792 and 1801 were for the West Indies trade: see Schofield, p. 25.
12. Mrs. E. Tyson's work on Gillow's of Lancaster.
13. Universal British Directory III (3rd Edition 1799).
14. L. Ragatz, The Fall of the British Planter Class in the Caribbean 1763-1833 (New York, 1928), pp. 149, 186.
15. Cumberland Pacquet, 5 March 1782.
16. 'The Thomas' bound for St. Kitts and grounded on Rathline Island in March 1794, carried a very varied cargo including Penrith cotton checks, Preston sheeting, Irish linen, candles, iron pots, kegs of split peas etc., see Gore's Liverpool Advertiser, 6 March 1794.
17. See Charnley's Staffordshire warehouse, Davis' china warehouse and Eidsforth's Irish linen warehouse in Bailey's British Directory 1784.
18. M. Schofield, op. cit., pp. 37-9.
19. Ibid., p. 40.
20. Directories used include:

- Western and Midland District (1783), pp. 290-2;
Bailey's British (1784), pp. 557-9 & 652-3;
Universal British, III, (3rd Edition 1799), pp. 618-30;
Pigot & Co's National Commercial Directory for Northern Counties and North Wales (Manchester, 1828);
Pigot & Co's National Commercial Directory for Seven Northern Counties of England (Manchester, 1834).
 1831 Census.
21. L. Ragatz, op. cit., p. 145.
 22. Port Commission Minutes quoted in:
 J.B. Shaw, History of the Port of Lancaster (extracts reprinted from Lancaster Observer 1926-27).
 23. L. Ragatz, op. cit., pp. 158-9.
 24. Lancaster City Library, P.T. 710.
 25. C. Hadfield & G. Biddle, The Canals of North West England, (Newton Abbot 1970), I, p. 183.
 26. Ibid., p. 149.
 27. British Transport Commission, LC. 1/1 Lancaster Canal Navigation Committee Minutes.
 28. C. Hadfield & G. Biddle, op. cit., pp. 190-6.
 29. M. Schofield, op. cit., p. 25.
 30. Figures derived from references to Lancaster in Cumberland Pacquet, Gore's Liverpool Advertiser and Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser, based partly on the work of Mr. Stewart Rees.
 31. The Quaker Rawlinson brothers led the way in this and no large merchantmen were built at Brockbank's without gunports in the 1790's see ref. 30.
 32. L. Ragatz, op. cit., pp. 287-9.
 33. See Appendix.
 34. J.B. Shaw, op. cit.
 35. M.H. Edwards, The Growth of the British Cotton Trade, 1780-1815 (Manchester, 1967), pp. 109-11.
 36. Lancaster Records (Lancaster, 1869), p. 71.
 37. L. Ragatz, op. cit., pp. 307.
 38. Ibid., pp. 336-41.
 39. M. Schofield, op. cit., Part 2, pp. 20-21. *A notable bankruptcy which affected Lancaster's merchants was that of N. Salisbury & Co. in 1805; see Lancaster C.L., MS 575.*
 40. Lancaster Gazette, 7 November 1801 and 2 May 1804.
 41. Lancaster Society of Friends' Records and Lancaster City Library Newscuttings Obituary of John Grosfield of Warrington, 28 December 1901; Schofield, op. cit. Part 2, pp. 108-9; also A.E. Musson, Enterprise in Soap and Chemicals (Manchester, 1965), pp. 8-11 & 20-21.

42. See Part II. Chapter III.
43. Lancaster C.R.O., Wills.
44. Genealogy owed to Dr. W.G. Howson.
N.B. Other Lancaster men with estates in the West Indies included Jacob Ridley, Thomas Thompson, William Housman, John Sparling.
45. M. Schofield, op. cit., Pt. 2, p. 110.
46. Lancashire Records, op. cit., p. 144 (2 October 1823).
47. References in local press cuttings and pollbooks, also David Murray at Hornby, see Lingard MSS. Nottage's son became an apothecary and surgeon and moved to Liverpool in 1838.
48. Lancaster Herald, 14 July 1832.
49. For failure of Dennison at Bolton le Sands see Lancaster Gazette, 25 January 1806 and of Armistead at Clapham (West Riding) see ibid 12 September 1812.
50. E. Butterworth, A Statistical Sketch of the County Palatine of Lancaster (1841), pp. 48, 111.
51. Lancaster Gazette, 12 September 1801. Reported that three Lancaster men had died of yellow fever at Martinique.
52. Lancaster C.L., Poll books, 1784, 1802 and 1818.
53. Ed. T. Cann Hughes, The Rolls of the Freemen of the Borough of Lancaster 1688 1840, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society 87, 1935; 90, 1938.
54. Advertisements of emigrants ships appeared in the local press e.g. Lancaster Herald, 26 February 1831: 'Robert William Harris' to Canada, steerage passage, 4 gns., children under nine, half price.
55. Op. Cit.
56. Lancaster Gazette, 13 November 1802.
57. Ibid. 31 January & 14 February 1824.
58. Lancaster C.L., MS 3730.
59. Lancaster Gazette, 30 July 1825.
60. Ibid. 1 October 1825.
61. Ibid. 21 January 1826.
62. Ibid. 9 April & 23 July 1825.
63. Ibid. 30 June 1827. Lancaster Canal Co. dividend £1.10s. cf. Ashton & Oldham £3; Bolton and Bury £6; Leeds and Liverpool £16, Mersey and Irwell £35.
64. Ibid. 11 February 1826. For origins of this bank and Worswick's see M. Schofield, op. cit. pp. 52 3.
65. Lancaster Friends' Meeting House, Monthly Meeting 10 May 1826.
66. Lancaster Gazette, 22 July 1826.

CHAPTER IITHE COUNTY TOWN 1780-1835

An Investigation of the Changing Administrative Position of Lancaster.

^{One of} Lancaster's major functions in the period between 1780 and 1835 was as the county town of the most populous county in the United Kingdom. The town had long ceased to compete in size with Liverpool or Manchester, but in the 1780's it still ranked as fourth equal with Preston in the county.¹ As county town its privileges had been maintained undiminished since the fourteenth century, when John of Gaunt had obtained a royal charter (1362) which granted exclusive rights in the holding of pleas and sessions for the county.² From the sixteenth century onwards Quarter Sessions were adjourned from Lancaster to four other major market centres: Preston, Wigan, Kirkdale (near Liverpool) and Manchester or Salford.³ This custom reflected less the economic weakness of the county town than the inconvenience of having only one Quarter Sessions for a county the size of Lancashire. The Assizes for the whole county were confined to Lancaster, as was the Court of Common Pleas; meanwhile Lancaster Castle remained the sole county gaol.⁴

This state of affairs changed radically in the period 1780 to 1835. Lancaster was quickly overtaken in size not only by Preston, but also by most of the other manufacturing towns and boroughs in the county (see Chapter 1). The rapid growth of the population of South Lancashire vastly increased the burden borne by the county Justices of the Peace, and the demand for a more central meeting-place than Lancaster was being loudly voiced by the 1780's.

The discussion of the siting of the county government broke into open conflict in 1787, when the benches at Lancaster and Preston disagreed over the appointment of a new County Treasurer.⁵ The Lancaster Justices prematurely chose one of their own number, without consulting their colleagues at Preston, Manchester and Wigan. In protest, the other benches made a 'special adjournment' of county business to Preston and appointed

their own County Treasurer. Further disputes about the appointment of county officers persuaded the magistrates of the southern hundreds to make permanent the special adjournments to Preston by Act of Parliament.

The Corporation of Lancaster and the Justices of the Hundred of Lonsdale jointly petitioned against the bill. The Corporation not only saw the bill as an infringement of its charters, but also feared that it would be followed by an adjournment of the Assizes. The Deputy Clerk of the Peace, James Taylor succeeded in convincing the Mayor (Dr. Campbell) and the Recorder (Alan Chambre) that no attack on the Assize privilege was envisaged, but this was insufficient to satisfy the majority of members of the Select Body, led by Alderman James Barrow, a barrister, with the support of attorneys both inside and outside the Corporation. Lancaster legal men had naturally most to lose from the removal of county business to Preston. For the attorneys, this side of their work may have been even more lucrative than the Assizes. The loss of the opportunity of transacting the private business of the county gentry attending the General Sessions may well have been the biggest of all.

The opposition of the Corporation and the Lonsdale Justices was to no avail. The Corporation circularised other Corporations on its own behalf, but failed to win any significant support. In Parliament the Hamiltons and Lowthers mobilised on Lancaster's behalf, but without success. The first bill was lost in committee in May 1797, but a second bill was presented in April 1798 and became law on 21 June. Lonsdale's defeat was a sign of the inability of under one-fifteenth of the population of Lancashire to continue to dictate terms to the rest even if supported by two powerful aristocratic families. Nevertheless the importance which the General Sessions attached to the reconciliation of its brother Justices of the north is demonstrated by the immediate offer of the County Treasurership to Alderman Richard Johnson, a former Mayor and merchant of Lancaster.

Lancaster managed to retain its monopoly of the Assizes for much

longer. Indeed the watchfulness of the town over all its county institutions greatly increased. The heavy expense of the Parliamentary battle over the Annual Session convinced the Corporation of the need, in future, to defeat its enemies outside Parliament. Such new determination was met by mounting pressure for the removal of the Assizes especially from Liverpool and Manchester, whose inhabitants' civic pride and private purses were hardest hit by the journey to Lancaster for the Assizes. The first major attack on the monopoly came early in 1818, but the northern and rural bias, still maintained in the Annual General Session even in Preston, defeated a motion to remove the Assizes from Lancaster. In October 1822 a similar motion was rejected. No doubt the Justices were partly influenced by a letter from the Mayor of Lancaster arguing against the removal of the Assizes, ~~both~~ on the grounds of ^{both} improved communications (the Lancaster Canal) and of the heavy county expenditure likely to be incurred in the construction of new courts.⁶

The county authorities were ever mindful that they had only recently invested large sums of money in maintaining their institutions at Lancaster. A building programme at Lancaster Castle, begun in 1788 under the superintendence of Thomas Harrison of Richmond, included a gaoler's house, two prisons for male and female felons, special accommodation for debtors, a new Crown Court of Assize (1796) and a new Shire Hall for Nisi Prius cases (1798). Between 1798 and 1828 more money was spent on repairs, and improvements included a cistern, a reservoir and a new drainage system. A.F. Davie has calculated that between 1799 and 1830 alone, a total of £68,860 was spent on Lancaster Castle.⁷ The important fact remains that in the very years (1787-1798) when the activities of the Lonsdale Justices were creating suspicion and resentment in their allocation of offices, their investment in buildings at Lancaster made it impossible for their successors to change the course of county policy, without massive further expenditure. Lancaster was to reap the benefits of such investment for many years to come, helped by the civic rivalry of south Lancashire towns

and the long continued northern bias of the Lancashire magistracy.⁸

Financial investment was not the only consideration. The advantage of Lancaster's reputation and record of quiet and public order could not be overlooked by a magistracy which was only too aware of the difficulties of keeping the peace elsewhere in the county. Industrial Lancashire experienced serious rioting in 1811 and 1818, but in neither year was the county town affected (see Chapter 6). The slow growth of the town and its isolation in heavily rural Lonsdale discouraged tumultuous elements, and made the work of the yeomanry light. Thus the mayor expressed the views of his readers when he emphasised in his letter to the General Session the 'impropriety of selecting any town, situated in a populous manufacturing district, for the peaceable and impartial administration of justice'.

The opposition to the continuation of Lancaster's monopoly was very strong. The report of a committee of investigation, presented in 1822, argued that, as nine-tenths of the cases tried at the Assizes came from the hundreds of Salford, West Derby and Blackburn, Lancaster was badly situated. The committee considered that an additional court-house at Preston would add little to the cost of the new court-house already under way at the House of Correction. Lancaster's monopoly, however, was not broken on this occasion. The claims of Liverpool and Manchester were just as strong or even stronger than those of Preston, and T.B. Addison, Recorder of Preston, proposed adjournment to the two principal towns after the opening assize at Lancaster. The disunity of the committee's verdict proved fatal, and the session, heavily weighted in favour of Justices from the north of the county, rejected the proposal for removal.⁹

In April and May 1823 the movement to remove the Assizes from Lancaster took a more popular form. Meetings were held at Liverpool, Wigan, Manchester and elsewhere in favour of removal, while only Lancaster and Ulverston petitioned against any change.¹⁰ The Assizes were seen as a point of honour if nothing else. One loyal burgess of Lancaster (calling himself 'Civis') wrote to the Gazette:

The people of Liverpool have already obtained our commerce; and because

that was accomplished so readily they think that the Assizes may be as easily removed.¹¹

The full degree of the snobbery of the county town was revealed in the Corporation's memorial to the Chancellor of the Duchy, in which it reiterated the dangers to justice in the riotous conditions of South Lancashire which had proved uncontrollable in 1779, 1812 and 1819:

A great proportion of the lower class, in the southern and more populous parts of Lancashire, consists of operative artisans, and whenever trade declines, they are subject to commotion on either local or political subjects.¹²

Complaints against the Lancaster Assizes increased rather than diminished in the 1820's. In 1829 the Corporation once more petitioned in its own favour, but in 1830 a Royal Commission^s was set up to investigate both the Court of Common Pleas and the case for removing the Assizes.^{13a} The Commissioners were Sir James Scarlett, Robert Henley Eden and Thomas Starkie. They found the Court of Common Pleas in a very healthy condition, 'remarkable for despatch and economy', and 'cherished, without exception, by every class of His Majesty's subjects in the County Palatine'. The court was held at Lancaster, but its agents had offices in Preston. Only a change of writs was recommended.

Nevertheless, the Commissioners favoured the removal of the Assizes to a more convenient centre. Those who suffered most from the expense and inconvenience of conducting law suits at the county town were held to be 'merchants, tradesmen and medical practitioners, who are by this means frequently obliged to relinquish all superintendence and management of their concerns for many days'. The case was thus not just one of population trends, the Commissioners were advocating the removal of the Assizes in the interests of the middle class, professional and business. The nature of the Assizes had changed. They were no longer mainly an opportunity for the county gentry to meet, conduct their litigation and afterwards retire for the assemblies, balls and plays specially laid on for them. The volume of business had greatly increased, as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the new class of litigants could not afford the delays or the amusements which were an integral part of the old system and which were so

beneficial to Lancaster.^{13b}

Lancaster's interests were preserved by the jealousy of its rivals. The Commissioners, who made their report in March 1831, believed that the interests of efficiency would best be served by the transfer of all Assize business to another place. Preston, or possibly Liverpool, was suggested. When the report became known, the petitioning to the Privy Council began in earnest. It soon became clear that Preston was only a compromise solution to the problem and pleased the South Lancashire towns little better than Lancaster. The Liverpool proposal also met with strong opposition from Manchester, while at Bolton a meeting was held in support of Liverpool rather than Manchester, on the grounds that the Liverpool Corporation would 'furnish the necessary edifices', whereas the cost of new courts at Manchester would have to be borne by the rates of the county.¹⁴ In January 1835, the Privy Council accepted Liverpool's offer and decided in favour of retaining an Assize centre at Lancaster.¹⁵ The number of prisoners on trial at the Lancaster Assizes dropped from 49 to 14 between March and August 1835, and as the judges left the Parish Church after the opening service a 'muffled peal' was rung.¹⁶

Thanks to the competition of its bigger rivals and the reluctance to spend county money of the Justices and ratepayers alike, Lancaster retained its function as an Assize centre late into the twentieth century, when the Assizes themselves were abolished in the 1970's.

Even if Lancaster was unable to retain a monopoly of county judicial institutions in this period, it took advantage of any opportunity offered by new spheres of county responsibility. Justices of the Peace had for long been charged with the safe-keeping and welfare of the insane, and public institutions already existed in Lancashire at Manchester (1765) and Liverpool (1792).^{17a} It was not until the County Asylum Act of 1802 that the county was required by law to provide its own accommodation for lunatics. The general opinion of the Lancashire Justices was that the county asylum should be built at some central point in the county in the neighbourhood of Preston or Wigan. Like the Corporation of Liverpool, with regard to the

siting of the Assizes in 1835, the Corporation of Lancaster offered the county authorities a free site for a lunatic asylum on Lancaster Moor. The gift was accepted and the asylum was opened in 1816. Originally intended for criminal and pauper lunatics, its scope was widened to allow the admittance of non-pauper patients under the Act of 1815. The Lancaster asylum had an unsettled start owing to the bankruptcy of two of its early treasurers. Whatever its inadequacies as an asylum, it provided an important source of business for local tradesmen and professionals, and in the long term acted as a magnet for further county medical institutions.

Lancaster Castle, although much longer established than the asylum, served a similar function in the town to the lunatic asylum: that is it not only enhanced the prestige of the county town - with a reputation of notoriety rather than probity - but also provided a stimulus to local tradesmen and medical men.^{17b} The early experiences of Sir Richard Owen as an apprentice to the Castle surgeon (James Stockdale Harrison) gave him his interest in anatomy, while from their profits as Governors of the Castle from 1779 to 1832 members of the Higgin family branched out into practice as attorneys and into business as cotton spinners. Meanwhile many local tradesmen of a more humble sort relied on their contracts with the Castle or the Asylum. By 1845 salaries at the Castle were amounting to over £1,000 per annum, while three times this much was spent on food, lighting, clothing, hospital services and building repairs. Nearly all of this was spent in the town.¹⁸

County institutions were important to Lancaster in the first third of the nineteenth century. They were socially important because they increased the size of the elite by providing a large demand for lawyers and also - on a smaller scale - for physicians and surgeons. In economic terms county institutions provided not only jobs for professional men, but also custom for the town's tradesmen. The growth in the population of the Castle Prison (446 in 1831 to 558 in 1841) and of the county lunatic asylum (average of 280 in 1824 to 354 in 1832 and 611 by 1841) provided at least some Lancaster tradesmen with a source of income which was not jeopardised by bad trade.

CHAPTER II

Footnotes.

1. Fourth equal after Liverpool, Manchester and Oldham; see population figures in E. Butterworth, A Statistical Sketch of the County Palatine of Lancaster (1841).
2. C. Fleury, Time-honoured Lancaster (Lancaster, 1891), p. 208.
3. S & B Webb, English Local Government: The Parish and the County (1906), p. 411.
4. Preston House of Correction was established in 1789, see C. Hardwick, History of the Borough of Preston (Preston, 1857), p. 211.
5. R. Sharpe France, 'The Lancashire Sessions Act, 1798', Transactions Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 96, 1944, pp. 1-57.
6. Lancaster Gazette, 19 October 1822.
7. A.F. Davie, 'The Government of Lancashire 1798-1838', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Manchester, 1966, p. 99. William Whewell found the assize courts at Cambridge 'very small and inconvenient' by comparison; see Trin. Coll., Cambridge, Whewell MSS, W. to Mrs Lyon, 20 iii 1813.
8. D. Foster, 'Class and County Government in early nineteenth century Lancashire', Northern History, IX, 1974, pp. 48-61.
9. Lancaster Gazette, 19 October 1822. Of the 51 magistrates present, at least 15 lived in or near, or had direct connections with the county town.
10. Ibid. 19 April 1823.
11. Ibid. 3 May 1823.
12. Ibid. 17 May 1823.
- (a) 13. 3PP 1831 2 XXXV Law &c. Cd. 201-225. A table showed that whereas between 1824 and 1832-62 cases had been tried from Lonsdale Hundred, 576 had been tried from Salford Hundred, 403 from West Derby and 169 from Blackburn Hundred (Cd. 197).
- (b) 13. Ibid. Between 1824 and 1831 the average number of cases tried each year was 144. Delays were notorious; see A Visit to Lancaster and the Lakes in Lancaster Gazette, 20 October 1827.
14. Lancaster Gazette, 29 November 1834.
15. Ibid. 31 January 1835.
16. Lancaster Records (Lancaster, 1869), pp. 225, 227.
- (a) 17. A.F. Davie, op. cit. pp. 136-46.
- (b) 17. Whewell could think of no better medical men than at Lancaster to attend on his sister; TCC, Whewell MSS, W. to his Aunt, 20 v 1819.

CHAPTER IIITHE ELITETHE COUNTY GENTRY

It has been seen how the Lonsdale magistrates lost control of county government and legal procedures between 1790 and 1835. It is now necessary to examine the part their class played in Lancaster Society during this period.

In 1825 W. Parson listed a total of 474 seats of 'nobility and gentry' in the county palatine of Lancaster.¹ The definition was a vague one, but appears to include those men who derived an important part of their income from a landed estate. The importance of land-ownership as a way to social recognition has never been doubted, and has recently been shown to apply as much to Lancashire as less industrialised counties of England.²

Of these 474 seats, a total of 68 (or 14%) were found within a fifteen mile radius of Lancaster, Of these 68 gentlemen, 22 were acting Justices of the Peace, a similar proportion to the county as a whole (138 out of 474). The 68 local gentlemen recognised as such by Parson had addresses at either Lancaster, Kirkby Lonsdale or Garstang. 44 gave addresses as being 'near Lancaster' and, of these, 22 may be said to have participated to some degree in the life of the county town. Five were members of the Corporation, and four more lived in the town or within a mile of it. These may be excluded from the present analysis on the grounds that they were urban rather than rural gentry, with far stronger associations with the economic and social life of the town than with that of the surrounding countryside. This leaves about a dozen of Parson's original list who came from the neighbourhood, had only tenuous connections with the town, but yet are known to have taken part in some of its activities. To these may be added another dozen local gentry who were not thought sufficiently superior to be listed in Parson's county list. A total of 25 local gentry (excluding elected members of the Corporation) may be described as ^{having} taken some part in the life of the county town between 1815 and 1835.³

The test of 'participation' was office-holding in political and religious societies, membership of local committees set up at public meetings of the inhabitants of Lancaster, and the performance of key roles in elections and recreational activities.⁴

The level of such participation was not found to be very high. Local gentry may have owned property in the town itself or used it extensively as a market centre, but they took virtually no part in the running of the town's affairs. Members of the Corporation have been specifically excluded from this category, on the grounds that they had primary links with the county town, even if, as in several cases, they had moved outside it to live at Ellel or Bare.⁵ The only occasions on which the help of the rural gentry was required were when committees were being appointed for presenting petitions to Parliament. At such times the appearance of a local gentleman at a public meeting or perhaps the desire to add weight to the otherwise purely Lancastrian deputation were the motivations of a departure from the normal separation of town and country. In 1822 Rev. Thomas Butler, Vicar of Poulton-le-Sands, served on the Judge's Lodgings Committee. Charles Gibson Junior of Quernmore Park served on the Assize Committee of 1823, and likewise Richard Gillow of Leighton Hall (the former cabinet maker of Lancaster) served on the Assize Committee of 1834. On the whole, the representation of the town's interests was left to members of the Corporation and other civic notables.

At elections for the borough of Lancaster the local gentry took a much more prominent part. Five out of twenty-five enumerated became Members of Parliament for Lancaster, while one stood as a candidate and seven more acted as proposers or seconders.⁶ They were similarly called on to preside at the local political dinners held by the Pitt and Heart of Oak Clubs. These political functions were shared with the chief Corporation families and the leading Dissenters, although it was only the most substantial members of the rural gentry who ever stood as candidates for Parliament.

A few local gentry also appear among the lists of patrons, presidents

and committee members of religious societies. In the case of most religious societies, the Lancaster branch drew support from clergy and gentry of the district as well as of the town. Most religious and charitable institutions tried to attract as wide a cross-section of 'respectable' society as possible, and it is significant that local gentry, like J.T. Knowlys of Heysham Tower, were often invited to take the highest offices.

The local gentry dominated those institutions which were designed specifically for themselves and for their counterparts, the urban gentry in Lancaster. Some were exclusive societies like the John o' Gaunt Bowmen, an archery club 'revived' at Lancaster in 1788 and refounded in 1820.⁷ Each new member had to be sponsored by existing members, and could only be admitted or expelled by a two-thirds majority of the members. The Lancaster Agricultural Society (founded 1799) and the Floral and Horticultural Society also acted as a bridge between the gentry of town and neighbourhood, but being both instructive and benevolent in their purpose, their meetings were also attended by a number of local farmers.⁸

The chief role of the local gentry in the life of the county town was to preside at those social gatherings such as the Lancaster Races, when the town hoped to play host to the whole county. They were held in June and were supervised by Corporation, gentry and aristocracy. The Races lapsed after the enclosure of the Marsh in 1797 but were revived under Corporation patronage in 1809, and a new race-course was provided on the Moor.¹⁰ From the 1820's, regattas were held on the Lune and at Poulton, providing another opportunity for the local gentry to show their leadership and patronage. At the Assizes (March and August), the balls, assemblies and plays constituted, along with the Races, a miniature 'season' for the North Lancashire gentry and their wives and families.¹¹ In such gatherings, the Corporation families, like the Atkinsons, Burrows, Gregsons and Redmaynes, along with a few wealthy Dissenters, like the Armstrongs, Dockrays and Worswicks, freely mixed with the local gentry and their friends.^{11b}

The first three decades of the nineteenth century represented the hey-day of Lancaster's 'season'. Gentry were attracted from all over the

county as other towns grew rapidly, and only Lancaster retained its Georgian calm. Edward Baines summed up the reasons for Lancaster's popularity in this period:

... in a county like this, a few retreats from the bustle of active life are necessary for those who wish for a species of retirement without the seclusion of a village. Preston formerly afforded such a retreat; but that town is now immersed in trade; and Lancaster, though not much resorted to, is almost the only remaining place within the limits of the palatinate where the gentry of the old school can congregate, without seeing themselves outstripped by a new race, grown rich and powerful through the natural consequences of a successful industry.¹²

Baines's modification that Lancaster was 'not much resorted to' adds an important cautionary note. The town was not the centre of county life and activities in the same way that Norwich, Exeter and many other county towns were. There were too many towns in Lancashire for Lancaster to exercise a monopoly even of its social functions. Yet its attractions did increase at the expense of one of its rivals, Preston, when the Earl of Derby sold Patten House and the Preston Races ceased in 1833.¹³

While, in Preston, the undisputed head of local society was the Earl of Derby, in Lancaster, it was the Duke of Hamilton. His political influence was less strong than the Earl of Derby, and greatly moderated by the interference of the Lowther interest in Lancaster politics between 1784 and 1802. Nevertheless, the ninth Duke of Hamilton (1741-1819) took a considerable interest in local affairs, supporting Lancaster in Parliament on such matters as the Canal and the Annual General Sessions. His son, the Marquis of Douglas, was M.P. for the borough from 1802 to 1807. The ninth Duke was the patron of the Lancaster Agricultural Society and a leading contestant at the Races. On his death in 1819 his stud was sold in Lancaster for 2,130 guineas. Furniture, pictures and deer from Ashton Hall were also sold. The tenth Duke carried on his father's interest in the borough but on a much reduced scale and went to live much of the later part of his life in France. (For his political influence see Part II).

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The local gentry of Lun^sedale certainly complied with Baines's description of 'old school'. Most of them came from landed families who had been established in the area for generations. Many had become established by successful marriages (e.g. the Hornbys of Dalton Hall). Some had been merchants of Liverpool or Lancaster (e.g. the Lawsons, Hindes and Eidsforths). The only landowners of over 10,000 acres in the district was the Duke of Hamilton.^{15a} Others with over 2,000 acres were Lawson of Lancaster, Cawthorne of Wyreside and Lancaster, Marton of Capernwray and Gibson of Quernmore. Local families with over 1,000 acres were Fitzherbert Brockholes of Claughton on Brock, Dalton of Thurnham, Stout of Lancaster and Gillow of Leighton. Families with over 500 acres included Dawson of Aldcliffe, Hindes of Beaumont and Ellel (combined) and Lodge of Bare.^{15b} The early nineteenth century saw the arrival of no new landowners with large manufacturing wealth, until the Garnetts from Salford bought the Quernmore Park estate in 1832, when the Gregs bought Low Mill Caton in 1816 and John Swainson, a cotton manufacturer from Preston, bought Halton Hall and Halton Mills in 1834, they acquired very little land.¹⁶

Personal contact counted for much in attracting visits from South Lancashire gentry and their families to the social gatherings at Lancaster. It is thus not surprising that Liverpool should have supplied a bigger quota than Manchester. A family such as the Gregsons had branches at both Lancaster and Liverpool. Matthew Gregson of Liverpool used his brother Samuel of Lancaster (first Secretary of the Lancaster Canal Company and an Alderman) as an agent to sell his 'Fragments of the History of the County of Lancaster' both in the town and among the reluctant Lunesdale gentry, and, through such correspondence, Matthew obtained accurate information on their heraldry and genealogy.¹⁷ Matthew was usually too busy in Liverpool to take time off in Lancaster, but his daughter, Anne, stayed frequently with her cousins, and in September 1821 sent an excited description of a John o' Gaunt's meeting and 'pick-nick' dinner at Cockerham.¹⁸

In spite of the apparent self-sufficiency of the local county and municipal elite, the end of the Assize monopoly in 1835 brought a swift

reduction in the more popular entertainments provided by the county town. The Theatre Royal in St. Leonardgate was converted into a lecture hall and leased to the Temperance Society, and the Races became a two-day event after 1836. The removal of the Assizes, according to Charles Barwick was the main cause:

The Assizes, before their removal, used to last a fortnight and occasionally three weeks; and during that term a great influx of visitors - grand jurymen, barristers, attorneys and others having business - brought profit as well as animation and gaiety to the town.¹⁹

The decline of the provincial 'season' was a phenomenon experienced by many market and county towns in this period. In North Lancashire, Ulverston's theatre was obliged to close down in 1827, and, elsewhere, places as large as Exeter were finding a declining interest in entertainments provided for the local gentry (both rural and urban).²⁰ Improvements in transport, and especially the coming of the railways are often seen as the deciding factor in the decline. In Lancaster, the change in the county's judicial arrangements encouraged such a decline long before the town received a railway connection.^{20b} It is equally evident that the changing social patterns of English county towns had a profound influence. In Lancaster the sudden burst of confidence given to the tradesman class by the success of religious emancipation, parliamentary and now municipal reform, supplemented by improved economic conditions in which to trade, gave rise to new middle class forms of entertainment. Often these were modelled on earlier 'aristocratic' forms. In January 1838 the first Tradesmen's Ball was held, while in the 1840's a John o' Gaunt's Rowing Club was founded.²¹

Nevertheless the content of this entertainment had changed. At the Tradesmen's Ball only tea and coffee were served, in contrast with previous balls. New societies of a more democratic nature also emerged, such as the Lancaster Choral Society in 1836.²² The Lancaster Literary, Scientific and Natural History Society founded in 1835 characterised the new seriousness of organised recreational activities.²³ In 1840 the new found strength of the tradesmen was even launched against the Lancaster Races, after a scuffle between the Race crowds and the rural police, and a motion to abolish

them was narrowly passed by the Liberal Town Council.²⁴ In fact the Races survived until 1857. The change in the modes of entertainment thus accompanied a change in the social status, means and morals of the entertained.

CHAPTER IIIFootnotes.

1. E. Baines, History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster (Liverpool, 1825), II iv-xii.
2. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963), p. 21.
R.O. Knapp, 'The Making of A Landed Elite', unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of Lancaster, 1970.
3. They were: T.H. Bateman (Halton Park), R.G. Bradley (Slyne), R.F. Bradshaw (Halton Hall) (bankrupt 1833), Rev. T. Butler (Poulton), J.F. Cawthorne (Wyreside), J. Clarke (Cockerham), A. Crompton (Skerton), R.C. Dalton (Thurnham Hall), E. Dawson (Aldcliffe Hall), A. Eidsforth (Poulton Hall), J. Ford (Morecambe Lodge), C. Gibson (Quernmore Park), R. Gillow (Leighton Hall), R. Godson (Springfield Hall), T. Greene (Whittington Hall), Duke of Hamilton and Brandon (Ashton Hall), E.G. Hornby (Dalton Hall), J.T. Knowlys (Heysham Tower), Rev. T. Mackereith (Halton Rectory), G. Marton (Capernwray Hall and Lancaster), A. Knowell (Underley Hall), Rev. Jos. Rowley (Stalmine), E. Rigby (Ellel Grange), Rev. J. Stainbank (Swarthdale House), A. Thornborrow.
4. Information derived from files of Lancaster Gazette.
5. Atkinson (Ellel), Lodge (Bare): also Bower (Bare), Gregson (Caton), Hinde (Ellel), Nottage (Claughton on Lune).
6. Future M.P.s were Cawthorne, Greene, Marton, Hornby, Hamilton.
7. Rules of the Society of John o'Gaunts Bowmen (Lancaster, 1876).
8. J. Binns, Notes on the Agriculture of Lancashire (Preston, 1851), pp. 90-1.
9. Lancaster Corporation Minutes, 9 June 1780.
10. Ibid. 24 August 1807 and Lancaster Records, op. cit. 27 June 1809.
- 11a Lancaster Herald, 28 May 1831 and Lancaster Gazette, 4 December 1819 and Cumberland Packet 30 November 1784.
- 11b In Kendal, a greater social division between Anglican and Dissenting elite existed, see:
J. Dyhouse, 'Social Institutions in Kendal, 1790-1850', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Lancaster 1971.
Only one dissenting aristocrat was socially boycotted Abraham Crompton of Lune Villa who was, according to Hewitson, an 'advanced' (ie Radical) politician. See: A. Hewitson, Lancaster Unitarian Chapel (Lancaster, 1893).
The others mixed freely with the Lancaster elite in such gatherings as the Philippi Club (founded 1797)
See Cross Henry op.cit. pp 40-1.
12. E. Baines, op. cit. p. 31.
13. P. Whittle, History of the Borough of Preston (Preston, 1837) II, p. 184.
14. Lancaster Records, pp. 108-110.
- 15a A. Hewitson, Northward (Preston, 1900). The Duke of Hamilton's land was all to the south of Lancaster.
- 15b Lancaster C.R.O. AF/2 Tithe Award Under Act of 1824, Lancaster Parish 1833.

16. P.P.S. McCann, 'A Comparative Study of Halton and Wray, Two Water Powered Communities in the Lune Valley, c. 1700-1900', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Lancaster 1969, p. 14.
17. Liverpool Central Library Record Office, Gregson Letter Books, 2/1/17, 39, 171, 201, 2/2/66, 67, 77.
18. Ibid. 2/4/84. It may be noted that while Anne spent her holidays in Lancaster, her Lancaster cousin was sent to school in Chester (Isabella), (2/1/65).
19. C. Barwick, A Guide to Lancaster and the Neighbourhood (Lancaster, 1843), p. 41.
- 20a Lancaster Gazette, 7 June 1828. (Advertisement for sale).
R. Newton, Victorian Exeter (Leicester, 1968).
- 20b Lancaster Theatre closed in 1837; see Lancaster Gazette, 11 November 1837.
21. Lancaster Gazette, 30 December 1837.
22. Ibid. 17 September 1836.
23. Ibid. 14 March 1835. This society was run for and by professional men.
24. Lancaster Town Council Minutes, 7 September 1840.

CHAPTER IVTHE CORPORATION OF LANCASTER 1780-1835THE OFFICERS

Lancaster's first borough charter was granted on 12 June 1193 by John, Earl of Mortain, brother of Richard I, and its first royal charter was granted by King John, six years later. A whole series of charters were subsequently issued but it was not until the sixteenth century that the composition of the governing body of the borough, or Corporation, began to be clarified. By the late eighteenth century, the make-up of the Corporation was well established. It consisted of thirty ~~six~~^{major} officers. At its head was the Mayor, the head of the town's government, elected annually for a year of office from among the aldermen by the aldermen and capital burgesses. Below him were seven aldermen elected when a vacancy occurred in their ranks by death or resignation, from the capital burgesses by the Mayor and a majority of the capital burgesses and common councilmen. Below the aldermen were the ~~twelve~~ capital burgesses elected when a vacancy occurred in their ranks from the common councilmen who had passed through the office of bailiff of commons. Below the capital burgesses were the twelve common councilmen, chosen by a majority of themselves from the free burgesses. The capital burgesses and common councilmen were both headed by a bailiff, the two financial officers of the Corporation.

The Corporation's principal officers included two further life appointments namely the Recorder who acted as the Corporation's barrister, and the Town Clerk who acted as secretary and attorney to the Corporate body. In addition there were a large number of lesser officials appointed annually from among the free burgesses: a mace bearer, serjeant at mace, two auditors, two chamberlains, a bellman, a beadle, two pecksealers, two supervisors, four moormen and mossmen, two hedge lookers, two flesh and fish lookers and two ale tasters. Most of these were involved either in personal attendance on the Mayor or in the management of the Moor and the Marsh, or in supervision of the town's markets and the collection of tolls.

Only free burgesses were eligible for the principal offices of the

Corporation and they were required to have resided in the borough at least a full year. The principles of self election and secrecy of meetings were strictly adhered to. Moreover, as the Commissioners reported in 1835, 'there is, in fact, nothing like a practical popular principle admitted into the constitution of this governing body', in spite of the attempt by a group of non-freemen to procure a more open constitution in 1819.¹

By the eighteenth century there was a strictly regulated 'cursus honorum' to be followed by all entrants to the Select Body. Entry could only be achieved by election from the ranks of free burgesses to the common council by the councilmen. At the next step a measure of popular control was exercised as the burgesses had the right of annually electing one of the common councilmen to the office of bailiff of the commons. Without serving this year as the Corporation's junior financial officer, no common councilman was eligible for election to the ranks of capital burgesses from whom the aldermen were chosen who, in turn, supplied the mayor. The need for popular approval of the bailiff of commons does not seem to have provided a difficult hurdle to surmount. The election was held at a special court at the Town Hall. Usually the issue was decided by a show of hands and the poll of 1830 was exceptional. The office was frequently contested; between 1818 and 1834 seven elections were contested. Of the seven unsuccessful candidates, two were elected the following year, two retired from the Corporation within a few years, and two managed to be elected capital burgesses without ever passing through the office of bailiff of the commons.² As one might expect, this degree of popular influence was exercised in favour of common councilmen of inferior status and wealth to the merchant families who dominated the upper echelons. Four of the unsuccessful candidates came from families who were new to the Select Body: a brazier, an ironmonger, an organist and a cabinet maker. Their very lack of success suggests the deference of the freemen to the old merchant elite.

In most of the old Corporations provision was made for fines to be levied on those members of the Corporation who refused to take higher

attempt to revive this old tradition after 1800. In April 1801, a new table of salaries and fines was instituted, raising fines for refusal of the office of bailiff to £20 and of the offices of alderman or mayor £40.^{3b} This new table was instituted after eleven common councilmen in succession had all refused the office of bailiff of the commons and readily paid their £10 fine for avoiding the irksome position. The situation improved: only one person was fined for refusal to take office in the decade 1801-10, compared to the fourteen who had declined during 1791-1800.

The pressure of business commitments, however, appears to have become stronger in the decade after 1800 than in the ten years previous. The precipitous fall of Lancaster's overseas trade from its peak in 1799 to the depressed levels of the next twenty years brought dislocation and sometimes even disaster to many of the Corporation merchants.⁴ Although bankruptcies among Corporation merchants were few (see Chapter 1) the collapse of the port's overseas trade forced merchants to take prompt action. Absenteeism and resignation rather than refusal to take office became the chief problem of the Corporation. One example of such enforced absenteeism for business reasons is particularly striking. At the meeting of the common council of June 1804, a letter of resignation from Thomas Millers, bailiff of the brethren, was read.⁵ He had not had time to see the Mayor before taking ship from Falmouth for the West Indies in May:

From the many disappointments in remittances I find it really necessary to support my credit, to go out to the West Indies for a few months to investigate the real cause and expediate remittances.

He recommended a deputy, but the council accepted his resignation and appointed a successor.

In 1809 low attendance at council meetings provoked a constitutional crisis within the Corporation. The sudden death of one alderman and the resignation of four others between 13 February 1809 and 5 November 1811 reduced the number of capital burgesses to eight. As a result of a combination of sudden resignations and low attendance only a minority of the Corporation were present at the election of two new aldermen and a new Mayor in the spring of 1809. James Watson, merchant, one of the new aldermen,

refused to take office on the grounds of illegality of procedure.⁶ Fletcher Raincocke, the Corporation's legal adviser in this case, pronounced in favour of Watson and recommended a new election of mayor and aldermen by a full Corporation.⁷ This proved to be more easily said than done. When an election was held to increase the number of capital burgesses it had to be abandoned 'there being only present at this Election one Alderman and six Capital Burgesses'.

The Corporation applied once more for legal advice. The question of non-residence was raised, but attendance was the main issue:

The Members of the Corporation of Lancaster are very negligent in attending the Corporate Meetings after due summons, so that it often happens that Meetings are obliged to be adjourned. There is no By-law of the Corporation imposing a fine on its Members for neglecting to attend Council and Election Meetings.⁸

The Corporation was urged to provide a bye law imposing a penalty for non-attendance. This advice does not appear to have been taken perhaps because such fines would have been difficult to levy. Indeed the table of fines established in 1801 was renewed in 1815. The renewal of the order of 1801 was provoked by the refusal of Thomas Mason, solicitor, to pay the £40 fine for declining the office of alderman in August 1813, on the grounds that the bye-law of 1801 had not been signed by a majority of the

Corporation.⁹ This was the first in a series of challenges to the legality of the actions of the Corporation which led to Quo Warranto proceedings at the Court of ~~the~~ King's Bench and finally to the Select Body's decision to apply for a new Charter confirming all its ancient rights in 1817.¹⁰

The challenge to the Corporation's authority in the years 1809 to 1819 severely hampered its administrative effectiveness, but did not bring its activities entirely to a halt. Elections continued to be held and to some extent filled the gaps left by retirement and resignation. Between 1809 and 1815 seven aldermen retired and nine common councilmen were elected. In 1816 six common councilmen resigned, but four more were elected. In 1817 18 two aldermen died and ten new councilmen were elected. By August 1819 when the new Charter was received the full complement of thirty ~~six~~ members had been made up. Periods of particular weakness in the period

1809 to 1819 are difficult to pin point exactly, owing to the shortage of information in the Corporation Minutes on resignations and deaths of common councilmen and capital burgesses. From the evidence which does exist it appears that 1809-10 and 1816-17 were the times of greatest stress. The Quo Warranto proceedings no doubt contributed to the sudden flood of resignations in 1816.¹¹ With the confirmation of the Charter and the growth of coastal trade and the cotton industry in the 1820's and 1830's, the Corporation's constitutional difficulties were over. Election procedures henceforth ran smoothly and there was no further Quo Warranto action. In the years 1820 to 1833 a much tighter discipline was exercised: fines were rarely levied, but resignations were frequently refused until replacements could be found. This new discipline provided the members of the Corporation with a security which enabled them to settle down to tackle the problems of property mismanagement and municipal insolvency which had arisen during the years of constitutional uncertainty.

RECRUITMENT

Entry to the Select Body was obtained by election to the Common Council from the ranks of the free burgesses. The rate of inflow varied with prosperity of the town. It is argued elsewhere that membership of the Corporation did not bring large profits. Membership bestowed no financial privileges and the Corporation commanded no extensive patronage. The power of the bailiffs over the Select Body's contracts with tradesmen and the management of the leaseholds must have provided some opportunity for profit. Nevertheless, the main motives of the freemen who became common Councilmen must have been prestige and public service.

TABLE A2

	<u>Occupations of New Common Councilmen 1781-1835</u> ¹²							
	Gent.	Mercht.	Mfr.	Trade/Craft	Attorney	Medical	Other Prof.	TOTAL
pre-1780	(6)	(9)	(0)	(9)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(25)
1781-90	3	5	0	2	1	3	0	14
1791-00	0	15	0	0	7	0	0	22
1801-10	0	10 (3)	0	0	2	1	2	15
1811-20	3	14 (5)	2	0	1	1	3 (1)	24
1821-30	3	11 (3)	0	0	7 (1)	2	2	25
1831-35	4	2 (1)	4	1	4	1	0	16
Total								
1781-1835	13	57 (12)	6	3	22 (1)	8	7 (1)	116
%	11.2	49.1 (10.3)	5.1	2.6	19.0 (0.9)	6.9	6.0 (0.9)	100

Note: Gent. includes those described as such or esquire also 1 retired soap boiler and 1 retired gardener.

Mercht. includes 6 West India merchants, 23 general merchants, 2 shipbuilders, 1 banker, 1 timbermerchant, 8 wine and spirit merchants, 1 merchant and insurance agent, 1 merchant and broker, 1 merchant and coach proprietor, 1 merchant and tallow chandler, 12 merchant/manufacturers (6 cotton spinners, 1 silk spinner, 3 worsted spinners, 1 cabinet maker, 1 tobacco manufacturer). N.B. Mercht/Mfrs were listed separately in brackets.

Manufacturer includes 2 ironfounders, 1 brazier, 1 cabinet maker, 1 silk spinner.

Tradesmen and Craftsmen include 2 woollen drapers, 1 linen draper.

Attorney includes, in brackets, 1 attorney and silk spinner.

Medical includes 1 physician and 7 surgeons.

Other Professionals include 3 gaelkeepers, 2 clergy, 1 landagent, 1 organist also in brackets 1 gaelkeeper and cotton spinner.

One notable fact about the changing patterns of recruitment (see Table A2) was the steady increase of influence of professional men at the expense of the merchants, manufacturers and tradesmen. Whereas in 1780, only one common councilman was a professional man (although the term 'gentleman' may disguise one or two others), by 1835 professional men had become as numerous as the merchants or tradesmen. Recruitment of the professional group ran at about one third for most of the period, although rising to about 44% in 1821-30. This heavy influx not only reflects the rise in status which was occurring nationally in this period. It also reflects the enormous growth of Lancashire and the large slice of the county's legal business which the county town retained by its monopoly of the Assizes until 1835. The Assizes brought business to all sections of the town's population, but the solicitors benefited most. That the town held on to its monopoly so long and afterwards remained one of the few Assize centres, was partly due to the Corporation's prolonged rearguard action inspired by the solicitors.

The number of surgeons was much smaller, reflecting their more modest means and slower rise in status. They too benefited from the town's role as an administrative centre, deriving special prominence from their work at the Castle, the Poor house and the County Lunatic Asylum (established 1816). During this period the distinction between physicians and surgeons was becoming increasingly blurred, but the Lancaster surgeons were only gaining entry to the council after 1800.

The tiny number of clergy (2) on the Common Council in this period reflects less the position of the Anglican parson in England as a whole than the top-heavy ecclesiastical structure in Lancaster. The parish of Lancaster stretched from Fulwood near Preston to Bulk north of Lancaster and from Poulton le Sands to Bleasdale and Gressingham (excluding the parishes of Claughton and Halton). From tithes alone, after the County of Lancaster Tithe Commutation Act of 1824, the Vicar of Lancaster received £1,358 per annum.¹³ Besides the Vicar, the curates in charge of the chapels of ease, ranked very low. The Vicar acted as chaplain to the

Corporation, and the latter had close links with the Parish Church (see below).

The range of different types of business represented diversified greatly after 1811. This was partly because the term 'merchant' was increasingly replaced by more specific identification, but mainly because the decline of the West India and Baltic trades of the port of Lancaster genuinely reduced the number of overseas merchants entering the common council. This decline is only too clear from the directories.¹⁴ In 1815, there were still fifteen businesses engaged in overseas trade. By 1834, there were only five. Only six merchants entered the council after 1811 and none after 1830. It was not that Lancaster's overseas trade had completely ceased, but that the tonnage and number of ships involved remained at under half the average of 1791-1800 throughout the three decades 1801-30.¹⁵ The coastal trade revived considerably in the 1820's, but much of it bypassed Lancaster passing from Glasson Dock straight onto the Lancaster Canal extension (1826).^{16a}

In spite of the problems of recruitment in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, and in spite of the decline of the West Indies trade, there is little evidence to suggest much reduction in the social status of new recruits. A total of four tradesmen were recruited in the period 1781 to 1835 out of a total of 115. The manufacturing element often included some small scale businesses, like the iron foundries of Heaton and Whewell, but it is difficult without adequate records to draw the line between them and the merchants. Even if the manufacturers are regarded as inferior to the merchants, there was no consistent trend in their recruitment. They made up half as many as the merchants in 1811-20, but only a third in 1821-30. Their appearance in brackets in Table A2 is explained by the fact that in several cases merchants were also described as manufacturers (see Social and Economic Representation). Certainly the social content of the old Corporation diversified after 1800, but it was not noticeably 'watered down'. The founding of the Philippi Club in 1797, a dining club for the Corporation and the urban gentry, helped to integrate the newer families with the old. 16b

EXCLUSIVENESS AND FAMILY CONNECTION

That the Corporation was a self-electing body, and to that extent exclusive, has never been the subject of doubt. It was this principle of co-option which aroused the opposition to the renewal of the Charter in 1817-19 led by a few substantial non-freemen who saw no chance of entry without a more democratic base, (see below). Nevertheless the degree to which the Corporation was dominated by a few families is far more debateable. The Commissioners, in 1833, reported that the Charter of 1819 was by then considered 'a great improvement on the old one':

and it is said that it has entirely prevented the preponderance of particular family interests, which had often obtained an ascendancy under former charters. This may be the fact, and indeed there now appears to be no family connection among the members of the select body; but it is not easy to refer to any principle of the new charter which ensures this result.

furthermore:

We cannot perceive any family preferences, or any feeling of jealousy or exclusion on the grounds of religious differences, to exist in the Corporation, though, in point of fact, all the members of the select body conform to the Established Church.

The Commissioners' findings were thus favourable. The Corporation had proved extremely co-operative in providing information, and there was no detectable movement for municipal reform among the non-freemen. Sounding of local opinion seemed to suggest an improvement since the confirmation of the Charter.

Two small arithmetical tests suggest that, on the contrary, the Charter of 1819 had been followed by a tightening of the Corporation elite:

TABLE A3 Family Connection In The Corporation 1780-1835¹⁷

a) Members who were sons of freemen.

	Pre 1780			1781-1800			1801-1818			1819-1835		
	Sons	Not	Total	Sons	Not	Total	Sons	Not	Total	Sons	Not	Total
Common Councilmen	3	22	25	18	20	38	17	13	30	26	14	40
Aldermen	1	18	19	8	11	19	5	6	11	4	0	4

b) Common Councilmen who were sons of common councilmen.

	Sons	Not	Total	Sons	Not	Total	Sons	Not	Total	Sons	Not	Total
	?			6	32	38	7	23	30	13	27	40

Although the short-comings of the freeman rolls may exaggerate the case,

it is evident from Table A3 that there was a large influx to the Corporation of newcomers (or 'No's) before 1800. What proportion of these newcomers were migrants and what proportion were really new'men is impossible to say. No doubt many represented cases of 'spirialism' or a combination of geographical mobility and social improvement. In cases where such freemen with no free descent came from near Lancaster it may be expected that some social advance had been made. Abraham Seward (1757-1823) and Anthony Atkinson (1726-1795) may well have had such careers. Seward came from Burton-in-Lonsdale as an apprentice tinsplate worker and by his death had become brazier 'to His Majesty King George III'.¹⁸ Atkinson became an attorney and was the only member of his profession on the common council in 1780. In 1790 his career was crowned by his election as Mayor. The origins of most members of the old Corporation are obscure. Some, like John Bond (1748-1856), merchant, became freemen in middle age. Bond acquired his freedom in 1806-7. He was immediately elected a common councilman (1807), followed by an early director of the Lancaster Banking Company, a member of the John o' Gaunt Bowmen, and finally a Deputy Lieutenant of the County.

Table A3 does not suggest any great decline in the openness of the Select Body to outsiders in the period immediately preceding 1819. The indications are that it was in the 1780's and 90's when the proportion of entrants to the Corporation who were not the sons of freemen declined rapidly. Yet this may be just a sign of the expansion of the number of freemen rather than a closing of the ranks.¹⁹ The greater role of professional men has already been suggested as a sign of the Corporation's flexibility before 1800.

It was after rather than before 1819 that the number of 'first generation' councilmen fell most dramatically. Although the number of non-freemen's sons stayed about the same as in 1801-18, the proportion becoming councilmen fell by half and none became aldermen, (see Table A4). Only four new aldermen were elected after 1819 compared to eleven in 1801-18 and nineteen in 1781-1800. It became increasingly difficult to be elected aldermen after 1819 without passing through the mayoralty. This office

became increasingly the monopoly of a few families, such as the Burrows, Hindes, Gregsons, Atkinsons and Lodges. Whereas in the 1800's and 1810's eight men had a second term as mayor, in the 1820's alone six had a second year in office. The position of the leading families was strengthened by the large number of their sons who became common councilmen after 1819. Meanwhile, the fluidity of council membership, as shown by the greatly increased number of councillors in the last seventeen years before reform, also tended to reinforce the power of the aldermen who showed a much greater reluctance to resign. Thus if there was a tendency towards greater exclusiveness in the Corporation it was inside the Select Body rather than at its entrance that this greater exclusiveness was shown. The circle of 'city fathers' was smaller, not in absolute terms, but in relation to the number of common councilmen.

TABLE A4

From Councilman to Mayor 1781-1835

	Common Councilmen	Capital Burgess	Aldermen	Mayor
<u>1781-1800</u>				
Sons of Non-Free	19 (100)	14 (74)	8 (42)	8 (42)
Sons of Freeman	10 (100)	5 (50)	4 (40)	2 (20)
Sons of Members	6 (100)	5 (83)	4 (67)	2 (33)
Total Entrants	36 (100)	24 (66)	16 (44)	12 (33)
<u>1801-1818</u>				
Sons of Non-Free	14 (100)	10 (71)	6 (43)	5 (36)
Sons of Freeman	10 (100)	6 (60)	4 (40)	3 (30)
Sons of Members	8 (100)	6 (75)	1 (13)	1 (13)
Total Entrants	32 (100)	22 (69)	11 (34)	9 (28)
<u>1819-1835</u>				
Sons of Non-Free	15 (100)	7 (47)	0	0
Sons of Freeman	20 (100)	8 (40)	2 (10)	0
Sons of Members	13 (100)	6 (46)	3 (23)	3 (23)
Total Entrants	48 (100)	21 (44)	5 (10)	3 (6)
TOTAL 1781-1835	116 (100)	67 (58)	32 (28)	24 (21)

Nevertheless the years 1809 1817 did see a great reduction in the number of members of the Select Body and it was this fact which provided ammunition for the opposition in the Quo Warranto proceedings against the

Corporation. The opponents of the Corporation, represented by the radical lawyer and Member of Parliament, Henry Brougham argued that the Corporation had become characterised by a 'dangerous congregating spirit' which could only be dispelled by the election of the Common Council by the freemen at large.²⁰ Their appeal to the Privy Council failed, and the Corporation accepted its new Charter on 19th August, 1819. The new charter merely reaffirmed the existing powers and procedures enumerated under previous charters, and, of course, self-election or co-option remained a guiding principle in spite of radical pressure.

Having failed in the Privy Council, the radicals tried to stimulate the Lancaster freemen to take the matter into their own hands. On 26th August, a placard appeared appealing to the freemen to reject the new Charter, on the grounds that the Corporation had obtained it

without your knowledge, without your consent, without the countervailing influence of any one clause by which your rights can be exercised so as to operate as a salutary check either on the expenditure or the proceedings of the Corporation.²¹

The Mayor replied in another placard that the matter had been fully argued before the Privy Council.²² In a placard published by William Minshull, the ardent Tory proprietor and editor of the Gazette, the opposition was warned that, without the Charter, there would be no freemen and no Members of Parliament and the Assizes would go to Preston.²³ More opposition placards demanded to know why certain changes had been made in the personnel of the Corporation and in the residence qualification without the freemen's consent. The freemen were entitled to know the profit of the Quernmore enclosure and the expense of the Charter proceedings. When the freemen met to ratify the Charter on 30th August (a group of non-free inhabitants led by two attorneys, Arthur Ingleby and Thomas Johnson, who had been involved in the Quo Warranto ^{proceedings}) protested against their exclusion from the meeting and against government ~~proceedings~~ without consent.²⁴

It was ^{probably a} coincidence that such protests took place in the aftermath of Peterloo (on 16th August) and that the demonstration of non-freemen took place two days after the arrival of Orator Hunt at Lancaster Castle, ^{on trial.}

← ~~There~~ There was a difference in the mood as well as in the scale of the

two meetings. Whereas there was a strong element of economic protest in the Peterloo gathering, there was no explicit utterance of economic demands in the Lancaster placards, ~~(even if there was an implication that bad times ^{had} made Corporation mismanagement intolerable)~~ No report can be found of a working class initiative at ~~this~~ ^{Indeed} time in the town, ~~(although)~~ a spirit of unanimous relief among the town's propertied inhabitants is suggested by the 1,075 signatures collected for the borough's declaration of loyalty to the Crown, within weeks of the Charter protest. Even Tory Liverpool, with its population over ten times as big as that of Lancaster, could only muster three times as many signatures. The declaration gave strength to the Gazette's threat that 'thousands of the inhabitants were ready to root up the soil, rather than permit the noxious weed (of Radicalism) to take root'.²⁵

If there was a tightening rather than an expansion of the inner ranks of aldermanic and mayoral families after 1819, some explanation is required of the impression gained by the Commissioners in 1833 that there was less family connection since the new Charter and no appearance of jealousy or exclusion. The implications of the Commissioners' comments are that the men of property in the town were happy with the status quo in the Corporation. This view is confirmed by the lack of visible conflict involving the Corporation between 1819 and 1835. Neither local issues such as the ^{Lancaster} Police Act of 1824, nor national issues such as the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828-9 and the reform crisis of 1831-2, brought the Corporation's constitution into question. Even in 1835 the Lancaster reformers regarded municipal reform as primarily a national issue, and local grievance seems to have played only a minor role. After 1819 there was no point in challenging the constitution of the Corporation. The legal battle had been lost, but the recognition of the importance of the lawyers was shown in the increased numbers of attorneys elected after 1819, even though these did not include Ingleby or Johnson, the leaders of the protest of 1817-19. With the help of the lawyers, the Corporation reformed its procedure, recuperated its strength and undertook a close examination of its finances.

Moreover, with the passage of the Improvement Act in 1824, the Select Body shifted an important part of the burden of responsibility for the town's government onto other shoulders, (see Chapter 5). Thus by fortifying itself with a new Charter and with more lawyers, by widening its social base and by regularly renewing its ranks, the old Corporation successfully avoided serious criticism and continued on an even more exclusive path than before, until the very eve of municipal reform.

WEALTH

Estimates for the wealth of a large body such as the 116 men who entered Lancaster Corporation between 1781 and 1835 are not easily available. The source most easy to handle is the Lancaster Bank Account Book for 1827-9 which gives some guide to the relative wealth of Lancaster men, including members of the Corporation. It is by no means of guaranteed accuracy as to the wealth of all depositors as some will have held larger deposits with other banks, but as the Lancaster Banking Company was founded on the ruins of two older private banks, and as its formation was a remarkable instance of business community action, it has a certain reliability.

Twenty-eight members of the Corporation were included among the 116 private depositors. Contrary to expectations the twenty-eight members were distributed throughout the categories with weighting similar to the total number of depositors, suggesting that the Select Body did not represent an economic elite. Nevertheless it is evident that with six of its members with turnovers of between £2,500 and £25,000 it included some of the very wealthiest men in Lancaster. If we take the depositors to be a representative cross-section of Lancaster propertied men, we may conclude that ⁱⁿ the old Corporation, on the eve of reform, ~~had~~ ^{were} merchants and manufacturers ^{were} well represented and professional men ^{were} very well represented. By contrast, Table A5 gives yet more evidence of the high degree of under-representation of the trade/craft group on the Select Body.

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TABLE A5 Pre-1835 Councilmen and Aldermen Depositors by Wealth and Occupation
(with Total Private Depositors at Bank in brackets).

Turnover	Gent. C/A (All)	Mercht./Mfr. C/A (All)	Trade/Craft C/A (All)	Professional C/A (All)	TOTAL C/A (All)
Over £10,000	0 (0)	1C (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1C (2)
Over £5,000	0 (1)	1C (2)	0 (1)	1C (2)	2C (6)
Over £2,500	1A (2)	1A (1)	0 (6)	1C (4)	2A1C (13)
Over £1,000	0 (6)	5C (15)	2C (6)	3C (3)	10C (30)
Over £500	0 (6)	1A1C (5)	0 (10)	1A1C (3)	2A2C (24)
Over £100	0 (9)	0 (1)	1C (19)	1A4C (7)	1A5C (36)
Under £100	1C (4)	1A (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1A1C (5)
TOTAL	1A1C (28)	3A8C (27)	3C (42)	2A10C (19)	6A22C (116)

A=Aldermen

C=Common Councilmen

For whereas 42 have been identified as belonging to the trade/craft group among the 1827 depositors, (see Appendix), only three of those were ever to hold office before 1835. The Table also suggests that, in spite of the difficulty in attaining the rank of alderman in the 1820's, the aldermen (past, present and future) among the depositors were not heavily concentrated in the highest economic group. That four out of six should be found in the under-£1,000 bracket indicates once more the dangers of this source. The four comprised: T.H. Higgin, gaol-keeper; Thomas Giles, Baltic merchant; William Carlisle, liquor merchant; and William Robinson, solicitor.

Corruption, it has already been argued, was not a major feature of the Lancaster Corporation before 1835. Opportunities for petty corruption undoubtedly arose for the bailiffs before the reforms of 1819-35, but no complaints on this score were voiced by the Commissioners of 1833. Salaries were small and the Corporation had patronage only over the appointment of the master and usher of the grammar school, the trustees of the town's charities and the recipients of 'marsh grass' (restricted to the eighty oldest freemen). Only a few of its members became involved in the tangle of Corporation finance, but it was largely thanks to these few that it kept afloat. In December 1804, a loan of £1,000 was secured from Alderman Richard Johnson (1748-1818), an ironmonger and grocer who was churchwarden at St. Mary's and three times Mayor. In 1814 £200 was borrowed from the Town Clerk, John Lewthwaite, and £500 from a Mrs. Skirrow.²⁷ By 1820 the Corporation was heavily indebted to a partnership of solicitors, Wilson and Higgin, who had piloted the new Charter and had taken charge of the enclosure of Quernmore Moor (Act of 1811). In 1822, the connection became closer when Higgin ousted Lewthwaite as Town Clerk.²⁸ At the same time the mortgage of £1,200 on the Shambles was transferred from Lewthwaite to Benjamin Satterthwaite, another common councilman. By January 1825 the Corporation debts, amounting to nearly £4,000, were owed to: the executors of Richard Haythornthwaite (£1,500), Benjamin Satterthwaite (£1,048), William Hodgson (£500), the executors of Jackson Mason (a former attorney and Mayor), (£500), and Wilson and Higgin and the Town Clerk (£335).

Although nearly half of these debts were owed to members of the Corporation, over half were not: the largest item being the debt to the Haythornthwaite executors, no doubt a transfer of Johnson's mortgage of 1804. The smallness of the sum owed to Wilson and Higgin suggests that their fees had not been left unpaid.

The possibility of vast profits from Corporation office is denied by the experience of the last two Town Clerks, John Lewthwaite and John Higgin junior. In February 1828, John Lewthwaite was declared a bankrupt, and in 1829 John Higgin followed suit. The fact that neither attorney was owed large sums by the Select Body at this juncture suggests that although the connection with the Corporation had not made them rich it had not driven them to bankruptcy. Higgin's salary was raised from 50 guineas to £100, but in 1833 he informed the Commissioners that the profits of office only averaged about £300 per annum.²⁹ (In 1837 when the new Corporation was trying to oust him, he claimed profits of over £400, which indicates that even if he was underestimating to the Commissioners it was not by very much). The new Corporation in 1837 claimed that the firm of Wilson and Higgin had done particularly well as Corporation solicitors.³⁰ This was no doubt true at the time of the new Charter and the Enclosure Act, but after that few large benefits were to be had from association with the Corporation. Higgin's bankruptcy of 1829 also suggests that his profits from the partnership of Wilson and Higgin had not been substantial. In the end, Higgin junior appears to have received higher rewards from the new Corporation than the old. For loss of his post as Town Clerk, in spite of the reluctance of the new Council, the Lords of the Treasury awarded him compensation of £200 per annum and he was eventually paid £242. At his death in 1847 he left under £3,000.³¹ His job as Keeper of the Lancaster Castle Gaol would no doubt have afforded him considerable opportunities for making money.³² Alternating large profits and heavy losses were more likely to be obtained from family estates in East Lancashire, and from the family cotton mill, than as a county and Corporation official, even though the prestige of the two offices would undoubtedly have increased the size of his private practice.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REPRESENTATION

One social group which was not offended by the Corporation oligarchy was the manufacturers. By 1815 there were three cotton spinning firms in Lancaster. By 1834 the number remained unchanged although the firms were different and bigger.³³ These were the only factory-size textile works in the town, and a number of smaller units, in existence in 1815, had disappeared by 1825. After cotton, the second most important textile manufacture was linen for sailcloth, but, whereas there were eight such firms in 1815, they were all small and had consolidated into one large-scale works by 1834. The small numbers of employers involved and their links with the West India trade meant that there was no problem of absorbing them into the Corporation.

Thomas Mason (1778-1827), who established the first cotton spinning mill at White Cross in 1802, was admitted a freeman and Common Councilman the very same year.³⁴ His credentials were firmly based on his partnership with Thomas Burrow as West India merchants and shipowners. Thomas Burrow (1754-1821) is mentioned in Bailey's Directory of 1784 as a grocer and linen draper and by 1799 was trading extensively with the West Indies. Entering the Corporation in 1795, he went on to be Mayor in 1806 and 1815. His son, George Burrow (1790-1861), continued his father's West India trade, in partnership with James Barton Nottage (Mayor 1822), and, according to Schofield, 'handled most of the declining West India trade imports of later periods'. In 1828 he too went into cotton spinning in the new firm of 'Burrow, Higgin & Co.' in the converted premises of T.H. Higgin & Co. in Moor Lane. George Burrow's economic leadership was recognised in his election as Mayor in 1828 and again in 1833.

Thomas Housman Higgin (1789-1861) had built the Moor Lane mill for worsted spinning about 1819. Like Thomas Mason and George Burrow, T.H. Higgin had strong connections with the West India trade and with the Corporation. His father, John Higgin (1752-1847) had succeeded his grandfather as Keeper of Lancaster Castle in 1783 and had married the daughter of Robert Housman of Lune Bank, Skerton, a wealthy West India merchant. John Higgin was elected to the Common Council in 1804 and, in 1813, was an

Alderman for a short period.

George Burrow and T.H. Higgin, like their fathers, quickly scaled the heights of the Corporation. Burrow was a Common Councilman by 1816, was twice elected Mayor of the old Corporation (1828 and 1833) and, in 1835, became the first Mayor of the new. T.H. Higgin, although a year older, did not enter the Corporation until 1820 and did not become Mayor until 1836. Family and trade links with the mercantile oligarchy thus made for easy acceptance in the Corporation of the first three cotton spinners in Lancaster.

Three other cotton spinners, without such connections, had a more difficult time. These were William Jackson, John Greg and Richard Farrer. William Jackson (1796-1871) was the son of a Lancaster cooper, and thus presumably with the help of capital derived from the wine trade, by 1825 had set himself up as a cotton spinner in partnership with Miles Barber in St. Leonardgate and Bulk Street in Lancaster, and also at Kirkham. In 1827 the partnership was dissolved, and Jackson carried on the business by himself.³⁵ Unlike Greg and Farrer, he inherited the freedom of the borough from his father and was elected a Common Councilman.

John Greg (1801-1882) was a younger son of Samuel Greg, another West India merchant and planter who had set up as a cotton spinner with branches at Styal, Bollington, Bury, Caton and Lancaster.³⁶ On Samuel Greg's death his sons continued to run the family business jointly, but by 1840 each son had bought out the mill which he had formerly managed. John Greg's share constituted the mills at Caton and Lancaster. Greg was not a freeman, had no connections with the Corporation families, and, as a Unitarian in religion, was unable to hold municipal office until the repeal of the Corporation Act in 1828. As a Radical in politics and with connections with leading Manchester manufacturers. (his wife was a daughter of John Kennedy), he had more in common with the rulers of that city than with the Tory Anglican members of the Lancaster Corporation. Finally, he was debarred from entering the Common Council even after 1828 by his residence at Escowbeck, Caton, over three miles from the borough boundary. When the

Act of 1835 enabled outsiders to take office, provided they met the property qualifications within the borough, Greg was able to stand for election.

In 1835 the reformers took advantage of Greg's previous dissociation from the old Corporation, and he was at once elected Town Councillor and Alderman.

The third cotton spinner, Richard Farrer (1781-1861) is a more obscure figure. He appeared in the 1834 directory as a partner of Burrow and Higgin, but it is possible that he had worked his way up from a managerial position. Unlike Greg, he was a freeman (1829-9), but he never held office under the old Corporation. Perhaps he too was barred on political or religious grounds, for he was elected a Town Councillor under the new regime in 1836.

John Armstrong was a fourth textile manufacturer who by the 1830's was a large employer of labour and yet remained outside the Select Body. His father, John Armstrong (1749-1829) was a merchant and tallow chandler who, although a Unitarian, took an active part in local affairs as a Commissioner for Land Tax, a Lieutenant in the Royal Lancashire Volunteers, ^{a founder of the Philippi Club} and an original subscriber to the Lancaster Canal. Like the Rawlinsons, his Quaker contemporaries, John Armstrong senior was able to occupy a position of local prestige, through marriage into the landed gentry, without any connection with the Lancaster Corporation. His son continued this tradition, although establishing himself as a silk spinner at Galgate rather than as a landed squire. In 1823 he married the daughter of Abraham Crompton, a Unitarian manufacturer who had retired to Skerton. Thus Armstrong junior gradually came to take up a similar position vis-a-vis the town and the Corporation as Greg. Their economic assets were both as much concentrated outside the town as inside, and both already counted as notables as a result of family connections. Like Greg, Armstrong became a leading member of the new Town Council of 1835.

Most other large employers of labour in the period 1800 to 1835 were members of the Corporation except where they were debarred on religious grounds. Of the iron founders, John Heaton (17 -1829) and Richard Rossall (1793-1837) were both Common Councilmen for a time, although William

Whewell (1806-62) was not. The novelty of the trade in Lancaster and its fluctuating profitability may provide two reasons for the small role played by its leaders.

The family identified with Lancaster cabinet making, that of Gillow, was unable to participate in the Corporate life of the town because of its Catholicism. By 1811 Richard Gillow was living at Ellet Grange and, soon after, his successor Richard T. Gillow handed over the management of the firm to Leonard Redmayne.

Leonard Redmayne (1781-1869) was Mayor in 1824 and first chairman of the Lancaster Banking Company in 1826.^{37a} Of the bankers, only Robert Birkett of Dilworth, Arthington and Birkett was a Common Councilman. Dilworth was a Quaker. The other banker, Worswick, was a Roman Catholic, a cousin of the Gillows. Neither George Crosfield (1754-1820), nor his son James, the sugar refiners, were members of the Corporation. They were men of great wealth and business connections but, as Quakers, were unable to take part. Joseph Dockray, the leading ropemaker, and indeed nearly all his family, were also excluded from membership of the Select Body by membership of the Society of Friends. The first to take advantage of the repeal of the Corporation Act was his brother John Dockray (1775-1838) merchant and worsted spinner, elected a Common Councilman in 1833. Of the sailcloth manufacturers, none of the Derhams were members, but their partners, the Hindes, were strongly represented. Abraham and Charles Seward, the braziers, and John Brockbank (1781-1847), the shipbuilder, also played a leading part in Corporate life. Brockbank was made Mayor in 1834.

The manufacturers were thus few in number, local in origin and usually members of long-established mercantile or manufacturing partnerships. In Lancaster there was no clear-cut division between merchants and manufacturers in the 1820's. The reason for this was that the Gregs were the only 'new' employers of any size in the town. The main division among Lancaster's employers was one of religion which effectively debarred major employers like Armstrong and Greg from holding Corporate office. Yet the Dissenting and Roman Catholic employers were too few to form an opposition group to

the Corporation as at Liverpool.^{37b} Those who were interested, or, unlike Greg, not barred by non-residence, secured election to the Common Council after Emancipation. Meanwhile the leadership of the Corporation remained in the hands of the old mercantile and professional families reflecting the economic truth that Lancaster was not attracting new blood in the years preceding municipal reform.³⁸

PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS

Municipal corporations in the eighteenth century often had a reputation as Whig or Tory. At Preston and York the Corporation was Tory, at Nottingham it was Whig. Party labels in each case are misleading. The aim of each Corporation, whatever its label, was to have maximum influence over the election of its Members of Parliament. This usually meant competition with the local aristocracy - in the case of Preston and Liverpool, the Earl of Derby. In Liverpool, the Corporation was successful after 1734; in Preston, the decision on the petition of 1768 gave control to the Earl of Derby.³⁹

Lancaster Corporation was divided until the 1790's. There had been a tendency in Lancaster to support Whig candidates before 1780. Cavendish intervention had been invited in 1768.⁴⁰ Lord Richard Cavendish had been elected in 1774 and Wilson Braddyll, a North Lancashire landowner, had received Cavendish support in 1780. In 1780 the Cavendish candidate was forestalled by the intervention of Abraham Rawlinson, a wealthy Quaker merchant and landowner. This signified the first intervention of Liverpool in Lancaster borough politics, as Rawlinson's West India business was centred as much on Liverpool as on Lancaster and his cousin Henry Rawlinson (who also had estates near Lancaster) was standing for Liverpool at the same time. Both were successful, Abraham sitting for Lancaster from 1780 to 1786 and Henry sitting for Liverpool from 1780 to 1784.⁴¹

At the election of 1784, the political situation in Lancaster was complicated by the intervention of the Lowther interest. Members of the Lowther family had sat for Lancaster in the early part of the eighteenth century, but not since 1745. Now Sir James Lowther determined to add Lancaster to the boroughs which he controlled. Lowther commissioned ships from the Lancaster dockyards and raced his horses on Lancaster Moor, but both his attempts at putting his relative, John Lowther, in 1784 and 1786 failed.⁴² It was not until 1796 that Richard Penn, a Lowther protégé, was elected without a contest, and he did not put up a fight at the contest of 1802.⁴³

The recorded votes of members of the Lancaster Corporation at the

two contested elections of 1784 and 1786 suggest that at this time it had no clear party political allegiances.⁴⁴ In 1784 the members of the Corporation were equally divided between the supporters of Rawlinson and Lowther. At the by-election of 1786, when Sir James Lowther spent over £25,000 without success, the Corporation was once again split in two, in this battle between the Lowthers and the North Lancashire gentry.⁴⁵

Thereafter the Corporation showed a much more united front. The vast majority voted for Warren and Dent in 1790, a Lancashire landowner and a London banker, both favourable to the West India trade.⁴⁶ Dent was also a Pittite which suited the intense loyalism of the Lancaster Corporation during the French Wars. He remained the Corporation candidate until his resignation in 1812. The other seat was taken in 1796 by the defeated Lowther candidate in the previous election, Richard Penn, but when the Marquis of Douglas, of Ashton Hall, decided to stand for Lancaster in 1802, Lowther pressure on Penn obliged him to stand down.⁴⁷

In response to the Marquis of Douglas' decision to stand in 1802, a local gentleman with land in Wyresdale and Lancaster, John F. Cawthorne, decided to stand for the borough.⁴⁸ In spite of Cawthorne's links with the town and his previous membership of the Corporation as Recorder (1791-6), most of his former colleagues indicated their disapproval of his disreputable exploits as Colonel of the Middlesex militia and his rabble-rousing appeal to the lower ranks of freemen, by voting for the Marquis of Douglas and John Dent.⁴⁹ Cawthorne was accepted as a member of parliament on Douglas' succession to his father's dukedom in 1806, and again in 1812, but at the contested elections of 1807 and 1818 when the Corporation could exercise a choice, the majority of members voted against him.⁵⁰ By 1818 John Gladstone, a West India merchant and planter of Liverpool and follower of Canning, had replaced John Dent as the Corporation's first choice.⁵¹ In 1820 Gladstone found a cheaper seat at Woodstock and the Lancaster Corporation had to settle once more for Cawthorne and, after 1824, Thomas Greene, another local gentleman from Whittington Hall. After the assertion of mercantile interests with Rawlinson, Dent and Gladstone, Lancaster's representation was, once

more under the domination of the local squirearchy.

Unlike in Nottingham, the Corporation in Lancaster preserved an official neutrality at elections.⁵² Nevertheless, until 1818, the candidates supported by a majority of the members of the Select Body at contested elections were always successful. It was only in 1818 that the Corporation's second choice, Cawthorne, was defeated by the combined strength of Gladstone and Gabriel Doveton (an East India Company general) who relied on the Liverpool out-voters. The rapport between Corporation and resident freemen provided a united front against the out-voters at every contest.⁵³ Whether such unanimity of local feeling was obtained by influence or deference is impossible to say.

If the Corporation preserved an official neutrality at elections, its celebrations on the centenary of 1688 and its petitions to King and Parliament showed its strong loyalty to the Church and Constitution.⁵⁴ During the French Wars the Select Body proved even more patriotic than in the War of American Independence. Countless addresses were given to the borough Members of Parliament, congratulating the King on the naval victories of his admirals and on his own escapes from assassination and treason, while James Lonsdale was commissioned to paint posthumous portraits of Nelson and Pitt for the Council chamber. More tangible proofs of loyalty were shown in the subscription of £500, in 1798, 'in aid of supplies requisite for the defence of this country' and in 1803 100 guineas was contributed to the corps of volunteers 'now raising in this town'.⁵⁵ Such gifts were not completely altruistic, as English control of the Atlantic and the abolition of piracy on the high seas were both vital to the restoration of the health of Lancaster's West India trade.

Corporate petitions with a set political purpose were rare. One such was sent in the winter of 1783/4 in support of the King's exercise of his prerogative in dismissing Charles James Fox from office.⁵⁶ Later, Radical activities spurred the Council to send more loyal petitions. One in June 1792 was sent in support of the King's proclamation against corresponding societies, and a second in December was particularly vehement on the subject of 'seditious writings' and received over 2,000 signatures.⁵⁷

Another in June 1812, following the assassination of Spencer Perceval, deprecated meetings in London and Middlesex demanding Reform. This was signed by 117 gentlemen, merchants and principal inhabitants of the town.⁵⁸ Petitions were also sent to support Royal and Tory resistance to Roman Catholic emancipation in May 1807 and February 1829. In commercial matters Lancaster supported the more powerful voice of Liverpool on behalf of the slave trade (1789), against the East India Company monopoly (in which agitation the Corporation provided a leader in Samuel Gregson) and against duties on sea-borne coal.⁵⁹

The wars which upset Lancaster's trade made the Corporation fervently loyal, and Radicalism, which was regularly punished at Lancaster Castle in the 1790's, made it strongly Tory. When, however, it came to choice of Members of Parliament for the borough, the Corporation did not interfere, either during the selection or the election of the candidates. The borough was potentially as much a satellite of Liverpool politically as it was commercially. In the hey-day of Lancaster's eighteenth century prosperity only Abraham Rawlinson emerged as a local contender for the representation of the borough and he was not connected with the Corporation. The Corporation was indeed far more united in its support of John Gladstone of Liverpool in 1818 than of Rawlinson in 1780. When no commercial man presented himself the Corporation took no initiative to find one, preferring to avoid contested elections in the interests of law and order, it left the choice of Members of Parliament to be negotiated between the local aristocracy and gentry, in accordance with time-honoured tradition.

RELIGION

The members of the old Corporation were almost exclusively Anglican in their religion. Opposition to Roman Catholic emancipation has already been noted, although in 1829, a resolution against 'further concessions to His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects' only received a majority of two. That there was strong support for the Select Body's stance is suggested by the fact that seven hundred signatures were added to the petition, and, in accordance with the express wishes of his constituents, J.F. Cawthorne voted against the emancipation bill. Once the bill was passed, Macaulay reported that the barristers and 'quiet townspeople here are very well contented.'⁶⁰

The link between the Corporation and the Established Church was not confined to the individual religious persuasions of its members. The Corporation had an ill defined responsibility for the upkeep of the chancel of the Parish Church derived from ancient rights of burial of its members there. In August 1821 the Bishop of Chester made a personal visitation and ordered a general overhaul of the church fabric.⁶¹ The roof of the centre and side aisles was in a particularly bad state of repair. The Vestry claimed that the Corporation was responsible for repairing the 'roof, walls, leads, windows and other parts of the Chancel of this Church'. In January 1822 the Corporation accordingly appointed a committee of nine to ascertain its liability for repairs to the chancel. On 25th April, John Higgin, the new Town Clerk, a member of both the Vestry and the committee, suggested in the Vestry that the cost of repairs to the chancel roof might be split three ways between the Vicar, the Organist and the Corporation. The scheme won the support of the Organist, but not the Vicar, and so the matter was temporarily shelved. In July the Vestry began work on repairing the nave roof (the responsibility of the Parish), and in November the Corporation decided to contribute £100 (or one third of the estimated cost) towards the chancel, on condition that in future the cost of repairs should be defrayed from chancel pew rents. Although the Corporation continued to contribute towards church expenses, the

indications from the debate over the roof repairs are that the Corporation had no longer the will or the means to fill the role of benefactor beyond its limited responsibility as owner of the Corporation pews.

Only a few Dissenters were admitted to the unreformed Corporation. Only two are known to have entered before the repeal of the Corporation Act in 1828. They were both Unitarians: John Taylor (1735-1817), sailcloth manufacturer and a trustee of St. Nicholas Street Chapel, and Thomas Bond (1759-1817), merchant. Taylor was elected a Common Councilman in 1787, the very year in which Beaufoy put his first motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts before the House of Commons. Taylor was elected a Capital Burgess in 1791. Bond became a Common Councilman in 1795.⁶² There may have been others. The Anglicans on the Corporation certainly included one or two disowned Quakers, like James Barton Nottage, a West India merchant who became a Common Councilman in 1814 and Alderman in 1821. After the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Dissenters and Roman Catholics could be elected to the Corporation without offending their co religionists. Three have been noted in Lancaster (none of them Roman Catholics): John H. Sherson (1807-64), Unitarian attorney in 1832, John Dockray (1775-1838), Quaker worsted spinner in 1833 and William Jackson (1795-1871), Independent cotton spinner who entered and resigned by 1834. Their numbers were too small to act as a group and it is noticeable that none became Alderman or Mayor. Nevertheless their presence shows that the old Corporation was more flexible towards Dissenters than its detractors in 1835 made out.

Adherence to the Church of England might be seen as an important unifying factor on the Corporation in a borough where the Society of Friends was strong and Roman Catholicism and old Dissent not insignificant. Opposition to the Established Church was to form an important element in the reform movement of 1835-40), (see part II), but before that time it did not provide a political base for opponents of the Corporation. The old aristocracy of Dissent had not bothered to conform for the sake of joining the Common Council. Those who did conform, like James Barton

Nottage (the Quaker merchant 'disowned' in 1803 for attending national worship and engaging himself 'in a military situation'), did so for social rather than political reasons.⁶³ As has been seen there was no rush to join the Corporation after 1828. Those who had remained loyal to Dissent often had marriage ties which made them more cosmopolitan than either their less wealthy co religionists or even their commercial rivals on the Corporation.⁶⁴ As has been shown in Chapter III, the Lancaster aristocracy of Dissent mixed easily with their Corporation counterparts on social occasions. In matters of public concern the Corporation was becoming less important in the first three decades of the nineteenth century (see Chapter V), and in the public committees which were of increasing importance, the leaders of Dissent played an important part (see Chapter VI).

CHAPTER IVFootnotes.

1. BPP 1835 XXV Appendix Part III Northern Circuit Cd. 188.
2. Lancaster Town Hall, Lancaster Corporation Minutes.
- 3a J.H. Thomas, Town Government in the Sixteenth Century (1933), p. 35.
- 3b Corporation Minutes, 15 April 1801.
4. M.M. Schofield, Outlines of an Economic History of Lancaster from 1680 to 1860 (Lancaster, 1951),
5. Corporation Minutes, 1 June 1804.
6. Watson was elected on 14 March 1809.
7. Corporation Minutes, 11 October 1809.
8. Ibid. 28 November 1809.
9. Ibid. 6 January 1815.
10. Ibid. 22 September 1817.
11. Other municipal corporations suffered similarly from Quo Warranto proceedings in the years immediately following the Napoleonic Wars, when such resort to the law was a favourite weapon of radicals outside the municipal oligarchy to reform municipal government at a local level; vide Colchester in M.E. Speight, 'Politics in the Borough of Colchester 1812-1847', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1969.
12. Derived from Lancaster Council Minutes, Lancaster Gazette and Directories.
13. Lancaster Records, (Lancaster, 1869), p. 149.
14. Bentham and Wardle: Commercial Directory for Northern England (Manchester) for 1814-15).
Pigot and Co. National Commercial Directory for the Seven Northern Counties of England for 1834 (London & Manchester, 1834).
15. M. Schofield, op. cit. p. 12.
- 16a Ibid. pp. 24-28.
- 16b Cross Fleury, Time-honoured Lancasters (Lancaster, 1891), pp. 480-1.
17. Ed. T. Cann Hughes, The Rolls of the Freemen of the Borough of Lancaster 1688-1840 (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society 1935).
18. Seward was presented to George III for a gold medal he had struck commemorating the building of Liverpool Exchange and Manchester Infirmary. See Cumberland Pacquet, 21 June 1796.
19. The four parliamentary elections between 1780 and 1790 (inclusive) alone swelled the number of freemen by 1,530. ~~There is no record of any freemen being admitted between 1780 and 1790.~~
20. Thomas Johnson, An Address to the Freemen of Lancaster on the Subject of Their Charter (1817).
21. Lancaster C.L., P.F. 8073.

22. Ibid. P.T. 8127.
23. Ibid. P.T.
24. Lancaster Gazette, 4 September 1819.
25. Ibid.
26. Lancaster University Library, Lancaster Joint Stock Banking Company, Accounts 1826-9.
27. Corporation Minutes, 31 January and 28 May 1814.
28. Ibid. 27 June and 3 July 1822.
29. BPP 1835 XXV, op. cit.
30. Town Council Minutes, 23 October 1837.
31. ~~Lancaster~~ C.R.C., Wills.
32. cf. Dr. Paul Knight, Superintendent of County Lunatic Asylum who made a profit of £1,033 on clothing between 1816 and 1823, see: Lancaster Gazette, 10 June 1824.
33. Directories op. cit.
34. M. Schofield, op. cit. Part 2, p. III et seq.
35. Ibid.
36. F. Collier, Family Economy of the Working Classes in the Cotton Industry 1784-1833 (Manchester, for the Chetham Soc. 1965).
- 37a Lancaster Gazette, 16 September 1826.
- 37b Armstrong, Dockray, Billow & Worswick were all members of the Philippi Club*
38. Thirty families supplied aldermen between 1781 and 1835. They were:
 - Gent/Esq.: Atkinson, Higgin, Postlethwaite.
 - Merchant: Atkinson, Bond, Burrow, Carlisle, Charnley, Giles, Gregson, Housman, Moore, Nottage, Sailisbury, Stout, Stuart, Watson.
 - Attorney: Atkinson, Baldwin, Mason, Parke, Parkinson, Shepherd, Wilson.
 - Surgeon: Campbell, Harris, Johnson.
 - Tallow Chandlers: Moore; Shipbuilder: Brockbank; Cabinetmaker: Redmayne; Mercer: Stout.
39. B. Whittingham Jones, 'Liverpool's Political Clubs 1812-30' Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Chesh. III, 1959.
40. L. Namier and J. Brooke, The House of Commons 1754-90 (1964).
41. Ibid.
42. Cumberland Pacquet, 20 September 1786 and 8 September 1790.
43. W.W. Bean, The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties OF England (Hull, 1890).
44. 1784: 16 voted for Rawlinson, 17 for Lowther.
45. 1786: 24 voted for Warren, 21 for Lowther.
46. 1790: 26 voted for Warren and Dent, 4 for Penn.
47. Lancaster City Library, Broadsheet.

* See Cross Fleury, op. cit. pp. 480-1

48. For biography see Lancaster Herald 5 March 1831.
49. 1802: 35 for Douglas and Dent; 14 for Cawthorne.
50. 1807: Only 11 for Cawthorne.
1818: 42 for Gladstone, 21 for Cawthorne, 10 for Doveton.
51. D.N.B.
52. M.I. Thomas, Politics and Society in Nottingham 1785-1835 (Oxford, 1969).
53. Lancaster City Library, Lancaster Election Poll Book 1818.
54. Cumberland Pacquet, 5 November 1788 and 18 March 1789.
55. Corporation Minutes, 15 February 1798 and 6 August 1803.
56. P.R.O. HO 55/15/3.
57. Cumberland Pacquet 15 December 1792.
58. Lancaster Gazette, 16 June 1812.
59. Corporation Minutes.
60. R.N. Billington and J. Brownbill, St. Peter's, Lancaster (1910).
A. Hewitson, Northward: Between Preston and Lancaster (Preston, 1900), p. 62.
61. Ed. W.O. Roper Materials for the History of the Church of Lancaster (Manchester, 1906), III, 644 et seq. The situation was made worse by a non resident Vicar and a lunatic patron. See Cheshire Record Office, EDV 7/3/280 and EDV 7/7/319.
62. W. Hewitson, Lancaster Unitarian Chapel (Lancaster, 1893).
The boundary between the Established Church and the Unitarians seems to have been easily surmounted. Such an important Unitarian wedding such as that between Edmund Potter of Manchester and Jessy Crompton of Lune Villa took place in October 1829 at St. Mary's Parish Church, not at St. Nicholas Street Chapel.
- Norwich, like Lancaster, abandoned the enforcement of the Corporation Act, and there too it was the Unitarians who took the lead - providing three Mayors between 1802 and 1819 (see R.W. Davis, Dissent in Politics 1780-1830 (1971)).
- N.B. First R.C. elected to York Corporation 1829.
63. Lancaster Friends' Meeting House, Minutes of Monthly Meeting 1803.
N.B. 'Marrying out' was the most common reason for exclusion e.g. Thomas Howitt (1808) and John Ford Jnr. (1812), and Joseph Dockray (1824). Other causes of disowning were 'excess in drinking and neglect of meetings', indebtedness, begetting of illegitimate children, joining the local militia, attendance of 'vain sports and places of diversion', defrauding an employer etc.
64. e.g.
1) Quakers: Ford to Barclay (London banker), (for Fords see A. Raistrick, Dynasty of Ironfounders (1953); Dilworth to Gilpin of Philadelphia; Gwdson (Kendal banker) and Birkbeck (Settle banker); Jepson to Fisher (Bristol merchant) and Corbett (Lancaster cotton spinner); Barrow to Cadbury (Birmingham silk mercer).

- 2) Unitarians: Noble to Ainsworth (Bolton cotton spinner) and Gaskell (Manchester merchant); Crompton to Potter (Carlisle calico printer); Greg to Kennedy (Manchester cotton spinner); Armstrong to Crompton (ex-Derby banker).
- 3) Roman Catholics: Gillow to Stapleton (heiress of Carlton, Yorks.); Worswick to Unsworth of Liverpool, Andrade (Liverpool merchant) and Greaves (Preston banker).

cf. Marriages of members of the Lancaster Corporation were far less spectacular. There was much intermarriage between Lancaster families, as in the Dissenting and Roman Catholic groups, but marriages out of town were to less well-known families. Richard Atkinson married the daughter of Nicholas Grimshaw, six times Mayor of Preston. A Moore married a Ross (merchants of Liverpool). Several (including Carlisle, Harris and Housman) married the daughters of clergy. A Gregson married into the Fells (landowners of Ulverston) the Gibsons (bankers of Kirkby Lonsdale) and the Kirkeses of Holker. An Inman married into the Salisburys of Kirkham.

Only the Hinde connection with the Gladstones (merchants of Liverpool) and the marriage of Lazarus Threlfall's daughter to Matthew, son of Edward Baines of Leeds, could match some of the marital triumphs of the Lancaster Dissenters.

N.B. Only one important marriage has been ascertained across the religious divide between Church and Dissent in Lancaster. John Higgin, Town Clerk, married Susan Armstrong, daughter of the Unitarian silk spinner.

CHAPTER VTHE CORPORATION'S LOSS OF OVERALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR
MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT, 1780-1835

Lancaster, as an ancient incorporated borough, had a series of royal charters stretching from the reigns of King John to Charles II.¹ These had established its rights to independent borough courts, and to the complete regulation of trade (including markets and fairs) carried on within its boundaries. The charters also provided for an elective body to govern the borough, to levy tolls and to issue licences to trade. From the sixteenth century, such responsibilities as the relief of the poor, the upkeep of the highways and the maintenance of the peace were administered by the parish or the township rather than the Corporation. The overseers and constables were elected by the vestry, but they were responsible to the Justices of the Peace who were the borough aldermen.² The tradition of Corporation patronage and leadership in addition to the fact that it was the largest landowner and ratepayer gave the Select Body a decisive influence over parochial decisions. Although the parish, not the Corporation, levied the poor and highway rates it was regarded as the Corporation's responsibility to alleviate the burden by grants from its own funds. Only from the eighteenth century were the corporate powers limited by the creation of statutory bodies for specific purposes. The first of such authorities, the Port Commissioners, was set up to carry out the Act of 1749 (extended in 1772 and 1789) to improve the navigation of the river Lune.³

Urban growth in the eighteenth century brought increased problems of street maintenance and improvement. In this next section we shall examine the complete change in the Corporation's role in this sphere of its activities in the period 1770 to 1825. It illustrates the change in the Corporation's ability and willingness to take the lead when faced by its own financial crisis and by a reversal in the town's economic fortunes.

The Corporation's ownership of a large amount of land within the limits

of the borough obliged it to play an important part in the town's physical expansion of the late eighteenth century. During the period of rapid growth (1760-1800), Lancaster spread in four directions: north eastwards down onto the Green area, the flat land between the millrace and the river Lune, south eastwards up into the Friarage, southwards along Penny Street and King Street and westwards in the High Street area. The Friarage was previously occupied by market gardeners and was owned by two families, the Martons of Capernwray and the Daltons of Thurnham. The west side of Lancaster belonged to the Fenton family. The Green Area was the chief direction of development. It was covered with orchards and gardens and belonged to the Corporation. It was the fashionable resort for exercise and fresh air, and by the mid eighteenth century contained a bowling green.⁴

One indication that this was the major area of development was the erection of St. John's (the town's first chapel of ease attached to St. Mary's) on the edge of the Green Area in 1754.⁵ By the 1760's the Corporation was allowing its tenants to build over the millrace, the southern boundary of the Green Area.⁶ In July 1765 permission was given for the bowling green and the land adjoining Cable Street to be set out in lots. Building development was spasmodic, and it was not until July 1770 that the decision to build the new bridge over the river Lune 'opposite Skerton Cross' obliged the Corporation to commission a road 'twenty yards wide over the Green Area' to link the town with the proposed new bridge.⁷ The bridge was to be provided by the county, but the Corporation gave their full support, only three out of twenty one members present refusing to contribute towards the expence of the requisite Act of Parliament, and sixteen promising sums of £100 or £200 each.

The Act became law in July 1783, and in November a committee was set up to supervise the surveying and planning of the Green Area.⁸ The complaints of W.B. Bradshaw, Lord of the Manor of Halton, who had rights over the millrace, were ignored. By September 1784 the Corporation was ready to sell thirteen building lots in Cable Street and ten on the south east side of Parliament Street.⁹ Careful restrictions were put upon developers.

Houses in Parliament Street were to be no less than three storeys high and running in a uniform line. Those in Cable Street were also to be built to a regular pattern and were to have walls at least two feet four inches thick. The purchasers of lots in Cable Street were also required to maintain a footpath of gravel with a 'handsome hewn curb stone'. Meanwhile the Corporation would retain responsibility for the upkeep and repair of Antigua Street, Jamaica Street and any other subsequent streets or passages. All lots were sold for terms of forty one years renewable upon a fine of twenty years' reserved rent, which was to be fixed by the length of the house frontage: 1/- per yard for the Cable Street houses and 9d for those in Parliament Street. These details illustrate the Corporation's concern for two basic requirements: uniformity of development in order to ensure a maximum return on the site and freedom of access from both front and rear. In promoting this 'quality' house development the Lancaster Corporation paralleled the efforts, even if on a much smaller scale, of the municipal bodies at Edinburgh and Newcastle.¹⁰ There is no doubt that in Lancaster the Corporation was supplying the demand of wealthy merchants for fine town houses, but the high standards which the Corporation set are also to be seen in such embellishments as the new Town Hall (1783), and the new Skerton Bridge Toll house (1786) and was reflected in such contemporary private housing developments as Dalton and Queen's Squares and in such semi-public works as the Lancaster Canal Company's Lune Aqueduct (1797).¹¹

Meanwhile the Common Council did not entirely neglect the improvement of the older parts of the town. Improvements usually took the form of street widening, for which the Corporation was held responsible as the receiver of tolls. It was usually on a small scale. Thus in April and June 1774, thirty-nine guineas were spent on the purchase of tiny pieces of land for widening thoroughfares in various parts of the town. In the same year a licence was obtained from the King for the erection of a shambles for the butchers.¹² Even in this period of growth, under a comparatively enlightened Corporation, there was no rebuilding of such

overcrowded streets as China and Bridge Lanes. As at Edinburgh a new town was an addition, not a substitute for the old. Rebuilding was confined to properties for which the Corporation acted as trustee such as the houses of Gardner's Chantry, rebuilt on a new site in 1791.¹³

By the late 1790's the Corporation was forced to abandon any further initiative in urban development and improvement. The heavy cost of fighting the adjournment of the Annual General Session of the County Justices to Preston, (see Chapter II), the price inflation caused by the French Wars and the decline in income from sales of the freedom and rents, all conspired to place the Corporation in ever increasing debt. Meanwhile, the stagnation of Lancaster's overseas trade and the ^{town's} tardy conversion to cotton manufacturing in the first two decades of the nineteenth century reduced the incentive for further development schemes. By 1801, the newly laid out Antigua Street contained only one lessee, John Brockbank, a shipbuilder, while the western complex of streets with a square to balance Dalton square, drawn on Clark's map of 1807, was never even laid out.¹⁴

The fear of another expensive parliamentary battle decided the Corporation against application for a Lighting, Paving and Watching Act in January 1802. Moderate expenditure on the upkeep of corporate markets and tolls continued to be incurred. In 1804, £300 was borrowed for the conversion of the Cock Pit in Back Lane (later renamed King Street) into a Butter Market, and new stables were provided at two of the toll houses. In December 1804 money was borrowed for the purchase of several houses in St. Mary's Lane for street widening. These were, however, only minor ventures and comprised the last Corporation initiative in street improvement.

From then on it was the inhabitants of the town who were obliged to take action for such improvements. The most pressing problem was drainage. The town only had one sewer between Stonewell and the mill dam near St. John's, into which all the minor systems or surface channels drained. Heavy rain caused severe flooding which in turn caused great holes in the streets.¹⁵ On 6th April 1813 a meeting was held of the owners of houses and lands in the borough under the chairmanship of John Ford of Ellet Hall, a local

landowner, but a Quaker and not a member of the Corporation. The object of the meeting was to consider the construction of a common sewer 'from the Horse Shoe Corner down Pudding Lane and Calkeld Lane to the Dam', in order to drain the town's three principal streets (Church Street, Market Street and Penny Street) into the Mill Dam. The Corporation was urged to raise the requisite money for the drain and to reimburse itself by means of an 'Act of Parliament hereafter to be obtained for lighting and paving the town or for other general improvements'. The Corporation agreed to the townspeople's requests and provided £430 for the sewer, but took no steps towards obtaining an Act of Parliament.¹⁶

With the full support of the chief inhabitants, the Corporation's reluctance to apply to Parliament cannot be explained in purely financial terms. Its refusal to take the town's case to Parliament is more satisfactorily seen as the long-term effect of the constitutional crisis of 1809-10, (see Chapter IV). The doubts cast on the legality of the Select Body's proceedings by the challenge of James Watson and the sudden removal of some of its most experienced members did much to undermine the confidence of the Corporation in its own undertakings. The marked inactivity of the 1810's can thus be explained largely in terms of this uncertainty of the Corporation's legal position and its anticipation of greater powers of self regulation from a new Charter.

Nevertheless it was the Corporation's financial crisis which brought the issue of constitutional uncertainty to a head. In 1817 a committee of seven senior members, appointed to look into the expediency of increasing the revenue by selling the freedom of the borough and the Corporation's leasehold property, estimated that the Corporation's debts amounted to over £2,000 and that £863 was owed on current tradesmen's bills alone.^{17a} The committee upbraided the Select Body for permitting such a situation to arise. Apart from this debt, for which a mortgage on the Shambles's rents was recommended, normal revenue was found to exceed 'indispensable' expenditure. Maladministration was seen as the main reason for the Corporation's insolvency. The committee blamed the Bailiffs for 'expending

large sums in new works and improvements without any orders of the Council to authorize their proceedings'. The whole of the municipal estates were described as 'destitute of attention and left without any care of regularity in their management':

The annual officers pass through their year before they become acquainted with your affairs. Some may not have leisure to attend, others want inclination, and if one begins a system of improvement those who follow neglect to follow that system, and the fact is, there are no estates in the neighbourhood so badly conducted as those belonging to the Corporation. The copyholds are exceedingly neglected and a large tract of valuable Common lately allotted near to and part of the Race Course remains a waste.

The committee recommended the appointment of a permanent Land Committee with power to employ a surveyor to attend to the 'husbandry and improvement of the estates'. The cost of improving the allotments on Quernmore Moor and the copyhold estates was to be met by the sale of the leasehold rents. In future no plans or sales were to be undertaken without the Council's approval.

The committee did not just advocate a policy of retrenchment. It urged a complete change in Corporate policy towards public works. The municipal finances could no longer stand the strain of sole responsibility for the general improvement of Lancaster's streets:

... to such general improvements the whole property of the Town ought to be called on to contribute. It cannot be expected nor is it correct that you should expend large sums in improving the property of others when your revenue scarcely enables you to pay your officers' salaries.

Finally, the committee associated the financial inefficiency of the Select Body with its constitutional inability to renew its ranks. Thus the concluding recommendation was that an application should be made immediately for a new Charter to put the Corporation once more on a sound legal footing. In this case financial solvency and managerial efficiency did not lie in the same direction. Whereas the other reforms could all be implemented at minimal cost, the new Charter (received and accepted in August 1819) added a further £1,900 to the corporate debt. The mortgage of £1,500 raised on the security of the copyholds in March 1819 placed one more millstone round the neck of the old Corporation.

On 21 March 1821 a second report was presented on the finances of

the Corporation. The outstanding tradesmen's bills had been reduced to under £150, but the current debt alone stood at £1,159, and expenditure had exceeded income by nearly £600 in 1820. Income, estimated at about £1,150 (exclusive of Shambles rents) in 1817, had fallen to £930. The finance committee could only recommend further implementation of the new course set in 1817, but in addition it took the novel step of indicating the Corporation's 'conspicuous' consumption as an area for economies. Anticipating ironically the 'anti-guzzle' campaign of the reformers of 1835-6, the committee urged the abolition of court day expences, the annual auditors' feast and the public treat on the King's birthday - at least until the finances were 'recruited'. Such a short list revealed the small extent of celebrations at the Corporation's expense. The audit feast survived as the only entertainment paid for out of Corporation funds.

On 25 June 1821 the Council decided to sell one of its major assets, the Leasehold property. This decision was taken after Jonathan Binns, the new borough surveyor, had reported that the total value of such property was £2,355 14s 7d while the annual rental realised was only £35 0s 5d. The Salt Area (opposite the Marsh on the north side of the Lune) and the two allotments on the Moor were valued at £1,000 and £945 respectively, but the sale of these was to be postponed. ^{17b} Meanwhile the drive for greater efficiency, combined with an acknowledgement of the enormous debt still outstanding to the firm of solicitors who had piloted the Charter, led to the replacement of John Lewthwaite as Town Clerk by John Higgin junior.¹⁸ At the same time the Corporation mortgage held by Lewthwaite was transferred to Benjamin Satterthwaite, a wine merchant and Common Councilman.

The first fruit of the Corporation's new policy to cease the free provision of civic amenities was the abandonment of its responsibility for lighting the town. On 28 September 1819, one month after the ratification of the new Charter, the Mayor (T.W. Salisbury Esq.) called a public meeting of the inhabitants of the borough to inform them that the Corporation was unable to bear the expense of lighting the lamps in the ensuing winter.¹⁹ The argument put forward by the Mayor and Alderman Giles was that

the Corporation had no legal responsibility to continue what was only a traditional service to the town. Given the voluntary nature of the service, the Corporation had no objection to resuming responsibility when it could afford the expense. The opposition to the Mayor was led by Arthur Ingleby, a young solicitor who had been a leader in opposition to the new Charter, and a Mr. Alston. No motions were passed then, but at a subsequent meeting the town was divided into districts and a subscription list was started.²⁰

It was not until 1823 that a move was made to replace such a temporary arrangement by a permanent measure. Proposals to adopt legislative powers to levy rates had been discussed in 1783 and 1802 by the Common Council.²¹ At a public meeting in March 1823 a committee was appointed to confer with the Corporation, and in February 1824 a notice appeared in the local press of the application to Parliament for a lighting and watching act.²² Lancaster was one of the last important boroughs to obtain such an act. York had obtained one in 1823 and there was a feeling in the air that Lancaster must not be left behind.²³ Liverpool's first was in 1745, Manchester's in 1776, Preston's in 1815. Nottingham and Wigan still had none in 1831.²⁴

The Lighting and Watching Act (commonly known as the Police Act) became law in the summer of 1824.²⁵ The Act established an authority composed of the Mayor, Aldermen, owners of property worth £70 and tenants of property worth £40. Innkeepers were specifically excluded from taking office. These Commissioners were to meet monthly and were to appoint officers including a treasurer, a clerk, firemen and watchmen.²⁶ The Commissioners took from the Corporation the responsibility for patrolling the streets 'on every Sunday in the day-time', the town's fire-fighting equipment, and all the powers over 'paving, improving, cleansing and watering' the streets (both public and private). The new authority even took over responsibility for repair of the markets, although the rights of the Corporation to regulate the markets and to collect tolls was explicitly reserved. The Commissioners were further empowered to light the streets and to let out gas light to private individuals. As one wit

wrote to the Gazette: 'Rome had her Consuls, Athens had her Archons. And we, Sir, have our Managing Committee.'²⁷

The Commissioners were sworn in on 13 July, 1824, and John Higgin junior, the new clerk to the Corporation, was also appointed their clerk.²⁸ In its membership the new authority did not provide a clean break with the old, but instead, by the inclusion of the substantial tradesmen, adopted a wider political base and brought a new urgency to the improvement of the 'second class' shopping streets. The crucial difference between the old and the new authorities was that the new had the power to levy rates. It was also empowered to borrow up to £3,000 (at a maximum of 9d in the pound for paving and improving and 6d in the pound for lighting and watching). With this new prospect of financial solvency, the Commissioners at once ordered tenders of contracts for 'soughing and paving' St. Nicholas Street and the upper part of Penny Street.

The Corporation gave its full co-operation to the new body. It made an annual contribution of £100 and handed over all the lighting and fire-fighting equipment in its possession. In September 1825 it gave the Commissioners charge of the waste land used for rubbish disposal and in October the Corporation promised land and money for the opening of a new road through Dalton Square to the Poor House on the Moor.

In spite of its release from the responsibility of municipal improvement, the Corporation debt stood at nearly £4,000 in January 1825, with an annual deficit of £200.²⁹ As the Finance Committee explained, the deficiency was only made up by loans borrowed on the security of the Shambles. Yet no new means of increasing the revenue were suggested except for the sale of such capital assets as the Salt Area and the Moor allotments. Most of the leasehold property had been sold. The sale of the freedom of the borough had long been abandoned as a feasible source of income. Rents on remaining Corporation property could not be raised. The reverse was the case. In 1821 the tenants of the Marsh allotments successfully appealed for a reduction in their rents and in 1822 the rent of the Black Horse Inn in Common Garden Street (the partial security for at least one Corporation loan) had to be lowered.³⁰ Meanwhile the only suggestion for

reducing expenditure, the pruning of salaries, was regarded as too insignificant to be worthwhile.

It was not until the early 1830's, however, that the Corporation made a systematic attempt to keep annual accounts and to exercise a strict control over its leasehold property and its tolls. In August 1829 a report was made to the Council which strongly criticised the management of the leasehold estates, resulting in some cases with the loss of the leases themselves. In April 1830, it was ordered that all forty-one year leases which had expired were to be renewed within the next three months, and, in future, a registry of leases was to be kept, with no sub-division of leases permitted without the Council's license. In October, the Toll Committee revealed that carters transporting coal into or through the town by canal were evading the tolls. The resistance of the coal dealers had encouraged 'other persons, particularly millers, to refuse payment of passage toll on grain and merchandize'. This question of tolls on merchandize using the Lancaster Canal involved the Corporation in expensive litigation at a time when it was also fighting a costly legal battle in Parliament for the retention of its monopoly of the county Assizes. Both were lost causes. Meanwhile the report of the Shambles Committee in September 1830 was equally gloomy. Many of the butchers' shops had stood empty 'for some time past' as a result of 'a diminished demand for Butchers' meat and in circumstances which the Corporation cannot influence'. Past mismanagement of its own property, the triumph of free trade and local fluctuation and stagnation in trade all appeared to conspire against municipal solvency.

By the time of the demise of the old Corporation, its financial problems, although more tidily set out than at any time since 1817, remained unsolved. In 1835 the Corporation debt stood at £2,115, while income (£1,217) and expenditure (£1,018) remained much the same as in 1817, in spite of every effort. Heavy expenditure on legal battles over the Charter, the Assizes and the tolls had helped create a large debt. On the other hand, the Corporation notably failed to keep abreast of price inflation during the Napoleonic Wars and so mismanaged its property that by the early

1830s the sale of its real estate realised only a fraction of its true value. Furthermore, the short-term fluctuations and the long-term stagnation in the town's trade was reflected in the Corporation rentals. Both revenue and expenditure had been stabilised by the 1820s, and the deficit steadily declined in 1831 and 1832 and turned into a surplus of about £200 per annum in 1833-5. It was thus not surprising that the Municipal Corporation Commissioners (and indeed the local reform party too) did not refer to Corporation extravagance as a major reason for replacing it.³¹ Nor, as has been seen elsewhere, had membership of the Select Body been the source of great profit to any beside the firm of solicitors. Nevertheless the legacy left by the old Corporation was not a healthy one and the struggle for solvency, made more difficult by the abolition of tolls, was to continue as the main consideration of the new Town Council.

In this Chapter we have seen how in one area of municipal responsibility, a marked change in the Corporation's role took place during the period 1780 to 1825. It has been argued that a major cause of this change was the financial insolvency of the Select Body after 1796. This prolonged crisis in its own administration forced the Corporation to abandon an active policy of municipal improvement and development. The Webbs in their study of the origins of the Improvement Commissioners minimised the transfer of responsibility from the old Corporations.³² The Commissioners, not the Corporation, the Webbs maintained, were the progenitors of modern municipal government. In so far as the Improvement Commissioners and the municipal authorities of the turn of the twentieth century were both primarily concerned with the provision of civic amenities this was probably true. In the wider sense of municipal government's concern for all aspects of community life, the Webbs' claim is less easily substantiated. In Lancaster, it has been argued, the old Corporation had just that sense of total responsibility, derived from long traditions and unrestricted powers, which the statutory Improvement Commissioners lacked. What appears significant in Lancaster was the reluctance of both Corporation and town to depart from this tradition of general responsibility of the Select

Body. In spite of heavy indebtedness and uncertainty of its constitutional powers, the Corporation continued to exercise responsibility for street lighting and improvement until 1817. From 1813 to 1824 the initiative for such work passed slowly to the landowners and tradesmen outside the Common Council, and in the end it was they who applied for an Improvement Act. In the meantime the Corporation's attitude towards its public duties hardened. The Charter negotiations reminded its members of its primary responsibility as a corporation to itself and to the freemen for whom it held lands in trust. The Corporation remained, however, the 'legal personification' of the borough, alone responsible for representing the town's interests in such matters as the defence of the Assizes. Thus the Act of 1835 revitalised a notion of general responsibility which was by no means dead. By giving the Corporation the same strength as the Improvement Commissioners, namely a representative basis, statutory authority and a means of financial recuperation through the borough rate, the Act of 1835 rendered the Improvement Commissioners redundant, even though the dual system of municipal government survived until 1849.

CHAPTER V

1. The Corporate History of Lancaster, Lancaster Museum Monograph 1974.
2. W.O. Roper, Materials for the History of the Church of Lancaster
Cheltham Society, 58, New Series (Manchester, 1906), pp. 602 et seq.
3. M.M. Schofield, Outlines of an Economic History of Lancaster 1680-1860
(Lancaster, 1946), p. 17.
The Port Commissioners were drawn largely from the ranks of the Corporation
see: J.B. Shaw, op. cit.
4. Ed. J.D. Marshall, The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster
1665-1752, (Manchester, 1967), pp. 96, 140.
For the wider setting of Lancaster Marsh and Moor see:
J. Holt, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster (1795),
pp. 86-7.
5. R. Simpson, The History and Antiquities of the Town of Lancaster
(Lancaster, 1852), p. 348.
6. Lancaster Town Hall, Corporation Minutes 14 January 1765.
7. Ibid. 23 July 1770.
8. At the same time, with the end of the American War of Independence and
the expected recovery and expansion of Lancaster's trade, the Daltons
were leasing land in the Friarage for the laying out of Dalton Square
(see Lancaster Gazette, 8 June 1833).
9. Ibid. 16 September 1784.
10. A.J. Youngson, The Making of Classical Edinburgh (Edinburgh 1966), p. 50
et seq.
11. Designed by John Rennie, the Lune Aqueduct was completed at a cost
of £38,000 in 1797; see W.O. Roper, A Short Guide to Lancaster p. 24.
Public and private buildings were alike admired by visitors to the town;
see among others, T. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides
1772 (Chester 1774), pp. 20-22.
12. Lancaster Town Hall, Corporation Charters: Royal Licence in Mortmain,
18 August 1774.
13. Corporation Minutes, 5 May 1791.
14. Ibid. 15 April 1808, and Map 1.
15. Any example of such a storm and its effects is cited in Lancaster Records,
op. cit. 26 July 1809, pp. 44-5.
16. Ibid. 10 April 1813. A committee was set up to raise a public subscription
for the relief of nuisances. Its membership comprised six members of the
Corporation and four outsiders (Richard Worswick, banker; George Crosfield, sugar
merchant; J.B. Nottage, merchant; and John Ford, landowner). The four
outsiders were all very substantial property owners. Nottage was elected a
common councilman in 1814. (Lancaster Gazette 13 April 1813).
- 17a Ibid. 21 April 1817. The seven man committee included Alderman Atkinson
(merchant), T. Mason (merchant), Alderman Giles (Baltic merchant), J. Bond,
(merchant), Alderman J. Park (attorney), J. Stout (merchant), S. Gregson
(Mayor elect and Secretary to Canal Company).

- 17b The Marsh was enclosed by Act of Parliament 1795, the Moor in 1811 (see Part II, Chapter I).
18. Ibid. 3 July 1822.
19. Lancaster City Library, PT 8181.
20. Lancaster Gazette, 2 October 1819.
21. Corporation Minutes, 11 December 1783, 27 January 1802.
22. Lancaster Gazette, 21 February 1824. The Corporation added its seal on 5 February 1824.
23. Ibid. 10 April 1824.
24. S. & B. Webb, English Local Government: Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes (1922), pp. 242-5.
25. Lancaster City Library, 5 Geo. IV 1824.
26. The Corporation had traditionally been responsible for the watch. Its inadequacy is evident from the formation of a voluntary association by inhabitants in some of the principal streets to engage private watchmen to guard against the increase in thefts (see C. Pacquet, 15 December 1790). From the frequency of thefts reported in the press, this voluntary action was patently inadequate, but in 1833 the Royal Commission found more private watchmen than the 9 public watchmen provided by the Police Commission (see BPP 1835 XXV).
27. Lancaster Gazette, 21 February 1824.
28. Ibid. 14 August 1824.
29. Corporation Minutes, 26 January 1825; the investigation had been ordered on 25 November 1822.
30. Ibid. 1 December 1821 and 12 November 1822.
31. BPP 1835, XXV, Municipal Corporations, App. III, Northern Circuit, Cd. 1596-1613.
32. op. cit. 235-6.

CHAPTER VIPROLOGUE TO REFORM POLITICS:TRADESMEN IN MUNICIPAL DECISION-MAKING BEFORE 1835.

It has been argued in Chapter IV that the Corporation did not open its doors to outsiders after the new Charter of 1819, nor did the number of tradesmen entering its ranks visibly increase. The merchants remained dominant, even though there was a considerable influx of attorneys after 1819. Yet in these years of economic uncertainty and Corporate indebtedness the number of decision-making bodies grew. The Lancaster Improvement Act of 1824 set up a body representative of a wider cross-section of propertied interests in the town than the Corporation. In addition there were numerous ad hoc committees set up at public meetings to cope with a large variety of problems. On these committees the lead was taken by the merchants, but their social membership was much wider than that of the Common Council.

A selection of nine committee lists has been gleaned from the Gazette for the period 1812-35 to provide an idea of the social status of those with some say in municipal affairs but who were not members of the Corporation. Such committees were concerned with a multitude of different questions. Most were engaged in collecting money, whether for disaster relief abroad (Russia 1812, Miramichi 1825) or for the more frequent demands of supplementary poor relief in Lancaster, as in 1819 and 1830. Other committees whose membership was noted were those established for economic enterprises such as the Lancaster Banking Company of 1826, and for drawing up petitions to Parliament or the Corporation on such matters as the future of the County Assizes, or the lighting and policing of the town. They did not include the members of either of the two statutory bodies, the Port Commission and the Improvement Commission, or the committee of the Pitt Club, all of which bodies were made up exclusively of members of the Corporation, merchants and notables.

TABLESocial Composition of Decision-Makers¹

	Gent.	Mercht./Mfr.	Trade/Craft	Professl.	TOTAL
1812-35					
Non-Councilor Committee Men	2 (6%)	15 (43%)	13 (37%)	5 (14%)	35
1811-35					
Common Councilmen	8 (13%)	32 (52%)	1 (2%)	20 (33%)	61

The above table compares the full group of Councilmen in the years 1811-35 with a sample of committeemen who at no stage were members of the Common Council. There were significantly more in the trade/craft category among the committee men than among the Common Councilmen. Of the trade/craft category among the committee members there were three grocers, four woollen drapers, a coal merchant, stationer, innkeeper, flour merchant and cheese factor and a tobacconist. Similarly the 'gentlemen' and 'professional' categories were far stronger in the Corporation than among the outsiders. All the professional men identified as committee members but not Councilmen were of lower status than their counterparts in the Select Body. Whereas the twenty Councilmen included twelve attorneys, four surgeons and a mixture of clergy, organists and gaol-keepers, the five committee members included no attorneys, three surgeons, a collector of customs and a banker's clerk.

The number of Dissenters in the mercantile/manufacturing group suggests that while non-Anglicans were not members of the old Corporation, their influence and authority were often sought for committees of primary municipal importance. This was especially true of the wealthy Quaker families, whose wealth and influence in the town and whose family and commercial ties outside it made them indispensable to any major municipal undertaking.² It is not surprising to find the frequent appearance of the Crosfields, the Quaker sugar refiners, who moved to Liverpool in the 1830's. George Crosfield (1754-1820) was on the committee to raise funds for Russia in 1812, first secretary and treasurer of the Lancaster Board of Health in 1815, and on the committee set up to administer emergency poor relief

in Lancaster in 1819. His son James was appointed to the Miramichi relief committee in 1825 and to the Assize committee of the same year. He was a founder of the Lancaster Banking Company, subscribing thirty shares, and was a member of the committee of both the Mechanics' Institute and the Auxiliary Bible Society. Another family of important Quaker merchants, the Dockrays, were similarly well represented, as were also the Armstrongs, the Unitarian silk spinners.³

The strong representation of less wealthy businessmen implies that committee work was a means of exercising personal influence not only for the Dissenters, but also for the smaller tradesmen. It has already been seen how the Dissenters joined in the social activities of the Corporation families. For the lesser tradesmen such opportunities of consorting with the elite only existed in such committee work. Even there, there was a distinction between those committees exclusively reserved for the wealthy tradesmen and those thrown open to all property-owners however small. Committees in charge of such matters as policing or lighting were manned mainly by manufacturers and merchants, with one or two professional men and tradesmen to add diversity rather than democracy to their membership. Poor relief committees were much larger and represented a cross-section of the property-owners from the entry to the lesser tradesmen - the latter comprising mainly grocers and drapers. Relief committees were thus composed of a functional alliance between those who could afford to donate substantial sums of money and those who would be paid to provide relief in kind and who, along with the clergy and medical men, would supervise its distribution.

The most 'democratic' committees were naturally those which supplied the needs of the tradesmen. Whereas relief committees had a responsibility to the whole community, the committees of the Mechanics' Institute and the Temperance Society were only responsible to their members. Committee membership at this level required less social importance. Such management committees attracted less attention from the elite families than did the social and political committees already mentioned. The management committees of the societies thus provided experience of public work to drapers, grocers, flour merchants, coal merchants, surgeons, and senior

of the many of whom would have had no other. Religious societies which proliferated in Lancaster in the first half of the nineteenth century and of course the Dissenting denominations provided a similar function.

It was on committees of both types that Town Councillors elected after municipal reform, and indeed Common Councilmen of the old Corporation, received their first experience of municipal management. Henry Foxcroft (1795-1841), a surgeon elected to the Town Council in 1836, was at one time a member of the committee of the Mechanics' Institute. Thomas Eastwood, a Roman Catholic cabinet maker elected in 1837, had served on the Assize Committee of 1834, as had Jonathan Dunn (1783-1843), a Methodist coach manufacturer elected in 1835, and John Pritt (1799-1856), an Anglican innkeeper and farmer elected in the Town Council in 1838. Many of the tradesmen and master craftsmen who flooded in to the Town Council in the years immediately following municipal reform had received their training in municipal affairs not from membership of the old Corporation, but from society committees and from those ad hoc municipal committees appointed at public meetings.

CHAPTER VIFootnotes.

1. This table is derived from an analysis of the social composition of the following committees: Poor Relief 1819 & 1830, Relief of Russians 1812, Pirmichi Relief 1825, Police Committee (ad hoc) 1829, Assize Committee 1823 & 1834, Lighting Committee (ad hoc) 1823, Lancaster Banking Co. Committee 1826.
2. See Chapter V, reference 64.
3. Joseph Dockray was in the committee of the Provident Savings Bank in 1816 (see Lancaster Records, p. 84).
John Armstrong was on the Poor Committee of 1818, (see Lancaster Records, p. 100).
John Armstrong Jnr. & James Grosfield both became directors of Lancaster Banking Co. in 1826 (ibid. p. 164).

CHAPTER VIISOCIAL UNREST AND CONTROL 1780-1835POLITICAL QUIESCENCE

The evidence of political quiescence of the lower orders in Lancaster in this period is largely negative. In Lancashire as a whole these were turbulent times. The trade cycle, combined with the effects of war, produced intermittent unrest in the manufacturing districts generally, and in those with a large proportion of handicraft workers in particular. Historians from G.D.H. Cole to E.P. Thompson have shown the close connection between economic distress and political unrest: the years of prosperity witnessed the foundation and consolidation of institutions for economic improvement or social reform, while the years of depression often saw their collapse. The membership of radical organisations seems to have been socially diverse.¹ Nevertheless the most vociferous and politically-orientated of all working class groups were not those temporarily thrown out of work by economic depression, but hand-workers whose economic and social position gradually deteriorated under the pressure of technological obsolescence.

The most radical working-class group in Lancashire were the hand-loom weavers.² Their wage-rates fell consistently after 1800, and accelerated after 1815 as power-looms were adopted by the cotton manufacturers in increasingly large numbers. The hand-loom weavers organised in the same way as the framework knitters of Nottingham, Derby and Leicester to lobby Parliament for the raising of piece-rates.³ Their petitions were considered sympathetically but produced no reversal of the disastrous decline. With most to gain and least to lose, the obsolescent hand-workers were always the first to turn to violence in times of depression, and their leaders, like Samuel Bamford, often became the leaders of radical working-class movements which included factory operatives and craft workers as well.⁴

Lancaster and its neighbourhood, unlike the areas surrounding Bolton and Manchester, had no strong textile tradition.⁵ Lancaster took no part in the rapid expansion of the textile industry centred on Manchester and its satellites from the sixteenth century onwards. The county town's exports in the late eighteenth century included cloth, but only as one of

the many items of domestic consumption sent out to the West Indies.⁶ Such cloth as was produced tended to be the product of the outlying villages rather than of Lancaster itself. In Lancaster weaving tended to be confined to the needs of sailcloth manufacture, which like the town's other main industries (rope-making, ship-building, cabinet-making, and sugar, tobacco and snuff refining) ^{grew with} ~~was heavily dependent on~~ the West Indies trade.

From the 1780's Lancaster and its neighbours were affected by the demand for cheap textile products which gave rise to a number of cotton, silk and worsted mills.⁷ The construction of textile-spinning mills, first in the Lune Valley and later in Lancaster itself, between 1780 and 1810, increased the demand for hand-weavers in the area. Nevertheless these mills were mainly small and water-powered and were highly susceptible to down-swings in the trade cycle. No large community of hand-loom weavers was created, and, after 1815, those mills which survived installed power-looms and, either absorbed the hand-workers in this way or sent them elsewhere for employment. It is significant that the area round Lancaster was the one manufacturing district in Lancashire unmentioned in the parliamentary reports on the hand-loom weavers in the 1830's.⁸ It is perhaps not coincidental that the newspaper and Home Office Reports which give such a full picture of distress and unrest among the hand-workers of South and East Lancashire in the period 1815-48 should be almost completely silent on the same subject when concerned with Lancaster.⁹

The very wide diversity of Lancaster's trade and industry centering round its twin functions as a port and market town reduced the importance of any one industry or means of employment. ^{Yet} Temporary dislocation of overseas trade ~~and~~ caused serious unemployment and pauperisation, ^{and} ~~but~~ such crises merely presented ^{severe} problems of organisation and control for the town's government. The sharp decline in overseas trade of 1780-1782 provides an example of such a time. Britain's temporary loss of control of the Atlantic to the French and Spanish fleets and American privateers wrought havoc with Lancaster merchantmen. In February 1783, 2,214 people were on poor relief in the town out of a population of 8,582 (as estimated by the

parish clerk in June 1784).¹⁰ 163,649lbs of oatmeal were distributed at a cost of £1,212 6s 0d between January and June. The money was raised by an ad hoc committee, but the emergency galvanised the Corporation into action as well. On 13 May the Council unanimously agreed to take advantage of the Parish Poorhouse Act of 1782 and gave orders for a poor house to be built on Lancaster Moor. The pauperisation of such a large proportion of the population, even if for many it was only temporary or possibly fraudulent, posed the problem of public order. The borough had previously relied on the parish constables, appointed by the Justices of the Peace, and the two Corporation sergeants. On 24 October the Council decided to set up a watch 'under proper regulations' and appealed to the public to support a subscription fund for its upkeep. The response was not good, and it was not till 1790 that a subscription raised among the inhabitants of the principal streets led to the provision of a private watchman 'on account of the thefts lately committed in Lancaster'. Money from the subscription was also to be set aside for the prosecution of 'such felons as are apprehended'.¹¹

The extent of radical activity in Lancaster in the 1790's is unknown. The columns of the Cumberland Pacquet dwell only on the manifestations of loyalty in the town.¹² At a public meeting in December 1792 a loyal declaration pledged over two thousand signatories to uphold the constitution of 1688, whereby 'both civil and religious liberty' was enjoyed and to discover:

The authors, publishers and distributors of any seditious writings which shall be published or dispersed with this town or neighbourhood.¹³

Any person or persons 'who may be found exciting tumult or disorder' were to be apprehended. In April 1793, one John Hooten was condemned at Lancaster Assizes to two hours in the pillory and two years in prison for 'contempt and high misdemeanours against the King's person and government and for writing and publishing a seditious paper'.¹⁴

The French declaration of war on 1 February 1793 and the subsequent losses of Lancaster ships to French privateers appear to have united the county town against radical activities. The town disliked the system of impressing sailors into naval service, but it was anxious for the war to

be won and was willing to raise money for the purpose.¹⁵ Even in the summer of 1795, after a particularly bad winter, the Septennial beating of the bounds of the borough by the Corporation on Whitmonday was marked by a display of working-class loyalty. The Corporation was met two miles outside the town by the fourteen Friendly Societies, and all processed back to Lancaster with a band playing 'God Save The King' and 'Rule Britannia'. Guns were fired and bells were rung as the procession reached the town.¹⁶ In November the Corporation renewed its solemn pledge 'to discourage and suppress ... the propagation of all levelling and seditious doctrines'.¹⁷

In spite of the heavy fall in the port's overseas trade in the years 1800-1802, the town did not permanently suffer. Most of its overseas trade switched to Liverpool where Lancaster merchants could take advantage of the convoy system and the better credit facilities. Lancaster industries, such as tobacco and sugar refining and cabinet-making, tended to follow suit, but the businesses which retained works in Lancaster, such as Gillow's the cabinet-makers, managed to keep themselves supplied with the necessary raw materials by importing through Liverpool and then transferring them along the coast. There was little capacity for growth in any of these port-based industries, but at least most of them survived.

The response to economic depression in Lancaster in the first third of the nineteenth century was marked by resignation^{and migration} rather than organisation. Organisation where it took place was usually characterised by unsuccessful efforts to prevent wage reductions. Lancaster's craft industries do not appear to have provided the working-class leadership which emerged in larger towns with similarly large or even larger franchises such as Bath or Preston.¹⁸ Lancaster's record of docility was more akin to a town such as Colchester which was in a similar state of economic decline.¹⁹ Lancaster's weak unions and low level of wages at this time will be examined later, but they may be mentioned now as a partial explanation. The attraction of other towns to Lancaster workers no doubt creamed off many of the potential leaders. Moreover, although the county authorities feared an attack on the Castle Gaol, which periodically housed prominent Lancashire Radicals, no such

attack ever materialised, if one was ever conceived. ^{Its physical defence was perhaps a deterrent.} Moreover escapes were rare. Garrisons of regular soldiers in times of emergency, ^{and} ~~while~~ the Lancaster Volunteers (formed in 1795 and numbering about four hundred) and Lonsdale Local Militia at other times, helped to reassure the county authorities and the government.

A survey of some of the worst years will serve to illustrate these points, and show the experience of Lancaster in contrast to that of other Lancashire towns.

1812 was a year of economic depression, characterised by machine-breaking in many industrial districts. In Nottinghamshire the attack was initially directed against the 'cut-up' frames; in Lancashire revenge for wage reductions among hand-loom weavers was taken on the power loom. The Lancaster area had already been affected by a combination of flax-dressers in the employ of Hornby, Parker and Co. of Bentham, against a wage reduction and increased mechanisation.²⁰ Lancaster itself was hit by a wave of bankruptcies in the winter of 1811-12. The deepening economic depression led the Corporation to petition the Prince Regent for the abolition of the East India Company monopoly, at the same time condemning 'those factious and designing men, whose clamour for peace and reform, deludes the ignorant and unwary'.²¹ On 5 May a committee was appointed at a public meeting to raise subscriptions for the relief of the poor - a course which was also followed at Skerton, Garstang, and most of the South Lancashire towns.

Meanwhile the county authorities were taking measures to preserve law and order. At a meeting of the Deputy Lieutenants at Preston on 1 May, it was decided to order out one third of each regiment of the local militia throughout the county. On 4 May four companies of the Lonsdale militia assembled at Lancaster, while at Preston and Manchester the local militia was strengthened by companies from Berkshire and Buckinghamshire. Two companies of Berkshires were also assigned to Lancaster between the 6th and the 11th. Lancaster remained quiet: only two break-ins (on the 12th) were reported, including one where the intruders had signed themselves 'General Ludd'.²² Before the four companies of the Lonsdale militia disbanded,

after their statutory service of fourteen days, they took the precaution of removing several ships' guns from different warehouses in the town to their guard-house at the Castle.

On 15th May a general meeting of the Lieutenancy of the County adopted the Watch and Ward Act of 1812. In future the different regiments of the local militia were to be divided into four classes and to be called out in rotation. Until this could be put into practice the security of the county depended on the military under the command of Lieutenant-General Maitland. At Lancaster, the Lonsdale militia was succeeded by sixty of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue), along with the two companies of the Berkshire militia who had returned from Preston.

On 30 May the Lancaster Gazette assured its readers that there were no grounds for the rumours of riot and disturbance in the town. No doubt this announcement was for the benefit of the local farmers who might otherwise have avoided the town's markets until such reports had ceased. For the farmers it was a prosperous time. The price of wheat, which had stood at 12s 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d per bushel (57lb) on 7 March, at Lancaster market, rose to 14s 11d on 2 May and 16s 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d on 13 June. By then the subscription list for poor relief was nearly complete, and the town was divided into ten districts each with an inspector and two collectors. In the week ending 13 June, 750 necessitous families received 'a quantity of potatoes, oatmeal, rice and herrings' from the Relief Committee. It was not just the poor who were suffering from price inflation. The same day, six medical practitioners announced the raising of their visiting fees to all except journeymen and labourers, while the Gazette's correspondence included a complaint about the great shortage of small change in circulation in the town.

No disturbances were reported at the execution of the eight Lancashire rioters (none from the county town), although a troop of Blues and four companies of the Berkshire militia attended to make certain. On 22 June 1812 the Blues left for Preston.²³ Although wheat prices at Lancaster continued to rise until September (reaching a peak of 20s 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d per bushel),

and although bankruptcies continued unabated, with the execution of the chief rioters any danger in the county town was deemed to have passed.

In the depression of 1818-20, the initiative in Lancaster was taken by the Corporation and the gentry rather than the working class. On 9 February 1818 a meeting was held in the Town Hall to take into consideration 'the alarming increase in the POOR-RATES' and to find some means of reducing them.²⁴ In March the township added its voice to the above views, but the occurrence of a General Election in June prevented any provocative action in the reduction of the poor rates. The weavers of Lancaster were meanwhile suffering from the bankruptcy of William Hadwen, one of the town's sailcloth manufacturers, and William Hully, twine manufacturer, in August 1818.²⁵ Thus they were not even in the position of their fellow workers in Preston and Blackburn who in September demanded wage increases of up to seven shillings in the pound.²⁶ The only disturbances in Lancaster were those caused by servants and apprentices in the streets on Sunday evenings.²⁷ The only demonstrations reported were the annual procession of the Friendly Societies, and the celebration of the anniversary of Bishop Blase by seventy-eight woolcombers from Dolphinholme, who marched into the town led by a band and, after being feted by their employer, William Hinde, proceeded to the Spink Bull for dinner, before their march home.²⁸

How far the Gazette misrepresented the actual state of affairs in Lancaster is impossible to say. While giving very little publicity to the events which had led up to Peterloo, it gave active support to the loyal reaction which followed. Yet it was impossible for the editor to ignore such unpleasing controversies as that concerning the acceptance of the Corporation Charter, and so it is unlikely that it could have failed to have reported any major local disturbances of a more economic nature. The Lancaster newspaper noted with great relish that although Orator Hunt had been given a tumultuous reception at Preston and Manchester, his arrival in Lancaster had been attended by only a few onlookers.²⁹ Thanks to Gazette promotion the Lancaster declaration of loyalty received over one thousand signatures.³⁰

The winter of 1819-20 gave the lie to any impression of the town's escape from poverty. The visiting committee reported that 'many poor objects were totally without blankets, and others, with large families, had not one to each bed'.³¹ The frost severed Lancaster's canal communications with the outside world, and the committee was obliged to send carts to Preston for coal which they sold to the poor at 8d per cwt. In the week ending 22 January 1820, 542 families (including 2,150 individuals or about 20.5% of the 1821 population) were visited whose weekly earnings including parochial relief amounted to only 1s 3d per head, a level as low or even lower than the lowest paid hand-loom weaver. In Skerton the distress was even more severe, with 106 families (including 586 individuals or about 46% of the 1821 population) whose weekly earnings and parochial relief only amounted to the pitiful sum of 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d per head.

Responses to this huge problem as indicated by the correspondence columns of the Gazette ranged from the practical to the absurd. One correspondent urged a programme of road improvements to provide work for 'the labouring classes of society' and to make the town more attractive to local farmers.³² Another suggestion was made in the summer of 1820 that 'labourers and all persons much exposed to the summer season' should keep in their mouths 'while at work or travelling, a quill tooth-pick or small twig or straw'. By means of this simple expedient it was assured that 'the person will suffer much less inconvenience from thirst and hunger'.³³

Nevertheless the town preserved its record of undisturbed if miserable tranquillity. In 1822 and 1823 the Corporation used this reputation as an argument in favour of retaining Lancaster as the sole seat of the judges on Assize. Meanwhile the introduction of tread-mill at the Castle in October 1822 was widely publicised to give strength to the county's view of its capital as a haven of discipline.³⁴

In 1826 the Corporation's boasts were once more put to the test. The economic downswing brought a crop of bankruptcies among farmers and businessmen including that of Lancaster's only remaining bankers, Dilworth, Arthington and Birkett who were affected by the run on specie.³⁵ The bank

failure on 10 February added to the distress, although the Gazette thought that the problem of poverty in the town was not as great as that of the unemployed, with their families begging their way back through the town to their parishes of settlement.³⁶

Strikes and riots again broke out in South Lancashire. Although Preston was quiet, thanks to the precautions taken to fortify and garrison the mills, in April there were loom-breaking riots at Blackburn, Accrington and Bury,³⁷ At Oldham, as in Preston, the loom-breakers were kept in check by the military, but a spinners' strike in October lasted four months and led to several bitter battles with 'knobsticks'.³⁸ Lancaster was threatened by visits from loom-breakers, but the threats never materialised. Nevertheless, the first Royal Lancashire Militia was put on the alert, the Castle 'put in a state of defence', the millowners armed and one hundred special constables were sworn in.³⁹ The authorities, as so often at Lancaster, were well prepared, but no challenge ever came.

1829 was another disturbed year in Lancashire generally. A hard winter was followed by great distress in manufacturing districts. Two thousand persons at Colne had only 2½d a day including parish relief to live on. The Gazette reported 'destructive trade riots' in Rochdale, Manchester and elsewhere.⁴⁰ The Furness, Bolton and Wigan troop of yeomanry cavalry were alerted and were due to have assembled at Lancaster on 16 May but were kept in their respective districts on account of the troubles. In Lancaster, civil disturbances took the form of 'tumultuous assemblage of persons in the streets... personal insult to individuals, and wilful injury to property'. At a meeting in the Town Hall on the 23 February, a voluntary association in aid of the police was formed, and householders were enrolled as special constables to perambulate the streets and outskirts.⁴¹ At the March Assizes, two sentences of death and one of transportation were recorded in cases of local theft. Neither the new patrols nor the draconian sentences were fully effective, for the Gazette continued to report a number of break-ins, and the distress intensified once more in the winter of 1829-30. Petitions were sent to Parliament in favour of parliamentary reform.

In January 1831 there were renewed disturbances in South Lancashire and Lancaster was felt to be threatened. A reinforcement of police was sworn in but no attack materialised.⁴² Two men escaped from the Castle in March, but one was later recaptured. At the election of 2 May 1831, although two hundred special constables had been sworn in, the crowd demolished the chair of the successful Tory candidate, Thomas Greene, and more violence took place at the Races in the following month. Such violence gave urgency to the local demand for parliamentary reform. A petition had been sent by local Whigs in March 1831. A second sent in September, with 1,391 signatures, urged the House of Lords not to delay the passing of the Reform Bill.⁴³ Meanwhile the newly founded reform newspaper, the Lancaster Herald, published by a printer named Jackson told the Tories that reform would prevent revolution.⁴⁴

In November 1831 the Earl of Derby reported to the Home Secretary that an attack on the Castle was again feared - this time to release Preston prisoners - and he suggested that the militia arms be moved in as a precaution.⁴⁵ Derby himself did not consider an attack likely and was more concerned with the provision of troops in Preston than in Lancaster.⁴⁶ His coolness may well have been justified, but there is little doubt that the political temperature in Lancaster as elsewhere had risen very high during the prolonged reform crisis. In the immediate aftermath of reform in July 1832, the Herald appealed to 'the mechanics and labouring classes of Lancaster' not to boycott Tory shopkeepers for their opposition to parliamentary reform and, two months later, to 'WAIT PATIENTLY' and 'WITHDRAW YOURSELVES FROM THE TRADES UNIONS'.⁴⁷ Such was the heat of the local situation that the Liberal mill-owner, John Greg, decided against a mass procession in celebration of the reformers' victory, and instead held a supper for his workmen at the Bear and Staff Inn.⁴⁸ Violence was again forecast for the General Election of December 1832, and Home Office permission was obtained to enlist twenty special constables in expectation of a riot.⁴⁹ The election was, in fact, uncontested, like all three elections of the reform crisis of 1830-32 and, with no chairing of the members, it passed off without any

trouble.⁵⁰

The evidence for Lancaster's quiescence in the years 1780 to 1835 is necessarily negative. To some extent the newspapers which are our main sources, must be suspected as heavily biased in favour of property and authority. The Gazette, in particular, was concerned to show Lancaster as the haven of harmony in a county of lawlessness and disrespect for property. Yet in doing this it was not altogether successful. Reports of crimes against property in the town, especially in times of distress, show that it was not free from what many historians regard as an alternative to or precursor of political action in this period.⁵¹ Yet in Lancaster the political action never seems to have followed - unless the threatened boycott of Tory shopkeepers in 1832 can be regarded as such. Riots were equally rare. Leadership appears to have been lacking. Lancaster's shopkeepers were too anxious to earn a living from the Assizes, and its radical lawyers more interested in municipal reform than in leadership of working men. Above all the social material did not exist for a working class movement. The town was small and after 1800, economically stagnant. Its trades were not growing fast, and there was no reservoir of social discontent as formed by the hand-loom weavers elsewhere in Lancashire. The millworkers were merely regarded as the servants of the millowners and tended to form an isolated group. The craft industries which typified the town throughout the period failed to provide the leadership which emerged in other towns. As one writer put it:

The journeymen are at the command of their masters: they get intoxicated during the canvas, and having 5s to eat and drink on the day of an election, they give a shout, and go quietly to work again. 52

Such a tradition of political dependence, repeated in hundreds of small towns throughout the country, helped ensure that, whatever the fears of the propertied classes, there was no political revolution in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century.

WORKING CLASS ORGANISATION - THE FRIENDLY SOCIETY

The characteristic organisation of the working class in Lancaster, and indeed, the whole of Lancashire, in the period between 1792 and 1824, was the friendly society. Legalised by Rose's Act of 1793, friendly societies were seen by Parliament as a means of encouraging independence of parochial relief, and by this form of mutual self-help reducing the burden on the ratepayers.⁵³ Although the friendly society was legalised with the intention of forming non-political benefit clubs, the term became an umbrella under which all kinds of organisation, from a primitive form of savings bank to a co-operative society, trades union or political society, could find shelter. As such, friendly societies were always politically suspect, even if in most cases, and, particularly in Lancaster, they proved to be instruments of class harmony rather than class antagonism.

The hey-day of the friendly society in Lancaster was during the French Wars of 1793-1815, a time when, perhaps more than at any later date, the friendly society represented the essence of working-class community. In his 'State of the Poor' (1797), Eden reported that there were eighteen friendly societies in Lancaster, as compared to only ten in Preston.⁵⁴ Of the Lancaster societies, two had been founded before 1780, nine between 1781 and 1790, and seven (including the three female societies) in the years 1792-4. Total membership stood at 1,244 in 1791 and at 1,586 for fourteen societies in January 1796.⁵⁵ By 1804, the total membership of the (over one third of the population) seventeen societies had reached a peak of 3,313[^] and three societies had over two hundred members. The fortunes of each society fluctuated from year to year, but there were no signs of improvement on the record figure of 1804.

Between 1805 and 1814 the total membership remained steady at about 2,000 to 2,300, but by 1817 the numbers had fallen to 1,600 in only eleven societies. It may be that the establishment of the Lancaster Provident Bank in 1817 drew away some of the members, but it can hardly be the sole explanation for the decline. In 1815 fourteen societies numbering 1,985 men and women had celebrated the annual festival on Whit

Monday. The number was reduced to nine in 1817 and in 1818 the practice of dining together after the procession was said to be on the wane. In 1819 only five societies walked and two years later there were only two societies with only 120 members between them.⁵⁶ The exact reasons are not stated in contemporary accounts but the fact that similar societies at Cockerham, Wray and Burton flourished in these years suggests that the causes were local. It seems likely that the societies were driven out of business by pressure on their resources provoked partly by the general post-war depression, but more significantly by the collapse of Lancaster's West Indies trade and the bankruptcy or removal of many of its firms. The inability of the societies to recruit new members of a self-supporting age may also have been a factor in their collapse. Moreover Whitsun processions and celebrations were expensive in such adverse times.⁵⁷ It is also possible that the societies received too little support from the upper classes in the form of donations.

Contemporaries hoped that the Provident Bank and the Lancaster Savings Bank-which soon replaced it-would encourage habits of thrift and temperance. The Gazette regarded the Provident Bank as capable of gradually operating 'a mighty and beneficial change in the character of the labouring population'.⁵⁸ Not only was the savings bank posed as an alternative to the ale-house (and perhaps by implication the vanished friendly societies who met there), but

'every man, almost will have his little stake in the common prosperity of the country, and will feel as anxious to preserve from violation his fifty or one hundred pounds as the largest fundholder his thousands'.

The Gazette was evidently certain that this new savings institution, unconnected with brotherhood or conviviality, could reconcile even the lowest paid to the sanctity and pursuit of property.

In the aftermath of the failure of Worswick's Bank, in April 1823, the Lancaster Savings Bank was set up. The absence of the friendly societies processions at Whitsun was regarded by the Gazette as a direct result.⁵⁹ Bearing in mind that by October the Savings Bank had only two hundred investors and yet had receipts totalling £2,635, with a minimum

weekly deposit of one shilling, this seems unlikely.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, small deposits were invited from mechanics and labourers to help them to pay the rent and provide for sickness, old age and unemployment. It was because its 4% interest rate appealed to a higher income group that the savings bank prospered. Within ten years it held over 1,500 accounts with a £43,662 total of all deposits. By 1835 over half the accounts were small-scale (under £20).

In 1823 no friendly societies paraded through the town at Whitsun. By the following year, one society was represented: the Samaritan Society. Originally founded in 1787 its membership was now confined to healthy persons between the ages of twenty and thirty years who paid 10s 6d each and received sick pay to the amount of 8s 2d per week, and £8 for a member's funeral. In May 1824 it had 366 members (c.f. 361 in 1805, 224 in 1796).⁶¹ The society's emphasis on youth suggests that one of the main reasons for the collapse of the other societies was the increasing predominance of the elderly, who put least in and took most out. The friendly societies, including Samaritans, had always regarded anyone over thirty as a financial risk. The revival of 1824-30 was not the result of a change of policy, but of a renewal in membership no doubt associated with the revival in the economic fortunes of Lancaster. The Samaritans walked alone in 1824 and 1825, but in 1826 they were joined by two more of the revived societies, the Good Intent and the Providential. In 1830 they were joined by the newly established branches of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, and in 1833 by a branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters and in 1834 by the Independent Order of Mechanics.⁶²

A committee was set up in June 1832 to consider means of reviving the old societies, but nothing came of it.⁶³ In the face of competition from such giants, the older, localised societies soon gave way. The Samaritans, for example, disbanded in November 1833.⁶⁴ Their membership still stood at three hundred, but their funds had fallen to £600, and such was the demand from aged and sick members that these would shortly have been exhausted in any case. Henceforth, the large provincial orders, with financial help from local notables, were to dominate the scene.

Even so, the friendly society movement in Lancaster never regained the mass membership it had possessed before 1815.

CHAPTER VIIFootnotes.

1. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1963) p. 309 et seq.
2. D. Read 'The Social and Economic Background to Peterloo',
Lancs. & Chesh. Antiq. Soc. LXIV, 1954, pp. 1-18.
3. D. Bythell, The Handloom Weavers (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 148-9, 153-4 etc.
R. Church, Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town: Victorian Nottingham (1966), pp. 27-8, 44, 45, 51.
A. Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester (Leicester, 1954), pp. 46, 59-61, 122-4.
4. S. Bamford, Passages in the life of a Radical (1844, 1967 Edn.), passim.
5. A.P. Wadsworth & J. de L. Mann, The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire 1600-1780 (Manchester, 1931), pp 23-5, 170-2.
6. M.M. Schofield, Outlines of an Economic History of Lancaster Part I (Lancaster, 1946), pp. 44-46.
7. R. Millward, 'Rural Industry in Lonsdale before 1860', Unpublished paper; also various case studies of villages:
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16. Ibid. 10 June 1795.
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21. Ibid. 2 & 9 May 1812.
22. Ibid. 16 & 23 May 1812.
23. Ibid. 27 June 1812.
24. Ibid. 31 January 1818.
25. Ibid. 29 August 1818.
26. Ibid. 12 September 1818.
27. Ibid. 3 October 1818.
28. Ibid. 6 February 1819.
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46. Ibid. 9 & 10 November 1831.
47. Lancaster Herald, 21 July and 1 September 1832.

48. Ibid. 25 August 1832.
49. P.R.C., HO 52/18 Mayor of Lancaster to Melbourne 10 December 1832.
50. R.H. Greg had been proposed by two Liberal tradesmen as a free trade and reform candidate in July 1830, but his candidature was withdrawn by his brother John on the third day of the poll.
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52. Universal British Directory III (3rd Edition 1799) p. 618.
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57. See unwillingness of loyal King William IV lodge (instituted 1830) to process on Whitmonday 1842 unless supported by the other three lodges - Lancaster City Records Office, DDx 69/1 April 18 1842.
58. Lancaster Gazette, 3 January 1818.
59. Ibid. 24 May 1823.
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CHAPTER VIIIPATERNALISM AND THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

It was a feature of Lancaster in the early nineteenth century that old society paternalism long survived the death of the old society at a national, parliamentary level.¹ This is not to say that the gentry and merchants who ruled the town opposed the representatives of their class in Parliament. On such issues as price regulation, the combination laws or the new poor law, their attitudes were as much influenced by Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus and Jeremy Bentham as their contemporaries elsewhere, although it might be argued that the prevailing influence on their attitude to the working class was a caricature~~and~~ version of Tom Paine. It is doubtful too whether their ^{sense of} fear or sense of responsibility towards the labouring classes in the town was any stronger than in other towns where enlightened opinion was more self-conscious.² It was then only because of the small size of Lancaster and its very small growth that upper-class conscience was allowed more scope than in towns five or ten times as big. Through its district visiting the 'governors' of the town had a better chance of distributing charity to the bulk of the poor than in larger towns, while their dominance of institutions of working-class improvement such as Sunday Schools and the Mechanics' Institute prevented the growth of a separate working-class culture in Lancaster.

The merchants who ruled Lancaster, shared with counterparts of other old corporate towns a long tradition of paternalism. Living in the town and having won wealth from its trade, often coming of local families of no great means, eighteenth-century merchants often liked to play the squire within their own urban community. Even in an important cloth centre like Leeds, only the richest merchants could afford a landed estate. Most Lancaster merchants operated on a comparatively small scale. The ability to dispense money for charitable purposes emphasised their status, even though the uncertainty of Lancaster's trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries gave the

town's merchants less cash to spare than was available to the oligarchs of Liverpool or Leeds.³

Moreover, besides the social rewards of philanthropy, there was a long Lancashire tradition of charitable endowment. W.K. Jordan and others have stressed the advantages to urban and rural communities alike of the social provision (especially educational) made by wealthy merchants and gentry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴ By the eighteenth century the charitable movement had lost much of its impetus as the competitive edge of religious divisions became blunted, and comparative wealth began to replace the comparative poverty indicated by Ship Money and other returns.⁵ In the eighteenth century, charitable endowment took the form of church building in rural areas.⁶ In the towns, new sources of wealth were made available to charity with the growth of trade. Liverpool, the fastest growing town in eighteenth century Lancashire, took the lead with its Blue coat School (1708) and Infirmary (1749).⁷

Liverpool's example was aped by many other towns, and its influence was not confined to Lancashire. The example was not always immediately copied. In Lancaster, local social provision got fully under way as late as the last third of the eighteenth century when its port was really beginning to boom. There had been examples of charitable concern in the early eighteenth century such as Alderman Penny's bequest of twelve almshouses and a chapel (1716) and William Heysham's bequest of an estate at Greaves for the use of the oldest freemen (1726), but these were the gifts of wealthy individuals much more akin to the charitable efforts of the Reformation period.⁸ It was not until after 1770 that communal charitable effort was significant, in response to the needs of a growing population. The three outstanding examples of this new communal effort following Liverpool's example, were the Charity (or Blue coat) School for Boys founded in 1770, the same for girls founded in 1772 and the Lancaster Dispensary founded in 1781.⁹ The Charity School for Boys was founded for forty boys but was soon enlarged to fifty. Between 1770 and 1816 about 450 boys received free instruction in the three Rs. J.M. Sanderson

has shown that they were mainly the sons of craftsmen, although one in five were sons of labourers or unskilled workers.¹⁰ The Lancaster Dispensary, like the Charity Schools, was founded by communal effort. The Dispensary was founded in a time of great economic distress for the port caused by the American War. Its immediate concern was typhus fever, in which its first physician, Dr. Campbell, took a keen interest.¹¹ Carlisle had a bad epidemic in that year, leading to the founding of its dispensary under Dr. Heysham, a native of Lancaster, in 1782.¹² The epidemic struck Lancaster in the summer of 1782 and gripped the town for three years. The outbreaks of typhus at Lancaster, Carlisle and Backbarrow were carefully noted by Doctors Campbell (at Lancaster) and Heysham (at Carlisle). At Lancaster, thanks partly to the Dispensary and partly to Dr. Campbell, of the 500 sufferers only 34 died.

If social factors, tradition and civic pride were all important, the ideological driving force behind the revival of paternalism in Lancaster, as elsewhere, came from the evangelical revival. This movement to reform the nation's spiritual and moral life from the top downwards has received most publicity for its achievements at a national level, particularly in the anti-slavery and Sunday School movements. Its founders, notably Wilberforce and Hannah More, were horrified by the subversive effects of the French Revolution.¹³ Much of the hostility of later historians has been an automatic recoil from religious and moral reform as purely an attempt to immunise the propertied classes against social insubordination. It will be argued that in Lancaster the evangelical revival also sparked off a revival of philanthropy. Its influence was far reaching, and the standards which it set, in conjunction with the Methodist movement, were those approached, if rarely achieved, by many Lancastrians of all social classes.

The first blast of the evangelical revival in Lancaster came not from the Church but from Dissent. The first preacher of the new school was Rev. George Burder, minister at High Street Independent Chapel from 1772 to 1792. When Jane Flower, a deacon's daughter and admirer of

Rev. John Newton, came to Lancaster in 1782 to marry Mr. Dawson of Aldcliffe Hall, Newton reminded her that the Lord was as near to her at Lancaster as at London and 'cheerfully resigned' her to Mr. Burder's care.¹⁴ Burder was one of the founders of the London Religious Tract Society.¹⁵ Mrs. Dawson soon became a devoted admirer of Burder, and her letters to Newton were full of worry that he would leave Lancaster. When he finally did leave for the London Missionary Society, she claimed some influence in his promotion.¹⁶ Burder's puritanical morality^{and} his attacks on the established church and its 'worldly' clergy were highly unpopular in Lancaster, as was the evangelical disbelief in baptismal regeneration, but he had set the revival in motion in the town.¹⁷

The full force of the revival was not felt in Lancaster until an Evangelical, Robert Housman, was appointed curate of St. John's in 1785. Robert Housman (1759-1838) was the son of Thomas Housman, a merchant of Skerton.¹⁸ After a brief period at the Free Grammar School and as an apprentice to a Lancaster surgeon, he went up to St. John's College, Cambridge, as a sizar in 1780, intending to be ordained. On his return to Cambridge after ordination as deacon and priest, he became a disciple of Charles Simeon, the Evangelical Fellow of King's and Vicar of Holy Trinity, whom he had met through his wife's family, the Audleys. According to his biographer, this connection ruined his chances of a fellowship at Cambridge and in 1785 Housman was back in Lancaster as a curate at St. John's Chapel. His introduction of weekday prayer meetings, extempore sermons and his own hymnbook, and his evangelical views on baptism and conversion, similar to those of George Burder at High Street, aroused considerable antagonism. Housman had frequent clashes with the Vicar of Lancaster, and his friend William Carus Wilson had difficultyⁱⁿ getting ordained by Dr. Law of Chester, although he finally succeeded in 1816.

After nine years as a curate in Leicestershire, Housman decided to overcome the inadequacies of church provision and possible clerical opposition by building his own chapel in Lancaster. He secured the approval of Bishop Cleaver of Chester and the Vicar of Lancaster, and a public meeting was held to launch the scheme on 1st January 1795. Within

a week, £4,500 had been raised and, although, thereafter, subscriptions became difficult to obtain, the new chapel of St. Anne was consecrated by the Bishop on 23rd August. Financial assistance was received from the ever generous leaders of the evangelical party, namely William Wilberforce, John Thornton and Charles Simeon, as well as from another well known local evangelist, William Carus Wilson of Casterton. The seal of local approval for the project was set when in 1802, John Dent, one of the Members of Parliament for the borough, presented the new chapel with an organ.¹⁹

Housman's son emphasised both the opposition met by his father and the ~~great~~ triumph which his father scored in the cause of 'true religion':

He came to this place (Lancaster) while it was sunk in vice and irreligion; he left it eminently distinguished by sobriety of manners and the practice of warm, serious and enlightened piety. 20

In fact it is almost impossible to measure the impact of Housman in Lancaster. It was typical of evangelical biographers to stress the lack of religious conviction and ^{the} immorality which preceded the arrival of their heroes. Certainly 1795 to 1836, the length of Housman's incumbency at St. Anne's, covered the period of transformation of British moral attitudes at a national level. In this space of time a new attitude to sexual immorality was formed, and all religious parties were infected by the new seriousness of the evangelicals and their sense of responsibility for the souls of the lower orders. In addition, their sabbatarianism and contempt for frivolity of any sort led to the death of such traditional sports as cock fighting, and even put the Lancaster Races in jeopardy.

Housman's close family links with the Corporation and merchant community gave him a flying start. The conversion of William Carus Wilson, a contemporary of Housman's at Cambridge and heir to estates in the Lune Valley gave the evangelicals a leading figure among the local gentry.²¹ His son, the more famous William Carus Wilson, Vicar of Tunstall 1816-18, 'the black marbled clergyman' of Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre²², became a leader of what Ford K. Brown has called the 'second generation' evangelicals, whose interests were narrower and whose influence and humanity

were markedly less than their fathers'. The combination of Housman and the Carus Wilsons gave the evangelicals a strong foothold in Lancaster and Lunesdale. Housman's church building in Lancaster has already been mentioned. The Housman family also provided a chapel in Skerton. In 1833, St. Luke's Church was built in Skerton, a township across the river from Lancaster which had grown rapidly in the hey-day of the port crafts.²³ Its first curate subsequently became the curate at St. Anne's. Carus Wilson designed a number of new churches in the Lune Valley and also helped to raise money for them.²⁴ In 1840 another Lancaster church was sponsored by an evangelical family who also provided its first vicar.²⁵

Evangelical influence was particularly felt through various educational ventures. The first Sunday Schools in the town were established in 1787, and Sunday Schools were soon regarded as a necessary appendage to Dissenting and Anglican chapels in the town.²⁶ St. Anne's Sunday School founded in 1812 was described by Housman as 'a Religious Tract Society, a Bible Society and a Missionary Society'. It certainly had great influence. It grew from 130 in 1814 to nearly 500 by 1825, with 44 voluntary teachers.²⁷ By 1833 the Independent Sunday School numbered 600 and the Wesleyan Methodist 350. Such schools were the mission fields of the evangelical revival.²⁸ St. Anne's Sunday School proved a training ground for many Lancastrians (including William and Thomas Storey), while Housman's curate, John Beethom, later became Headmaster of the Free Grammar School. Carus Wilson's efforts to outdo Hannah More in the founding of village schools received much acclaim, and although his Clergy Daughters' School at Casterton received much bad publicity from Jane Eyre, this was rectified by a visit from Queen Adelaide.²⁹

Evangelical influence was fully on the side of law and order. In the face of the invasion threat of 1803-4, Housman preached a sermon not only invoking damnation on rebels, but also outlining the three preserves of the Englishman: liberty, domestic comfort and the Christian religion.³⁰ The poor man's cottage was his castle. His comforts might not be many,

but they were secure, and, if the world opposed his progress 'in the paths of fortune and fame', no earthly power could prevent him from 'leading his beloved family to a throne of grace'. The danger was as much from within as from without. In another sermon, Housman attacked 'the infernal principles of Equality' which poisoned 'the streams of all earthly comfort, loosening the bonds of society, transforming the civilized into savages, and making man a wolf to man'.

In spite of this uncompromisingly Tory attitude to the French Revolution and Tom Paine, Housman was one of the first evangelicals to renew the application of the old doctrine of Christian responsibility for the Christian poor. In 1797 he founded the Benevolent Society to provide financial aid in times of sickness and need, for those who attended some place of divine worship.³¹ Like Hannah More he saw that the inculcation of evangelical, anti-revolutionary doctrine was not sufficient. Charity with obligations attached did not constitute social reform, but in Lancaster Housman led the way by putting concern onto a permanent basis.

Although by the middle of the nineteenth century, with evangelicals in many public positions, Housman was being looked back on as a great local hero, Lancaster was not particularly swift in taking up causes sponsored by the evangelicals. Opposition to the Slave Trade found no great support in Lancaster, although Lancaster Corporation sent its last petition to Parliament in support of that trade in 1789.³² The Corporation was eager in its advocacy of the abolition of the East India Company monopoly, but it was not for the sake of opening India to Christian missionaries. Housman was admired as a great preacher, but his followers were a select band, described by William Whewell in an unenthusiastic context as 'Housmanites'.³³

Lancaster did not show its appreciation of Housman by a great alacrity in setting up local counterparts to evangelical societies in London. The Lancaster Auxiliary Bible Society, for example, was not set up until 1816, seven years after the establishment of the first local

societies in such places as Nottingham and Reading, and five years after Liverpool. In 1817 a Lancaster branch of the S.P.C.K. was set up.³⁴ The local auxiliary for the promotion of Christianity among the Jews was established in 1822, and, on its first anniversary, a deputation from the parent society included Rev. Charles Simeon from Cambridge.³⁵ In 1828 a Religious Tract Society was founded with Housman as its chairman. Such societies were to be a major feature of the middle class charitable efforts in Victorian Lancaster, as in so many other provincial towns. Such societies, being non denominational, also succeeded in bringing Anglicans and Dissenters together. Through such meetings the principles of the Revival gradually asserted themselves, and evangelicalism ceased to be the creed of a minority party in the town.

The role of such evangelically inspired societies in bringing about 'the moral revolution' in early nineteenth century Lancaster was important, but in the case of Sabbath observance merely supplemented the traditional attitude of the magistrates. Sabbath observance was the ~~alpha~~ and ~~Omega~~ of the evangelical revival, and it is noticeable from police court proceedings that the enforcement of Sabbatarian legislation was under way long before the petition to Parliament of February 1833³⁶ and the formation of a Sabbath Day Observance Society in April 1836.³⁷ The Mayor had issued a prohibition on the sale of liquor on Sunday mornings as early as 1787,³⁸ and, by the 1820's, publicans and beersellers were regularly being fined by the magistrates for the sale of liquor and the permission of drinking on the premises during the hours of divine worship. In spite of the small size of the watch and the misdemeanours of some of its members, it made some effort to apprehend sabbath breakers. Much depended on the individual magistrates as to the strictness of the sentence.³⁹ The formation of the society came just before the final destruction of sabbatarian hopes by the arrival of the railways. Only four days before the formation of the Society in 1836, four carriers and the master of a canal fly boat were all fined by the magistrates for travelling through the borough on a Sunday morning under the obsolete laws of 3 Charles I cap. 1 and 29 Charles II cap. 7.⁴⁰ With the new Town Council even keener

to uphold the sanctity of the Sabbath than the old, the sabbatarians were carrying all before them, in the last days before the coming of the railways.

If Sabbatarianism may be said to have reached its peak in Lancaster in the 1830's, so too did the attack on drunkenness. Lancaster had a major drink problem. In 1834 there were five inns, sixty taverns and nineteen retailers of beer listed in Pigot's Directory.⁴² This meant one licensed premise to every 155 inhabitants. Lancaster's roles as port, market town, county town and assize centre, and its location on important canal and road routes explained the multiplication of licensed premises. The Sale of Beer Act of 1830 had probably increased the number.⁴³ The ineffectiveness of police patrol and the revelations in the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1833 of the Lancaster beerhouse keeper who 'had four rooms and ... a girl prepared to each' available on payment of a shilling for a twopenny quart of ale, provided a challenge to leading evangelicals.⁴⁴ Under the influence of James Silk Buckingham, himself pledged to temperance, a leading group called the Lancaster Temperance Society was formed in 1832, itself under the leadership of Edward Dawson a trustee of High Street Chapel and Rev. J. Hull, an Anglican curate.⁴⁵ By January 1833 990 members were claimed, and two years later a total membership of 1,332.⁴⁶ In that year the Society absorbed a group dedicated to the new total abstinence movement which had begun in Preston.⁴⁷ A combined membership of over 2,000 was claimed, but the violence of some of the meetings showed the division of opinion in the town.⁴⁸ The old Lancaster was unwilling to give up without a struggle.

An easier target for the evangelicals was the bi-annual Lancaster race meeting. The races were part of the entertainment laid on for the county at the Assizes and had been traditionally subsidised by the Corporation.⁴⁹ In both 1831 and again in 1836 the 'gamblers or thimble riggers' were set upon by the crowd and driven from the ground.⁵⁰ From 1834 the Sunday School children were entertained to tea during the Races, and, in 1849, the first Sunday School trip out of the town during the Races was organised.⁵¹ The new Town Council of 1836 gave them no support, and

in 1840 the campaign to abolish the Races altogether came within an ace of success.⁵²

The expansion of Methodism in Lancaster in the early nineteenth century is one measure of the success of the evangelical revival. John Wesley had passed through Lancaster in 1759, but never stopped to preach there.⁵³ The first enquiries for a preaching place were made in 1776 when Lancaster was placed within the new Colne Circuit. In 1787 when Lancaster was placed under Blackburn there were eleven members in the town. In 1792 the town's first minister was appointed and by 1795 there were fifty three members in the town and neighbourhood. In 1805 the first Methodist chapel was opened at Sulyard Street.⁵⁴ Reports to the Bishop of Chester in 1811 and 1814 confirmed that the Methodists were on the increase.⁵⁵ In 1829 the Independent Methodists opened a chapel in Nelson Street, and by the early 1830's the Primitive Methodists had begun street preaching in the town, later opening a room in Damside Street in 1836.⁵⁶ The numbers of Independents and 'Prims' were small, but by the late 1830's there were already 240 Wesleyan members in Lancaster alone.⁵⁷

Methodist statistics give us the most dramatic indication of the impact of 'enthusiastic' religion, but evangelical piety affected all denominations. The much publicised 'negative' side attacked traditional sports such as cock fighting and horse racing, gave rise to rabid anti-Catholicism and presented a horrifying future for radicals and sabbath breakers.⁵⁸ The less publicised 'positive' side emphasised charity to neighbours, visits to the sick, house to house tract distribution and a serious use of money.^{59a}

District visiting which was first inaugurated by Housman's Benevolent Society was taken up by the ad hoc poor relief committees of 1812 and 1819, and was once more utilised in the cholera outbreaks of 1831 and 1848.^{59b} Bishop Sumner was singularly impressed by this work of district visiting and in his 'Charge' (1832), referred to Lancaster as a model case, which he hoped would be copied elsewhere in the diocese of Chester.⁶⁰ Such a practice was, however, only made possible by the small size of the town

and the availability of a number of eager medical men and clergy to take part. District visiting received the support of non-Anglicans too. The Lancaster Herald, a Whig newspaper founded in 1831, (to support reform) condemned the abuses of the Church in particular the tithe wealth of the Vicar of Lancaster, the 'clerical bigotry' of the Gazette, and the prevailing anti-Catholicism of the evangelicals. But it approved of any means by which church revenues might be expended/

in disseminating knowledge among the lower orders and bestowing upon the poor the means of rendering their own condition more comfortable and of establishing the fabric of society on a much broader and firmer basis. 61

Opposition to the evangelicals was there, but, by a combination of frontal attack and compromise, was gradually muted. Anglican clergy of the 'high and dry' school might object to evangelical theology, but the non-residence of the senior clergy, the general scarcity of clergy in North Lancashire and the advance of evangelicalism among the resident curates⁶² gave its opponents within the Church little chance. Opposition from outside the Church was weak. The Unitarians compromised with evangelical piety as it became respectable and even fashionable, while maintaining concern for religious and political rights. Unitarianism was already an exclusive and intellectual creed, and Anglican reports to the Bishop of Chester gave no indication that it was increasing in strength after 1800.⁶³ Socially, Unitarianism provided a bridge between the Church of England and Dissent. The Greg ladies helped raise money for Anglican church building.⁶⁴ Unlike the Quakers, the Unitarians did not boycott those members who conformed to the Established Church. The gulf was much wider in politics where different attitudes to reform combined with the old stigma of Socinianism and occasional revivals of the old clash between the churchmen and free thinkers.^{65a}

The Quakers occupied a position of stagnant quietism, wrestling with the problems of defection to the Church of England in an increasingly affluent congregation. The Roman Catholics took advantage of a relaxation of the Penal Laws and the wealth of the Gillows and Worswicks to build a new chapel in Dalton Square in 1797, adding a school in 1805.^{65b} These

signs of life were anathema to the evangelicals, and Housman did his best to proselytise among Catholic families. The Catholic reaction was mild, and Dr. Rigby even abandoned evening lectures to prevent the aggressive retaliation which they provoked from Housman at St. Anne's.⁶⁶

The politics of religion which tended to divide the upper class in many towns came late to Lancaster. Dissenters were slow to campaign for their political rights and Roman Catholics likewise. The weakness of political Dissent may be seen in the failure of the Whig Lancaster Herald which closed in April 1833 after only two years' operation. The lack of contested elections - there were none between 1818 and 1830 - also reflected the unwillingness of Dissent to find a political voice. The return of both a Whig and Tory at the uncontested elections of 1831 and 1832 was significant in the willingness of the upper class to compromise. Contests were regarded as dangerous to social order.

The political influence of the evangelicals in Lancaster was indirect. Their main political interest was opposition to slavery. Here evangelicals clashed with merchants and annuitants who had investments in the West Indies. It was noticeable even as late as the borough election of 1832 that with evangelical and mercantile interests at odds on this issue, neither of the two Parliamentary candidates would commit themselves for or against abolition.⁶⁷ On the question of relief for Dissenters and the question of parliamentary reform much less interest was shown by the evangelicals and they tended to be divided. Their anti-Catholicism harmonised with traditional Corporation defence of the privileges of Corporation, Church and State, although Housman was privately in favour of Roman Catholic emancipation. Their concern for order and identification of radicalism and atheism again harmonised with the Conservative forces of authority in the town. As individuals the evangelicals tended to put new life into Lancaster Toryism.

The evangelical revival in its moral and spiritual context was accepted by the town's ruling class in differing degrees of intensity. For the Dawsons and the Housmans full 'sainthood' alone was sufficient.

For most of Lancaster's merchants and gentry, a compromise is more evident. Evangelical attacks on the pleasures of theatre going and horse racing were initially resented by the town's elite who patronised and enjoyed them, and both were slow to be abandoned. Evangelical attitudes towards the poor more easily dove-tailed with local tradition and so were more readily accepted. Mayors and Aldermen filled honorary positions in evangelical societies. As far as drink was concerned, there was a tendency to develop one law for the rich and another for the poor. Drink was quickly condemned as the cause of poverty,⁶⁸ but genteel liking for alcohol, in most cases, was simply moderated or became more discreet.

Identifying more than a handful of cases of leading local evangelicals is extremely difficult in view of the lack of family papers. Generalisations about the community as a whole are alone possible. In Lancaster there was a fusion of mercantile paternalism with the evangelical revival. Lancaster had not established a reputation as great as Liverpool in the benevolence and public spirit of its mercantile elite. Nor did it acquire the reputation comparable to that of Northampton or Cheltenham as a 'city of righteousness'.⁶⁹ It was probably more typical of the mass of English towns than either Liverpool in 1750 or Northampton in 1800.

Baines undoubtedly flattered when he said of Lancaster that:

the richer and more respectable classes ... are extremely charitable; and on any occasion of popular want and suffering display a sympathy and liberality highly creditable to the town. ⁷⁰

Although active in the raising of subscriptions, not only for the local poor but also for emergency relief operations abroad, the Lancaster Relief Committees were by no means unique to the town. ⁷¹ Charity seems to have been stretched to its limit by the financial difficulties of the merchant community after 1815.⁷² Generosity can hardly be assessed by contemporaries or historians. Suffice it to say, that the combination of old fashioned charity derived from civic pride, and evangelical concern for the spiritual well being of the poor, produced in Lancaster not only a justification for the social system which emerged during the Industrial Revolution but also a means of modifying the worst concomitants of poverty and squalor.

CHAPTER VIIIFootnotes.

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5. G.H. Tupling, 'Causes of the Civil War in Lancashire' Transactions of Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, 65, 1955, pp 1-32.
6. For examples, see N. Peysner, North Lancashire (1969), eg. Pilling (1717), Gressingham (1734), Littledale (1755), Shireshead (1801); See also D. Owen, English Philanthropy 1660 1960 (Cambridge, Mass; 1965), p. 164.
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25. The Lancaster branch of the Church Pastoral Aid Society was formed in 1838; see Lancaster Gazette, 6 October 1838. St. Thomas's (1840-1) was built with money from the Salisbury family. The work of the Housmans and Sailsburys may be compared with that of one other West India merchant family, the Gladstones of Liverpool; see S.G. Checkland, The Gladstones 1764-1851 (Cambridge, 1971).
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28. R. Simpson, op. cit. pp. 332-3.
29. J.M. Ewbank, op. cit.
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32. Lancaster Town Hall, Corporation Minutes.
33. Trinity College, Cambridge: Whewell MSS. Letter to his sisters, 17 September, 1816. Whewell's sister, Betty, heard Charles Simeon when he preached in Lancaster in 1819. Edward Frankland sometimes preached at the special services in the house of Miss Whewell, a different relative of the Master of Trinity', see Eds. M.N.W. & S.J.C. Frankland, Sketches from the life of Edward Frankland (1902), p. 46.
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36. Lancaster Records, op. cit. 210.
37. Lancaster Gazette, 16 April 1836.
38. Cumberland Pacquet, 14 November 1787.
39. James Rawes was made an example in the 1790s.
40. Lancaster Gazette, 23 April 1836.
41. Lancaster Town Hall, Borough Minutes, 17 March 1836.

42. Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory for the Seven Northern Counties (1834), pp. 281-7.
43. 69 publicans, hotelkeepers and retailers of beer were listed in the 1831 Census of Occupations. For complaints re 'jerry' shops see Lancaster Herald, 17 December 1831.
44. Quoted in N. Longmate, The Water Drinkers (1968), p. 29. Lancaster beer had a reputation for being particularly powerful.
45. Lancaster Gazette, 26 December 1832.
46. Ibid. 2 March 1833 and 31 January 1835.
47. Ibid. 5 September 1835. The total abstinence pledge was made voluntary, although all members were to abstain from pubs, beerhouses and dram shops except when on business of travelling.
48. Ibid. 29 November 1834.
49. Lancaster Town Hall, Corporation Minutes: aid was annual from 1825, to 1834 (except 1832).
50. Lancaster Records, op. cit.
51. Ibid.
52. Lancaster Borough Minutes, 17 June 1840.
53. W. Wakinshaw, 'Methodism in Lancaster', Methodist Recorder 13 November 1902.
54. L.C.L., 'The Rise and Progress of Methodism in Lancaster', Lancaster Circuit Wesleyan Church Record (1902).
55. Cheshire Record Office, EDV 7/4/398 loc. cit. 1811; EDV 7/5/195 ditto 1814.
56. L.C.L., N.C.C. Ellen Singleton, 14 July 1877.
57. Methodist Church Sulyard Street. The Quarterly Returns of the Lancaster Wesleyan Methodist Circuit 1839 1914.
58. Typified by Rev. W. Carus Wilson's monthly tracts entitled The Friendly Visitor (1820); L.C.L., PT 1,112.
- (a)59. See two hagiographies of evangelical child heroes Memorials of Miss Isabella Preston of Lancaster (Manchester, c. 1845) and Ed. P. Johnson, Confidence in Jesus, A Support Under Trial (1850). Also the lying in charity founded c. 1807.
- (b)59. District visiting aimed to increase Sunday School attendance, adult literacy, Lord's Day observance, comfort for the aged and sick, habits of industry, cleanliness and thrift (through the Savings Bank); see Lancaster City Library, PT 8422, Instructions for Visitors of the Lancaster District Visiting Society (Lancaster, Oct. 1829). The guiding words were: 'The love of Christ constraineth us'.
60. R.A. Soloway, Prelates and People (1969), p. 322. F.B. Visiting had roots in Methodism and work of Anglican Religious Societies: systematic division into districts in Dr. Chalmer's work in Glasgow. See D. Owen, English Philanthropy 1660-1960 (Cambridge, Mass. 1965) p. 139-40.

61. Lancaster Herald, 19 January 1833.
62. Cheshire C.R.O., EDV 7. In 1825 the clergy of St. Mary's, Lancaster, Caton, Littledale, Poulton, Gressingham were all non-resident. Lancaster was in the charge of four curates, two of whom were based on Housman's chapel of St. Anne.
63. Ibid. EDV 7/3/280, 1804, 'about a hundred Arian dissenters', 7/4/398, 1811 'The Quakers and Presbyterians are decreasing .. '.
64. Lancaster Gazette, 3 October 1833.
- (a)65. F. Knight, University Rebel (1971), pp. 141-165, for Cambridge battle between Isaac Milner and William Frend in 1793. Positions were less entrenched in Lancaster where there was also less to lose.
- (b)65. R.W. Billington and J. Brownbill, St. Peter's, Lancaster (1910), pp. 84-88.
66. Cheshire C.R.O., EDV 7/4/399; 1811, St. Anne's, Lancaster.
67. Lancaster Gazette, 15 December 1832.
68. E.D de Vitre, 'The Sanitary Condition of the town of Lancaster', Health of Towns Commission, 22, 184.
69. D. Gray, Spencer Percival (Manchester, 1963), pp. 25, 33-34; also G. Hart, A History of Cheltenham (Leicester, 1965), p. 211 et seq.
70. E. Baines, op. cit. II, p. 31.
71. See C. Dyhouse, on Kendal; G. Hart on Cheltenham.
72. Housman himself, who had built a house at Acrelands, Skerton at the height of the West Indies trade boom in 1799, came under increasing financial difficulties after 1813 and had to sell his house in 1818 and live in more modest accommodation. In later life he lived on a greatly reduced income of £200 a year; see R.F. Housman, op. cit.

Summary Part II

Early Victorian Lancaster experienced none of the major economic dislocation which had been felt during the decline of the West India trade. In spite of a variety of interest, only a few cotton firms were set up, and none grew to any size. One by one, they succumbed to downswings within the trade cycle. Cotton spinning and weaving only survived as the preliminary processes for the manufacture of table baize and oilcloth. This industry was established by Storey's and Williamson's in the 1850s and 1860s, but only the foundations ~~of~~ later success had been laid by 1870. With the development of the railway network in the north west, Lancaster retained its position as an important communications centre. Local efforts tended to be dispersed among the different companies involved, ^(See pp.170-5) and, as a result, Lancaster benefited less than ~~was hoped~~ ~~might have done~~. Ambitious schemes to revive the port of Lancaster did not succeed, and local companies were taken over by larger enterprises with directorates which had no wish to employ large amounts of capital in Lancaster. More to Lancaster's benefit was the development of a new economic growth point in North Lancashire at Barrow in the 1860's. Two by-products of this were the creation of two new Lancaster companies, one for ship building, the other for carriage building. To some degree these were politically inspired, and one collapsed within the decade. The other, the Lancaster Wagon Company, survived, thanks to determined local effort, and, like Williamson's and Storey's was to prove a major contributor to the prosperity of late Victorian Lancaster.

The retail trades of the town enjoyed a modest expansion in the mid-nineteenth century, in spite of the loss of population in the town in the 1850's and in the countryside in the 1860s. In spite of the end of the droving trade in the 1850s and the closure of many rural mills in the 1860s, agriculture was sufficiently prosperous to guarantee the town a steady income as the market centre.

The mid-century census returns confirm the impression of Lancaster as a town dominated by its retail and handicraft trades, with a sizeable

upper class and servant population. As elsewhere, the mid-nineteenth century saw the growth of those elements in the population engaged in professions and transport services and the steady maintenance of a small factory workforce.

For evaluating the census enumerators' sheets of 1851 and 1861, both the Armstrong and Anderson systems of classification were used. In 1851, Lancaster's upper class amounted to about ten per cent, its lower professionals to about four per cent, its small shopkeepers and master artisans about eighteen per cent, its working class about forty nine per cent. These percentages are of householders. Nineteen per cent were unclassified. The ratio of propertied to non-propertied which appears as 32:49 was, in fact, more of the nature of 3:7 when the occupied population is considered. Few changes were noted between 1851 and 1861, but parish registers suggest more opportunities for self improvement by marriage than in the 1840's. When compared to other towns, Lancaster's social structure showed strong similarities with York, but big dissimilarities with Preston and Camberwell, where on the one hand the millworkers and on the other the clerks distorted the social structure.

Lancaster did not show the same positive relationship between household size and social status which Laslett has suggested as a characteristic of pre-industrial society and which Armstrong found in York. Age structure of Lancaster householders in 1851 showed the greatest concentration of elderly in the SEGs at the top and bottom of the social scale while the highest proportion of householders under thirty were among the factory workers. The factory workers were those with most children, while the entrepreneurial and professional groups had fewest. Lancaster had a very similar proportion of co-resident relatives as York and Preston, although more than Preston in the lower SEGs. Lodging too was at a similar level in the three towns, although the 1861 census shows that it had fallen off in Lancaster by then. Fewer Lancaster households had servants than York, but more than Preston. Lancaster had a similar proportion of its population born outside the town to Preston (over half). In both Lancaster and Preston most of the non-censuses had come from a maximum of thirty miles. In Lancaster, most of the non-censuses had come from the

north Lancashire, while Preston had a more urban-born intake. Lancaster householders were uniformly very mobile - more mobile than Preston's - although artisans and labourers were less mobile in Lancaster than in Preston. Greatest residential stability among Lancaster householders was between the ages of 40 and 70. Lancaster's age structure was top heavy. Its age group of 20-39 declined between 1841 and 1871 while the proportion over 40 increased. The census books as a whole suggested poor prospects for the town.

The social elite changed little in the mid nineteenth century. It comprised a mixture of the local county gentry and the richest citizens of Lancaster, and Lancaster remained the centre of their social and political interests. In Lancaster the professional group was never more dominant. The mercantile and manufacturing element ^{had close links with} ~~was heavily involved~~ in the professions, ~~(although they drew financially on cotton, silk and railways)~~ ^{it} The outstanding men of the town were its professional men, and they imposed an intellectual stamp on the elite's social activities. The elite was divided by party allegiance and its liberal minority found itself gradually conforming. The triumph of municipal reform proved to be short lived and the elite and Town Council were soon back on as good terms as before 1835. The town's economic weakness strengthened the continuity of the elite. The new men who rose to wealth and importance in the town were few in number and were easily absorbed. Lancaster in the late 1850's seemed an ideal place for the gentry and professional men with a varied social calendar, a pure water supply and good schools. As a result the drift away was less substantial than from many northern towns.

The Municipal Reform Act involved the new Town Council in a bitter legal battle with the former Town Clerk. Thereafter the Town Council had good service from its chief advisor. The new Council was smaller than the old: indeed it was one of the smallest in the country. The new Council was elected by a limited franchise. Owing to non-payment of poor rates this franchise gradually contracted. This was rectified by the Rating of Small Tenements Act of 1850, and the electorate had

nearly doubled by 1870. Corruption was a feature of municipal elections, but the new voters ensured municipal frugality after 1856.

The notion of public service was laid down by the newspapers within the terms of the Tory Radical debate which dominated Lancaster in the late 1830's and early 1840's. A truce was called in the public health crisis of 1846-1850, but in the 1850's the battle was resumed between 'economists' and 'defenders of the town's honour', only to fade in its turn as a balance was developed on the Council, and a general lack of interest overtook newspapers, editors and readers alike. This pattern of great political activity followed by apathy was mirrored in recruitment to the Town Council and an increase in the average age of Councillors. Municipal reform in 1835 was followed by an influx of small businessmen of lower economic standing than the merchants of the unreformed Corporation. They were mainly Liberal and including many Nonconformists and Roman Catholics. With the Tory revival of 1840-45, helped by a Whig defection, several ex members of the old Corporation and a large number of professional men came onto the Town Council, encouraged by the exceptional circumstances of the Public Health crisis. This in turn brought a ratepayers' reaction which ousted the rank and file professional men and led to a resurgence of tradesmen of both parties, who formed the rank and file of the Council under the leadership of merchants and manufacturers and some professional men from 1850 onwards. Servant-keeping analysis reminds us that many of those in the merchant and manufacturing classes were not wealthy, and their businesses were often small. Wealth, both mercantile and professional, provided the leadership of the Council (Mayors and Aldermen) throughout the years 1835 to 1870. Politically it was very evenly divided, with only a slight edge to the Conservatives in the Mayoralty. Outsiders were in a minority, but they provided many of the town's foremost leaders. Most of the leadership was Anglican - as was a majority of the Councillors particularly after the reform campaign of 1835-40 had subsided. The leadership established in the public health crisis of 1846-50 continued on into the 1850's and 1860's with only a few changes. One of these was the admission of the leading textile manufacturer into the 'patrician

circle', although this did not take place without a struggle.

The first major test of Lancaster's reformed Town Council was the public health crisis of 1846-50. It forced on the public authorities of the town the necessity of a municipal policy involving more than the mere reconciliation of private interests. It also showed up the underlying weakness in the structure of public authority - namely the division of power between the Town Council, reformed in 1835, and the Improvement Commissioners, set up by local Act in 1824. The health problem was by no means unique to Lancaster: overcrowding, inadequate sewerage, water shortage. The town had the benefit of a strong medical presence, and there were several local members of the Health of Towns Association. A series of reports on the sanitary condition of Lancaster began in 1842. The solutions proposed were ambitious, and ~~most~~ local energies ~~was~~ at this time concentrated on railway promotion. Inactivity by the Improvement Commissioners and the promise of financial compensation to the Corporation convinced certain local leaders of the need for the Town Council to take the powers of a local Board of Health. They had the support of the newspapers, but when faced with the prohibitive cost, the 'blacks' retained a majority on the Improvement Commission. When a death rate of twenty six per thousand was diagnosed and cholera struck even harder, the local Board of Health was accepted with little opposition, and was dominated by 'whites'. The crisis brought the power struggle between the notables and radical cottage owners to a head. The notables won, and implemented some reforms (eg. first reservoir, 1855). Soon, however, they found their political support on the Town Council ended, and the notables had to give way to the demands for 'economy' from the shopkeepers.

Trade union activity did not become apparent in Lancaster until the late 1830's. Thereafter information is fragmentary but indicative of widespread activity, at least in the printing, building and cotton industries. Unionists met concerted resistance from employers. In the depression of 1840-1 many probably turned to political action through Chartism and the anti Corn Law League. Chartistism was the first independent working-class political initiative in the town, but in a place where

deference was so strong and the Radical shopkeepers were following the mill owners in promoting the League there was little hope. Chartism ended as hopelessly as elsewhere in Lancashire, in the Plug Plot riots of 1842. In 1848 the Chartists pressed O'Connor's Land Plan and opposed assisted emigration. Emigration was popular in Lancaster but among the middle classes. Industrial action was once more the chief resort of the working class in 1853-4, but Lancaster was dogged by unemployment and lower wages compared to the Lancashire cotton towns. Mid-Victorian prosperity brought union growth and reduction of hours for the town's skilled workers, even though wages probably did not rise as fast as elsewhere in the north west. By 1870 the Lancaster craft worker would probably have been better off in most other Lancashire towns.

A friendly society revival took place in the 1830's under the auspices of the 'great orders' particularly the Independent Order of Oddfellows. Many of the traditions of the old societies were carried on including close association with the elite. The 'great orders' were largely confined to mill workers and craftsmen. For the rest there was only the works sick club and the Benevolent Burial Society. The Co-operative Society had two false starts but was finally established in 1860, and within a decade was in a very flourishing state.

Tory paternalism had gradually if dimly recognised the development of an intermediate class between the gentry and the lower orders by the 1830's. Nevertheless paternalism was still seen predominantly in terms of charity. On the whole the local Tories preferred to ignore the problems of the new economic and political relationships brought about by the Industrial Revolution and the Reform Act of 1832. This anti-industrial sentiment rarely developed into social policy and resistance to the New Poor Law took the form of obstruction rather than rejection. Probably Tories and Liberals alike put more energy into rows over the Established Church than into opposing government interference. The divisions of the ruling class on a wide variety of issues were subsiding by the 1850's, and the town's institutions began to share the sleepiness of its economic life. The cynical exploitation of the town by outside

interests in 1865 was a sign of the low ebb of idealism. Traditional paternalism survived with particular emphasis on education. The self-help ethic began to pervade the town. As long as it did not extend to working class control it was welcomed by the upper class. Church or chapel attendance and temperance were the most popular causes. Paternalism had changed. It had ceased to be ~~one-sided~~. It had become mutual.

PART IICHAPTER IECONOMIC BACKGROUND 1835-70

The years 1835 to 1870 were years of economic change in Lancaster. They were not, however, years of rapid economic growth. Indeed the town's growth came virtually to a halt in the middle of the century and the population actually fell between the censuses of 1851 and 1861. In simple demographic terms these were years when Lancaster not only continued to fall behind the industrial towns of South Lancashire, but began to fall behind other county towns of similar economic and social type to itself. Whereas industrial towns like Liverpool and Preston more than doubled in this period, and even Chester and Carlisle, towns similar to Lancaster in many ways grew by about half, Lancaster grew by only a third.

TABLE IComparative Growth of Lancaster and Other Towns 1831-1871.¹

	Lancs	Lancaster	Carlisle	Chester	Preston	L'pool	Manchester
1831	1,336,854	12,613	20,006	21,344	33,871	189,242	182,812
1851	2,031,236 (51.9)	14,604 (15.8)	26,310 (31.5)	27,766 (30.1)	69,542 (105.3)	375,955 (98.7)	303,382 (66.0)
1871	2,819,495 (38.8)	17,245 (18.1)	31,049 (18.0)	35,257 (27.0)	85,427 (22.8)	493,405 (31.2)	351,189 (15.8)

* Disguised Borough Extension

The reasons for Lancaster's economic stagnation in this period were various. Chief among them was the failure of the town to find any substitute for the industries formerly based on the West Indies trade which had gone into permanent decline after 1815. Of almost equal importance was the failure of the town to maintain the part of Lancaster even as an important coastal port after the 1840's.² In this decade Fleetwood and Preston emerged as rivals followed by Morecambe in the 1850's and Barrow-in-Furness in the 1860's, all of which dealt a severe blow to Lancaster's coastal trade. The administrative and legal functions of the town were hit by the end of the Assize monopoly in 1835, while the Public Health crisis threatened to destroy the town's reputation as a

healthy resort for the gentry. The only function to remain a steady source of income to the town was that of market, and although this grew, its growth was insufficient to bear the losses made by the others. There is not the space here to provide a full economic history of the town in this period of stagnation, but the town's economic fortunes will be looked at briefly from three angles: the growth of the textile industry, the role of the railways, and the role of Lancaster as a market town.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRYa) Cotton

Lancaster had no great tradition as a textile town, unlike towns in East Lancashire. Sailcloth weaving developed on an extensive scale during the hey-day of the West Indies trade, but it also followed that trade into a steep decline after 1815. Lancashire's future lay in cotton, and Lancaster was anxious not to be excluded.

The first cotton mill was not erected until 1802, over twenty years behind Preston, but the county town did not lack enthusiasm. The Lancaster Gazette promised that it would soon:

vie with other towns in the manufacturing of these articles, for which this populous and improving county has so long and deservedly been famous. ³

Transport costs made such competition difficult and orientation towards the dying West Indies trade made it impossible.

Some investment in cotton mills was made in the years 1802-05, but after this there was no more until the boom of 1824-6. This was very late in the day, and it is not surprising to find that the biggest mill ever to be built was Greg and Co's in 1824-5, out of capital derived from a successful business already established at Manchester, Styal and Caton.⁴ Although large by Lancaster standards - employing over three hundred workers - it was only of medium size by the standards of the time.

Two other spinning and weaving mills were established in this boom - Marox & Co., later known as Burrow and Higgin, and William Jackson - but much local investment was impeded by the collapse of the town's two banks in the bad years on either side of the boom. Worswick's collapsed in 1822, Dilworth, Arthington and Birkett's in 1826.⁵ The deficiencies of the latter amounted to £117,565⁶ and a later estimate of the loss to the town of both banks was put at £600,000.⁷ Worse might have followed; had not the town's leading manufacturers and merchants taken advantage of post-crisis legislation to establish a Joint Stock Bank with a capital of £300,000.⁸ This expansion of cotton mills was accompanied by improved services to supply them, in the shape of a Steam Navigation Company to supply the town

with raw cotton from Liverpool ⁹ and a Gas Company to light the new mills. ¹⁰

Further investment in new mills was not made in Lancaster until the trade cycle of 1833-42. In this Lancaster investment operated against the national trend by setting up ~~two~~ mills during the collapse of 1837, and one in 1840 during the depression of 1839-42. ¹¹ Here local considerations such as the imminent completion of a rail link to Preston, outweighed the dictates of the national economic climate, although it seems likely that the cotton boom of 1833-6 was the main incentive for both mills and railway. ¹² When both mills and railway were built by 1840 the minor cycle of 1837-42 was at its peak, although no new lines were sanctioned by Parliament in that year. ¹³ Hereafter no new mills were built in Lancaster until 1860 and the boom of 1843-5 was even more than elsewhere a boom in railway construction. By 1841, 10% of the adult male population alone was employed in textile manufacture, the largest single occupational classification, and, by 1861, nearly 12% of the adult males were involved. Such a proportion did not make Lancaster a textile town. ¹⁴

It is significant that Samuel Greg and Co. was the only textile firm in Lancaster and its environs to have links with the centre of the cotton industry in South Lancashire. Other textile manufacturers in Lancaster prior to 1851 were local business and professional men who took advantage of the growing home and overseas markets in cotton goods to supplement incomes from other sources. During the formative period of cotton manufacture before 1815, this lack of experience in the industry was common to many entrepreneurs who were simply seeking outlets for their spare capital and could rely on others for the technical and marketing skills. By the 1830's the establishment of new mills by men from other trades or professions was a feature only of the outer fringe of the cotton industry. It was thus not only distance from marketing and exchange facilities which made the cotton mills of Lancaster and other 'country' areas the first to feel the effects of a depression. The purely speculative nature of much of this new enterprise suggests that it was never intended to do more than take advantage of periods of particularly favourable trade.

Not surprisingly, in a reversal of favourable trends, the small-scale Lancaster firms were the first to collapse. Burrow and Higgin succumbed to the first onslaught of the depression of the late 1840's. Satterthwaite and Barrow and Greg & Co. shared the Burrow and Higgin mills between them, and although both firms survived 1848 intact, Satterthwaite and Barrow were obliged to close down temporarily. In 1855 the partners sold the mills to P & J Catteral of Preston who quickly resold them. White Cross mill was bought by William Storey for table baize and leather cloth manufacture, and Queen Street mill went to Richard and William Jackson, cotton manufacturers from Calder Vale.¹⁵

The Cotton Famine of 1861-4 destroyed the last of the Lancaster cotton mills. Threlfall's Bath Mill, which was worked by John Cooper of Preston after 1851, was sold to James Williamson in 1864 for table baize manufacture, while John Greg likewise disposed of his Moor Lane Mills (1861) and the Caton Mill (1864) to the Storey Brothers. Jackson's Albion cotton mill managed to keep running during the Cotton Famine, but only survived until 1869, when it was bought by W.J. Sly for cocoanut matting production. Even the Ridge Lane Silk Mill, by 1879, had been converted to oilcloth and varnish, and was later demolished.

The experiments with cotton spinning and weaving in Lancaster should be seen as late blooms doomed to early decay. Taylor showed that the Lancashire cotton industry like the West Riding woollen and worsted industry, had contracted in its geographical area by the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ The area to which it contracted was that of the Lancashire coal-field which was sufficiently compact to make transport costs low and credit dealings easy. The country mills outside this area were unable to compete. As Schofield has pointed out, connections with mills situated within this key area were not sufficient to save the Lancaster cotton mills.¹⁷ Indeed, personal and sentimental reasons may well explain why at least one mill (Jackson's) survived longer than even those with outside connections.

S.J. Chapman drew attention to the 'localisation' of the cotton industry even earlier than did A.J. Taylor.¹⁸ Whereas in 1838 58.8% of the cotton

operatives in the United Kingdom worked in Lancashire, by 1899 the proportion was 75.7%. Chapman saw this process as cumulative:¹⁹

The process of centralisation, once begun, continued with increasing rapidity, for the greater the centralisation, the greater become the economies of centralisation.

The natural advantages of Lancashire, such as the availability of large port facilities at Liverpool, cheap coal, soft water and a damp climate, were not realised until such miscellaneous factors as the establishment of a woollen industry and the lack of corporate controls in Manchester had determined the original location. Thirdly, the 'economies of localisation' had brought about a high degree of differentiation within the industry, partly dictated by the availability of different types of labour.

Chapman regarded the availability of labour as a key factor in the location of the different branches of the cotton industry. The inter-action of the supply of labour and the needs of industry created distinctive patterns in both the industrial make-up and the social structure of different towns. Weaving, for example, employed not only more women than men, but also more members of the family than did spinning. Thus the possession by certain towns of the right type of labour might even detract from the general trend towards centralisation.

The guess might be hazarded that some places tending to have large surplus supplies of rough female labour, which will therefore be cheap, find themselves able to compete with more specialised centres of the cotton industry.

Chapman cited the ratios of female to male cotton operatives in a variety of cotton towns in 1901, and showed that such outlying centres as Bristol, Derby, Leeds and Nottingham all had remarkably high ratios of female to male operatives.

A point which might be derived from Chapman's 'guess' is that specialisation and large reserves of cheap labour may operate in combination in favour of outlying centres of the cotton industry. Specialisation to Chapman meant the differentiation of the stages in the production of cotton cloth; weaving in the northern belt of Lancashire cotton towns (as at Preston, Blackburn, Burnley etc.), spinning in the central belt (as at Bolton, Bury, Oldham etc.) and finishing in the neighbourhood immediately

surrounding Manchester, the undisputed 'cottonopolis'. Specialisation may, with equal justification, be taken to mean the specialisation not of process but of products. Certain towns specialised in the manufacture from raw material to finished goods of subsidiary by-products of cotton.

Such a town was Lancaster, where, after 1870, the cotton mills were devoted exclusively to the production of table baize and oilcloth. For both of these products the spinning and weaving of cotton were essential preliminaries, and to this extent the specialised finishing processes were merely grafted onto a traditional root. Cheap labour was a major factor in the success of table baize and oilcloth in Lancaster, but it did not act in the same way as in the outlying centres of the 'plain' cotton industry. Firstly there were no large surplus reserves of 'rough' labour in Lancaster. In 1871, the borough's population was only 17,245, and there was little large scale industry apart from table baize itself which employed about 12% of the adult male labour force.²⁰ Secondly, the requirements of the new industry demanded a supply of unskilled labour. The table baize and oilcloth workers at Williamson's and Storey's performed tasks quite different from the weaving sheds and spinning mills of south Lancashire. The wage of the oilcloth worker was low (about 20/- by 1900), but it was intended to match the wage of a labourer, not that of a skilled, male cotton operative. In that it was new work, rare in Lancashire, its wage rates were not strictly comparable with any other wage rates in cotton manufacturing. Labour was unskilled, union organisation was slow to develop and wage improvements were left almost entirely to the employer. Through the utilisation of a supply of cheap unskilled male labour Lancaster was able to counteract the effects of the centralisation of the 'plain' cotton industry.

b) Oilcloth and Table Baize.

The years 1835 to 1870 saw the growth of the table baize and oilcloth industries from nothing to becoming the largest manufacturing industries in Lancaster with the firm of James Williamson employing more men and women than any other firm in town.

James Williamson (1813-79) was the son of a Keswick woollen manufacturer who came to Lancaster about 1827, as an apprentice to Richard Hutton, master painter and decorator.²¹ In 1837, after successfully completing his apprenticeship, Williamson became a freeman of the borough, and in the same year entered into partnership with Mrs. Ellen Shrigley (the widow of Joseph Shrigley, painter), as 'painters and gilders'. Williamson was the sole manager. What Williamson brought to the partnership apart from technical knowledge is not certain.²² His knowledge of the trade was probably his chief asset, as he announced in the Gazette that he had 'recently' returned from London, where he had had 'ample opportunity of perfecting himself in all the various branches of his profession, the great principle of which is the uniting of utility with refinement, and elegance with taste'.²³ According to one obituary, it was on this visit to London that Williamson became interested in table baize manufacture although he was unable to find any information about the process.²⁴

In May 1838 he married the youngest daughter of Leonard Miller, the Landlord and proprietor of the Blue Anchor Inn, Market Square, Lancaster.²⁵ It is unlikely that much capital was injected into the business as a result of this alliance. By the 1840's, however, Williamson was engaged in a variety of enterprises.²⁶ Apart from his principal concern with his partnership in the painting, (with its large clientele in Lancaster and the surrounding district), picture-frame making and gilding business (which involved him in frequent trips to London) he had also added other interests; an upholstery business, a wallpaper manufactory in Rosemary Lane and a pottery at Scotforth. In 1844, after long experimentation and possibly some successful industrial spying in London, by the aid of what the Guardian obituary referred to as 'a very fortunate circumstance', he produced 'a piece of table baize that would stand wear as well as criticism'.²⁷ By 1851, he was manufacturing table baize in special premises on St. George's Quay, and by Christmas 1852, he was claiming that he and his men 'had driven the Germans and the French out of the market'.²⁸ By this date, Williamson was employing seventy workpeople and his table baize products were being

exported to 'the Mediterranean, to North and South America, the East Indies, Australia, and many other foreign parts also'. By 1859 his employees were sufficiently numerous to warrant a works outing by steamer from Morecambe to Fleetwood.²⁹ During the cotton famine of 1861-4, Williamson like the Storey Brothers, took the advantage of buying up Lancaster cotton mills which were in difficulties. In 1862 he extended his works on St. George's Quay.³⁰ Williamson bought Bath Mill in 1864 for spinning, and in the same year built Greenfield Mill for weaving the backing for his oilcloth - a process which he had had carried out previously at Blackburn.³¹

The Storeys were, like Williamson, newcomers to Lancaster from the Lake Counties. There was no textile background, however, in the Storey family, the father of William, Thomas and Joseph having been a schoolmaster at Bardsea. The family came to Lancaster in 1835, and William, the second son, (1823-79) was apprenticed to James Williamson's old master, Richard Hutton.³² For a time, William Storey actually worked for Williamson, but by 1851 he had set up in partnership with John Simpson as 'painters, japanners and table cover manufacturers'. The same year the partnership was joined by William's younger brother Thomas (1825-98), who had previously filled a number of jobs as bookkeeper at a cotton mill, assistant to his eldest brother, John, a land surveyor, and lastly as assistant and secretary to Edmund Sharpe, surveyor and architect and principal promoter of the 'Little' North-Western Railway Company. The two brothers, William and Thomas, at first occupied premises in a street of St. George's Quay then on the Quay itself.³³ In 1856 they bought White Cross Mill, and in the cotton famine took over the Moor Lane and Caton Mills from John Greg. In addition, Thomas Storey took over the management of Edmund Sharpe's Phoenix Foundry in 1851 (in conjunction with James Atherton), of which a fourth brother, Edward became manager. Meanwhile the family interests were spread still further by a fifth brother, Joseph, who, after studying chemistry at Owen's College, Manchester, in the 1850's, at his brothers' expense, and a period in Australia, formed his own company and set up the Heron Chemical Works in 1860.

By 1860 the two table baize and oilcloth firms were employing between 1,200 and 1,400 workers.³⁴ They were thus not only the largest textile employers in Lancaster, but also the two largest employers in the town. Although Williamson's father had been a woollen manufacturer, it is noticeable that both James Williamson and the Storeys came to table baize and oilcloth production through apprenticeship in the painting and decorating trade. Thus their path to oilcloth production was very different from that of another famous oilcloth or floorcloth pioneer, Michael Nairn of Kirkcaldy (1804-58), who came from a family long connected with flax-weaving, and who developed his floorcloth business out of the manufacture of canvass for sailcloth.³⁵ Such a development never occurred in Lancaster where sailcloth production died out in the 1830's. The oilcloth trade in Lancaster developed rather as a marriage of the town's insecure cotton industry with one of its oldest service trades, painting. Such a combination was only practicable when a satisfactory mode of manufacture had been achieved, partly by trial and error and partly by the adoption of the techniques of the London oilcloth manufacturers. Whether Williamson and Storeys achieved a knowledge of such techniques by personal observation, industrial espionage or by attracting skilled oilcloth foremen to Lancaster will probably never be known. What is certain is that once possessed of a successful process, both firms guarded the secret with great care.

RAILWAYSa) Lancaster As A Communications Centre

Lancaster businessmen played an important part in the extension of the railway system northwards from Preston and eastwards from Lancaster to Skipton. Yet neither of the two railway companies thus formed (the Lancaster and Preston Junction Railway, L.P.J.R., and the 'little' North-Western Railway, N.W.R.) were financially successful and both were soon taken over by other companies.

Six out of the nine first directors of the Lancaster and Preston Junction Railway Company formed in 1836 were members of Lancaster Town Council.³⁶ The brother of one director, Samuel E. Bolden, was chosen as its Secretary and W.J. Locke was chosen as the engineer. The aim of the Company was:

'to extend the benefits of the Grand Junction and London and Birmingham Railways northward and to provide an additional link in the great chain on the west coast to Glasgow and Edinburgh'.

High returns were expected from passenger traffic and freight revenue. The latter was to be furnished by 'the growing importance of the manufacturers of Lancaster and its neighbourhood', the transportation of coal and from 'the numerous herds (of cattle) which now proceed through Settle and Skipton to supply the populous districts in the southern part of this county'.

Difficulties were met at every turn. New Standing Orders and inaccurate land price estimates put the cost of the line up from £250,000 to £400,000. Even when the land was purchased, work proceeded lethargically. There were disagreements between the engineer and the contractors, labour troubles at Galgate, problems with design, materials, drunken railway constables and non-attending directors. Difficulties arose between the company and the N.U.R. over the station facilities at Preston.³⁷ Canal packet-boats remained cheaper and more comfortable than the L & P.J.R. carriages and by 1842 such was the financial state of the railway company that for once water triumphed over rail and the Lancaster Canal Company ~~had~~ took a lease of the railway at an annual rent of £13,300.³⁸

A certain amount of the blame for the failure of the town's hopes of the new railway age in the 1840's and 1850's may be laid on the Lancaster and Carlisle Railway, (L.&C.). This company was originally based on Carlisle and its directorate was largely Cumbrian.³⁹ Nevertheless its secretary from 1843 to 1864 was S.E. Bolden, who was already the secretary of the L.P.J.R. and who had close links with Lancaster businessmen. The Lancaster and Carlisle was anxious from the first to come to an arrangement with the Canal Company for use of the L.P.J.R. line, but it was not until 1849 after the Bay Horse disaster of 1848, that the L & C succeeded in its object of obtaining the lease of the line.⁴⁰

Much to the chagrin of the Lancaster Canal Company the Lancaster and Carlisle responded to a memorial from 200 Lancaster citizens in June 1844 in favour of a Western crossing of the Lune rather than an Eastern. The motives of the Company were suspected by the Canal, particularly as the scheme involved a payment of £16,000 to the Lancaster Quay Commissioners.⁴¹ Joseph Locke, the Company's engineer, however, pointed out that the total saving of a western approach would be £40,000. The contractors, Messrs. Brassey, Mackenzie and Stephenson, were equally in favour of the new route.

While the L & C was changing the course of its route through Lancaster, another railway company, the 'Little' North-Western (N.W.R.), was floated by a group of Lancaster businessmen headed by Edmund Sharpe, an engineer and architect. As one of the Port Commissioners, Sharpe hoped to take advantage of 'railway mania' to revive the fortunes of the town and port. With a rail link over the Pennines to the West Riding and a new harbour at Poulton, giving access to the raw materials of Furness and West Cumberland, Lancaster would once more become an important entrepot and perhaps a great industrial centre as well.⁴²

Sharpe's first step was to launch the N.W.R. in February 1845. He tried to attract Yorkshire capital by stressing in the prospectus the advantages to the West Riding of a rail link both with the main west-coast route to Glasgow and with the raw materials of the west, particularly Irish flax, Furness iron ore and Lakeland slate. The N.W.R. planned to

build a line between Skipton and Lancaster, and its Act was secured on 30th July, 1846. From the first, two directors of the midland Railway Company (Murgatroyd and Waddingham) were on the Board.⁴³

Sharpe's second step was to improve the Port of Lancaster. He was faced by considerable difficulty in the shape of the Port Commissioners. The clerk who had been in office since 1825 was apathetic. Others had plans for building a new dock at Thornbush - abandoned in 1799 and revived in conjunction with the York and Lancaster Railway project in 1845 - and plans for improving the Lune to get larger ships up to St. George's Quay.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the first opportunity for spending a large sum of money on the port seemed to be presenting itself with the promise of over £10,000 compensation from the Lancaster and Carlisle. Sharpe's proposal for a ship canal from St. George's Quay to Poulton received some support, but it was felt to be beyond the legal powers of the Port Commissioners to dispose of the compensation money in this way. There was also tacit opposition from the Canal Company, which felt its interests at Glasson Dock were threatened, and still resented the collapse of the York and Lancaster scheme which had been planned to terminate at Glasson Dock.

Nevertheless Sharpe went ahead with his scheme. He decided to float a new company, the Morecambe Bay Harbour Company, to build his ship canal with the support of the N.W.R. It was a bold scheme to replace the Canal Company's control of the port through its control of access to Glasson Dock, and to replace it with his own. Yet, Sharpe's attempt to give the port a new lease of life soon collapsed. The L & C refused to allow their change of route, and consequent compensation money to the Port of Lancaster to be used to benefit another company (the N.W.R.), or to allow the interests of Sharpe or the Yorkshire industrialists to become paramount in Lancaster. When approached by Sharpe and a deputation from the Morecambe Bay Harbour Company, the directors of the L & C flatly rejected the ship-canal project.⁴⁵

Opposed by both the Lancaster Canal Company and by L & C, Sharpe abandoned his plan for a ship canal.⁴⁶ His change of mind caused considerable disappointment in Lancaster. At a public meeting he claimed that £190,000

could be saved by ² little interest and building a railway instead of a ship-canal between Lancaster and Poulton, but almost no capital was found in the town for this alternative plan. The company, renamed the Morecambe Harbour and Railway Company, could not even find enough capital for the sum of £1,100 demanded by Parliament as a five percent guarantee. It was at once absorbed by the N.W.R. and both companies were established by the same Act of 30th July, 1846, even though the actual purchase did not take place until 29 October.⁴⁷ The L & C gave no opposition to the Act on the condition that it had a quarter share in the direction and equal use of the harbour.⁴⁸

The summer of 1846 thus saw the passage of the two Lancaster railway Acts, both promoted by Edmund Sharpe, but without much support from Lancaster itself and very different from his original plan. The N.W.R. found it impossible to raise its proposed capital of one million pounds without local enthusiasm and in the adverse financial climate of the late 1840's. The line between Lancaster and Skipton was completed in six sections by the 1 June 1850, with only a single line for most of the distance.⁴⁹ The Poulton branch was opened in June 1848, but Sharpe's proposed harbour was never built. Nevertheless a wooden jetty was erected by 1850, and in 1853 it was replaced by a stone quay. By 1852-3 Morecambe Harbour was handling nearly twice as much tonnage as Lancaster and Glasson Dock.⁵⁰

Nevertheless the N.W.R. line was chronically short of capital and was not deemed a success by its management. The Secretary, William Whelon (Sharpe's successor), told a House of Commons Select Committee in May 1852:

The line from Lancaster has not drawn any of the through traffic from any of the Midland Counties, Sheffield or Derby or the Eastern Counties. 51

Through merchandise accounted for only $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent (mainly wool and bacon, and machinery for Cumberland via Morecambe), while through passenger traffic accounted for as little as 5 per cent (mainly parties on journeys from the West Riding to Glasgow or the Lakes) of the total traffic. By this time, the Midland Railway (M.R.) was already working the line, and in summer 1852 an Act was obtained which gave the M.R. a lease of the line for twenty-one years. In 1859 another Act converted this to a lease in perpetuity.

Once the N.W.R. had been secured, the M.R. built a connection from Wennington to Carnforth (completed 1867) and thence to Barrow over the lines of the Furness Railway and Barrow quickly replaced Morecambe as the M.R. port for Cumberland and Ireland.⁵³

The removal of N.W.R. interests to Morecambe left the L & C as the dominant railway company in Lancaster. All set for a complete amalgamation with the L.P.J.R. the L & C received a shock when, in February 1846, the L.P.J.R. shareholders refused the terms. The Secretary (S.E. Bolden) and all except one of the L.P.J.R. Directors were obliged to resign.⁵⁴ The move may have come in reaction to the failure of Sharpe's ship-canal project. At any rate it was not until July 1849 that the L.P.J.R. shareholders accepted amalgamation with the L & C by a majority of 4,242 to 1,157.⁵⁵ This was only achieved in the face of a threat by the L & C to build its own line between Lancaster and Preston if no agreement was reached.⁵⁶ At the same time, an agreement was finally reached between the L & C and the Lancaster Canal Company, by which the canal was given a monopoly of all coal and mineral traffic between Preston and Lancaster in exchange for an L & C monopoly of all other traffic - in both cases by the use of 'prohibitory tolls'.⁵⁷ For the time being the Canal Company was permitted to carry foreign goods and Irish grain from Glasston Dock 'so long as the Railway Company are unprepared to take such traffic.' In 1858 it was ordered to discontinue its trade with Glasgow as a breach of the agreement of 1849.⁵⁸ In August 1859 the L.N.W.R. took a one thousand year lease of the L & C.⁵⁹

In December the Lancaster Canal was included in the same agreement although it was not bought outright until 1885.⁶⁰ The result of the lease for Glasston Dock, as Schofield has pointed out, was a period of almost total neglect, and an eclipse similar to that suffered by Morecambe after the N.W.R.'s takeover by the Midland Railway.⁶¹

The opportunities for a rapid economic development of port or town thus came and went in a very short period of time. The town benefitted in the long term from its rail links in four directions, even though the population was virtually stationary in the twenty years from 1841 to 1861,

the period in which most of the North Lancashire railway system was built. The town was to a large extent the victim of conflicting companies, as Schofield has pointed out. The L.P.J.R. was in the grip of the Lancaster Canal Company which, under Gregson, Higgin and Giles, resisted attempts made by Sharpe and others to revolutionise the port by orienting it towards Poulton rather than Glasson Dock. But the Canal Company's success was short-lived in that, like the N.W.R., it was soon taken over by companies dominated by men who had no personal interest in Lancaster. The L & C might be blamed by Sharpe and the Lancaster Guardian for the failure of the ship-canal project, but its interests were largely focussed on Carlisle, and, even in the eyes of the L.N.W.R. directors, Carlisle was a far more important junction than Lancaster. The N.W.R., in its turn, was taken over by a giant, this time the M.R. The net result of all these takeovers was that none of the local schemes designed to increase Lancaster's trade - whether through Glasson Dock or Poulton - came to anything. Local divisions proved fatal. No Corporation initiative was made on the lines of the Preston Dock Scheme of 1847-8⁶² and consequently the rival local companies with divided strength looked outside for capital. They acquired it, but at the immediate cost of their independence and at the eventual cost of the schemes themselves.

b) Manufacture of Railway Carriages

The remoteness of Lancaster from the raw materials of coal and iron ore meant that any engineering done in the town was on a limited scale. Nevertheless the establishment of rail links with south Lancashire, Furness and the North-East in the 1840's and 1850's enabled some industrial development in engineering. Prior to these rail links, Lancaster possessed one or two small iron foundries, but their projects seem to have been largely restricted to domestic appliances, and the simple agricultural implements. There is no evidence of the manufacture of steam engines or textile machinery in the 1820's and 1830's for the newly established textile mills. The weakness of Lancaster iron foundries at this period is evident by their proneness to bankruptcy (e.g. 1837 William Whewell and

John Bower).⁶³

The development of Lancaster as a rail centre after 1840 gave new scope to a traditional craft industry of the county town: carriage manufacture. This particular craft industry had expanded rapidly with the growth in the importance of Lancaster as a coaching centre, only slightly cramped by the completion of the Lancaster Canal between Preston and Kendal in 1802. Samuel Gregson, a West India merchant, had taken full advantage of both developments in transport, becoming not only a coach proprietor, but also the first Secretary of the Lancaster Canal Company. Jonathan Dunn and his sons Richard and Thomas showed equal flexibility with regard to road and rail transport manufacture. The Dunns were manufacturing coaches and carriages for road transport by 1818, and by 1837 (three years before the completion of the rail link from Preston to Lancaster) had joined another carriage manufacturer, George Wise, in the construction of railway carriages. In 1837 they built second-class carriages for the London and Birmingham Railway, and in 1839 they were supplying first-class carriages to the Eastern Counties, Glasgow and Ayr, and Ulster railway companies,⁶⁴ and a contract was made to supply carriages to the L.P.J.R.⁶⁵

By 1848, Dunn and Wise were employing over one hundred men.⁶⁶ In September of the same year a disastrous fire destroyed much of their works and a public subscription had to be raised to replace the workmen's tools. The firm took some time to recover from this fire and from the depression of 1848-9. In 1851 Wise had only thirty-six employees. In December 1853, however, he secured a contract to supply the Lancaster and Carlisle Railway with sheep vans, cattle wagons and goods wagons and by the summer of 1854 he had work for seventy men. In June 1854 he became the sole proprietor, but by 1860 his works were closed and his premises were up for sale. In the late 1850's the question of the location of the Lancaster and Carlisle's building works was raised. In 1854 plans were drawn up for new repairing shops at Lancaster.⁶⁷ Lancaster was turned down in favour of Carlisle. Lancaster Town Council was blamed for insufficient

activity on the town's behalf.⁶⁸ More important was Lancaster's lack of influence on the board of directors. The poor quality and high price of Lancaster gas was believed to have been another factor.⁶⁹ Yet the chance which had been missed in the 1850's was taken up ten years later with the formation of the Lancaster Wagon Company in 1864.

The next decade saw a distinct improvement not only in the international demand for rolling stock, but also in Lancaster's ability to meet it. The completion of the Ulverston and Lancaster Railway in 1857 and of the South Durham and Lancashire Union Railway in 1861 not only created a rail link between the Furness iron ore deposits and the Durham coal-field, but put Lancaster only five miles south of the junction of the rail links at Carnforth.⁷⁰ The growth of Barrow and Carnforth between 1861 and 1871 was phenomenal. Barrow grew from an over-grown village of 3,135 in 1861 to a town of 18,911 in 1871, while Carnforth expanded from 393 in 1861 to 1,091 in 1871. Lancaster was once more placed on a perimeter of an area of rapid economic growth, but Lancaster was far nearer the new industrial complexes of Furness and South Lonsdale, than it had ever been to the booming towns of south Lancashire in the 1820's and 1830's. Lancaster's growth of 19 per cent in the 1860's was the highest the town had achieved since the 1820's, and for the first time in the nineteenth century was far higher than that of the Lancashire cotton towns (c.f. Preston 3%). Lancaster's population growth in the 1860's was the result of general industrial expansion in the town, but the revival of two industries in particular was associated with the new availability of steel: these were the short-lived revival of the ship-building industry (in the Lune Ship-Building Company of 1863-69), and the revival of carriage building (in the Lancaster Wagon Company of 1864).

Like the Lune Ship-Building Company, the Lancaster Wagon Company received its principal source of inspiration from outside the town. Once launched, however, it received its major impetus from Lancaster businessmen and professional men, rather than from Henry Threlfall Wilson, the Liverpool shipping magnate, who with a number of Lunesdale gentry remained the

driving force behind the Lune Ship-building Company.⁷¹ The first chairman of the Wagon Company was Edward de Vitre (former chairman of the unsatisfactory Gas Company) and its first deputy chairman, William Whelon, both Lancastrians.⁷² In the prospectus the provisional committee stressed the advantages of Lancaster's geographical position with relation to Anglo-Scottish and Anglo-Irish communications as well as its close proximity to both 'the important mineral districts of Cumberland and Low Furness ... on the West and the manufacturing and mineral districts of Lancashire on the South and East, the whole within a radius of fifty miles'. In addition, 'an extensive trade in foreign timber is carried on at Glasson Dock', while 'iron work, also, is executed in Lancaster at low prices, and labour can be obtained in abundance on reasonable terms'. The capitalisation of the Company was limited to £100,000, and work began on the buildings at Ladies' Walk in April 1864. Production started in the following year. Buying of shares was at first enthusiastic, but it soon tailed off. By July 1866, the Company had only raised £73,000. Not only was it under-capitalised, but a special Accountant's Report in 1867 showed that the firm's buying of materials was extravagant, and that it was inefficient in its deliveries.

If the Company was partly a product of the boom of the mid 1860's, it was nearly destroyed by the collapse of the money market in 1867. The first major contract was with the Northampton and Banbury Railway Company whose promoter, Shrimpton, went into liquidation in the panic of 1867. The Lancaster Wagon Company directors had invested £21,000 in N.B.R. shares through Alexander Brogden, the Furness iron magnate, and these were in danger of becoming worthless. The directors, however, assured the shareholders that the line would eventually be finished and confidence was sufficiently restored to create a preference stock by which a further £30,000 was raised. In 1868 the manager, G. Worsdell, was dismissed for mismanagement and in 1870 Brogden resigned from the Board. Somehow the Company survived by developing a wagon hire department and making wheels for other companies. A contract with a Russian Railway Company was secured in 1869, but this like the N.B.R. contract, went wrong and by 1871 the Company had accumulated

losses of £12,167. The Lancaster Wagon Company had survived the panic of 1867 but the outlook in 1871 seemed bleak.⁷³

LANCASTER AS A MARKET CENTRE

Lancaster remained predominantly a market town in the middle of the nineteenth century. Manufacturing industry and the port's commerce remained supplementary sources of income to the town. While the fortunes of both industry and port rose and fell, the market function remained ^{Comparatively} static.

Lancaster had a regulated market (held twice a week) established by Charter and administered by the Corporation. Tolls levied at toll-houses at White Cross, St. Leonardgate and the Bridge Inn in 1835 brought in a total of £445, while market tolls were let at £66 a year. The Shambles, also owned by the Corporation, were let at £190.⁷⁴

The market which was originally confined to the Market Place, Market Street and the Shambles was by the nineteenth century too large for this confined area. In 1820 the Mayor had ordered the haberdashery and hosiery stalls from Market Street to the upper end of Church Street.⁷⁵ In 1838, the cattle and pig market was moved in spite of opposition from the tradesmen from Church Street to Mary Street.⁷⁶ In 1846 a new covered market was completed at a cost of £1,600 at the upper end of the Shambles.⁷⁷

To judge from the directories and census tables the number and pattern of retailers varied little in the mid-nineteenth century. Increases are found among bakers, corn merchants, confectioners, drapers, general shopkeepers, pawnbrokers, shoemakers and tailors. Some of the increase is explained by a broadening of directory inclusion, but part can only be explained by an increased prosperity for at least some of the people in both Lancaster and its surrounding area.⁷⁸

The Lancaster cattle market was an important part of the town's economic life. At the beginning of the nineteenth century black cattle markets were held fortnightly, but, by 1842, they were being held weekly on the Green Area.⁷⁹ In addition there was the Lancaster Cattle Fair, held three times a year, on 1st May, 5th July and 10th October. The Lancaster Fair was an attraction not only for local farmers and buyers, but for drovers and dealers nation wide. Yet its supply of cattle was highly variable, and it was the victim of intense competition from other fairs

such as Garstang and Milnthorpe.⁸⁰ At these fairs, dealers and drovers had no tolls to pay. Nevertheless, Lancaster maintained its arrangements. In 1825 a cattle fair was established at Skerton on the Sunday before the Lancaster May Fair, providing a toll-free preview to the Lancaster event.⁸¹ The Dalton's Arms, Bulk, was an important meeting place for drovers, and Skerton was the home of such men as Robert Aldren (1792-1868), cattle dealer and maltster, who came from an old cattle dealing family and Robert Willan who had sheep pasturing as far afield as Westmorland, Cumberland and Lincolnshire.⁸²

Industries associated with agriculture flourished in Lancaster. Some such as tallow chandling have already been mentioned in connection with the West Indies trade. Currying was another. Men like Gabriel Coulston, made small fortunes out of the leather trade, the size of which can be seen from the number of skins inspected in Lancaster in 1810 viz. 1,676 cows, 63 horse, 3,095 calf, 7 hog and 9,917 sheep and lamb.⁸³ In 1825 there were six tallow chandlers, four curriers (and leather sellers) and the fellmonger and nine corn factors and dealers listed in Baines's Directory. In addition, there were seven maltsters and three land surveyors.⁸⁴ Gillbanks was listing six curriers but only one tallow chandler, six maltsters, eighteen corn merchants and flour dealers and two land surveyors. By 1886 Barrett was listing four agricultural implement makers, two cattle food manufacturers, three cattle dealers, thirteen corn merchants, four curriers, two fellmongers, three hay and straw dealers, five land agents and surveyors, three maltsters and one tallow chandler.

The increased variety of business in Lancaster, reliant on the agricultural products of the surrounding region, masks the decline in the droving trade which came about with the completion of the western rail network from London to Glasgow in 1850.⁸⁵ By the mid-1850's, a Lancaster firm was providing the Lancaster and Carlisle Company with the sheep and cattle wagons which were to spell doom for the droving trade. Lancaster had to fall back on its local livestock trade.

Much depended on the prosperity of agriculture and the ability of

the region to keep its population. The evidence suggests that the mid nineteenth century was a hey-day of North Lancashire agriculture. Rents and wages were high by national standards. According to James Caird, Lancashire rents and wages were among the highest in the country in 1850. Its arable productivity was high, even though North Lancashire had already begun to specialise more heavily in dairy farming.

Table 2

Lancashire Agriculture 1770 and 1850 ⁸⁶

	Rent of Cultivated Land per Acre		Produce of Wheat per Acre		Labourers' Wages per Week	
	1770	1850	1770	1850	1770	1850
Lancashire	22/6d	42/0d	26	28	6/6d	13/6d
Average of 26 English Counties	13/4d	26/0d	23	26½	7/3d	9/7d

Nevertheless improvement was slow and the rash of publications on Lancashire agriculture in the middle of the century was as much to urge on further improvement as to celebrate its achievements in the previous sixty years. ⁸⁷

Agricultural improvement had been highly fashionable in the area for some time. As early as 1796, Abraham Rawlinson (1737-1803), the town's Member of Parliament who had purchased Ellel Hall, received a gold medal from the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts for planting 62,191 trees of different kinds on his estate. ⁸⁸ Afforestation also took place in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Littledale and Quernmore.

Lancaster Corporation and other coastal landowners, notably Edward Dawson, used land reclamation. Lancaster Corporation embanked and drained the two hundred acres of Lancaster Marsh by a public local Act in 1795, ⁸⁹ while in 1820 Edward Dawson (1793-1876) of Aldcliffe Hall, the son of a Lancaster merchant, embanked a further 166 acres at the mouth of the Lune and, like Rawlinson, received a Society of Arts gold medal. ⁹⁰

The demands of the Napoleonic Wars led to strong pressure from agriculturalists for the better use of moorland. The landowners of the Lancaster area urged on by men such as John Holt and Jonathan Binns

responded quickly. Halton (1797), Hornby (1797), Over Kellet (1797), Claughton (Lonsdale) (1805), Scotforth (1806), Nether Kellet (1810), and Quernmore (1811) all took action to enclose their moors during the wars. Caton (1815) and Borwick (1816) followed in the immediate aftermath.⁹¹

In such big schemes as drainage and enclosure the landowners took the lead. Yet, as writers on North Lancashire agriculture never ceased to point out, the typical farm was backwards in its methods and the farmer highly conservative and suspicious of novelty. To overcome such shyness of improvement, agricultural societies mushroomed to give prizes and acclaim wherever deserved. From the foundation of the Lancashire Agricultural Society in 1799 to that of the Lunesdale (later Kirkby Lonsdale) Society in 1839, at least seventeen societies were formed in North Lancashire.⁹²

The Lancaster Society, being the oldest, set the pattern for the rest. Under the patronage of the Duke of Hamilton, the Presidency of Charles Gibson of Quernmore Park and the secretaryship of Jonathan Binns it gave awards to landowners and occupiers alike, in recognition of the importance of co-operation between landlord and tenant, if improvements were to be made. In summer, drainage, improved cultivation (i.e. Norfolk rotation), cattle breeding, hay and potato crops were given priority, although cottagers were awarded prizes for gardens and in 1803 there was even a prize for the man who had brought up the most children in the district.⁹³ In autumn, the Society rewarded growers of turnips, cabbages, winter potatoes and sheep breeders. A prize ploughing event was introduced in 1810.⁹⁴ Through the influence of the Society, short-horns were first introduced into the region about 1805 by the President of the Society, and its secretary claimed to have introduced the first pure bred Durhams into the county in 1813.⁹⁵ The Society also encouraged an interest in new machines, although response before 1840 had been slow. Nevertheless the Society occasionally exhibited new local inventions such as a seed drill invented by Hatton of Halton in 1810, a cream gauge invented by Dr. Christopher Johnson (a Lancaster surgeon with a farm in Wyresdale) in 1818. In 1844 a machine was exhibited for making draining tiles and,

in 1851, the American McCormack reaper was put on show.⁹⁶

The agricultural societies played an important part in propagating new ideas in the area. The proliferation of these societies tended, however, to reduce the premiums offered to exhibitors, tending to blunt the edge of the competition, and it was for this reason that five societies were merged in 1847 to form the Royal North Lancashire Society.⁹⁷ The new society aimed also to encourage greater participation by tenant farmers who had tended to do less well in the former open competitions against gentlemen occupiers, and who, no doubt, felt ill at ease in the more snobbish and amateur atmosphere of the smaller agricultural society.

Cattle farming prospered in ~~the north-west~~ ~~as usual~~ ~~and~~ ~~developed~~. Various fertilisers were being applied to the grass by 1844, including bonemeal and guano pioneered by the Garnetts at Quernmore Park.⁹⁸ Short-horns gradually replaced long-horns and the local farming families of Bibby and Pye were later to develop a commercially successful cattle feed cake.⁹⁹ Cattle disease was however a recurring problem. Murrain struck in the winter of 1840-1 and distemper damaged herds in 1844 and 1846. Such outbreaks led to the formation of the 'Lancaster Mutual Protection Society Against Disease in Cattle' in September 1847. Shortly afterwards a similar insurance club was formed by farmers in Ellel, Quernmore and Wyresdale.¹⁰⁰

In spite of the general prosperity of North Lancashire agriculture, the population figures suggest that its prosperity was based partly on the steady drain of its population to the towns and industrial areas.

Table 3

Comparative National and Local Growth Rates 1831-1871.

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	England & Wales	Rural E & W	Lancs.	Rural Lancs.	M.B. of Lancaster	Sub District of Lancaster (incl. M.B.)	District of Lancaster
1831-41	14.5	9.6	24.7	12.5	11.7	10.9	7.2
1841-51	12.9	5.9	21.8	12.7	3.7	2.7	0.2
1851-61	11.9	7.4	19.6	20.5	6.8	0.3	1.8
1861-71	13.2	8.6	16.1	14.9	19.0	12.2	11.0
1831-71	52.5	31.5	82.2	60.6	35.2	26.1	20.0

*the figures show percentage increases.

Table 3 shows that the growth rate of Lancaster's region was a quarter of

that of Lancashire as a whole and a third that of rural Lancashire. Lancaster and its surrounding rural area had low growth rates in these years even by national comparisons. In only two decades out of four (1830's and 1860's) did Lancaster district or Sub-district match even the growth rates of rural England and Wales, while Lancaster itself followed a similar pattern, only exceeding county or national growth rates in the years 1861-71, when, as already explained, Morecambe and Carnforth were spear-heading a new period of growth in North Lancashire.

Part of the reason for the very slow growth rate of Lancaster and district must be found in the attraction of industrial Lancashire, although high rates of mortality in the Lancaster Sub-district in the 1850's and 1860's may also have played a part. If migration was the main cause of demographic stagnation in the 1840's and 1850's the movement was linked to the closure of many of the area's rural mills in these areas. The closure of some was associated with the Cotton Famine, viz Halton Mill (closed 1862). Galgate Mill was closed for part of the 1860's and Dolphinholme closed in 1867. The Hindes' silk mill at Wray was closed by the end of the 1860's, and whereas there had been five textile mills on the Artlebeck at Caton in the 1830's, by the 1860's there was only one.¹⁰² Although all these mills were small, and the total labour force, even in Caton, the biggest mill village in the area, was only a few hundred at the peak, and in Halton only a few score, loss from migration was registered in the 1860's by 'industrial' and 'agricultural' villages alike. The four sub-districts of Lunesdale, forming part of the registration district of Lancaster until 1871 between them lost a nett total of 1,464 (19.6% of the population) in the decade 1861-71.

A prosperous agricultural hinterland provided Lancaster with an important source of wealth through its market function. The evidence for this is to be found in the modest expansion of retail trade in the town even in the period of static population in the 1840's and 1850's. The area as a whole, however, grew even less than its market town. Textile mills, established in the Napoleonic period were on the wane. It was not

until the 1860's when exploitation of Furness iron ore and the development of the seaside at Morecambe at last provided opportunities of non-agricultural employment for the surplus population, that Lancaster and its area once more began to grow.

CHAPTER I The Economic Background 1835-70Footnotes

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2. M. Schofield, op. cit., p. 76 et seq.
3. Lancaster Gazette, 13 November 1802.
4. Although Greg told the Factories Inquiry that his Lancaster mills had been built in 1823 and 1828 (see B.P.P. 1834 XX, Factories Inquiry, Pt. II, A1 Northern District), the Lancaster Gazette reported the completion of the chimney on 30 July 1825. Power looms were installed simultaneously here and at Caton.
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Lancaster Gazette 11 February 1826.
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8. Lancaster Gazette, 8 July 1826.
9. Lancaster City Library, MS. 3730.
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13. Ibid., p. 286.
14. B.P.P. 1844, XXVII, Population, Cd 147-175, pp. 69-97 and
B.P.P. 1863 LIII, Pt. II, Population, Cd 388-94, pp. 648-54.
15. M. Schofield, op. cit., pp. 114-5.
16. A.J. Taylor, 'Concentration and Specialization in the Lancashire Cotton Industry 1825-50', Economic History Review, I (2nd Series), 1948, pp. 114-122.
17. M. Schofield, op. cit., p. 116.
18. S.J. Chapman, The Lancashire Cotton Industry (Manchester, 1904), p. 148.
19. Ibid., pp. 154-60.
20. B.P.P. 1873, LXXI, Pt. I, Population, pp. 430-7.
21. Lancaster Gazette, 8 January 1879.
22. Lancs. C.R.O., DDX 909, James Williamson & Son MSS suggest that J.W. had an uncle in the oilcloth business at Ripon. B.P.P. Williamson MSS of 1840 have no record of such a relationship. Search of MSS of 1840-50 suggests
*See Lancaster Gazette, 13 612.
23. Ibid., 22 April 1837.

24. G. Christie, Storeys of Lancaster (1964), pp. 61-2.
25. Lancaster Gazette, 20 May 1837,
26. Lancs. C.R.O. DDX 909; His activities are known partly by his vigorous and frequent advertising, viz. Lancaster Gazette, 13 March 1841. It might be added that he set up on his own in April 1847; see Lancaster Gazette, 8 May 1847. In 1854 he bought up the business of J.C. Hutton, painter and gilder, on the latter's retirement (Lancaster Gazette, 1 April 1854).
27. M. Schofield, op. cit., p. 117, also Lancaster Guardian, 11 January 1879.
28. M. Schofield, op. cit., p. 117.
121 (including wives and sweethearts) embarked in steamer 'Myrtle' see: Lancaster Gazette, 3 September 1859.
29. Lancaster Observer and Morecambe Chronicle, 11 January 1879.
30. Lancaster Gazette, 30 August 1862.
31. G. Christie, op. cit., p. 30-49.
32. W. Carrington, The Rolls of the Freemen of the Borough of Lancaster (1930)
33. Fifty Years Ago (Lancaster, 1906), III, 146.
34. Lancaster Gazette, 10 December 1859
35. A. Muir, Nairns of Kirkcaldy (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 2, 3, 13-15.
Nairn built his first 'Scottish Floorcloth' factory in 1848, and added others in 1864, 1868 and 1870.
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37. Ibid., also
B. Reed, Crewe to Carlisle (1969), pp. 81-4.
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55. Ibid., 2 July 1849.
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61. M. Schofield, op. cit., p. 94.
62. J. Barron, A History of the Ribble Navigation (Preston, 1938), pp. 73-79.
63. Lancaster Gazette, 10 June 1837.
64. Ibid., 24 June 1837 & 3 August 1839.
65. B.T.C., LPJ/1/1, 5 December 1839.
66. M. Schofield, op. cit., p. 120.
67. B.T.C., LAC/1/3, 27 February 1854.
68. Lancaster Gazette, 30 October 1858.
69. Ibid., 14 January 1860.
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Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. Ches., 112, 1960, pp. 105-19.
71. Lancaster Gazette, 12 September 1863 et seq.
72. Ibid., 14 November 1863.
73. Much of this information, derived from Company reports in the local press, I owe to an unpublished paper by B & G Woodhouse, The Lancaster Railway Carriage and Wagon Company Ltd. Corporate History 1866-69.
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75. Lancaster Records (Lancaster, 1869), pp. 119-20.
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B.H. Gillbanks & Co's Directory & Gazetteer of Preston, Lancaster & Morecambe Bay (Preston, 1857).

	Pigot 1834	Gillbanks 1857	Barrett 1886	Census 1841	Census 1851	Census 1871
Baker	2	9	9	8	13	19
Corn Merchant & Flour Dealer	9	18	13	11	33	48
Confectioner	8	11	28	1	5	4
Draper (incl. travelling)	14	26	50	26	26	50
General Shoemaker	48	72	106			
Pawnbroker	2	7	6	2	6	7
Shoemaker	25	52	47	194	213	202
Tailor	17	22	28	100	118	130

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80. e.g. 1805, 3,000 cattle passed through Lancaster for the Garstang Martinmas Fair (ibid. p. 26).
81. Ibid., p. 154.
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A Handlist of Lancashire Enclosure Awards (Preston, 1946).
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96. Lancaster Records, op. cit., pp. 52, 96, 287.

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100. Lancaster Records, op. cit., pp. 261, 301, 307-8.
101. Sources:
 - Census of England and Wales 1891 - Population Tables.
 - Census of England and Wales 1871 - Population Tables, I, Counties (1872), p. 182.
 - I owe the figures on rural Lancashire to Dr. J.D. Marshall, Lancaster University.
 - Census of Great Britain 1851, Population Tables I, Number of Inhabitants, II, 1852.
102. P. McCann, op. cit.
P. Gooderson, op. cit.

	L/C/S	L/C	C/L	C/R	P/N	L/P	M/C
Males 20 & over	313,097	2,707	5,225	4,797	7,202	39,231	35,655
Population 1831	1,117,260	12,613	20,006	21,344	33,871	189,242	182,812

Key: L/C/S (Lancashire), L/C (Lancaster), C/L (Carlisle), C/R (Chester), P/N (Preston), L/P (Liverpool), M/C (Manchester).

Table 4 shows a comparative occupational break-down of the adult male inhabitants of Lancashire and six north-western towns, including Lancaster. The five others were chosen as towns by which Lancaster's figures could be assessed more meaningfully. Carlisle and Chester were also county towns, although both were larger than Lancaster and both were a good deal more important in the life of their respective counties. Preston was chosen because of its geographical proximity to Lancaster and its traditional rivalry with Lancaster for the status of county town of Lancashire. Liverpool and Manchester were included in this and subsequent comparative tables to provide a metropolitan dimension to occupational analysis.

In spite of the vagueness of the 1831 Census categories, the figures in each category help to build up a picture of the social make-up of the towns. Lancaster is seen as a town, which, although the smallest of the six, had only a small agricultural element (1) in its population in 1831. Less surprising is it to see Lancaster with one of the smallest proportions of its adult males in manufacturing industry (2). Chester and Liverpool had even fewer, but the Lancashire pattern also demonstrated in the figures for Preston and Manchester, was very different. Whereas in 1835 Preston had 31 cotton mills with a workforce of 6,665, Lancaster had only 8 cotton mills with a labour force of 1,515. Lancaster showed rather the typical features of an old county town in the size of its retail and handicraft sector (3) which was well above the county average and more important than at Preston or Carlisle. Considering the legal importance of Lancaster one might have expected a larger professional and capitalist group (4), but it may be estimated that Lancaster, while full of attorneys, was short of entrepreneurs. The great commercial centre of Liverpool and again the county town of Chester had larger professional and commercial groups than

Lancaster. The labouring (non-agricultural) category (5) is not very informative, except in exhibiting the large Liverpool dock labour force and suggesting a considerable pool of unskilled labour in Lancaster. As far as 'other' males (6) were concerned, Lancaster defied comparison. The evidence of later censuses is that Lancaster had a vast range of craft and service trades. Finally there was a considerable, but much less spectacular number of male servants (7). In this category, Lancaster was second only to Chester.

TABLE 5

The Comparative Occupational Structure of Six Towns in the North West²
1831 (Families)

Census Categories	L/C/S	L/C	C/L	C/R	P/N	L/P	M/C
1. Chiefly employed in agriculture.	9.5	2.9	5.8	7.7	1.8	0.6	0.2
2. Chiefly employed in trade, manufacture and handicrafts.	66.7	48.6	66.7	57.6	64.7	49.5	79.2
3. All other families.	23.7	48.6	27.5	34.8	13.5	49.8	20.6
TOTAL %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Families	260,025	2,173	4,326	4,628	6,597	38,122	38,888
Population (1831)	1,117,260	12,613	20,006	21,344	33,112	189,242	182,812

TABLE 6

Lancaster Occupational Groups 1841 1871 (Males and Females 20 and Over)³

		LANCASTER (M.B.)				
1861 Orders		1841	1851	1861	1871	
I	Govt. Employed	M.	1.4	1.4	1.8	1.7
		F.	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
II	Army & Navy	M.	0.5	1.1	1.4	1.4
		F.	-	-	-	-
III	Professions	M.	2.9	3.4	4.0	3.6
		F.	0.6	1.0	1.3	1.5
V	Drink/Board	M.	1.6	2.4	1.5	2.2
		F.	0.6	0.8	2.3	1.8
	Domestic Service	M.	4.9	1.4	0.9	1.1
		F.	10.7	19.6	13.0	16.5
VI i	Commercial	M.	2.8	2.6	2.1	1.9
		F.	-	-	0.1	0.2

1861 Orders			1841	1851	1861	1871
VII	Transport	M.	3.0	5.9	6.7	6.3
		F.	-	-	-	-
VIII	Agriculture	M.	3.8	5.4	7.2	4.9
		F.	-	1.5	1.5	0.6
	Horticulture	M.	0.8	1.2	1.7	1.7
		F.	-	-	-	-
X xiv	(pt) Construction/ Decoration	M.	10.3	11.8	12.5	16.4
		F.	-	-	-	0.1
X xv	Furniture	M.	3.1	2.8	2.9	3.2
		F.	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4
XL i iv	Textiles	M.	9.5	10.7	11.6	11.1
		F.	7.8	11.2	10.4	10.8
XL v	Dress	M.	10.2	9.4	8.8	8.0
		F.	4.7	8.8	10.2	7.8
XII	Food Retail	M.	4.1	6.4	6.4	6.5
		F.	1.4	2.6	2.5	2.1
XV xiv	Iron & Steel	M.	3.4	4.0	1.3	3.9
		F.	-	-	-	-
XVI	Lab./Mech.	M.	8.5	9.9	8.4	5.6
		F.	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
XVII	Gentlemen/ Annuitants	M.	3.8*	0.7	0.3	0.4
		F.	-	3.1	2.7	3.1
						* Probably Combined M. & F.
Remainder		M.	25.4	18.5	20.4	20.1
		F.	73.6	50.7	55.4	54.7
TOTAL %		M.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
		F.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Males & Females 20 & over						
		M.	3,480	4,145	3,997	4,605
		F.	4,196	5,072	4,924	5,131
	ADULTS		7,676	10,217	8,921	9,736
	TOTAL POPULATION		14,089	14,604	14,487	17,245

Comparable occupational statistics for Lancaster are only available from the Censuses of 1841, 1851, 1861 and 1871. Before 1841, occupational division was either by huge categories or by individual jobs. After 1871, Lancaster ceased to be counted as one of the key Lancashire towns for Census purposes. The figures in Table 6 have been collated on the basis of the Registrar General's Orders, used in both the 1861 and 1871 Censuses. The 1861 Orders are in many cases refined versions of the 'Classes' used

in 1851, and so it has not been difficult to devise comparable figures for these three Censuses. The 1841 figures are, undoubtedly, the least reliable, as is largely indicated by the size of the remainder category for that year. Wherever possible, however, comparable figures have been sought for 1841, and it is believed that they contain a fair degree of accuracy.⁴ These middle years of the century saw slower rates of growth and much economic reorientation both nationally and locally. Apart from certain changes in methods of recording as suggested by the decline in the size of Order XVI (Labourers, Mechanics etc.), ^{between 1841 and 1871} a number of significant changes in the occupational make up of Lancaster between 1841 and 1871 may be discerned, in spite of the very small change in the town's population between 1841 and 1861.^{5a} The town's population stood at 12,619 in 1831 and 17,294 in 1871. Only after 1861, with the setting up of the Lune Ship building Company and the Lancaster Railway Carriage and Wagon Company did the town begin to grow once more. The importance of these firms in this new growth may be seen by the revival of the Iron and Steel group (XV xiv) between 1861 and 1871. The growth of the town's trade in the late 1860's may also be seen in the increased importance of the Construction and Decoration group (X xiv part), and the steady position of textiles and furniture.

Of the longer term changes which had taken place over the thirty years, one of the most striking is the growth of the Professional Class (Class I in 1861, comprising Orders I III). With the town in the commercial and industrial doldrums in the middle of the nineteenth century the Professional Class rose from 4.8% ^{adult males} in 1841 and 5.9% in 1851 to 7.2% in 1861. Only with the industrial revival in the 1860's did the Professional Class dip slightly to 6.7% in 1871. The actual numerical change was from 167 (1841) to 243 (1851), 287 (1861), 308 (1871). The proportion in transport services ^{S_b} doubled in thirty years. This was a direct product of the railways, which had turned Lancaster into a junction of some importance. Throughout the thirty years those employed in Construction and Decoration remained the largest selected group, employing even more than the town's textile mills which also maintained employment for a steady 10 to 12% of the adult male

population as well as being the second largest employer of adult women (again about 10%).⁶

Sectors which declined in relative importance included Commerce (VI i) (in spite of the survival of the Port of Lancaster) and Dress (XI v) (an important representative of the town's market function). The furniture trade (X xv) stagnated quietly once the port ceased to import wood direct from the West Indies, and once the Gillows had sold their interests. Finally the agricultural element in the town's population (VIII) which had increased in importance in 1851 and 1861 had begun to recede by 1871.

TABLE 7

The Comparative Occupational Structure of Six Towns in the North-West 1861⁷
(Males 20 and over).

Reg. Genl. Class	Occupational Group	<u>Whole Population</u>		<u>Males 20 and over.</u>					
		E & W	L/C/S	L/C	C/L	C/R	P/N	L/P	M/C
1)	PROFESSIONAL CLASS (I ^{C.} III)	3.8	2.2	7.2	5.7	7.7	3.7	5.2	5.5
I	Government Employed			1.8	1.9	1.7	0.8	2.1	1.0
II	Army & Navy			1.4	1.1	1.2	0.7	0.6	1.4
III	Professions			4.0	2.7	4.8	2.2	2.5	3.1
2)	DOMESTIC CLASS (O. IV, V)	37.4	34.1	2.6	2.1	4.4	2.1	3.1	2.5
Vi	Drink/Board			1.6	1.1	1.9	1.6	2.0	1.3
Vii	Domestic Service			0.9	0.9	2.0	0.4	0.9	1.0
3)	COMMERCIAL CLASS (O. VI, VII)	4.6	6.6	9.6	10.6	10.9	7.0	34.3	15.5
Vii	Commercial			2.1	1.6	2.0	1.6	5.3	5.1
VII	Transport			6.7	8.6	8.3	4.4	28.5	9.3
4)	AGRICULTURAL CLASS (O. VIII, IX)	14.6	6.3	9.9	7.0	11.3	4.4	1.7	2.4
VIII i & ii	Agricultural			7.2	5.2	7.6	3.2	0.8	1.4
VIII iii	Horticulture			1.7	0.7	2.2	0.7	0.3	0.4
5)	INDUSTRIAL CLASS (O. X XIV)	34.1	46.1	52.5	56.8	45.8	64.7	40.0	55.2
X xiv (part)	Construction/Decoration			12.5	9.6	11.2	7.3	8.8	8.5
Xxv	Furniture			2.9	1.5	1.8	1.0	1.3	1.7
XL i iv	Textiles			11.6	20.7	1.8	35.0	3.1	18.0
XI v	Dress			8.8	7.0	9.5	6.5	6.4	7.3
XII	Food Retail			6.4	7.0	8.3	6.0	6.8	6.1

Reg. Gen Class	Occupational Group	E & W	L/C/S	L/C	C/L	C/R	P/N	L/P	M/C
6)	INDEFINITE & NON PRODUCT (O. XV XVIII)	5.5	4.7	18.2	17.8	19.9	18.0	15.7	18.9
XV xiv	Iron & Steel			3.9	5.5	5.1	5.2	4.0	6.7
XVI	Labouring/Mechanic			8.4	7.8	8.5	9.2	8.2	6.5
XVII	Gentlemen/Annuitants			0.3	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2
	TOTAL			100	100	100	100	100	100
	Males 20 and over			3,997	7,366	7,913	19,703	118,890	117,805
TOTAL Population 1861		20,066,224	2,429,440	14,487	29,417	31,110	82,985	443,938	357,979

Key: E & W = England and Wales

It is impossible to make any exact comparisons between the findings for 1861 and those for 1831, but some attempt may be made to compare Lancaster's standing with the other selected northern towns in this later census. ~~Some of the figures are apparently contradictory~~ While Lancaster's professional class had evidently expanded in size and in importance in the middle decades of the nineteenth century and looked even healthier in 1861 than in 1831, compared to other towns, ^{while} Lancaster's class of gentlemen and annuitants had remained ~~stationary~~, and no longer stood out from that in the other five towns. This may indicate the ~~gradual~~ disappearance of the residual wealth left by the West India trade of the late eighteenth century - perhaps ironic when the town's leaders were beginning to advertise the town as suitable for retired gentlemen (see Town Council). ~~Even more puzzling is~~ The much larger agricultural class in 1861 than in 1831, ~~is explained by the growing influx of agricultural labourers~~ (72 in 1841, 160 in 1851, and 193 in 1861).

In spite of the continued picture of economic diversity of Lancaster and indeed all the six towns, Lancaster and Chester remained the towns with the most striking similarities. Both had a large residential group in the professional class, owing to their importance as legal centres. Both retained strong links with the surrounding countryside, as their substantial agricultural element indicates. In both towns, the largest

industry was a service not a manufacturing industry, namely building and decoration.⁸ Yet they were by no means identical. Chester was, like Carlisle, a more important rail centre than Lancaster, and both these towns had far more in transport and iron and steel than Lancaster. Chester had also twice as many men in domestic service as any other of the six towns, a feature also recognisable in its large number of servants in 1831.

2. Social Structure from 10% Sample 1851 and 1861

TABLE 8

Distribution of Lancaster Heads of Household by Anderson SEGs (10% Sample)⁹

Census	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	TOTAL
1851	10.4 (29)	4.0 (11)	17.6 (49)	6.8 (19)	22.7 (63)	4.0 (11)	15.1 (42)	0.7 (2)	12.9 (36)	5.8 (16)	100 (278)
		32.0					49.3				
1861	7.8 (23)	4.1 (12)	18.6 (55)	6.8 (20)	24.0 (71)	2.0 (6)	17.9 (53)	2.0 (6)	11.5 (34)	5.4 (16)	100 (296)
		30.5					52.7				

TABLE 9

Distribution of Lancaster Heads of Household by Armstrong Social Class and Comparison with Andersons SEGs (10% Sample).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL
1851	7.4 (21)	12.0 (34)	53.0 (150)	6.7 (19)	13.8 (39)	7.1 (20)	100 283
1861	7.8 (23)	11.1 (33)	52.0 (154)	12.8 (38)	9.5 (28)	6.8 (20)	100 296
1851	I & II 14.4 (40)	III V & VIII 47.8 (133)	VI & VII 19.1 (53)	IX 12.9 (36)	X 5.8 (16)	TOTAL 100 (278)	
	1 & 2 19.4 (55)	3 53.0 (150)	4 & 5 20.5 (58)		6 7.1 (20)	100 (283)	
1861	I & II 11.9 (35)	III V & VIII 51.4 (152)	VI & VII 19.9 (59)	IX 11.5 (34)	X 5.4 (16)	TOTAL 100 (296)	
	1 & 2 18.9 (56)	3 52.0 (154)	4 & 5 22.3 (66)		6 6.8 (20)	100 (296)	

The problems of comparing the categories used by Anderson and Armstrong in social class analysis are considerable. Although both writers have been strongly influenced by the classification of the Registrar General made in 1950, both have seen the need to adapt the modern categories for the purpose of analysing the Census returns of 1851 and 1861. While Armstrong retained the five social classes and only added one 'residual' class, Anderson broke the five social classes down into ten socio-economic groups which were felt to provide a more significant means of relating economic wealth and occupational identity to social status. Exact

comparability came closest in the allocation of householders to Group I, as both writers regarded servant-keeping and the employment of twenty-five or more persons as the two major (and separate) criteria for membership. After the top professional and entrepreneurial group such comparability becomes impossible. In allocating Group II, Armstrong included both lower professional occupations (e.g. Inland Revenue collector, railway inspector) and also any shopkeepers of Class III who employed one or more domestic servants. Armstrong's Group III was a very large 'middle' category incorporating skilled workmen as well as small shopkeepers, and thus including a variety of groups (journeymen, craftsmen, higher and lower factory workers, and handloom weavers), to which Anderson gave separate classification in his SEGs V, IV, VI and VIII respectively. A number of these socio-economic groups also overlapped with Armstrong's Social Class IV (semi-skilled). Nor were the unskilled manual workers a comparable category (Anderson VII and Armstrong V), as Anderson altered the Registrar General's classification in order to make labourers the central reference point for his SED VII. Finally both used an 'unclassifiable' category (Armstrong VI and Anderson IX), but both regarded different occupations as unclassifiable.

The difference between the two schemes of classification is explained by a variety of factors. Armstrong as a pioneer historical demographer was concerned to evolve a simple scheme derived from the Registrar General's divisions which would provide a basis of comparability not only between different case studies of the 1841-1861 enumerators' books, but also between case studies of this and later periods.¹⁰ Anderson, meanwhile, was concerned not with demography, but with sociology.¹¹ His aim was not to provide a scheme of analysis of the whole society, but to show the effect of urban conditions (and often new and alien ones) on the role of the family among the Preston working class of 1851. To state the primary aims of the two writers is not to say that their work did not overlap at many points, particularly in the application of demographic and sociological techniques to the study of working-class conditions in the York and Preston of the 1840's and 1850's.

In this study, no new system of categorisation has been evolved in the belief that the two existing schemes embody the principles of simplicity and sophistication, necessary to a closer understanding of the role of socio-economic status in the mid-nineteenth century. For the present study all that is needed is a simple indication of social structure. Table 8 shows clearly that by either system of classification, at the most only one tenth of all householders in Lancaster could be identified as members of an upper class (SEG I, ASC I). If such a category is extended to include the clerical occupations of SEG II and all those of the householders who were self-employed in SEG III then the proportion of them who were propertied may be raised to about 32%. The remaining two-thirds of the population was made up of skilled (SEG IV), semi skilled (SEGs VI & V) and unskilled manual (SEG VII) and indeterminate labour (SEGs VIII and IX), in proportions of 7%, 27%, 15% and 14% respectively.¹² If the Lancaster upper class may be estimated at 10% in 1851, the working class may be considered to have included 63% of the householders.

TABLE 10

Occupations by SEG of Total 10% Sample (Lancaster) 1851 and 1861

	<u>Occupied</u>												TOTAL
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	XI	XII		
1851	4.7	1.6	5.2	3.2	10.3	5.7	7.0	2.2	8.2	1.4	1.3	50.8	
1861	3.4	2.8	5.4	2.7	10.9	3.9	7.6	3.9	7.9	1.8	0.3	50.6	
	<u>Unoccupied and Unclassified</u>				<u>Total Sample</u>								
	X	XIII	Remainder	Total	%	N							
1851	2.1	0.5	46.6	49.2	100	1187							
1861	2.3	0	47.1	49.4	100	1206							

NB The remainder includes housewives, scholars, unoccupied children also unoccupied relatives and lodgers.

When the occupations of the total sample are considered it is found that 50.8% in 1851 and 50.6% in 1861 fell into the occupied categories. These figures include all those occupied in SEGs I-IX and also in SEG XI (servants) and SEG XII (apprentices or assistants to the head of household). They do not include the retired in SEG X (2.1% of the total in 1851 and 2.3% in 1861) or the paupers in SEG XIII (0.5% of the total in 1851 and nil in 1861). It is clear from these figures that with allowances for census

enumerators' omissions, nearly half the population of the town was dependent on those in work. The proportions of those employed in different SEGs differed considerably from those of householders (Table 9). As might be expected, SEGs I-III were far less prominent among the total occupied than among the householders while SEGs VI, VIII and IX were much more so. Only slight changes in the size of the different SEGs were registered between 1851 and 1861. A slight increase in SEG II may indicate marginally increased opportunities in clerical and lower professional occupations. Only a slight decline is visible in factory occupations (SEGs IV, VI and VIII) from 11.1% to 10.5% in spite of the problems faced by textile firms in Lancaster in these years. The population was almost the same in 1861 as in 1851, and the stationary size of the population is matched by the lack of change within the social structure.

be treated with caution as they do not convey any idea of how the dependence of the unclassified, 46 or 47% of the population, was distributed.

A comparison of the two censuses of 1851 and 1861 is insufficient to give much idea of social change. Nevertheless the similarity of the findings for the two years suggests a degree of social stability. 'Mid-Victorian prosperity', as far as Lancaster benefited from it, did not result in any significant shift in the social distribution of the town, as if the town's economic structure changed little in this decade. In this decade of 1851 to 1861 Lancaster shared the industrial uncertainty of other outlying centres of the cotton industry in the years between 1848 and the Cotton Famine. It was not until the 1860's that Lancaster cotton mills were replaced by table baize. In spite of the fluctuations and general stagnation, we see the maintained size of SEG IV (skilled textile) and the increase of SEG VIII (weavers) in 1861, a time of impending mill closures. The prosperity of tradesmen, master craftsmen and clerks during these years is witnessed by the building development on the Freehold and at the Pointer. There is also some evidence that such increased wealth was being shared more widely in the form of increased availability of skilled jobs.

3. Social Mobility Between Censuses.

The static appearance of the 1850's, suggested by the comparison of census figures for 1851 and 1861, is both confirmed and rejected by the marriage figures.¹³ On the one hand these suggest a low level of mobility between social groups, while on the other hand they show that, in spite of reduced overall social mobility, this period was one of increased opportunities for men to marry above their station:

TABLE 11

Social Mobility As Indicated By Marriage. Bridegroom's Father to Bride's

	% Marriages Static	% Marriages Mobile	% Marriages Up	% Marriages Down	% Nett Gain or Loss Father.
<u>1841-70</u>					
1841-50	50.0	50.0	22.3	27.7	-5.4
1851-60	50.9	49.1	24.9	24.2	+0.7
1861-70	47.1	52.9	27.1	25.8	+1.3

Furthermore, a comparison of the occupations of bridegrooms with those of their fathers or their bride's fathers in the years 1851-60 suggests that job opportunities were improving:

TABLE 12

Comparison of Bridegroom's Occupation with that of their Father and Father In Law 1841 70

	<u>Bridegroom's Father</u>		<u>Bride's Father</u>		
	<u>% Mobile</u>	<u>% Nett Advantage to Bridegroom</u>	<u>% Mobile</u>	<u>% Nett Advantage to Bridegroom</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>
1841-50	38.3	+1.1	47.6	+4.6	N 264
1851-60	41.8	+8.6	46.5	+1.9	N 273
1861-70	42.4	2.2	54.1	+2.7	N 229

In the 1850's there was also a greater movement of the sons of labourers into semi skilled and skilled manual jobs than in the 1840's.

4. Social Structure Compared With Other Towns.

A comparison with Armstrong's study of York shows that there was a close similarity between the social structures of the two ancient county towns in 1851:

TABLE 13

Distribution of Lancaster and York

Heads of Households by ASC (Armstrong Social Class) 1851 (10% Sample). ¹⁴

	<u>1 & 2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4 & 5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Total</u>
Lancaster (P.B.)	19.4	53.0	20.5	7.1	100 (N 283)
York (P.B.)	19.3	54.3	21.6	5.8	100 (N 787)

A comparison of the social structures of Lancaster and Camberwell shows, by contrast, a strong dissimilarity:

TABLE 14

Distribution of Lancaster and Camberwell

Householders by ASC in 1861 and 1871. ¹⁵

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Total</u>
Lancaster (1861)	7.8	11.1	52.0	12.8	9.5	6.8	100 (N 296)
Camberwell (1871)	1.9	13.2	63.0	11.4	7.0	3.0	100 (N)

Lancaster had a much larger upper class than Camberwell, which had hardly any at all, although, as might be expected, Camberwell had a larger middle group of lower professionals, shopkeepers and clerks. As a market and industrial centre, Lancaster had larger semi-skilled and unskilled groups than the London suburb, which, by 1871, had been linked to the City by the railway, but not yet by the tramway or the cheap working-class railway ticket.¹⁶

By dividing society into Anderson's socio-economic groups (SEGs) it is possible to compare the social structure of Lancaster with that of Preston.^{17a} Preston was a town with a population of nearly 70,000 in 1851 (c.f. Lancaster M.B. 14,604). Preston had successfully challenged Lancaster for possession of the headquarters of the county administration at the end of the eighteenth century, but by 1851 it had been transferred from a town similar in size and function to that of Lancaster into one of the mushroom cotton towns which were the product of the Industrial Revolution in Lancashire. It was thus not surprising that Preston had a very different social structure from that of Lancaster:

TABLE 15

Distribution of Lancaster Householders and Preston Males 20 & Over by SEG 1851
(10% Sample)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	All	N
Lancaster (Householders)	10	4	18	7	23	4	15	1	13	6	100	278
Preston (Males 20 & Over)	2	4	11	13	10	13	18	5	10	4	100	1607

The indications of such a comparison, although not strictly valid, are that while Lancaster had proportionately a much larger upper class (SEG I) and had a larger percentage engaged in trades and crafts (SEG III), Preston could boast a far larger section of its population engaged in factory occupations (SEGs IV & VI). Such an impression is confirmed by a comparison of the occupations of all males over 21 in the Registrar General's figures of 1861:^{17b}

TABLE 16

Selected Occupations of Lancaster and Preston Males 20 and Over in 1861 Census.

Classification	LANCASTER M.B.	PRESTON M.B.
Textile Manufacture (XI 1 4)	11.6%	35.0%
Construction/Decoration (X 1 4)	12.5%	7.3%
Agriculture/Horticulture (VIII)	9.0%	3.9%
Services: Food Retail, Dress Drink/Board (XII, XI 5, VI)	16.8%	14.1%

Professions (I III)	7.2%	3.7%
Gents./Annuitants (XVII)	0.3%	0.2%

While textile manufacture featured much less significantly in Lancaster's economy, both the building and decorating trades, with Edmund Sharpe and James Williamson respectively as their leading promoters, featured much more strongly. Lancaster was still by character a ~~professional man's~~ ^{unspecialised} town, while Preston ^{had} had been swamped by the 'Coketown' image.¹⁸ Lancaster retained ^{a degree of} occupational balance, ~~in contrast to~~ ^{which} Preston was now dangerously reliant on the fortunes of cotton.^{19a}

5. Social Class And The Household.

TABLE 17

Types of Lancaster Household 1851 and 1861 (10% Sample)

	U.M.	U.F.	M.M.	M.F.	W.M.	W.F.	TOTAL	N
1851	4.6 ₍₁₃₎	3.5 ₍₁₂₎	69.8 ₍₁₉₉₎	2.1 ₍₆₎	4.2 ₍₁₂₎	15.8 ₍₄₅₎	100	285
1861	1.3 ₍₄₎	4.0 ₍₁₂₎	71.8 ₍₂₁₉₎	1.0 ₍₃₎	5.0 ₍₁₅₎	16.8 ₍₅₂₎	100	298

The majority of Lancaster households were headed by married couples: 71.9% in 1851 and 72.8% in 1861.^{17b} The proportion of families in which the husband was away from home at the time of the census (indicated by M.F., Married Female, category) was in both cases only 1 or 2%. About one in ~~six~~ Lancaster households were headed by widows (W.F.)^{who} outnumbered the widowers (W.M.) by about three to one. Only a very small proportion of Lancaster households were headed by unmarried men (U.M.) or women (U.F.): 8.1% in 1851 and 5.3% in 1861.

TABLE 18

Types of Lancaster Household by SEG 1851 (10% Sample)

	U.M.	U.F.	M.M.	M.F.	W.M.	W.F.	TOTAL	N
I	21	7	34	0	14	24	100	29
II	9	0	73	0	9	9	100	11
III	8	0	78	0	0	14	100	49
IV & VI	0	7	90	0	0	3	100	30
V	2	2	87	3	6	0	100	63
VII	0	0	86	5	2	7	100	42
IX	3	8	47	6	3	33	100	33
X	0	6	44	0	0	50	100	16

An examination of the types of household by SEG for 1851 shows that only in SEGs I, IX and X were there marked deviations from the norm for the whole town. In these SEGs there were markedly fewer households headed by married couples, and in all three the proportion of households headed by widows or widowers was far higher than those headed by single men or women. Only in SEG I was the proportion of households headed by single people above one quarter of the total, partly because of its high proportion over 70 (see Table 22). So many people of substance gave the town's upper class something of the Conford image.

TABLE 19

Size of Lancaster Households by SEG 10% Sample 1851 (1861 in brackets).

SEG	1	2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9 and Over	TOTAL	N
I	0(4)	10(17)	38(30)	27(13)	17(4)	6 (31)	100	29(23)
II	0(0)	36(27)	45(36)	18(18)	0(0)	0 (18)	100	11(11)
III	4(0)	14(9)	34(39)	16(24)	20(22)	8 (8)	100	49(55)
V	2(1)	6(8)	41(30)	24(38)	18(19)	11 (2)	100	67(71)
IV & VI	0(4)	7(4)	23(27)	37(31)	27(27)	7 (8)	100	30(26)
VII	0(2)	0(19)	36(34)	54(31)	9(10)	0 (6)	100	42(53)
IX	6(0)	17(24)	36(30)	17(33)	14(15)	11 (0)	100	36(34)
X	13(13)	25(13)	13(26)	25(44)	12(6)	12 (0)	100	16(16)
TOTAL								
1851	3.1	11.9	33.9	25.1	17.4	8.2	100	280
1861	2.0	13.1	32.3	30.3	15.2	7.1	100	289

TABLE 20

Size of Lancaster Households by ASC 10% Sample 1851 (1861 in Brackets).

ASC	1 3	4-6	7 & Over	N
I & II	23.6 (25.4)	43.6 (45.4)	32.5 (19.2)	55 (55)

/Continued ...

ASC	1-3	4-6	7 and Over	N
III	34.0 (31)	41.0 (46)	26.0 (23)	150 (152)
IV & V	24.0 (42.4)	57.0 (42.4)	18.8 (15.1)	58 (66)
VI	45.0 (45)	20.0 (35)	35.0 (20)	20 (20)

TABLE 21

Size of Lancaster and Preston Households 1851 (10% Sample).^{19c}

	1	2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9 & Over	TOTAL	N
Lancaster	3.1	11.9	33.9	25.1	17.4	8.2	100	280
Preston	1.4	9.6	32.7	26.1	17.7	12.5	100	1241

SEG and ASC analysis of household size gives no clear indication of connection between social class and size of household.^{19d} 15% of Lancaster households had only one or two members in 1851, but the range among the various SEGs varied from 38% in the SEG X (retired) to none in SEG VII. Medium sized households of three to six persons comprised 59% of the total for the town, higher in SEG I (65%) and V (64%) and VII (90%), but lower in SEGs III (50%) and X (48%). Big households of seven or more accounted for 25.6% of the Lancaster total, but as many as 33% in SEGs IV and VI and as little as nil in SEG II and 9% in SEG VII.

The relationship of SEG to the age structure of heads of household in 1851 and 1861 showed remarkable variation between the different SEGs. If we take the age of 40 as the pivotal point, we find that whereas SEGs III (54%), V (55%) and IV/VI (60%) all had a majority under 40, SEGs I (31%), II (45%) and IX (37%) had a majority over 40.

TABLE 22

Age Structure of Lancaster Householders by SEG 1851 (10% Sample).

	I	II	III	V	IV & VI	VII	IX	X
20	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
21 30	7	18	14	27	37	23	14	0
31 40	24	27	40	28	20	29	23	0
41 50	20	18	20	28	30	19	28	0
51 60	17	18	12	6	7	17	17	0
61 70	10	18	6	6	3	10	8	19
71+	21	0	6	3	0	2	11	44
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	29	11	49	63	30	42	36	16

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The wealthiest households were thus headed by the most elderly. Exact inferences cannot be drawn from these figures as it is not always possible to tell from the census returns whether a man who described himself as occupied was active or retired. Nevertheless, from the fact that only in SEGs I, IX and X was there a percentage of any size over 70, we may presume both that retired people were usually returned as such by the enumerator and also that few tradesmen, factory workers or labourers carried on working over that age.

The weighting of the SEG age structure of householders confirms other studies in the conclusion that members of certain social groups waited longer before setting up house than others. Factory work, for example, encouraged a much earlier start than did professional work. In SEGs IV and VI combined, 40% of householders were under 30. Factory ^{work} is equally well known to have involved an earlier retirement than most jobs. Even though many factory workers worked in middle age as factory labourers_x (and would therefore still qualify for SEG VI), there is little indication from these figures that mill hands continued to be householders above the age of 50.^{20a}

Journeyman and craftsmen were slower to set up house than factory workers, while master craftsmen and tradesmen were only matched by the professional and labouring groups in the length of their delay in setting up house. In the creation of separate households the highest and the lowest social groups thus showed similar traits.

At the other end of the age scale, once again the professional and salaried groups, in common with the manual labouring group, had the largest proportion of householders over 60. This polarisation suggests confirmation for the view that it was in old age that the fundamental difference between labourer and gentleman became most stark.

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Social Class and Number of Children

TABLE 23

Children per Lancaster Household by SEG 1851 (1861 in brackets) 10% Sample 2.01

SEG	0	1	2	3	4 & Over		N
I	45 (22)	28 (30)	10 (4)	10 (22)	7 (22)	100	29 (23)
II	64 (25)	0 (42)	18 (17)	18 (8)	0 (8)	100	11 (12)
III	37 (24)	14 (15)	8 (22)	10 (13)	31 (27)	100	49 (55)
IV & VI	10 (8)	17 (15)	27 (27)	13 (12)	33 (38)	100	30 (26)
V	14 (14)	25 (21)	21 (20)	13 (20)	27 (25)	100	63 (71)
VII	14 (23)	12 (19)	21 (25)	29 (15)	24 (19)	100	42 (53)
IX	31 (18)	25 (21)	17 (24)	6 (18)	22 (21)	100	36 (34)

TOTAL

1851	26.7	18.9	17.2	13.3	23.9	100	285
1861	20.1	19.5	21.1	15.1	24.2	100	298

TABLE 24

Children per Lancaster Household by ASC 1851 (1861 in brackets) 10% Sample

ASC	0	1	2	3	4 & Over		N
I & II	36.4(23.2)	16.4(25.0)	14.5(16.1)	10.9(14.3)	21.8(21.4)	100	55(56)
III	24.0(18.2)	22.0(17.5)	18.7(22.1)	11.3(15.6)	24.0(26.6)	100	150(154)
IV & V	20.7(21.2)	15.5(18.2)	20.7(24.2)	24.1(16.7)	19.0(19.7)	100	58(66)

The figures for 1851 - both on the Armstrong and Anderson methods - show a tendency towards small numbers of children or none at all among higher-class families. *As a result from the reason high proportion of single or widowed households in SEG I, some children were no doubt away at school.* Working-class households (SEGs IV-VII and ASC IV and V) tended to have several children. In every working class SEG or ASC there was at least 40% of the sample with three or more children. The proportion of working-class families with four or more children varied from 33% in SEGs IV and VI (the textile workers) to 19% in SEG VII (labourers). This latter percentage was more typical, as by ASCs IV and V the proportion with very large families was 19.7%.

By 1861, families in Lancaster, according to this sample, were tending to have more co-resident children. This was demonstrated more by a decline in the percentage of childless families (26.7 to 20.1) rather than by an increase in those families with three or more children (37.2 to 39.3). Yet the change was registered in every SEG except VII (labourers), where the

proportion of childless rose from 14.3 to 22.6 while the percentage of families with three or more children fell from 52.4 to 34.0. Evidence from both SEG and ASC findings would suggest that whilst among the working-class families there was little movement in the childless category, decline in childless households was very marked in the middle of the social scale, (ASC III and SEGs II and III). Using extraneous evidence it might be concluded tentatively that in the decade of the 1850's the middle and upper classes were benefiting from improved sanitary conditions in the town; while it might also be hazarded that working people's children were not noticing these benefits significantly. It is also possible that more working children were seeking work away from home in 1861 than ten years previously. Once again it needs to be stressed that too much importance can be attached to changes between two censuses.

Relatives

TABLE 25

Relatives per Lancaster Household by ASC 1851 (1861 in brackets) 10% Sample

ASC	0	1	2 & Over	TOTAL	N
I & II	70.9 (76.8)	16.4 (17.9)	12.7 (5.4)	100 (100)	55 (56)
III	79.3 (79.9)	14.0 (15.6)	6.7 (4.5)	100 (100)	150 (154)
IV & V	81.0 (86.4)	10.3 (9.1)	8.6 (4.5)	100 (100)	58 (66)
TOTAL	77.6 (83.9)	14.0 (10.4)	8.4 (5.7)	100 (100)	285 (298)

It is evident from Table 25 that the wealthiest families in Lancaster in both 1851 and 1861 were those which had the highest proportion of co-resident relatives, other than their own children. Yet even in ASC I or SEG I it was not the norm for households to contain the relatives of the head or his wife. In the whole sample 22.4% of households had co-resident relatives in 1851 (c.f. ^{York 22%} Preston 23% and rural Lancashire 27%). ^{20c} The fall to 16.1% in 1861 was the result of the fall in the number of co-resident kin at both ends of the social scale.

A comparison with Armstrong's figures for York in 1851 shows virtually identical proportions of households with no relatives. Lancaster had a slightly higher proportion of households with two or more relatives.

TABLE 26

Relatives per Lancaster and York Households by ASC 1851 (10% Sample).

ASC	0		1		2 & Over	
	L.	York	L.	York	L.	York
I & II	70.9	72.9	16.4	27.1	12.7	8.4
III	79.3	79.0	14.0	21.0	6.7	5.2
IV & V	81.0	80.6	10.3	19.4	8.6	5.0

A comparison of Lancaster with Preston by Anderson SEG, although not complete, suggests that Lancaster households had rather more co-resident kin in 1851 than did those of its bigger, manufacturing neighbour, in the lower social groups.

TABLE 27

Relatives per Lancaster and Preston Households by SEG 1851 (10% Sample)
Percentage of households with co resident relatives.

	I	II	III	IV & VI	V	VII
Lancaster	37.9	27.3	18.4	26.7	15.9	16.7
Preston	?	?	16.0	14.0 & 7.0	10.0	8.0

Lodgers

TABLE 28

Lancaster Households With Lodgers by ASC 1851 (1861 in brackets).

ASC	0	0	1	2 & Over	TOTAL	N		
I & II	89.1	(89.3)	9.1	(7.1)	1.8	(3.6)	100 (100)	55(56)
III	80.0	(80.6)	7.3	(5.8)	12.7	(13.6)	100 (100)	150(154)
IV & V	72.4	(80.3)	13.8	(13.6)	13.8	(6.1)	100 (100)	58(66)
TOTAL	78.2	(81.2)	10.2	(8.7)	11.6	(10.1)	100 (100)	285(298)

and by Selected SEG 1851 (1861 in brackets)

SEG	0	1	2 & Over	TOTAL	N			
I & II	90.0	(91.4)	7.5	(5.7)	2.5	(2.9)	100 (100)	40(35)
III	83.6	(80.0)	8.2	(9.1)	8.2	(10.9)	100 (100)	49(55)
IV & VI	73.4	(76.9)	13.3	(15.4)	13.3	(7.7)	100 (100)	30(26)
VII	73.8	(81.2)	11.9	(11.3)	14.3	(7.5)	100 (100)	42(53)
IX	75.4	(76.4)	11.1	(11.8)	13.8	(11.8)	100 (100)	36(34)

By 1861 slightly fewer families had lodgers than in 1851. The class differential was also smaller, with a levelling off in the proportion of households with lodgers below SEG III in the 1861 Census as the following table indicates:

TABLE 29

Mean Number of Lodgers per Household in 1851 and 1861

SEG	I	II	III	IV/VI	V	VII	TOTAL
1851	0.17	0.18	0.31*	0.43	0.65	0.45	0.45
1861	0.17	0.17	0.56	0.31	0.37	0.32	0.38

*(excluding 2 households with 10 or more lodgers)

The SEGs responding most sensitively to the drop in the total number of lodgers in Lancaster between 1851 and 1861 were SEGs IV/VI, V and VII. Working-class households were most likely to take in the temporary residents or floating population who would be the first to leave if employment opportunities decreased. From this it may well be concluded that, if lodgers were an important element in working-class income, as Armstrong has suggested, this source of income was no more reliable in difficult times than any other. This emphasises once more the vulnerability of working-class households to economic fluctuations.

TABLE 30

Proportion % of Households with Lodgers: Lancaster, York etc. 1851^{21a}

Lancaster	21.8
York	21.3
Nottingham	21.8
Radford	13.7
Preston	23.0

Armstrong has argued that the spread of lodging accompanied the Industrial Revolution. The above table reminds us, however, that towns with as different economic patterns as Lancaster, York, Nottingham and Preston all had a remarkably similar proportion of households taking in lodgers. Possibly variables such as available housing stock were more important. At any rate the following table suggests no great difference between Lancaster and Preston in the number of lodgers to be found in 'lodging' households in the two towns.

TABLE 31

Lodgers in 'Lodging' Households: Lancaster and Preston 1851 (10% Sample)

	1	2	3-5	6 & Over	12 & Over	
Lancaster	46.8	25.0	23.3	3.4	1.7	100
Preston	41.0	28.0	26.0	4.0	1.0	100

Equally the following table shows equal susceptibility to SEG analysis of 'lodging' households in both Lancaster and Preston in 1851.

TABLE 32

Households with Lodgers by SEG: Lancaster and Preston 1851 (10% Sample)

	I	II	III	IV/VI	V	VII	TOTAL (All Households)
Lancaster	10	9	16	27	22	26	22
Preston	5	3	13	26/29	14	24	23

The proportions are remarkably similar, although SEGs I & II seem to have included a greater proportion of 'lodging' households in Lancaster than in Preston. ~~(It is strange that in all the SEGs included Lancaster should have had a higher proportion of 'lodging' households, yet Preston's proportion was overall fractionally higher than Lancaster's).~~

Servants

TABLE 33

Proportion % of Lancaster Households with Servants 1851 & 1861 by ASC ^{21c}

	<u>10% Sample</u>										TOTAL
	1851					1861					
	0	1	2	3 & Over	N	0	1	2	3 & Over	N	
I & II	29.1	41.8	14.5	14.5	55	36.4	41.8	9.1	12.7	55	100
III	96.0	4.0	0	0	150	98.1	1.9	0	0	154	100
IV & V	94.9	3.4	0	1.7	58	100.0	0	0	0	64	100
TOTAL	83.2	10.9	2.8	3.2	285	87.2	8.7	1.6	2.3	298	100

Servant-keeping was an important measure of social class. Armstrong and Anderson both excluded all except keepers of more than one domestic servant from the top socio-economic group. In this study, householders in certain occupations have been included in ASC I or SEG I whether they had domestic servants or not. ^{21c} Nevertheless where tradesmen and merchants have been concerned, the servant qualification has been adhered to.

One would expect the majority of ASC I and II to have servants. What is more revealing is that a sizeable element in SEG III (Tradesmen) - 20.4% - kept at least one servant. In 1861 this element had increased to 27.3%. Further down the social scale servant-keeping was virtually non-existent in both 1851 and 1861.

A comparison with Armstrong's figures for York shows a general similarity between the wealth of the two upper classes in servant-keeping terms.

TABLE 34Proportion of ASC I with Servants: Comparison of Lancaster & York 1851

	1 Plus	2 Plus	3 Plus	N
Lancaster	95.2	57.1	33.3	21
York	81.4	52.5	30.5	?

TABLE 35Proportion of Households with Servants by SEG: Comparison of Lancaster and Preston in 1851 with N totals of each SEG (10% Samples)

	LANCASTER	(L. 1861)	PRESTON (Anderson)	
SEG I	89.7 (N 29)	(69.6 N 23)	59	(N 22)
II	36.4 (N 11)	(16.7 N 12)	19	(N 31)
III	20.4 (N 49)	(27.3 N 55)	33	(N 142)
IV & VI	3.3 (N 30)	(0 N 26)	2 & I	(N 141 & 79)
V	0 (N 63)	(1.4 N 71)	4	(N 165)
VII	0 (N 42)	(0 N 53)	1	(N 157)
VIII	0 (N 2)	(0 N 6)	0	(N 55)
IX	29.5 (N 36)	(2.9 N 34)	2	(N 127)
X	0 (N 16)	(18.8 N 16)	2	(N 17)
All SEGs	17.3 (N 278)	(12.8 N 296)	9	(N 936)

As might be expected from the difference between manufacturing Preston and the service town of Lancaster, the latter had a higher proportion of households with servants. Indeed one might expect from other sources (such as Registrar General's returns - See elsewhere) that the difference would be greater. There are undoubtedly problems of different classification systems, in spite of attempts at comparability. Anderson's figures of servants include apprentices; Lancaster's do not. Again the changes between 1851 and 1861 in Lancaster's case show once more the problems of a small sample. Only the figures for SEG III seem sufficiently stable to be reliable. Yet, if the overall impression of Lancaster's servant-keeping households is correct, then the difference between the two towns in 1851 is about 7%. By 1861 Lancaster households were smaller, as much because there were fewer servants as because there

were fewer lodgers and co-resident relatives. The fall, as in the case of lodgers and kin suggests harder times for the town.

6. Geographical Mobility

TABLE 36

Birthplace of 1851 and 1861 Lancaster (10% Sample).

Place/Area	1851		1861
	Heads of Household	Total Sample	Total Sample
LANCASTER	28.8	41.6	44.9
Skerton	2.1	5.1	7.7
Scotforth	1.1	0.9	0.8
<hr/>			
LANCASTER etc.	32.0	47.6	53.4
<hr/>			
NORTH LANCS. (North of Ribble incl. Preston)			
Agricultural Villages	21.4	13.8	9.5
Industrial Villages	2.2	2.2	1.7
Mixed Villages	2.9	2.6	0.8
Misc. Villages	5.7	5.2	4.6
Preston	2.6	1.3	2.0
Elsewhere	1.5	1.6	1.8
<hr/>			
NORTH LANCS.	36.3	26.7	20.4
<hr/>			
SOUTH LANCS.	4.8	4.2	5.4
<hr/>			
CNC (Contiguous Northern Counties)			
Yorkshire	11.2	6.1	6.5
Westmorland	6.3	5.9	5.3
Cumberland	2.1	1.9	1.0
Derbyshire	0.4	0.1	0.1
Cheshire	0	0.1	0.3
<hr/>			
CNC	20.0	14.1	13.2
<hr/>			
ELSEWHERE			
England N. of Trent	1.5	0.3	0.9
England S. of Trent	0.7	0.9	0.6
London	1.1	0.4	0.5
Wales	0	0.3	0.3
Scotland	2.6	1.3	0.7
Ireland	1.9	2.1	3.0
Foreign Parts	0	0	0.2
<hr/>			
ELSEWHERE	7.8	5.3	6.2
<hr/>			
TOTAL	100.9	97.9	98.6
N	285	1486	1500

41.6% of the sample population of Lancaster in 1851 was born in the town itself. In this proportion of native born, Lancaster was more similar to York (46.1% native born in 1851) and the neighbouring village of Caton (46.6%)²², than to Preston, where only 30% of Anderson's 1851 sample were

natives of the town. Such a big contrast is misleading. If we take the whole population of both Lancaster and Preston from the published abstracts we find that 45.5% of the Lancaster population and 47.5% of the Preston population were born within the parliamentary boundaries of each borough.²³ One major variable is found to be age. Whereas of those aged under 20, 66.5% in Lancaster (and 68% in Preston) were born in the borough, of those aged 20 and over, only 29.6% in both Lancaster and Preston were native born in 1851. Likewise only 29% of the households in the Lancaster sample in 1851 were native-born. Their families might be Lancaster born, but they were not.

Where had the householders come from? One in three had come from rural North Lancashire as had one in four of the population as a whole in the sample. Very few (4 to 5%) of Lancaster people in 1851 had come from the industrial towns and villages of South Lancashire. If not born in Lancaster or rural North Lancashire they had come from the Yorkshire Dales or the Westmorland Fells. Preston, by contrast, drew more evenly from the county as a whole, and drew only half as many from the agricultural villages and twice as many from the towns of Lancashire.²⁴ Yet in both cases the majority of immigrants had come a maximum of thirty miles. A good deal of inter-change took place between the two towns. Lancaster, with Blackburn, was the chief Lancashire town supplying Preston inhabitants, while in Lancaster, Preston supplied far more inhabitants in 1851 than any other Lancashire town.

Detailed census abstracts of birthplaces of the borough population only exist for the three censuses 1851, 1861 and 1871, and only in 1851 is there an indication of the number who were born in the borough itself. Full figures are given in APPENDIX 62, but the main trends may be summarised here. The proportion of the adult population born in Lancashire remained at 70% in 1851 and 1861, although the sample of 1861 suggests that the proportion born in Lancaster increased, perhaps an indication of the town's uncertain economic future. In all three censuses the proportion born in Lancashire in both Lancaster and Preston remained fairly steady,

at about three-quarters. The similarity conceals the fact that Lancaster drew almost exclusively from rural North Lancashire while Preston drew more evenly from the country as a whole. Lancaster saw very few changes between 1851 and 1861, but some movement between 1861 and 1871. In 1861 to 1871 there was a more rapid increase in the proportion of inhabitants from south of the Trent (5% over 20 by 1871) and from over the Irish Sea (6% over 20 by 1871)²⁵. Better economic prospects in North Lancashire in the late 1860's and the boom of 1871-3, in particular, account for this increase in long distance migration. Short distance migration from neighbouring northern counties fluctuated between 1851 and 1871 but there was little overall change. Preston drew less heavily in this period on other northern counties and Scotland, and drew more heavily on Ireland and South Lancashire, but it too saw only small changes in the birthplace pattern of its people.

TABLE 37

Proportion of Lancaster Families who had moved between 1851 and 1861

10% Sample

1851 Sample by SEG

	I	II	III	IV/VI	V	VII	IX	X	TOTAL
Moved	66	64	73	80	79	83	78	69	76
In Same House	34	36	26	20	21	17	22	31	24

1861 Sample by SEG

Moved*	70	92	73	92	82	85	85	69	81
In Same House	30	8	27	8	18	15	15	31	19

* Including Houses

Not Built in 1851	4	8	0	8	10	6	3	13	6
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TOTAL '51 & '61	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N 1851	29	11	49	30	63	42	36	16	286
N 1861	23	12	55	26	71	53	34	18	279

Owing to the complexities of the census enumerators' books, tracing houses from the 1851 to the 1861 Census was no easy task. Where street numbering was non-existent the whole street was searched for the family concerned and if it was found at a slightly different address this was not taken to represent a 'move'. In spite of this element of generosity in the 'same house' category, the overall picture is one of considerable mobility. 76% of the families in the 10% sample of 1851 were found to have

gone by 1861 and 81% of the families in the 1861 sample were likewise found to have moved since 1851. The problem with the 10% sample is that it is impossible to say whether their movement constituted simply a move of house or a move from the town altogether. Anderson in his extensive study of an area of Preston from 1851 to 1861 reduced the proportion of untraced to about one third.²⁶ Economic uncertainty probably made Lancaster's population more mobile. The Preston figures seem low when compared to a Lancashire village such as Caton, near Lancaster, which, although on an important migration route, had a population turnover, by households, of 46% between 1841 and 1851 and 50% between 1851 and 1861.

TABLE 38

Mobility in Preston and Lancaster 1851 to 1861 (Traced to same house) %
Households in SEG

	Trade (III)	Factory (IV/VI)	Artisan (V)	Labourer (VII)
Preston Traced	60	29	10	8
Lancaster Traced	26	20	21	17

The above table compares the proportion traced to the same house between 1851 and 1861 in Lancaster and Preston for selected SEGs. The picture is very different in the two towns. In Lancaster the population as a whole seems more mobile than in Preston, but it seems that the Preston artisans and labourers were far more mobile than their Lancaster counterparts. This may indicate no more, however, than a greater choice of housing in Preston and possibly more mobility up and down the social scale. That it does not imply much greater movement from one town to another is indicated by the fact that Anderson found a large proportion of the artisans (60%) and the labourers (47%) elsewhere in Preston. Not too much attention should be shown to the huge difference between Lancaster and Preston tradesmen found, as the total number of Preston tradesmen here was only 10 (c.f. Lancaster 55).

A more varied picture also emerges if we compare Lancaster and Preston by age-group of household heads. It is clear that mobility was higher in Lancaster than in Preston in two out of the three selected age-groups. Only among householders over 45 in 1851 (and so over 55 in 1861) was there more

mobility in Preston than in Lancaster.

TABLE 39

Mobility in Preston and Lancaster 1851 to 1861 (Traced to same house) %
Households in Age Group

Age of Head in 1861	% in Same House as in 1851	ALL	N
25 - 35	Lancaster 4.5	100	67
	Preston 7.0	101	46
35 - 55	Lancaster 21.5	100	144
	Preston 17.0	100	71
55 & Over	Lancaster 32.2	100	74
	Preston 55.0	100	22

Once again, in the single category where Preston was noticeably more mobile than Lancaster, the Preston sample was small (N 22).

TABLE 40

Mobility by Age of Head of Lancaster Household 1851 and 1861 (10% Sample)

	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71 & Over
	<u>1851 Sample</u>					
In same house in 1861	16.7	20.8	32.8	33.3	26.9	8.3
Not in same house in 1861	83.3	79.2	67.2	66.7	73.1	91.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	54	77	67	36	26	24
	<u>1861 Sample</u>					
In same house as in 1851	0	14.9	19.5	31.4	32.0	33.3
Not in same house as in 1851	100.0	85.1	80.5	68.6	68.0	66.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	46	74	77	51	25	24

The main conclusion from the above table is that an important factor to be considered when studying mobility is age. Stability of residence was evidently at its highest for those between 40 and 70, those below 40 retaining an 80% degree of mobility in a ten year period, while those over 70 of course becoming vulnerable to the simple fact of death.

7. Age StructureTABLE 41Comparative Age Structure of Lancaster, Preston and England and Wales

	<u>1841 1871</u> ²⁷			
	-19	20-39	40-59	60+
<u>1841</u>				
Lancaster	43.2	32.0	16.8	7.2
Preston	48.1	31.9	14.7	5.0
England & Wales	46.1	30.7	16.1	7.2
<u>1851</u>				
Lancaster	42.9	31.7	17.7	7.6
Preston	46.6	32.8	15.5	5.2
England & Wales	45.3	30.7	16.8	7.3
<u>1861</u>				
Lancaster	44.3	28.9	19.3	7.5
Preston	45.8	32.5	16.5	5.1
England & Wales	45.3	29.9	17.4	7.5
<u>1871</u>				
Lancaster	43.6	28.8	19.7	8.0
Preston	46.3	30.8	17.2	5.9
England & Wales	45.7	29.4	17.4	7.4

The age structure of Lancaster, as shown in Table 41, reflected the economic difficulties of the town in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. At each census between 1841 and 1871, it had a smaller proportion of children and a larger proportion of middle-aged and elderly people than either Preston or the average for England and Wales. On all three counts (young, middle aged and elderly) at all four Censuses, Preston, in contrast with Lancaster had a younger population than England and Wales as a whole. The large proportion of the population employed in cotton mills in the youngest age-group is probably the explanation. As for the 'productive adult' group, aged 20 to 39, Lancaster's proportion fell from 32% in 1841, when it was higher than either that of Preston or England and Wales as a whole, to below Preston in 1851 and to below England and Wales as well in 1861 and 1871. By 1871 Lancaster's age pyramid looked distinctly top heavy. In spite of its economic recovery in the 1860's, its age structure bore the marks of a declining town.

The conclusions to be drawn from the Census enumerators' sheets and other sources about Lancaster's social structure are necessarily tentative. The main problem with the Census returns is that they give a snapshot

when a moving picture would be more helpful; while a comparison of only two Censuses ten years apart on the one hand confirms the earlier findings where they are the same and, on the other hand, leads to presumptuous interpretations where they are different. At every point they tend to raise more problems than they solve.

It is evident that Lancaster had many basic similarities with other towns. With an occupational structure similar to other predominantly service towns, a comparison with Armstrong's figures for York, shows that Lancaster's class divisions were almost identical with that town, while totally different from those of Camberwell or Preston. The Census books cry out for more detailed study. For on such controversial indicators of social structure as household size, co-resident kin, lodgers etc., although overall figures from one town to another seem very similar (see Table 30), yet detailed examination by social class suggests that these overall figures mask considerable differences (see Tables 27 and 32). The great variety of life styles of parallel social groups from one town to another begins to emerge from what figures exist. At present the differences can hardly be more than stated. Fuller interpretation must await a greater range of comparison.

Clearly short-term economic explanations for social phenomena are not always applicable. 1851 and 1861 were both good years economically in Lancaster, yet the 1861 figures suggest at many points the onset of harder times. Similarly 1871 was another prosperous year for the town and yet its age structure revealed by the Census of that year was still one of a declining town. In both 1861 and 1871 long term employment prospects in the town were poor, poorer possibly than in 1851. It is these disappointing prospects rather than the fairly prosperous present which the snapshots of the social structure perhaps reveal most clearly about Lancaster in its mid Victorian years.

CHAPTER IIFootnotes.

1. BPP 1833, XXXVI, Population of Great Britain (Vol. I).
2. Ibid.
3. BPP 1844, XXVII, Population, Cd. 147-175, pp. 69-97.
BPP 1852 3, LXXXVIII, Pt. II, Population, pp. 648-653.
BPP 1863, LIII, Pt. II, Population, Cd. 388-394, pp. 648-54.
BPP 1873, LXXI, Pt. I, Population, pp. 430-7.
4. Distortions resulting from reliance on individual census years must be taken into account. 1841 was a year of depression, 1851 and 1871 years of prosperity and 1861 a year of uneven prosperity.
P. Deane & W.A. Cole British Economic Growth 1688-1959 (Cambridge, 1969), p. 171.
- (a)5. The slow down in the rates of growth was felt in other old Lancashire towns too; see
R. Lawton, 'Population Trends in Lancashire and Cheshire from 1801', Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. & Chesh., 114, 1962, pp. 189-213.
- (b)5. These were also national trends; see H.J. Perkin, Origins of Modern English Society 1780 1880 (1969), p. 115, 120-124.
6. Lancaster textile mills were small scale, the largest being Greg's which employed about 400; see Lancaster Guardian, 1 January 1853.
7. BPP 1863, LIII, Pts. I & II, Population (England & Wales).
8. Liverpool too was predominantly a service industry town, see R. Lawton, op. cit.
9. See Appendix for details of Armstrong and Anderson social classification.
A. Armstrong, 'The Social Structure of York 1841-51', (Ph.D Dissertation, Birmingham University, 1967).
M. Anderson, 'Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire' (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cambridge University 1969).
Lancaster analysis based on 10% sample of 1851 and 1861 Census Enumerators' Sheets.
10. Ed. E.A. Wrigley, An Introduction to Historical Demography (1966), pp. 209-35.
11. M. Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire (Cambridge, 1971), passim.
12. c.f. Manchester: 64%; Bury: 71%; Dukinfield: 74% in BPP 1837-8, VII, Select Committee on Education of the Poorer Classes.
13. Figures based on 20% sample of Marriage Registers of Lancaster Parishes of St. Mary, St. John, St. Anne, St. Thomas and St. Luke's, Skerton, by kind permission of the incumbents.
Published annually in Lancaster newspapers. Total savings bank capital increased from £29 million to £38 million (1844-58), see, P.H.J.H. Gosden, Self Help: Voluntary Associations in Nineteenth Century Britain (1973), pp. 227.

14. A. Armstrong, op. cit.
 H.J. Dyos & A.B.M. Baker 'The Possibilities of Computerising Census Data'.
 15. Ed. H.J. Dyos, The Study of Urban History (1968), p. 101.
 16. H.J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb (Leicester, 1961).
 17a M. Anderson, op. cit. pp. 32-3. *17b Also by Gillbanks's Directory of 1857 which indicates an upper class of clergy, gentry and persons retired from business was under 1/4. In neither case - especially where Preston is concerned - were there large concentrations of upper class residents outside the borough boundaries.*
 18. c.f. D. Defoe, A Tour Through England and Wales (1724-26, Everyman edn., 1959), II, 268.

- (a)19. For full impact of Cotton Famine 1861 4 in Preston see E. Waugh, Lancashire Sketches, p. 190 et seq.
- (b)19. c.f. 73% headed by married couples in York (1851). York had more widowers (4.9%), fewer widows (13.8%), more single females (4.9%) and fewer single males (3.4%) of Laslett's households in pre industrial communities 70.4% were headed by married couples, see Ed. P. Laslett, Household and family in past time (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 147, 208.
- (c)19. As far as mean household size was concerned, Lancaster's 5.0 (4.9 in 1851) was a little above the national figure for 1851: 4.8, and that of York (1851) 4.7, but smaller than Preston's (1851) 5.4. see Ibid.
 M. Anderson 'Household structure and the industrial revolution; mid nineteenth century Preston in comparative perspective', pp. 219, 234.
- (d)19. Unlike in York (1851) where Armstrong found the same positive relationship between household size and social status which Laslett had found in his pre industrial communities, ibid. pp. 154, 207.
- (a)20. In Preston, Anderson noted dependence on kin on old age and the use of grandparents as housekeepers by young couples at work in the mills; op. cit. pp. 139-43.
- (b)20. Lancaster had 73.3% households with children in 1851; York had 66.2% in 1851; see Ed. Laslett, op. cit. p. 210.
- (c)20. Ibid. p. 220.
- (a)21. Ed. H. Dyos, op. cit. pp. 67-85.
- (b)21. 16.8% Lancaster households had servants in 1851 c.f. 20% in York and 10% in Preston (both 1851): see ed. P. Laslett, op. cit. p. 220.
- (c)21. Those included in SEG I and ASC I where no servants were mentioned were described as: in 1851 sample a surgeon and a landed proprietor; in 1861 sample a widow living off dividends, a landed proprietor, two proprietors of houses, an annuitant, a property holder and a bank manager.

22. F.J. Gooderson, op. cit. p. 10.
 23. BFP 1852 3, LXXXVIII, Pt. II, Population.
 24. M. Anderson, op. cit. pp. 34-8.

25. H. Redford, Labour Migration in England (revised edn., Manchester, 1964), p. 153 for remarks on Irish influx into textile and iron trades.
26. Altogether he found almost 40% of males aged 10 and over in 1851, in the 1861 Census either in the same house or within a distance of two hundred yards; see M. Anderson, op. cit. p. 42
27. For England and Wales, see B.R. Mitchell, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962), p. 12. For Lancaster and Preston see BFP 1852-3, LXXXVIII, Pt. II, Population.

CHAPTER IIITHE ELITETHE RESIDENT GENTRY

The composition of Lancaster's social elite changed little in the early Victorian years. The elite still combined the leading citizens of the town and the local county leaders in much the same way as it had done in the period before municipal reform. Many of the same families - usually with a mercantile background in the West Indies trade - continued to dominate the scene. Of the town's leaders, the Gregsons, Salisburys, Satterthwaites and Bonds remained of considerable importance, while the Garnetts of Quernmore and Wyreside (and so the successors to the Gibsons and Cawthornes respectively), Wilsons of Dallam Tower, Atkinsons of Cockerham and Hornbys of Dalton Hall retained the link between the town's wealthiest families and the county gentry. The Duke of Hamilton, who spent much of his time abroad, was never seen, but his plate was still run for at the Races and he remained the honorary president of the Lancaster Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Some new families had joined the ranks of the elite. Professional newcomers to the town, especially clergy were always accepted. The prestige of medical men grew in relation to the size of the public health problem. A welcome was even extended at the meetings of the John o' Gaunt Bowmen to the managers of the Preston Bank - a branch of which opened in Lancaster in 1850. The railways helped in the advancement of others. The Boldens, who had retired to farm, took a more active interest in Lancaster's social round, when S.E. Bolden became Secretary of the Lancaster and Preston Junction Railway Company in 1837. Meanwhile the Sharpes established themselves as a family of engineers.

New county leaders added distinction to the Lancaster elite on special occasions. The marriage of the Earl of Bective to the heiress of Alderman William Thompson of Underley and her succession to Underley and Barnacre in 1854 brought a new noble family into North Lancashire county circles.¹ At almost the same time the Hamiltons sold Ashton Hall to

Le Gendre Starkie of Burnley (1853), who rebuilt it for his son.² Frequent visits to the county town were paid by John Wilson Patten, Member for North Lancashire from 1832 to 1874 and afterwards Lord Winmarleigh. Every year he chaired the annual meeting of the Lancaster Agricultural Society, and, in Parliament, he made common cause with Lancaster's two Tory Members, Greene and Marton.

The manufacturing element in the town's elite continued to compose the families of Hinde, Gregson, Mason, Armstrong and now Greg. The latter became increasingly conformist in the 1850's, abandoning altogether his Radical allies of the late 1830's. The oilcloth manufacturers - Williamson and the Storeys - were part of this circle. The Storeys played some part in the revival of the Tradesman's Ball after 1849, but as the name implies, this was a middle class affair.^{3a}

Lancaster was never more dominated in social terms by the professions.^{3b} Responsibility for this lay partly in the strength of the professions in the town and partly in the outstanding vigour of the leading professional men: Anglican clergy such as Rev. Joseph Turner, Vicar of Lancaster 1844-70, a brother-in-law of the Gregsons with daughters married into the Pickford and Schneider families⁴; medical men such as Edward de Vitre and Thomas Howitt and the architect and engineer, Edmund Sharpe.

The professional nature of the town's social elite gave an intellectual flavour to many of the elite activities. The Lancaster Literary and Philosophical Society, founded in 1833, continued to flourish for some time with lectures on a wide range of subjects for a restricted membership. In 1849, however, it was replaced by the Lancaster Athenaeum which aimed to promote 'public entertainment and instruction'.⁵ The Athenaeum organised lectures and concerts in the converted Theatre, now the Music Hall. Summer visits to Furness, Ingleborough and elsewhere were organised and winter meetings included both learned talks and musical evenings. In 1850 and again in 1868 the Athenaeum played host to the British Archaeological Association. In 1850, papers were read by both J.R. Planché, F.S.A., and by Dr. James Johnson of Lancaster, while Edmund Sharpe conducted a party

round the ruins of Furness Abbey.⁶ By 1860, the Mayor could justly claim that the Athenaeum (newly incorporated as a joint-stock company) was providing entertainment for both the upper and the middle classes of the town.⁷

The identification of most of the elite with the Tories meant that the passage of municipal reform in 1835 spelled danger for its very existence. The Liberal victory proved short-lived. With the Conservative revival and re-establishment of Tory-Anglican rule in 1841-2, many of the cherished traditions survived, although not unshaken. The Corporation's visits to the church were revived, although with markedly less success than before 1835. The resumption of traditional robes by Mayor and Aldermen and the revival of the tradition of mayoral hospitality, aided by an income of one hundred guineas were easier to achieve.⁸ The Races, threatened by the Liberal Town Council in 1840, were revived in 1841.⁹

New events were introduced to enliven the social calendar such as the first Lancaster Regatta on the River Lune in August 1842.¹⁰ This became an annual event stimulated by the enthusiasm of the ex-Cambridge oarsmen, Edmund Sharpe and James Giles, who founded a new rowing club in 1845.¹¹ In the same year the Lancaster Hunt was re-established under the Mastership of R.A. Ford of Ellel Hall.¹² By 1850 cricket and shooting matches were supplementing the annual display by the John o' Gaunt Bowmen. From 1838 to 1855, the appearance of the fire troops of the Lancashire Yeomanry Cavalry in the town for training gave additional variety and the Gazette complained loudly when the practice ceased.¹³ Yet the formation of the 10th Rifle Volunteers at Lancaster in 1859 restored the loyal military associations so much prized by the Lancaster elite.¹⁴

In 1857 the Races were also discontinued, after the Hamilton Plate had been withdrawn reducing the meeting to a one-day event. The break-up of the 1855 meeting by a brawl between navvies and militiamen had not helped the reputation of the Lancaster Races, but they had been under pressure for a long time, and at the end had been virtually abandoned by both county gentry and local gentlemen.¹⁵

The Lancaster social elite drew strength from the town's economic weakness. The absence of rapid growth in the town in the middle years of the century meant that there was little in the way of a threat from a new class of manufacturers and tradesmen. While the institutions of the upper class remained unchanged, their numbers grew. Slater in 1848 listed seventy-two gentlemen and eighty-nine ladies under Lancaster.¹⁶ Improved facilities in the town in the 1850's were to provide a continuing attraction. The pure water supply after 1855 and the lack of smoke compared to other towns were two attractions. A third was the town's schools. The Grammar School, in new premises from 1852 and renamed Royal, became a well-known boarding school under Rev. T.F. Lee, while Rev. D. Davis built up a similar reputation for a more progressive private school in Queen's Square. In the 1859 Directory, no less than twenty-two schools and academies were listed, along with four circulating libraries.¹⁷ An efficient police force and the attraction of the Assizes completed the old county town's advantages in the eyes of its upper class, and, although not attracting many newcomers, only a few of them left for the more pleasant climes of Cheltenham or Leamington Spa.^{18b}

Conflict for the borough representation tended to be fought between the Liberal manufacturing families and the Tory gentry. The Liberals were headed by the Gregs, Armstrongs and Gregsons, the Tories by the Martons, Greenes and Garnetts.

Frequent contested elections were provoked by the attempts of Liberal families to break the grip of the local gentry on the town's representation.¹⁹

The Gregs, as the family prominent among the Manchester free traders, were the first of the new Liberal candidates for the borough. Although John Greg himself never stood, his brothers Robert Hyde and William Rathbone Greg were presented in 1831 and 1837 respectively, but neither was elected. More success attended Robert Baines Armstrong, brother of John, and Samuel Gregson, whose father was the Secretary of the Lancaster Canal Company and whose brother, Henry, was twice Mayor (1850-1 and 1861-2).

Samuel Gregson was elected in 1847, and, although unseated for bribery soon afterwards, returned to Parliament in 1852 and retained his seat until his death in 1865. Ironically, the other Member of Parliament from the local commercial interest, Robert B. Armstrong, (the Recorder of Manchester), entered Parliament after a narrow victory at the by-election of March 1848 which followed the successful petition against Samuel Gregson. Armstrong, however, was himself unseated by another election petition against Liberal corruption in 1833.²⁰

Supported by many of the professional families in the town, the local gentry resisted these Liberal onslaughts. A combination of local influence with Tory sympathies could guarantee a long period as member. This at least was the case with Thomas Greene of Whittington Hall who sat for Lancaster from 1826 to 1857 with only a short break in 1852-3. From 1831 to 1837 his colleague was P.M. Stewart, the nephew of the Whig Duke of Hamilton. In the period of the Tory revival, Greene was accompanied to Westminster by George Marton of Capernwray Hall, another local squire, who was M.P. for Lancaster 1837 to 1847. After 1847, however, the Peelite split which was reflected locally in the appearance of independent Tory candidates at parliamentary elections dashed any hopes of a continuation of this Tory squirearchical monopoly of both seats. In addition, there is no doubt that the assiduous wooing of the constituency by the Armstrongs and the Gregsons and the blurring of party political differences in the 1850's reduced exclusive Tory control.²¹ After 1847 the Lunesdale gentry and Lancaster manufacturers took one seat each. After Greene retired at the general election of 1857 his place was taken first by a Palmerstonian Conservative, W.J. Garnett of Bleasdale Tower, who in 1859 was ousted by a Palmerstonian Liberal, E.M. Fenwick of Burrow Hall. The latter retained his seat until the disenfranchisement of the borough in 1866.

Although aristocratic rivalry played a far smaller role in Lancaster politics after 1832 than it had done in the eighteenth century, its influence was not entirely dead. The Duke of Hamilton's influence ceased to count when his nephew, the Duke of Devonshire, (1791-1870) (1831-37)

defected in 1837. Nevertheless the great aristocrats continued to play a vital part in county politics, and occasionally they extended their interests to borough politics as well. In Lancaster the removal of the Hamilton presence may well have been seen as a cue for the Earl of Derby. When a Tory candidate was sought for the by election of March 1843 following the unseating of Samuel Gregson, the candidate chosen was the Hon. E.H. Stanley, who in 1869 was to succeed his father as the fifteenth Earl of Derby. The narrowness of the Liberal success in 1843 suggests the effectiveness of this intervention. Marshall had also pointed out that the famous election of 1865, as a result of which Lancaster lost its seats, was fought against a background of rivalry between the Liberal house of Cavendish, based on Barrow, and the Tory house of Stanley based on Liverpool.²²

The smallness of the borough electorate (1,419 in 1865) the balance of the two parties, and the corruptibility of the freemen (who made up two thirds of the vote) opened the way to fierce contests and open corruption. Samuel Gregson was unseated for bribery in 1847 and R.B. Armstrong in 1853. Lancaster was a very attractive proposition for rich candidates. Oddly enough, there were fewer outside candidates or 'carpet baggers' after 1832 than before, with the notable and fatal exception of 1865 when Edward Lawrence, a Liverpool merchant, and H.W. Schneider, a Barrow iron magnate, waded in on the Tory and Liberal sides respectively. In this election the Tories spent £1,129 and the Liberals £1,400. The Liberal victory was challenged by a Conservative petition (as in 1847 and 1853). In the enquiry that followed, it was revealed that 543 out of the 1,408 electors had received or handled bribes, and 137 of these had received or handled over £20.²³ The election proved a battleground between Liverpool and Barrow, and the petition showed that this time the election had been taken right out of local hands. John Sharp, Tory election agent and former Mayor, had abandoned the Conservative campaign to H.T. Wilson, a Liverpool shipping magnate, while William Jackson, another ex-Mayor and a Liberal leader, pleaded not guilty. When

temporary resignations of responsibility and declarations of political innocence looked rather foolish when shown up by all the confessions of guilt by less important individuals. The Lancaster elite paid for their loss of leadership to outsiders by the loss of the borough's separate representation in Parliament. Lancaster, after the disenfranchisement of 1866, found itself swamped in rural North Lancashire, with next to no influence for the borough and a much diminished influence for the Lunesdale gentry.

Chapter IIIFootnotes.

1. Lancaster Gazette, 15 December 1855.
2. Fifty Years Ago 1852-3 (Lancaster, 1904), II, 320.
- 3a Thomas Storey was a steward at the Tradesman's Ball of 1854; see Lancaster Gazette, 7 January 1854. His brother, Joseph, acted as starter and umpire for the Regatta; see Lancaster Gazette, 4 August 1855.
- 3b Note that none of the manufacturing families mentioned above (Hinde, Gregson, Mason, Armstrong & Greg) continued active into the next generation, and most took to the professions.
4. Fifty Years Ago 1854-5 (Lancaster, 1906), III, 311.
5. Lancaster Gazette, 6 January 1849.
6. Lancaster Guardian, 17 August 1850.
7. Lancaster Gazette, 19 May 1860.
8. Lancaster Records (Lancaster, 1869), pp. 279, 289.
9. Ibid. p. 263.
10. Ibid. p. 273. The social calendar was also spiced by royal visits e.g. Louis Napoleon (1846), Grand Duke of Russia (1847) and Queen Victoria herself in 1851.
11. Lancaster Gazette, 20 September 1846.
12. Lancaster Records, op. cit. p. 289.
13. Lancaster Gazette, 21 July 1855.
14. Ibid. 4 June 1859
Also the opening of the barracks for the First Lancashire Militia, see Lancaster Guardian, 14 July 1855.
15. Lancaster Guardian, 26 July 1855.
Lancaster Gazette, 26 July 1856.
16. I. Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory and Topography etc. (Manchester, 1848).
17. B.H. Gillbank and Co.'s Directory and Gazetteer of Preston etc. (Preston, 1857).
T.R. Dunn, carriage manufacturer, was one of those who went to Cheltenham.
- 18a The Assizes were still held twice a year for the northern division of the County. Other courts at Lancaster were general Quarter Sessions, the Borough Court of Common Pleas, the County Court of Common Pleas see J. Walton, The Practice and Procedure of the Court of Common Pleas at Lancaster (1870);
the County Court for South Lonsdale, the Insolvent Debtors' Court, Petty Sessions for the Borough and Petty Sessions for South Lonsdale.
see ed. E.R. Kelly, The Post Office Directory of Lancaster and its Vicinity (1864).

- 18b One or two members of elite families emigrated eg. Salisbury to New Zealand as a sheep farmer. Some went away, but came back again, like Edmund Sharpe (see Appendix B1).
19. Lancaster C.L., Poll-books: 1837, 1841, 1847, 1848, 1852, 1853, 1857, 1859, 1864, 1865.
20. BPP 1852 3 XIV, Cd. 77-133.
21. In the general election of 1857 66% of the householders who had voted for Greene (Tory) rather than Armstrong (Liberal) in 1853 voted for Gregson (Liberal) rather than for the new Tory candidates, Garnett and Gladstone.
22. J.D. Marshall, 'Corrupt practices at the Lancaster Election of 1865', Trans. Lancs. Chesh. Antiq. Soc., XIII, 1952-3, pp. 117-130.
23. Lancaster Election Petition 1866.

CHAPTER IV
THE CORPORATION

THE OFFICERS

It was the original aim of the new Town Council in 1835 to carry out a policy of municipal retrenchment by eliminating unnecessary offices which had seemed to flourish under the old Corporation. In the first report of the Finance Committee a saving of £136 10s 0d was recommended by the discontinuation of the salaries of the Mayor (£84), two Bailiffs, Recorder, Land Surveyor (10 guineas each), the Waits or Musicians (3 guineas each) and the Chaplain (1 guinea).¹

In spite of intentions of economy, the new authority soon found itself obliged to increase its expenditure on wages and salaries. The transfer of the responsibility for the watch from the Police Commission, as one of the results of the 1835 Act, resulted in wage increases for the fire constables from 12s to 15s and for the watchmen to 14s a week. The salary of the Superintendent of the watch was raised from £50 to £70 in 1836 and £100 in 1839.

The Town Clerk, John Higgin, (1785-1847) a Tory who had held the office since 1822, had been in receipt of £50 per annum in 1835. This was raised by stages to £100 in October 1836. This was partly in keeping with new responsibilities under the Municipal Corporation Act (including the revision of the lists of Burgesses and Electors).² Moreover, it was intended by the new Town Council that he should renounce his posts ~~as~~ Clerk of the Peace, Assistant to the Coroner and Clerk of the Magistrates (worth between them an average total of about £158), and for which he was offered two-thirds compensation by the Finance Committee. Higgin demanded three-quarters compensation and threatened legal action. In April 1837 he was dismissed and replaced by Henry Gregson (1802-85), a Whig solicitor and son of a former Mayor, at a salary of 50 guineas.³ Higgin demanded compensation of nearly £3,000.⁴ The Lords of the Treasury were consulted, and, in the end, the Town Council found itself obliged to pay £242 a year to Higgin for life.⁵

Gregson soon found the salary inadequate and identification with a Radical Council embarrassing, especially with the return of Higgin as a Tory Councillor in 1839. In 1840 he resigned and was succeeded by William Dunn, a member of a family whose connections were solely with those of the new Town Council. Dunn held the office of Town Clerk from October 1840 to March 1858. With a salary of only £50 he was allowed to hold other posts as Registrar of the Lancaster County Court, Clerk to the Local Board (after 1849) and, after 1854, Election Auditor. From 1855 he also served as clerk to the Garstang County Court. Only in 1853 did he persuade the Town Council to raise his salary above the original level.⁶ Dunn took office shortly before the return to power of the Tories and in his first years there was a certain amount of friction between himself and the Tory majority. His role was chiefly limited to that of legal adviser to the Council, providing details of Acts of Parliament, putting members right on points of law, and seeking legal opinions of others when necessary, as on the rates issue in 1850.⁷ There were many other lawyers present on the Council in his years of office, and so his advice was often disputed, and his views frequently overruled. His importance was, however, recognised on formal occasions when he took the vice-chair and on parliamentary matters, as when he accompanied the Mayor and an Alderman to London to see the passage of the Waterworks Bill in 1852.⁸

Dunn was succeeded in 1858 by Thomas Swainson (1813-93), a Conservative, and like Gregson a member of a Lancaster Mercantile family.⁹ Swainson remained in office until 1892, a period of service almost comparable with that of Sir Joseph Heron, Town Clerk of Manchester from 1838 to 1887.¹⁰ Certainly it was a period of municipal service unequalled in Lancaster in the nineteenth century. The Swainsons were, like the Higgins and Gregsons, another of those Lancaster families which bridged commerce and the legal profession, and combined both with public service. Thomas Swainson's father had succeeded Samuel Gregson as Quaymaster and Collector of Tonnage Dues in 1792. Thomas's son succeeded him as clerk of the Burial Board and became both first Clerk of the School Attendance Committee and Honorary

Secretary to the Lancaster Royal Infirmary. Thomas Swainson himself served not only as Town Clerk, but also as Clerk to the Borough Magistrates (1849-58) and Burial Board (1855-91) and Secretary to the Dispensary. Such additional ~~expenses~~^{perquisites} were necessary as his salary only rose above £125 a year in 1878.

Swainson's role as Town Clerk of Lancaster was, like his predecessor, that of lawyer and chief permanent official. He had himself been a Town Councillor between 1846 and 1849, without taking a very active part. As Town Clerk he held office in the aftermath of the great expenditure on the Lancaster Waterworks. The waterworks continued to expand in the 1860's and 1870's, but it was not until the last decade or so of Swainson's career that the Council took powers to municipalise the gasworks and to tackle the town's pressing health problem. By this stage, Swainson had delegated much of his work to his junior partner, W.O. Roper. Swainson's role as legal adviser in his first twenty years was perhaps more important than any predecessor owing partly to the increased volume of legislation affecting local government, and partly to the absence of other lawyers on the Council after 1860 (with the exception of Henry Gregson - who had become an Alderman). Swainson's success in such a long period of office - recognised in 1891 with the honorary freedom of the borough - was largely thanks to his tact and his sensitivity to the needs of the town and more particularly the feelings of the Councillors. In the 1860's this meant an unwillingness to embrace further expenditure on expensive municipal undertakings. Later on, from the late 1870's, (as will be seen in Part III) he took an active part in the extension of the powers and activities of Lancaster Corporation.

THE FRANCHISE

The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 transformed the government of Lancaster.¹¹ Hitherto the borough had been governed by a self electing body of freemen known as the Select Body, consisting of seven aldermen, twelve capital burgesses and twelve Common Councilmen. Henceforth the borough would be governed by a Town Council, consisting of twenty-four members. Eighteen of these were the Town Councillors proper. These members were to be elected for a three year term by the electors of their ward, after which they might be re-elected. Each of the three wards (Castle, Queen's and St. Anne's) had six Councillors, one third of whom were eligible for re-election at the annual municipal elections on 1st November. Each ward also had two aldermen, elected from the Councillors of the Ward by the totality of their colleagues on the Council. From the ranks of Councillors and Aldermen the Mayor was to be elected annually.

The boundary of the borough was unaffected by the Act, although the Commissioners recommended that it should be altered on the lines of the new parliamentary boundary of 1832 thereby including Skerton.¹² A special Boundary Bill was proposed to carry out this proposal, and to make other alterations in the municipal boundary. In the event, however, it was opposed by the Town Council who resented the loss of borough jurisdiction over its property on the Marsh and the Moor. There was opposition to on the grounds of the cost of adding to the borough police establishment in order to provide for Skerton.¹³ When the bill was also opposed by the township of Skerton, it was withdrawn.¹⁴

Entry to the new Town Council was open to all those whose names were on the Burgess Roll. This was the list of all those entitled to vote, namely ratepayers of two and a half years standing who were also resident householders within seven miles of the borough. Rates might be paid on ~~either~~ a house, warehouse, counting-house or shop. Moreover, failure to pay rates entailed automatic disenfranchisement.¹⁵

In Lancaster, the first Burgess Roll was drawn up by 5th December 1835 within six months of the passage of the Municipal Corporations Act. The list was arrived at only after frequent sessions of the Revising Barrister's

Court where those listed as ratepayers in the Poor Rate Book were examined one by one. Eventually 827 burgesses were included in the list, a total which was 29% lower than the 1,161 parliamentary electors listed in November 1836.¹⁶ Only a minority of the municipal burgesses (278) qualified as £10 householders. The ratio between municipal and parliamentary voters did not remain constant. By 1851 the number of municipal electors had fallen to 689, while the number of parliamentary electors had increased to 1,393. This fall in the number of municipal electors was the result of non-payment of poor rates by a large number of ratepayers (242 in 1850).¹⁷

The franchise was increased by the Rating of Small Tenements Act of 1850 which gave the vote to occupiers of property of under £6 of rateable value.¹⁸ The Act increased the total number of voters from 689 in 1850-51, to 791 in 1852-52, and 1,828 in 1853-54. Thereafter the number of voters fell steadily due to the town's economic difficulties which undoubtedly led to an outflow of population. By 1855-56 the number of electors stood at 1,470, by 1858-59 there were only 1,155.¹⁹ Nevertheless, although the town's population had probably declined between 1851 and 1859, the electorate had almost doubled. Each of the three wards, Castle, Queen's and St. Anne's had between 200 and 250 municipal electors in 1850. By 1859 Queen's had increased by a third, Castle's by a half and St. Anne's by 100%. By 1870 the total electorate had nearly doubled to 2,098 with the individual wards growing by two thirds in the case of Queen's and Castle and by another 100% in the case of St. Anne's. The municipal electorate which had made up 6% of the population in 1835, constituted 5% in 1851 (c.f. Preston 3% in 1852 and 7% in 1859) 8% in 1859 and 12% by 1871.

In spite of this move in the direction of democracy, the fears of the House of Lords Select Committee of 1859 were not realised in Lancaster.²⁰ Corruption at municipal elections does not appear to have markedly increased (unlike in Preston) and St. Anne's ward was no worse than Queen's or Castle. The Gazette mentioned in 1857 that up to 20/^s was being paid for a vote in Queen's ward, and in 1858 the unsuccessful candidate made electoral purity one of his campaign pledges, Nevertheless when called on to report malpractices

in 1859, the Town Clerk stated that in spite of the number of alleged cases, there had been no actual legal proceedings on account of bribery or personation since the Act. Yet, as it was proved in 1865, Lancaster's tolerance of corruption was greater than elsewhere.²¹

The enfranchisement of this new class of voters did not, lead to enormous municipal extravagance in Lancaster. Total expenditure in the three years preceeding the operation of the Act had stood at £1,687, the average in the eight years after the Act was £1,715. The Lancaster rates rose from £1,554 (10d in the £) in 1847 to £4,200 (3s 6d in the £) in 1856, but more as a response to the Public Health crisis than to the new voters. By 1870 they had fallen to £2,942 (1s 8d in the £).^{22a} The effect of the enfranchisement of the small occupiers was not to lead to extravagant public spending but to give backing to the economical mood of the Town Council, after the period of heavy public spending in the early 1850's. This expenditure was carried out largely by a leadership elected before the introduction of the Act of 1850, and in spite of, rather than thanks to the new electors.

THE CONCEPT OF PUBLIC SERVICE

So bitter was political feeling that no consensus on the notion of an ideal Town Council existed in the year immediately following reform in 1835. The Tory Gazette expressed barely disguised horror at the religious and political views of the Radical Councillors while the Liberal Guardian after its foundation in 1837 saw the new breed of Radical Councillor as a younger power and more vigorous than its Tory predecessor. The Gazette resented the extent by which the Council Chamber had become a political organ of the Reformers, with constant petitions on the ballot, suffrage, Corn Laws etc. It was relieved at the Tory revival of the early 1840's:

The council chamber is now no longer a forum for the display of party bitterness and factious intolerance, but a place of business where as was the case before the blessing of reform fell down among us and before the "old spiders" were swept away the interests of the town are alone discussed and taken care of. 23

With the Conservative victory of 1841, the roles became reversed. The Gazette idealised the state of the Council where 'arrangements' were made between the Conservative majority and the Liberal minority at elections, ensuring that the political complexion ('this really Liberal state of things') remained unchanged.²⁴ Meanwhile the Guardian railed at Liberal apathy and had to take comfort from the continued Liberal majority in Kendal.²⁵ By 1846, something like a consensus of opinion was at last beginning to emerge between the two newspapers, at least on one subject, public health. The apathy attacked by the Guardian was identified by the Gazette with non attendance - partly as a result of the Conservative predominance since 1841, and partly as a result of the diminution of political hostility. At the 1846 elections, the Gazette urged burgesses to withhold their vote from:

every candidate who is not prepared to pledge himself to a diligent discharge of his obligations ... and especially to promote the sanitary improvement of the borough. 26

By 1846, for both the Guardian and the Gazette, the sanitary reformer had become the beau ideal of the Town Councillor. Between them they launched a joint campaign on the divided rule of Town Council and Police Commissioners and, after the constitution of the Town Council as a local Board of Health in 1849, continued to oppose the attitudes of representatives:

interested in abuses men who are large owners of the dwellings of the poor - men who are still occupied in making large investments of a similarly profitable nature - and who but for the presence of the hated press would still persist in building cottages unfit for human habitation. 27

To the Gazette, Edmund Sharpe was a hero. When he left Lancaster in 1856, its farewell was a glowing tribute:

No town in all Britain will be found to have produced an inhabitant who has laboured more assiduously for its good. 28

The Gazette had to sound the alarm again in the early 1850's as the increase in the town's rates, ^{and the Rating Act of 1850} led to a Liberal revival. The Gazette blamed 'brown stout and beef' and 'the low Radical faction' for the Liberal successes. In 1852 it spelled out its ideal of 'the election of respectable townsmen, without too nice a regard to the particular shade of politics' in its own attempt to stem the onrush of the economical tradesmen.

In the 1850's, while the Guardian found compensations in the Liberal revival, the Gazette looked for champions of the declining 'honour' of the town. The threat to the status of the town by the discontinuance of the Yeomanry exercises and a new challenge to the Assizes seemed to demand Councillors who would defend the town's sadly diminished prestige. Upholding 'the dignity of the Corporation and the interests of the town' was the most that could be expected from a Lancaster Councillor in such difficult times. 29

By the late 1850's the Gazette had lost much of its old edge, but it gave full publicity to others who attacked the apathy of the ratepayers and Councillors alike, and it too occasionally found its old form when discussing continued municipal indifference to dirt. 30

Throughout the middle years of the nineteenth century the municipal ideal was very much overshadowed by party politics. Voting continued to be on party lines, even after the initial period of party political bitterness in 1835-41 was over. Yet, as the decline in contests suggests, the application of party politics to municipal elections was generally on the decline after 1841 and the ideals first of the idealistic sanitary reformer, later of the economical businessman and finally of the chivalrous defender of Lancaster shrinking 'honour', replaced each other one by one in the 1850's and 1860's. On the whole, however, the matter was discussed

less frequently - at least in the newspapers.

The 'apathy' which they had attacked seemed to be affecting the newspapers too, in spite of the emergence of a third local weekly the Lancaster Observer and Morecambe Chronicle in 1860. Such lack of interest in municipal affairs, and thus in the quality of its managers, seems to have been characteristic of a number of mid-Victorian towns, and appears even darker in retrospect against the approaching dawn of 'civic pride'.³¹ In Lancaster's case, the town was seeking a respite after the storms of the public health controversy. The high hopes placed in the municipal governors in 1850 were followed by an era of disillusionment and cynicism.

RECRUITMENT

Recruitment of Councillors averaged 2.3 per year over the whole period 1835-70. Over the period the turnover on the Council declined from the high 3.2 per year in 1835-40, caused by the initial rush of tradesmen, to the more sedate 2.7 of 1841-50 and 2.6 of 1851-60, to the sluggish 1.1 per year of 1861-70. Turnover on the Council was not as great as in larger towns. Whereas it was as high as 75% in Birmingham and 86% in Leeds between 1841 and 1852, it was 63% in Lancaster.³²

A major reason for the decline in turnover of councillors was the decline in the number of contested elections. Whereas between 1837 and 1841 inclusive 20 out of 30 vacant seats were contested, between 1842 and 1860 only 27 out of 114 elections were contested (a ratio of 1:4.2), and between 1861 and 1870 only 3 out of a possible 60 elections were contested (a ratio of 1:20). Of the wards, Queen's was contested 19 times in the period 1857-70, St. Anne's was contested 16 times, and Castle was contested 15 times. Thus there was little difference between the three wards on this score. During the 34 years in question, Castle was uncontested in 25, St. Anne's in 22, and Queen's in 21. Years of contests were 1838-41, 1845, 1848, 1850-53, 1855-60, and 1862. It is thus apparent that in exactly half of those 34 years there was no contested election in any ward in Lancaster, and that there was little difference between the wards, in spite of the much higher number of electors in St. Anne's ward.

The average age of the members of Lancaster Town Council in 1835-6 was 44.3 years. By 1850-51 the average age had risen to 53.1, and by 1870-71 it stood at 52.6.³³ The figures of 1850 and 1870 should be regarded as more normal, as the 1835 figure was reduced by the party political complexion of the new Town Council. The ^{initial} Conservative boycott of municipal elections gave the Liberals a monopoly and they were obliged to call on at first younger and later, by 1837-40, men who were much older than the average. As the new system became generally accepted, a division is noticeable between the ages of Aldermen and Councillors. In

1835 the average age of Councillors was 44.1 and that of Aldermen 45. By 1851 the average of Councillors by themselves was 50.7 whilst that of the Aldermen was 62. In 1870 the Councillors' average age was 48.9, while that of the Aldermen was 63.2. Thus the traditional difference in age between Councillors and Aldermen had reasserted itself.

TABLE 81

Age at Recruitment of Lancaster Town Councillors 1835-70.

	25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66	TOTAL KNOWN
1835-40	1	2	5	4	7	1	10	2	3	0	35(43)
1841-50	0	1	7	4	4	3	1	0	3	2	25(27)
1851-60	0	1	9	8	3	0	2	0	1	1	25 (26)
1861-70	0	1	0	3	3	2	1	0	0	0	10(11)
<hr/>											
1835-70	1	5	21	19	17	6	14	2	7	3	95(107)
% Known	1.1	5.3	22.1	20.0	17.9	6.3	14.7	2.1	7.4	3.2	100 (N=95)

Although the age of about one tenth of Lancaster Town Councillors between 1835 and 1870 are not known, a clear idea of the age pattern of new Councillors emerges from the 89% whose ages are known. Most successful candidates for the Town Council (60% of the sample) in this period were aged between 31 and 45. Only 6.4% became Councillors below the age of 30, and 12.7% took office after the age of 55. A much wider spread of ages is noticeable in the first fifteen years of the new Corporation than later. The older weighting of the Councillors of 1835-40 (under half were in the typical age group) may be explained by the entry of large numbers of older men whose local political ambitions had been hitherto frustrated by the existence of the old oligarchic Corporation. To some extent this was also true of the 1840's, but, whereas the older Councillors of the late 1830's had been mainly reformers, the next decade witnessed a Tory backlash which brought to office a mixture of Tories of all ages, but principally in their 30's or their 60's. Of those in their 60's several had been members of the old Corporation and had been rudely swept out of the Council by the Act of 1835. The period of more frequent municipal contests, in the 1850's, saw the heavy concentration of successful candidates in the

age range 31-45, whether Tory or Liberal, and it was only with the 1860's that the age range of new Councillors, mostly elected without a contest, broadened.

TABLE B2

Grouped Occupations of Entrants to Lancaster Town Council 1835 - 1870

	Mfr.	Mercht.	Craft/ Trade	Solr.	G.P./ Surgn.	Other Prof.	Gent.	Misc.	TOTAL
1835-40	9	5	13	4	5	2	5	0	43
1841-50	3	5	2	8	4	2	2	1	27
1851-60	4	4	11	1	3	2	1	0	26
1861-70	1	2	5	2	0	1	0	0	11
<hr/>									
TOTAL									
1835-70	17	16	31	15	12	7	8	1	107
%	15.9	15.0	29.0	14.0	11.2	6.5	7.5	0.9	100.0

(N.B. Manufacturers include 4 cotton manufacturers, 1 silk, 3 table baize and oilcloth, 3 cabinet makers, 3 coachmakers/carriagemakers, 1 ironfounder, 1 tobacco manufacturer, 1 marble manufacturer.

Merchants include 2 West India merchants, 3 merchant/manufacturers, 2 general merchants, 1 shipbuilder, 1 timber merchant, 3 corn merchants, 3 wine merchants, 1 printer/newspaper proprietor.

Craftsmen/Tradesmen include 9 drapers, 2 chemists, 3 grocers, 3 ironmongers, 2 cheese factors, 3 joiners, 1 plumber and glazier, 1 soap boiler, 1 innkeeper, 1 currier, 1 tobacconist, 1 spirit merchant, 2 shoemakers, 1 baker.

Other professional men include 1 barrister, 2 architects, 2 surveyors, 1 land agent, and 1 harbour master.

Miscellaneous comprises 1 master gardener).

The political revolution in municipal government which brought a flood of small businessmen onto the new Lancaster Town Council is described elsewhere. But just as the Liberal tide soon began to ebb, once the local Tories determined to accept the new framework of local government and began to fight back, so the social composition of the Council to some extent recovered its earlier complexion. It could no longer be monopolised by West India merchants for the simple reason that Lancaster's West India trade was virtually dead, but the old importance of professional men - now extended to include medical and other professional men - revived. Of the eleven attorneys (henceforth referred to as solicitors) who had become common councilmen between 1821 and 1835, six came onto the new Town Council

in the years 1843-1851.³⁴ The proportion of tradesmen revived with the Liberal upsurge in the 1850's,³⁵ and once again the numerical importance of the professional group fell off. This time its demise was to be permanent, as will be seen in Part III. This fall of the professional group and rise of the tradesman category can be seen more clearly in the following table which shows the composition of Councillors before and after 1850.

TABLE B3Grouped Occupations of Entrants to Lancaster Town Council 1835-1870

	Mfr.	Mercht	Craft/ Trade	Solr	G.P./ Surgn	Other Profl	Gent	Misc	TOTAL
1835-50	12	10	15	12	9	4	7	1	70
%	17.1	14.3	21.4	17.1	12.9	5.7	10.0	1.4	99.9
1851-70	5	6	16	3	3	3	1	0	37
%	13.5	16.2	43.2	8.1	8.1	8.1	2.7	0	99.9

TABLE B4Comparative Composition of Lancaster and Other Town Councils in the Mid Nineteenth Century (1857) 37

	N.K.	Mfr.	Mer.	Craft/ Trade	Solr.	G.P./ Surgn	Other Profl	Gent	Misc	TOTAL
LANCASTER 1857		5	4	8	4	2	0	1	0	24
EXETER 1867	1	2	7	23	9	0	3	1	2	48
PRESTON 1857		20	2	12	2	3	5	1	3	48
LIVERPOOL 1857	3	8	27	6	2	2	4	12	0	64

Lancaster was one of the smaller boroughs to attain the status of a municipal borough under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. With only three wards (18 Councillors and 6 Aldermen) it had one of the smallest Town Councils in the country. It remained 24 ~~seven~~ until 1888 when it was ~~enlarged~~ ^{remodelled}, and even when enlarged once more, in 1900, only stood at 32. Because of its small population in 1851, Lancaster's ratio of Councillors to citizens was more favourable than that of the other towns in the above table. While Liverpool had one Councillor to every

5,874; and Preston one to every 1,449 of its population; Exeter had one to every 684, and in Lancaster there was one Councillor to every 609 inhabitants in the 1851 Census. The result was that Lancaster's Councillors were a good deal closer to their constituents than their counterparts in Preston and Liverpool. This helped to maintain a closer connection between governors and governed than in some Victorian towns, although the small absolute numbers of the Lancaster Town Council always made it vulnerable to manipulation by a clique rather than by party.³⁶ There was a sense too in which familiarity bred contempt, particularly of those tradesmen who were the products of the £10 franchise, but did not match up to traditional expectations of 'natural' leadership.

In terms of occupational composition, Lancaster Town Council of 1857 stands halfway between Exeter and Preston. Exeter was the most important town in the whole of the South West and a key centre of the corn trade and brewing industry. This accounts for its high proportion of councillors who were tradesmen or corn merchants. Preston, by contrast, an important cotton town, was found to have 41% of its councillors in 1857 involved in manufacturing (mainly cotton). Lancaster's largest group was composed of tradesmen, but there was also a substantial group of manufacturers representing cotton, silk, cabinet making and carriage manufacture. Lancaster and Exeter both had an important professional element, making up in each case about one quarter of the total Council membership.³⁸ In Liverpool the professional, trade and manufacturing groups were all insignificant besides the enormous number of merchants (42%). Liverpool was exceptional in 1857 in that it was ruled by 'the merchant princes of this modern Tyre'. Lancaster Town Council, unlike Liverpool's, was composed of men of very moderate means by the standards of the day, and, again unlike Liverpool's, included no past or future candidates for Parliament. Yet there is little doubt that if the occupational breakdown in Table B4 is considered, Lancaster had a far more balanced representation of propertied interests than had Liverpool. All four Town Councils reflect strongly the social and economic composition of the four towns they governed. ~~Part product of ratepayer democracy and part~~

~~product of oligarchic manipulation, this more balanced reflection of property interests on government was one of the major achievements of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835)~~

To add a sense of movement ^{and perspective} to this study, it is necessary to compare Lancaster with other towns for which detailed information is available over a period. Leeds Town Council, for example, saw the same Conservative revival in the early 1840's, followed by an influx of retailers between 1842 and 1852, the result of a reaction to municipal expenditure and the work of the Complete Suffrage Party.³⁹ A similar phenomenon occurred in Lancaster in the 1850's although less definitely associated with any one party. The professional group, which declined in importance in Lancaster in the 1850's, disappeared altogether in Leeds in the 1870's.

In Birmingham the new Town Council was at first dominated numerically by small businessmen, and only gradually was a balance achieved by medium sized businessmen. The small businessman enjoyed an Indian summer in the 1850's in reaction to health expenditure, but thereafter their proportion of the Council fell. Professional men were rare on Birmingham Town Council.⁴⁰ Lancaster's pattern was similar to Birmingham's in the relationship of small businessmen to periods of municipal economy, firstly after the change of government in 1835 and secondly after the health expenditure in the 1850's. The rôle played in Birmingham or Leeds by big and medium sized businessmen, in the conduct of a vigorous municipal policy, was left in Lancaster to the small number of manufacturers and the large number of professional men. Whereas the main change in the municipal pattern in Birmingham took place between 1862 and 1882, in Lancaster it occurred between 1849 and 1860. In Lancaster it was less the dominance of the larger scale businessmen that was established, more the development of a working relationship between, on the one hand, the manufacturers and merchants, and, on the other hand, the tradesmen. The former tended to hold the places of honour (the mayoralty and aldermanic bench) while the latter formed the bulk of the rank and file of the Town Council from 1850 onwards.⁴¹

WEALTH AND EXCLUSIVENESSTABLE B5An Indication of the Comparative Wealth of Councillors and Non-Councillors

July - December 1827 (Bank Accounts of Lancaster Residents Only. 42)

Turn over	Pre 1835	Post 1835	Both	Total Councillors	Non Councillors	TOTAL
Over £10,000	1	0	0	1	1	2
Over £5,000	2	0	0	2	2	4
Over £2,500	3	4	0	7	6	13
Over £1,000	8	1	2	11	14	25
Over £500	3	4	1	8	9	17
Over £100	3	2	4	9	19	28
Under £100	1	0	1	2	0	2
TOTAL	21	11	8	40	51	91

The turnovers of local depositors with the Lancaster Bank in 1827 show that, on the whole, the new Town Councillors in 1835 were not nearly as wealthy as their predecessors on the unreformed Corporation. Whereas 16 of the pre-1835 group had accounts with turnovers over £1,000, only 7 of the post-1835 group were in the same position. Meanwhile 13/29 or 45% of the pre-1835 group as compared with 12/19 or 63% of the post-1835 group had accounts with turnovers under £1,000. Of the non-councillors over half possessed accounts with turnovers under £1,000. Nevertheless this argument based on wealth should not be carried too far. Two of the wealthiest members of the post-1835 Town Council, John Greg and John Armstrong, undoubtedly had bank accounts elsewhere as well. Moreover under the less restrictive residence regulations of the 1835 Act, several wealthy gentry such as Edmund Hornby and Thomas Salisbury took part for the first time in the government of the borough. What the table does show, however, is that within the narrow circle of merchants, manufacturers and tradesmen of the borough who helped launch and support the Lancaster Banking Company the majority of the councilmen in the unreformed Corporation were found to be wealthy, while the majority of post-1835 Councillors were found to be

small businessmen or small professional men. On the other hand, while the old Corporation had only included 6 out of 19 of the borough's wealthiest residents, the new Town Council of 1835 was only slightly worse off with 4 out of the 19 Lancaster residents with turnovers of over £2,500. Nevertheless, these figures, even though crude, do tend to confirm the overall impression that while both old and new governing bodies drew members from a wide cross section of the community, the old Corporation represented a top group of merchants who abandoned town government to a largely new set of tradesmen of lower economic standing.

TABLE B6

Town Councillors and Servants 1851 Census.⁴³

	0	1	2	3	4+	T.S.	TOTAL 1851C	TOTAL 1835 70
Mfr/Mercht	3	4	3	1	3	11	14	33
Craft/Trade	1	3	3	0	1	7	8	31
Professl.	0	1	4	8	2	15	15	34
Gent.	0	2	1	2	1	6	6	8
Misc.	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
TOTAL T. CNCLRS.	4	11	11	11	7	40	44	107
1851 CENSUS								
including: %	9.1	25.0	25.0	25.0	15.9		100	
MAYORS/ALDMEN.	1	4	6	6	5	21	22	46
%	4.5	18.2	27.3	27.3	22.7		100	

Key:
TS = Total with
Servants
1851C = 1851
Census

Only 44 out of 107 recruits to Lancaster Town Council in this period were tracked down in the 1851 Census. If we take account of the fact that at least a dozen of the 107 were dead by 1851, while others had either moved from the town or not yet arrived, the sample does not seem as small as at first sight. Certainly the size of the sample varies from one social category to another. Whereas nearly all the gentlemen are included, and nearly half the manufacturers, merchants and professionals, only a quarter of the tradesmen are represented.

The striking feature is that 40 out of 44 men who had been, were, or were to become Councillors in 1851 kept at least one servant. Even the social category that might be expected to be the poorest -- craft/trade -- for the most part kept servants, even if only one or two at the most. No one in this category had more than two servants in 1851, except for John Pritt, the landlord of the King's Arms (the principal inn in Lancaster where Charles

Dickens stayed in 1857).⁴⁴ Pritt's eight servants were more an indication of the size of his business than his own personal wealth.

One surprising note is the number of manufacturers and merchants who appear either with only one servant (4) or none at all (3). The four with one servant included George Burrow, the last of the West India merchants who had turned cotton manufacturer; two wine merchants, and the cotton manufacturer, William Jackson. The three manufacturers with no resident domestic servants were Richard Farrer, partner manager of John Greg, Thomas Wise, railway carriage manufacturer, and William Storey, table baize manufacturer. This shows that the manufacturer and merchant groups include a number who were not wealthy by the standards of the time (and servant keeping is regarded by most historians as one of the most reliable indicators of wealth), even though part of the explanation for their lack of servants may lie in personal sacrifices in the aftermath of the depression of 1848 which brought low a number of Lancaster businessmen.

Of those with two or more servants it is the professional groups which are most outstanding.⁴⁵ Of the 15 professional men (and prospective, past or actual Councillors) who kept servants in 1851, 10 had three or more. The importance of professional men on Lancaster Town Council in the 1840's and 1850's has been constantly reiterated. It here needs to be re-emphasised that the professional men who led the movement for sanitary reform in the middle years of the century were among the wealthiest men in Lancaster.

Liberal politicians of the 1830's were anxious to proclaim themselves as the new broom sweeping away the corruption of the old Corporation and heralding an entirely new regime. In fact, there was a good deal more continuity than they suggested. In spite of the attacks on the privileges of the old Corporation and the freemen of the borough, a majority of new Councillors were themselves freemen, and remained so until as late as the 1860's. Nor did freemen associate themselves exclusively with any political group.⁴⁶ The Liberals contained a larger number of non-freemen and the Conservatives included a larger proportion of freemen, but Lancaster was too small a borough for either party in practice to operate without freeman support. (see APPENDIX B)

TABLE B7Freemen and Family Interest in the New Corporation 1835-1870

	Total Entrants	Non Freemen	Freemen	Sons of Councillors	Sons of Old Corp.	Sons of New/Old
1801-35	80	0	80	0	20	20
1835-40	43	13	30	3	6	7
1841-50	27	9	18	2	6	7
1851-60	26	13	13	4	4	5
1861-70	11	7	4	2	2	2

TOTAL

1835-70	107	42	65	11	18	21
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Was the new Town Council significantly less exclusive than the old Corporation? It has been argued in Part I that the old Corporation became increasingly exclusive in the last years of its life, in spite of the new Charter of 1818. This increasing narrowness was an important reason for the growth of the reform movement in Lancaster and for the flood of reformers onto the new Town Council in the years 1835-40.

TABLE B8Comparative Openness of Mayoralty and Aldermanic Bench Before and After
Municipal Reform.

1781-1818	Common Councilmen	Aldermen	Mayor	Aldermen/Mayor
Freemen	55	23	18	
Sons of Members	13	5	3	
TOTAL	68	28	21	
1835-1870	Town Councillor	Aldermen	Mayor	Aldermen/Mayor
Non Freemen	64	8	14	15
Freemen	43	25	22	30
Sons of Old Corporation	18	9	11	11
Sons of Town Councillors	12	5	7	
TOTAL	107	33	36	45

Certainly the chance of becoming Mayor was greater after municipal reform than it had been before. Although the numbers of Councillors was much larger the proportion of those who became Mayor increased from 30.9% to 33.6%. On the other hand, the proportion reaching the aldermanic bench

fell from 41.2% before 1835 to 30.8% after reform. Nevertheless it must be born in mind that the number of aldermen was cut from seven to six in 1835 thus reducing chances. The aldermanic bench rapidly became a reward for long service on the Town Council, while the mayoralty remained open to a much wider range of short term councillors. Thus it may be concluded that access to the top was more open within the Council after 1835.

TABLE B9

Grouped Occupations of Entrants to Lancaster Town Council 1835-70 who later became Aldermen or Mayors.

	Mfr.	Mercht.	Craft/ Trade	Solr	G.P./ Surgn	Other Profl	Gent	Misc	TOTAL	TOTAL ENTRANTS
1835 40	2	3	2	3	1	0	3	0	14	43
1841 50	1	4	1	3	2	1	1	0	13	27
1851 60	3	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	11	26
1861 70	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	5	11
<hr/>										
TOTAL										
1835 70	7	10	8	8	4	1	4	1	43	107
%	16.3	23.3	18.6	18.6	9.3	2.3	9.3	2.3	100	

When the leadership of the Council (as prospective and actual aldermen may be termed) is examined by occupation it is clear that tradesmen were not as important in the council leadership as they were in the council membership (see Table B2). In the leadership 19% were tradesmen (c.f. 29% membership), while 40% were manufacturers or merchants (c.f. 31% membership), and 30% were professional men (c.f. 32% membership). It may be noticed too that 50% gentlemen became mayor or alderman, and as many as 52% of the manufacturers and merchants. 38% of professional (N.B. 50% solicitors, but only 28% medical and other professions) men attained high office and 26% tradesmen and craftsmen. The leadership pattern was thus not totally different from the membership pattern, although as might be expected it was biased towards men of wealth, particularly those with wealth gained from commerce or industry, but also from the land or law. Yet the tradesmen and craftsmen were represented among the leadership and were to gain by the default of the professionals.

TABLE B10

Politics of Aldermen and Mayors 1835-70

	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal	TOTAL
Aldermen	13 (10)	5 (5)	14 (11)	32 (26)	
Mayors	18 (16)	3 (3)	15 (11)	36 (30)	
Aldermen/Mayor	19 (17)	5 (5)	21 (19)	45 (41)	

(N.B. Figures are for all Town Councillors 1835-70; figures in brackets are for Town Councillors who became Aldermen or Mayors by 1870).

Both the aldermanic bench and the mayoralty were fairly evenly shared between the Liberals and the Conservatives in the years 1835-70, although of the thirty mayors over that period, sixteen were Conservatives and only eleven were Liberals. This is partly explained by the fact that as the party of tradition and of the old Corporation, the Conservatives were more anxious to maintain the old corporate traditions of the town which included above all the continuation of the honorary functions of Mayor whatever the cost to the individuals concerned. Conservatives also included a greater number of men of substance who were regarded by both parties as the most deserving candidates.

TABLE B11

Occupations of Town Councillors' Fathers 1835-70

	Mfr/Mercht	Craft/ Trade	Prof'l	Gent	Misc	TOTAL KNOWN	NOT KNOWN	TOTAL POSSIBLE
1835-40	11	8	6	1	3	29	14	43
1841-50	8	4	6	0	0	18	9	27
1851-60	2	5	4	0	2	13	13	26
1861-70	1	3	2	0	2	8	3	11
1835-70	22	20	18	1	7	68	39	107
% Known	32.4	29.4	26.5	1.5	10.3	100.1 (N 68)		

The balance between social origins of Town Councillors of Lancaster in the period 1835-70 closely mirrors the occupations of the Councillors themselves (see Table B2). Both show a roughly equal balance between manufacturers and merchants, tradesmen and craftsmen and professional men. It is dangerous however to jump too readily to conclusions about social balance or rather balance of propertied interests, in that the sample is

undoubtedly biased towards the higher social groups. Those Councillors with obscure social backgrounds (39 out of 107) are far more likely to have come from humble than proud homes. If we presume then that the craft/trade and miscellaneous groups are grossly under-estimated we shall probably be nearer the true picture. Consolation may be found for the original conclusion in that the 68 Councillors whose social antecedents are set out in Table B11 were those who were most active and longest serving.

TABLE B12

Occupations of Fathers of Aldermen and Mayors

(incl. all those who entered Lancaster Town Council 1835-70 & later became Alderman or Mayor of Lancaster, by year of entry as Councillor).

	Mfr/Mercht	Craft/ Trade	Prof'l	Gent	Misc	TOTAL KNOWN	TOTAL POSSIBLE
1835-40	5	2	2	1	2	12	14
1840-50	7	1	3	0	0	11	13
1851-60	3	2	1	0	2	8	13
1861-70	1	3	0	0	2	6	6
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1835-70	16	8	6	1	6	37	46
% Known	43.2	21.6	16.2	2.7	16.2	100 (N 37)	

Table B12 shows that, even if the Town Councillors as a whole represented a wide cross section of the propertied classes in the town, the leadership (provided by the 46 out of 107 who became mayor or alderman) continued to draw heavily on Lancaster's mercantile families, at the expense of both retail tradesmen and professionals. ~~The~~ proportion of leaders ~~who~~ came from ^{lower} ~~middle~~ class backgrounds, ~~was minute, but~~ included some important men: Charles Blades (1818-93), Town Councillor from 1861-82, Alderman 1882-93, and Mayor 1871, 1887-8 and 1890, was the son of a sheff's officer; James Hatch (1818-1895), Town Councillor 1867-84, Alderman 1884-1892, and Mayor 1885, was the son of a millwright and joiner; William and Thomas Storey, both Councillors and Mayor, were the sons of a Bardsea schoolmaster. The fact that none of these men entered the Council before 1857 and that none were honoured with mayoral or aldermanic office before 1867, shows the continued grip of the mercantile families (allied to the professional families) on the leadership of Lancaster government long after the demise of the old Corporation, and the collapse of the West India trade.

TABLE B13

Origins of Entrants to Lancaster Town Council 1835-1870

	Lancaster & 15 mls.	Elsewhere	Total Known	Not Known	TOTAL
1835-40	17	8	25	18	43
1841-50	20	3	23	4	27
1851-60	15	7	22	4	26
1861-70	7	4	11	0	11

TOTAL

1835-70	59	22	81	26	107
% Known	72.8	27.2			

TABLE B14

Origins of Town Councillors by Social Grouping 1835-70

Manufacturer/ Merchant	Lancaster & 15 mls.	Elsewhere	Total Known	Not Known	TOTAL
	18	11	29	4	33
Craft/Trade	15	2	17	14	31
Professional	22	7	29	5	34
Gentlemen	4	2	6	3	9
TOTAL	59	22	81	26	107

The minimum number of Town Councillors born in Lancaster and district in this period was 59 (55.1%), while the maximum (including those whose birthplace is uncertain) was 85 (79.4%). The latter is undoubtedly nearer the true figure as foreigners tended to arouse attention, while local people were taken for granted. Lancaster Town Council had always a higher proportion of locally born members than the population of the town as a whole. Nevertheless, the 'offcomers' were an important minority including ten Mayors or Aldermen, among them Greg, De Vitre, Sharpe, Williamson, the Storey brothers and Blades. Between them these men brought fresh blood and new ideas to the town leadership which tended to be conservative and parochial. The Table B14 showing social breakdown suggests that the outsiders who joined the Council tended to be found in either the manufacturing/mercantile or in the professional group. We may conclude from this that outsiders made up for their lack of family contacts by economic importance or social prestige.

The level of education on Lancaster Town Council was not high. Of the

107 entrants between 1835 and 1870, only six had attended university, three had attended boarding school, twenty had attended Lancaster Free Grammar School (Royal from 1854),⁴⁷ Lancaster Grammar School pupils amounted to between a quarter and a third of those Councillors born in Lancaster and district (min. 59, max. 85). Seven of the twenty became Mayor or Alderman.

It was not typical for Town Councillors to have received any kind of secondary education, even though the Council as a whole had been better educated than the townsmen they ruled. As the majority of Councillors were the sons of merchants, tradesmen or craftsmen, it was unlikely that the classical education offered by the Grammar School would be considered worth the expense. Even for those who attended the Grammar School there was often pressure to curtail what was essentially a socialising process. William Whewell (Town Councillor 1836-7), a relation of his famous namesake, went first to the Free Grammar School and then at the age of 16 in 1822 to Sedbergh to prepare for Cambridge, but the requirements of the family iron foundry soon put a stop to such ambitions.⁴⁸ Apprenticeship was a far more common way of spending adolescence, with formal education limited to the work of a Sunday School (as in the case of the Storey brothers) or the National School. Only the sons of wealthier businessmen enjoyed both. Such was Richard Coupland, son of a master mariner, who attended L.F.G.S. before being accepted as an apprentice at Gillow's. All three sons of James Williamson spent only a minimal period at the Grammar School.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REPRESENTATION

The first thirty years of Victoria's reign were the years when membership of the Lancaster Town Council most reflected the economic and social leadership of the town. Religion had ceased to be a barrier to membership. Elections were now in the hands of the burgesses at large. Political exclusiveness was also at an end.

By 1835, the textile industry had replaced the port industries as Lancaster's leading economic industrial and economic sector. The town's principal employers were now the cotton and silk manufacturers. Of the cotton spinners, Mason, Burrow, and Higgin and Jackson were all members of the old Corporation. After the reform of 1835, the cotton spinners became even more important on the new Town Council. George Burrow (1791-1861), who as West India merchant and cotton spinner personified Lancaster's economic transition, was elected first Mayor of the new Corporation in 1836 and was subsequently elected an Alderman. T.H. Higgin (1788-1861), his partner, was also elected an Alderman and became the new Corporation's second Mayor. Their leadership was greatly enhanced by the admission of the two Liberals, and Unitarians, John Greg (1801-82) cotton-spinner of Caton and Lancaster and John Armstrong (1786-1858), silk-spinner of Galgate. These were the heroes of the Radical tradesmen, and Greg was elected Alderman in 1836 and Mayor in 1837. Armstrong became Alderman and Mayor in 1838. Municipal reform had thus placed municipal leadership in the hands of the town's new economic leaders, the textile manufacturers. Their hegemony did not survive the Tory revival, and both Armstrong and Greg resigned as Aldermen, (1841 and 1844 respectively). William Jackson, another Liberal cotton spinner, sat as a Councillor from 1837 to 1840. Armstrong never returned to the Town Council, but Jackson and Greg returned in the Public Health controversy in 1849, were elected Aldermen in 1853 and 1855 respectively and remained. Jackson was Mayor in 1858, Greg in 1860 and 1862. Jackson resigned as Alderman in 1871, Greg not until 1882. Another textile manufacturer, Henry Gregson, was Mayor in 1850 and 1861 and Alderman from 1853 to 1865.

There was also a strong railway interest. Carriage manufacture was represented by the Dunn family and Thomas Wise who ^{both} moved from stage coaches to railway wagons. Jonathan Dunn (1779-1859) was Mayor in 1841 and 1842 and Alderman in 1843; while his sons Thomas and Richard Dunn maintained a secondary presence as Councillor in the 1840's and 1850's. Thomas Wise was a very active Town Councillor from 1841 to 1858. In addition, William B. Bolden (Town Councillor 1838-41) sat to represent the interests of his brother Samuel E. Bolden, secretary of the Lancaster and Preston Junction Railway, while Edmund Sharpe (Town Councillor 1841-53, and Mayor 1848) was not only proprietor of the Phoenix Foundry but also engineer to the 'Little' North Western Railway.

Other manufacturers were also much in evidence. The old industry of cabinet making was represented by John Richardson (Town Councillor 1846-51) and Richard Coupland (Town Councillor 1856-73). Coupland was made Mayor in 1868 and subsequently Alderman (1873-84). The retired shipbuilder, John Brockbank, served as Alderman from 1841 to 1847. The new industry of table baize was represented by James Williamson (Town Councillor 1854-64 and Alderman 1864-79) and the brothers William Storey (Town Councillor 1857-79) and Thomas Storey (Town Councillor 1862-71 and Alderman 1871-90).

The West India merchants who had dominated the old Corporation even after ceasing to be active, were hardly to be seen on the new Town Council. James Giles (1812-60) was a Councillor from 1842-1851 and Mayor in 1845, but he and George Burrow were the sole surviving representatives of that once flourishing trade. Merchants involved in coastal trade however were still much in evidence. John S. Burrell (1817-1901) a wealthy timber importer to Glasson Dock was a Councillor from 1851 to 1856 and Mayor in 1853, and was only obliged to give up his seat on the Council when he moved outside the borough boundary. Richard Hinde (Town Councillor 1855-64 Alderman 1835-8), Samuel Preston (Town Councillor 1838-41 and 1848-51) and Robert Ferguson (Town Councillor 1844-48) were wine merchants. John Whiteside (Town Councillor 1835-8) and Richard Leeming (Town Councillor 1853-65) were both successful corn merchants.

Lancaster's chief businessmen were well represented on the Town Council in the middle of the nineteenth century. They were anxious to sit and the electors were equally keen to see them taking the lead. This lead they held throughout the period, except for a brief time in the 1840's when the professional men took the lead. Even then the distinction between professional men and businessmen is not always helpful for solicitors such as John Fearenside, John Higgin and Henry Gregson were also involved in manufacture, while Edmund Sharpe_x was an active ironfounder as well as architect and engineer.

RELIGIONTABLE B16Denomination of Entrants to Town Council 1835-70

	C. of E.	Nonconformist	Roman Catholic	Total Known	Total
All	58 (70.7%)	14 (17.1%)	10 (12.2%)	82 (100.0%)	107
Mayors & Aldermen	36 (78.3%)	8 (17.4%)	2 (4.3%)	46 (100.0%)	46

In spite of the Liberal predominance and the end to the Anglican monopoly of Lancaster Corporation in 1835, membership of the new Corporation remained predominantly Anglican over the next thirty five years.⁴⁹ The Nonconformist and Roman Catholic elements only made up a small proportion of both the total number of Councillors and the total number who became Aldermen and Mayors. Although there are a substantial number of Councillors whose religious denomination is unknown, it is presumed that the proportions for the known are representative of the total.

Non-Anglican Mayors were one of the first products of the new regime. The first non-Anglican Mayor was the Unitarian cotton manufacturer, John Greg, in 1837. Two years later he was followed by the first Quaker, Joseph Dockray, merchant and ropemaker, although his allegiance to the Society of Friends had become very shaky. Indeed he was 'disowned' by his brethren at the Lancaster Monthly Meeting for 'the violation of some of our important testimonies ... in the administration of oaths', for neglect of religious meetings and for the regular attendance at 'the established place of worship'.⁵⁰ The traditions of the county town such as corporate processions to the Parish Church were not easily abandoned.⁵¹ Lancaster's first Independent (Congregationalist) Mayor was elected in 1858, William Jackson, cotton manufacturer. The old town did not see a Roman Catholic Mayor until 1875 (Robert Preston, grocer) and although the town's first Wesleyan chapel had been erected in 1808, the first Methodist to be honoured with the Mayoralty was Norval Helme, table baize manufacturer, in 1896.

The reasons for the slow progress to the Mayoralty was partly their own reluctance to take on duties traditionally involving church attendance,

but also the concern for compromise in the appointment of the town's chief officer. Above all considerable social prestige still attached to the membership of the Church of England and it was always felt strongly that the town's chief citizen should carry sufficient social 'cachet' to be worthy of his high office.

TABLE B17

and Politics
Religion of Town Councillors Entering by Decades, 1835-70

	C. of E.			Nonconformist			Roman Catholic			Total		
	Con	Con/Lib	Lib	Con	Con/Lib	Lib	Con	Con/Lib	Lib	Known	NK	Total
1835-40	4	6	4	1		7			6	27	16	43
1841-50	17	1	3	1		2				24	3	27
1851-60	6		7			3			3	19	7	26
1861-70	4		4			1			1	10	1	11
<hr/>												
TOTAL												
1835-70	31	7	18	1		13			10	80	27	107

Lancaster politics was at its most sectarian in the 1830's and 1840's. In these years the Liberals were composed largely of those who had most to gain from the ending of the Anglican monopoly of power, namely the Nonconformists and Roman Catholics. The Conservative/Anglican reaction is equally apparent after 1840. In the decade of Maynooth, as in the days of Houseman, the anti-Catholicism in Lancaster was identified with the Established Church.⁵² A Protestant Defence Association was formed, a Protestant, anti-Maynooth candidate fielded in the 1847 election, and St. Thomas' Church and Schools were founded as physical bastions against popery.⁵³ 21 Anglicans were elected to the Town Council, 3 Nonconformists and no Roman Catholics, in 1841-50.

Lancaster's share of ^{the} Irish influx into Lancashire in the 1840's was minute. Approximately 3% of Lancaster's population in 1851 were Irish born, and the Irish influence amounted to little more than the population of three lodging houses in Spring Garden and Common Garden Streets. Lancaster had thus little direct connection with Irish politics, but there is little doubt that the Irish Question in the 1840's, as at other times in the nineteenth century, helped to bring to a head traditional hostilities and

the latent anti-Catholicism of the Evangelical Revival.

The importance of religious organisations to local politics in mid-nineteenth century Lancaster is also shown by the number of Councillors who held lay office of some description or other. Half the known Anglican Councillors held church office (29 out of 56), and the proportion of office holding Mayors and Aldermen was similar (18 out of 36). Of the 29, 12 were associated with the Parish Church (St. Mary's) (5 wardens and 7 sidesmen), and 10 with St. John's the Corporation Church (10 wardens). Several leading Anglican members of the Town Council played a major part in the development of new churches. Thomas Hewitt (Mayor 1847) was the first warden of the new church of St. Thomas. Henry Gregson (Mayor 1850 and 1861) was a founder and first warden of Christchurch. J.S. Burrell (Mayor 1853) was one of the first trustees of the new church at Glasson Dock. Some Anglicans also helped in the founding of other Protestant places of worship. Christopher Johnson Jnr. (Mayor 1857), for example, gave the site for a Wesleyan Methodist chapel at Quernmore.

The Lancaster Town Councillors of the mid-nineteenth century also included some of the most important Dissenting or Nonconformist families in the town. This was particularly true of the Unitarians and the Independents (or Congregationalists). John Armstrong (Mayor 1838) was a trustee of St. Nicholas Street Chapel (Unitarian), and as such he was the third generation of Armstrongs to hold the office. John Greg (Mayor 1837, 1860 and 1862) was a trustee at the same chapel and in time became Chairman. William Jackson (Mayor 1858) and Richard Fawcett (Mayor 1865) were both active members of High Street Independent Chapel, and J.B. Mansergh (Town Councillor 1859-67) was Sunday School Superintendent. The Society of Friends was less well represented. Apart from the Dockrays and later the Whalleys few Quaker families took much interest in municipal politics. Contact with Anglican families too often became an attraction rather than a challenge. The Nonconformist elite was too small to resist the pressure to conform to the Established Church. Joseph Dockray defected, as did J.H. Sherson (Mayor 1851) member of another of Lancaster's old dissenting families (Unitarian), and even John Greg was merging with the Anglican

squirearchy at Caton by the 1860's.

It is a sign of the weakness of 'new' Dissent in mid-nineteenth-century Lancaster that only one Methodist ^{is known to have} joined the Town Council between 1835 and 1870. He was J.L. Milner, Editor of the Lancaster Guardian from 1853 and member for Castle Ward 1869-82. The Milner family was one of the principal lights at Sulyard Street Chapel, and J.L. Milner's brother William held a variety of major offices from 1856 to his death in 1912.⁵⁶

A small number of Town Councillors came from the leading Roman Catholic families in the town. Gabriel Coulston, currier and Councillor 1839-45, was the head of one of the wealthiest, and most beneficent. Various members between them gave £3,000 towards the building of St. Peter's Church in East Road. Gabriel Coulston's nephew, Richard Leeming, corn merchant, and Town Councillor 1853-65, was a daily attender at Mass, and a member of the building committee. He later gave the organ. (Another £3,000 came from John Whiteside, corn merchant and Town Councillor). Another member of the Building Committee was Thomas Preston (Town Councillor and later Alderman 1856-94) who became in 1875 Lancaster's first Roman Catholic Mayor since the Reformation.⁵⁷

FREEMASONRY

Of those entering the Town Council between 1835 and 1870, a minimum of twelve were freemasons. Of those, seven were Conservatives and five were Liberals, suggesting no important political bias. At least ten out of the twelve were Anglicans and four were churchwardens or sidesmen. The association of freemasonry with the Church in Lancaster was partly the result of personal ties. Rev. Joseph Rowley, Chaplain at the Castle, was initiated in 1797⁵⁸, and on his death in 1864, a new lodge was formed and named after him. The foundation stone of St. Thomas' Church was laid with full masonic honours in 1840, as was the new Royal Grammar School in 1854 with the Bishop of Manchester officiating, and the Royal Albert Asylum in 1869.

The importance of masonry in bringing together leading citizens of different political views was probably of considerable importance in a small town such as Lancaster.⁵⁹ Although only a few Town Councillors seem to have been members in this period, nine of the twelve became Mayor and six became aldermen. The Lodge of Fortitude included members of such important local families as Higgin, Hinde, Seward and Storey.⁶⁰ James Williamson was a member, as also were Edward de Vitre, Thomas Howitt (see Health Reform) and E.D. Salisbury, the Protestant candidate in the 1847 Election. The small number is partly explained by the smallness of the lodges, rather than simply by social exclusiveness. Numbers in the Lodge of Fortitude fluctuated between 30 and 50 in the 1830's and 1840's. A big expansion of membership took place in the 1850's, perhaps under the influence of William Storey and S.W. Wearing. By 1858 there was a membership of 80, and in 1865 the Rowley Lodge was formed, followed in 1871 by the Duke of Lancaster Lodge.

POLITICS

The strong party feeling which characterised municipal politics between 1835 and 1841 was a product of the campaign for municipal reform and the Conservative revival which followed it. Annual municipal contests in these years provided regular tests of party strength and were regarded as indicators of the relative strength of Liberals and Tories in the build up to the general elections of 1837 and 1841. Party animosity was stoked by the life and death struggle fought between the Tory Gazette and the Liberal Guardian. After the double defeat of the Liberals at the general elections and 1837 and 1841 and the failure of the second Chartist petition, the heat went out of the political atmosphere in the town. The sign was that municipal elections ceased to be contested.

With the political revival of 1847-8 municipal elections were again contested. ^{The} Liberals, who had ~~lost~~, gained a seat at the general election of 1847, ~~and~~ now hoped to win seats on the Town Council. Their efforts were renewed in the 1850's, and, thanks partly to the Act of 1850, the Liberals steadily won back the majority position which they had held before 1841.

The Liberal revival of the 1850's should not be seen primarily in party political terms. Liberal successes were coincidental; successes of 'economists' or men promising economy were not. Party labels were temporarily abandoned in the interests of saving the ratepayer further expense. A Conservative minority continued to sit for Castle and especially Queen's Wards, but they held on because they had accepted the need for economy. Contests were caused after 1855 less by a clash between the parties as in 1838-41, as by a clash between economists. Typical of such contests was that of 1856 in St. Anne's Ward, where a Jewish shopkeeper named Isaacs was proposed, after an appeal to men:

'not pledged to any sect, politics and motives ... who would relieve them of the heavy burden (of taxation) under which they were all suffering.' 61

In 1858, Samuel Bond, sheriff's officer, stood for the same ward as an independent, in protests against the representatives of the ward (both Liberals) who were acting 'diametrically opposite to the interests of the shopkeepers'. 62

That neither Isaacs nor Bond was elected was a sign of the success of Town Councillors of both parties in dedicating themselves to economy. That the ratepayers were in no mood to be trifled with may be instanced by the defeat in 1856 of Dr. Moss, a well established Liberal and prominent opponent of sanitary reform, because he had moved beyond the town boundaries to avoid paying rates. St. Anne's Ward electors were the angriest but they represented in a stronger form the mood of the ratepayers in all three wards. When this anger began to recede in the 1860's there was no Conservative revival, but rather a renewal of Liberalism through its association with temperance. The only contests of the 1860's (two in 1862) were fought on the issue of drink, and, in both cases Liberal Temperance triumphed over Tory Drink.⁶³ The Conservatives, weakened by the retirement of so many professional men from active municipal life in the 1850's, made no serious attempt at recovery until the early 1870's.

TABLE B18

Politics of Entrants to Lancaster Town Council 1835-70

	Conservative	Conservative Liberal	Liberal	Not Known	TOTAL
1835-40	10	9	24	0	43
1841-50	19	1	7	0	27
1851-60	12	0	14	0	26
1861-70	5	0	6	0	11
TOTAL					
1835-70	46	10	51	0	107
%	43.0	9.3	47.7		100.0

Judged by national political labels, the total number of Lancaster Town Councillors, in the first 35 years after reform, were nearly equally divided between Liberal and Tory allegiance. For most of the period, however, the Liberals were in the ascendancy in the Council Chamber. They could claim a majority of Councillors in the years 1835-40 and 1853-70. Only in the years 1841-53 were the Conservatives in a majority. The terms of power swung from an overwhelming Liberal and Whig domination in the first years of the reformed Corporation to a balance of 12 Tories, 4 Whigs

and 8 Liberals in 1841.⁶⁴ By 1846 there were 15 Tories. The Conservative majority was maintained with the deepening of the Public Health crisis, but once the costs of the Act of 1852 and 1855 were fully appreciated the Liberals regained the ascendancy and held it.

TABLE B19

Politics of Councillors by Social Groupings 1835-70.

	Conservative	Con-Lib	Liberal	Not Known	TOTAL
Manufacturer/ Merchant	12	3	17	1	33
Craft/Trade	8	4	19	0	31
Professional	20	2	10	2	34
Gent etc.	4	1	4	0	9
<hr/>					
TOTAL	44	10	50	3	107

A breakdown of politics by social grouping shows that the strength of Liberalism lay in the craft/trade category. The tradesmen who stood (usually successfully) for St. Anne's Ward and who were branded by the Tory Gazette as 'Radicals', formed the backbone of the reform movement of the 1830's and were subsequently the main base of Liberal support in the borough.⁶⁵ They normally, however, looked to Liberal manufacturers, like William Jackson, John Greg or John Armstrong, to provide the leadership on the Council, although in the circumstances of the 1860's, when the Liberal leadership was becoming old, stale and elitist, they looked to the rising table baize manufacturer, James Williamson (see below).

Manufacturers tended to be Liberal, while merchants were equally divided. It was in the professional grouping where Tory strength lay. It was the weight of this group which gave the Conservatives the ascendancy on the Council in the 1840's, and it was their departure in the early 1850's which marked the end of the Tory revival.

Party political considerations did not dictate the activities of the Corporation even though it had now become a body elected by ratepayers who were often swayed by party propaganda? It is clear from Table B20 that it was just as possible for Conservatives to become Mayor or Alderman of the

Borough as it was for Liberals.

TABLE B20

Politics of Mayors and Aldermen (Present and Future) 1835-1870

	Conservative	Conservative Liberal	Liberal	TOTAL
Manufacturer	2	0	6	8
Merchant	7	2	1	10
Craft/trade	2	1	7	10
Professional	9	0	4	13
Gent etc.	1	2	2	5
<hr/>				
TOTAL	21	5	20	46
%	45.7	10.9	43.5	100.0

In view of the party balance explained above, it was in fact much easier.

TABLE B21

Politics of Freemen and Non-Freemen Entrants to Council 1835-1870

	Conservative	Lib Con	Liberal	TOTAL
1835-40 Free	10	5	15	30
Non-Free	0 10	4 9	9 24	13 43
1841-50 Free	14	0	4	18
Non-Free	5 19	1 1	3 7	9 27
1851-60 Free	5	0	8	12
Non-Free	7 12	0 0	6 14	14 26
1861-70 Free	3	0	1	4
Non-Free	2 5	0 0	5 6	7 11
<hr/>				
TOTAL 1835-70				
Free	32	5	28	64
Non-Free	14 46	5 10	23 51	43 107

As has been mentioned above, the split between Town Councillors who were freemen and those who were not had certain political implications. Although the old Corporation and its former members tended to be identified with the Conservative party and the Reformers with the Liberals, the same identification did not polarise freemen and non-freemen. With freemen forming the majority of the Lancaster electorate up to 1866, it is not surprising that freemen formed the majority of new entrants to the Town Council at least until the 1860's. Consequently no political grouping

could afford to set itself against freemen or ignore such interests as their rights over Lancaster Marsh. Otherwise there was no clear political leaning among freemen. More freemen Councillors tended to be Conservative than Liberal, but the margin was small. Liberals tended to attract the non-freemen and here the margin was greater. The Conservatives tended to be the party that honoured the traditions of the old Corporation, naturally attractive to older Lancaster families. Liberal concern to keep the rates low for cottage proprietors tended to appeal more to newcomers to the town, especially when their economic interests coincided.

As in many other boroughs, the Liberals won an overwhelming victory at the elections to the new Town Council. This victory was the culmination of several years of organisation and propaganda which marked the revival of radicalism in Lancaster after its defeat over the new Charter in 1819. The first move had been an attempt to put up R.H. Greg, partner in two local cotton mills, as a Liberal in the General Election of 1830. From 1831 to 1833 a Whiggish newspaper called the Lancaster Herald had briefly flourished in the town, but had found its political position to be identical with the Gazette in the aftermath of parliamentary reform and had consequently given up the struggle for circulation. More important, on the eve of municipal reform was the establishment of the Lancaster Reform Association in May 1835, dedicated to:

the return of staunch reformers as Members for the Borough of Lancaster, as the only means for the working class receiving any relief from Taxation and removing all disabilities from every denomination of Dissenters.' 66

Whether the Lancaster Reform Association in fact constituted an alliance between the tradesmen and operatives as it claimed is very doubtful. Nevertheless the political demands of the association corresponded closely with other contemporary middle-class reform movements such as Sturge's Complete Suffrage Movement. Universal Suffrage was mooted as a desirable goal, and the emphasis on the independence of the elector went far towards the idea of a secret ballot.⁶⁷ This concern for independence indicated the weakness of the tradesmen's political position between the upper and lower millstones of gentry and working-class patronage.

The initial victory of the Reformers in the first elections to the new Town Council in December 1835 and January 1836 belonged not to the tradesmen alone, but to an alliance of Whig merchants, Liberal manufacturers and professional men and dissenting tradesmen. Of the twenty four members of the reform list elected as Aldermen and Councillors, one third were professional men, one third were merchants and manufacturers and one third were tradesmen. Three had also been on the Tory list, ten had been members of the old Corporation, and several more were members of Corporation families or had close connections in other ways with the old regime. It is significant that although one tradesman was on both lists, none had been members of the old Corporation. The defeat of the Tories did not (thus) constitute a clean sweep of the Town Hall. Nevertheless, the tradesmen had gained a large foothold which they steadily enlarged during the first five years of municipal reform.

For if the two decades prior to municipal reform had provided increasing opportunities to the tradesmen to take part in the process of decision making within the community, the implementation of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 opened the flood gates which, until then, had prevented them from participating in the decision making of the community.

The compromise reached between the Liberal manufacturers and tradesmen continued after the initial success of the Lancaster Reform Association. While the old Corporation had represented the community of economic interest with a bias towards mercantile wealth, the new Town Council reflected the shift in the town's economy to manufacturing wealth. The Tories castigated the new tradesmen councillors as the 'Scouts of the Cotton Lords', but Whewell, the Tory iron ~~founder~~ elected on the reform list in January 1836 denied that:

'because I am so intimately connected in business with the manufacturers of the town that, as a matter of course, I shall be made subservient to their purposes'. 68

Many Lancaster tradesmen and master craftsmen had become as reliant for their prosperity on the mills as they had once been on the port. The elections of November 1836 and 1837 showed this link in political terms. Of the 'wonderful six' elected in November 1836, one was Richard Farrer,

a junior partner in the cotton firm of Burrow and Higgin, while a second was George Jackson (wine merchant), the younger brother of William Jackson, the cotton spinner. In 1837, John Armstrong, the Unitarian silk spinner, was elected to the Council. With the exception of one or two surgeons, the rest of the newcomers were tradesmen.

By November 1837, there was a distinct trend towards a greater purism among 'reform' list councillors, the new councillors being all Liberals and largely non-Anglican. The election of the Unitarian John Greg as Mayor in the year of the foundation of the Liberal Lancaster Guardian proved to be the apogee of the Liberals' hegemony in municipal politics. The editor of the Gazette ironically demanded that the mace should no longer be carried to the Parish Church by the Corporation, but should be handed over to the *Tory* Heart of Oak Club for safe keeping.

The Liberal victory was, however, short lived. Although a full complement of Liberals (including four tradesmen) was once more returned in the municipal elections of 1838, the reform cause received a setback in the resounding defeat at the General Election of 1837. This had shown the effect of a revived *Tory* political organisation, which in 1838 for the first time was applied to local municipal elections. For the first time *Tory* opposition was organised to the reform list on all three wards. Oddly enough, the *Tory* tide had turned sooner in the larger boroughs of Preston, Leeds and York than in Lancaster. The Conservative recovery in Lancaster, as elsewhere, was led by the lawyers in the borough revision court. In September 1837 the Conservatives won acceptance for 66 out of 89 voters while the Radicals successfully defended only 30 out of 115 of their voters.⁶⁹ Similarly, a year later, the *Tories* won 37 of their claims while the Radicals only won 4 of theirs.⁷⁰ Business fluctuations affected Radical votes far more than Conservative. The profit margins of many Liberal tradesmen were shown to be very narrow. In November 1838, three Liberal candidates, J.S. Mansergh (draper), W.K. Moore (broker), and R. Charnley (ironmonger), were made ineligible for the Town Council because of their arrears in payment of rates. Pauperism also provided a means by which *Tory* solicitors could have Liberal

voters struck off the register. In September 1838, however, only eleven out of fifty such objections were sustained.

The first Tory success in a by-election in Queen's Ward in April 1839 (for John Higgin, the dispossessed Town Clerk)⁷¹, was followed in November by the election of four more Tory candidates. Only St. Anne's, the ward which relied both economically and politically on the Liberal cotton manufacturers, returned two Liberals. A 'neutral' Whig mayor was elected; Joseph Dockray, (1782-1855), a merchant and ropemaker who had been on both lists in 1835 but who voted Tory at parliamentary elections and had abandoned the Society of Friends for the Church of England. The Tories thus regarded his election to the mayoralty as a smack in the face for the Liberals. The mace was carried to the Parish Church for the first time since municipal reform, and a celebratory dinner was held in the King's Arms.⁷² Furthermore, in the following month, the Conservative list of six candidates completely swept the board in the election of the first members of the new Board of Poor Law Guardians.⁷³

In November 1840 the Conservatives captured three more seats on the Town Council and secured the election for mayor, of a solicitor (William Robinson) whose Anglicanism and Tory politics had never been in doubt.⁷⁴ This particular triumph, however, was secured by the defection of the Whigs, led by Alderman Higgin (1788-1861), a cotton manufacturer, from the reform party. Higgin had been a member of the old Corporation and was no doubt motivated by a desire for the unanimity of large property owners against the threat of Chartism, even though no Chartists were ever elected to the Town Council. The Gazette was probably near the truth when it scoffed that 'some of the more sensible and respectable of the party' had arrived at the conclusion that 'democracy has had fling enough in the good old town'. It is highly likely that the Whig defection resulted from a disillusionment with Radical politics combined with a sense of social distance from the tradesmen who now made up the majority of Liberal councillors.

In 1841 the reversal of the political developments set in motion by

the Act of 1835 was completed. The Tories captured four more seats on the Town Council and, for the first time, obtained several seats on the aldermanic bench.⁷⁵ All three new Aldermen had been Aldermen in the old Corporation, suggesting that the Liberal regime of 1836-40 had been only an interregnum and not a revolution. In political terms this was true. Political controversy which had been such a major feature of municipal affairs was to fade into insignificance. Contests with a political flavour were to occur from time to time, but party organisation in municipal elections was largely abandoned. Now that both Tories and Liberals had fully adjusted to the new electoral framework on municipal affairs, the in-built bias to the Tories quickly re-asserted itself. Until the electorate underwent considerable expansion in the 1870's, it was a readily acknowledged and had a good chance in political fact that the Tories controlled Queen's Ward, Castle Wards while the Liberals could expect a majority in St. Anne's Ward. Thus there was The party battle was thus always in the balance - at least in theory. ~~a marked tendency towards a permanent Tory majority, in spite of the fears of a Liberal take-over by the Gazette. Meanwhile Municipal politics in fact~~ in the 1850's and 1860's, became a question of personality and local issues rather than party. When neither personalities or local issues arose to divide opinion, municipal elections were not contested. Thus in the 1840's there were only contests and 1848. in 1841, 1845. The Gazette smugly assured its readers of perpetual harmony:

It is, therefore, all fairly adjusted, and we hope the unseemly conflicts of opinion that the introduction of the new Corporative system brought with it, will never be resumed. 76

The social upheaval, however, represented by the rise to municipal power of the tradesmen, was not so easily dismissed. Although the tradesmen's influx was stopped by the Tory victory of the early 1840's, their defeat and disillusionment was only temporary. When the public health crisis again raised the spectre of municipal extravagance and soaring rates, the tradesmen returned to the Town Council in large numbers. In the two decades between 1851 and 1870, over half of all the new entrants to the Town Council were tradesmen and small businessmen. In political terms this was to constitute a Liberal revival, as the majority of tradesmen

were Liberal in the same way that the majority of the professional men who dominated the Town Council in the 1840's were Tory. By the 1850's, however, this party political distinction was only a secondary matter in local politics. What was important was that it was the tradesmen as a social group who had the largest economic interest in the size of the rates and who thus were determined to play an increasingly important part on the municipal stage. As will be seen later, the ~~resistance~~ to them was also to be social rather than party political as a new alliance of manufacturers and professional men tried to hang on to their monopoly of the upper echelons of municipal power.

The effect of the public health crisis was to stimulate interest in municipal affairs. Elections were once more contested. The fear of the shopkeepers that large financial schemes were to be undertaken by an agreement between the professional and manufacturing elites revived their desire to sit on the Town Council in which they had taken little interest in the 1840's. In the elections of 1851 the increased lighting rate became the Liberal war cry. The consensus of respectability was still observed by the Gazette, although it blamed not the Liberal party as such, but 'the low Radical faction' for 'the trouble and excitement the burgesses have been too gratuitously subjected to'.⁷⁷ Only one Liberal was elected in 1851, but in the following year the surprise appearance of the Liberal manufacturer, William Jackson, as a candidate for the aldermanship, thus threatening the Tory majority, put the Gazette on its guard:

We can safely say that our desire has been to support the election of respectable townsmen, without too nice a regard to the particular shade of politics they might happen to espouse, admitting of course at the same time that we should never have consented to see the Corporation again entirely handed over to what is miscalled Liberal keeping. ⁷⁸

The Conservative majority was maintained ^{from 1841 to 1854} in spite of the return of the Liberal manufacturers in 1849 and a large increase in the number of tradesmen (Liberal and Conservative) entering the Council in the 1850's. After the mid 1850's the elections were once more rarely contested. The acceptance of a political truce ~~with a heavy Tory bias~~ was a great relief to the Gazette which, by November 1855, felt able to congratulate the

town on 'the absence of all political feeling'.⁷⁹ Meanwhile the Tories monopolised the mayoralty from 1840 to 1857 with only four breaks: three for the Whigs, (Jonathan Dunn, 1841-3; Joseph Dockray, 1849-50) and one for the Liberal, Henry Gregson, 1850-1. Municipal politics had returned to what they had been before municipal reform: the preserve of a municipal upper class with leisure to devote to municipal affairs and which consisted mainly of professional men, merchants and manufacturers. In spite of the fact that a large number of tradesmen did enter the Council in the 1850's, they were largely restricted to St. Anne's Ward and among them there was a far higher turnover than among the other occupational groups.

One change in the municipal scene by the late 1850's was the growth in the importance of table baize manufacture by firms of James Williamson and the Storey brothers. In January 1860, when Williamson retired from the painting and decorating business, this section alone extended through four counties.⁸⁰ Table baize and oilcloth manufacture had grown even faster. By 1860 Storey's and Williamson's between them were employing 1200-1400 workers, and it is likely that Williamson was already the single largest employer in Lancaster.⁸¹

Accepting as they did the prevailing notion of the Town Council as a club for the economic and political leaders of the town, James Williamson and the two eldest Storey brothers sought election. Williamson, a Liberal, won a by-election in Castle Ward in 1854, William Storey entered the Council as a Conservative member for St. Anne's Ward in 1857, and Thomas Storey, a Liberal, also joined the representatives for St. Anne's Ward in 1862.

One incentive to enter the Council may well have been the advantage to their firms of representation on the Board of Health. The late 1850's saw a rising tide of complaints against the table baize and oilcloth factories for the 'nuisance' caused by the boiling of oil. Until 1856, both factories had been situated on St. George's Quay, and although the Vicar complained that his 'young ladies could not take their breakfasts' because of the stench, few other notables were affected. When, however, Storey Brothers

bought the White Cross mill on the south east side of the town, the 'nuisance' was realised only too clearly by the inhabitants of Greenfield and Dalton Square. The failure of individual complaints to effect a remedy led to a general memorial of local residents to the Board of Health which was presented by Alderman Henry Gregson, whose house at Moorlands was situated on land just above the White Cross mill. Gregson admitted that the smell did not constitute a danger to health, but stressed that the mill 'diffused a noxious effluvia throughout the town' and made property more difficult to sell. Storey pointed out that complaints had risen from Dalton Square before he had ever boiled a single gallon of oil at White Cross. ~~To meet complaints,~~ new equipment used by London varnish makers was to be installed at a cost of about £300. The meeting did not reveal any personal resentment against the oilcloth manufacturers, but Richard Fawcett (marble mason), who lived at a safe distance in Skerton, was the only councillor to stress the dangers of interfering with the town's trade. Nevertheless an ~~subject~~ by the militia at the barracks to close the White Cross Mill was firmly ignored.⁸²

Williamson and Thomas Storey both took active part in other voluntary and official local bodies, besides the Town Council. Williamson was a member of the Board of Guardians and a director of the Lancaster Steam Navigation Company. Both William and Thomas Storey took an active role in the affairs of the Mechanics' Institute. All three men were Anglicans and were elected churchwardens of different churches in the 1860's. Both Williamson and Thomas Storey were leading members of the Gas Consumers' Association founded in January 1860 by the Mayor (William Whelon, merchant) in order to bring pressure on the Lancaster Gas Company to raise the quality and reduce the price of its product.⁸³

By 1860, James Williamson was the most prominent councillor who had not yet been elected to the mayoralty. In the 1840's and early 1850's Tory solicitors and physicians had succeeded in reaching that honour within a few years of entering the Council. Tory merchants were equally fortunate: J.S. Burrell, from Liverpool, was Mayor within two years of entering the Council in 1851, and William Whelon had only to wait three

years. Liberal inroads in the early 1850's swung the balance in favour of that party in the election of Mayor, especially after the re-election of William and George Jackson and John Greg as aldermen in the years 1854-6. In spite of the Liberal majority, however, James Williamson was passed over in favour of other new Liberal councillors with family or friendship links with the aldermen. Between 1858 and 1863 the mayoralty went the rounds of the Liberal aldermen, two of whom (John Greg and Henry Gregson) had held the honour before.

The candidature of Williamson was not completely neglected, A letter from 'A Tradesmen' at the time of the mayoral election of 1860 expressed the view that John Greg was being put forward as 'the instrument of a factious opposition to the election of Mr. Williamson as our chief magistrate.'⁸⁴ The Gazette reported that the Council was equally divided on the matter, but, in the event, Greg was elected unopposed. An examination of the expected line up shows a division on party lines, the Liberals for Williamson and the Conservatives for Greg. Nevertheless the division was not just a straightforward party affair. Firstly both candidates were Liberals. Secondly several Liberals were expected to have voted for Greg and two Conservatives (William Storey and Stephen Wearing, Williamson's brother in law) would have voted for Williamson. The deciding factor was that only one alderman (George Jackson) favoured Williamson. There was thus a social division as well as a political one. In short, the old established manufacturing and mercantile leaders had clubbed together with the Tory professional men to keep out the rising manufacturer, James Williamson, the son in law of a local innkeeper, whose supporters were almost entirely Liberal grocers and drapers. Williamson was thus the mayoral nominee of just that propertied stratum of Lancaster society which had risen to local prominence in the first years of municipal reform, but which had since been in a small minority on the Town Council.⁸⁵

Henry Welch, Williamson's chief supporter, wrote to explain his position to the Gazette.⁸⁶ He believed that the time had arrived 'when the boundary of that somewhat circumscribed and patrician circle ought to extended and

that a new element might be admitted within the line with advantage to the Council and to the greater satisfaction of the town generally.' The 'patrician' circle, however, put up a strong rearguard fight. In 1861, two other Councillors had been approached before Henry Gregson, who had intended to retire from the aldermanship, was finally prevailed upon to accept the mayoralty.⁸⁷ In 1862 the office went to John Greg for a third term when Gregson failed to be persuaded to remain in office during the Cotton Famine.⁸⁸

Economic developments in Lancaster in the 1860's showed that the economic initiative had passed out of the hands of the Corporation elite. Traditional cotton spinning and weaving was losing its pre-eminence among the town's manufacturing industries to table baize and oilcloth production. Nor did the long established manufacturers take much interest in the new enterprises begun during and after the Cotton Famine, such as the Lune Shipbuilding Company and the Lancaster Wagon Company. One letter to the Gazette described the Council's attitude to the Lune Shipbuilding Company as an 'organised system of obstructing the trade of this town' in order to 'make its streets on market day as quiet as a gentleman's dining room on Sunday.'⁸⁹

These were strong words, but there were signs that confirmed this view that the aldermanic leadership, in spite of the predominance of manufacturers, was increasingly adopting as its own, the values and needs of the local gentry. Council meetings were largely taken up in considering the Morecambe Board of Health's demand for more water from the Lancaster Waterworks. In one such discussion, Alderman Greg, who had sold his Moor Lane Mills to Storey's in 1861, indicated his personal vision of Lancaster's future. In advocating an increased water supply in both town and neighbourhood he admitted the advantages to industrial development. Nevertheless his support for increased provision came mainly from his belief that 'the town should be kept up as the metropolis of the neighbourhood,' and that it should be made the resort of 'people of affluence and luxurious habits.'

Similar attitudes were expressed at a public meeting held to discuss

the provision of a memorial to Prince Albert in 1862.⁹¹ Except for the temperance leader, Edward Dawson of Aldcliffe Hall, who wanted a fountain and a statue, the meeting divided between those who favoured the endowment of a scholarship from the Grammar School to any of the universities, and those who favoured the creation of a public park in the town. The Council leadership admitted the need for a park in Lancaster, but argued that the cost would be too great. Greg saw that the debate was partly motivated by class interest and suggested that a scholarship would eventually be to the interests of the working classes. The implication was that, in the meantime, the Albert Scholarship would be a useful middle-class perk.

In spite of such successes of the 'patrician circle', it was unable to retain the monopoly of the mayoralty indefinitely. In 1864 the aldermanic leadership finally acquiesced in the appointment of James Williamson as a borough magistrate and his election as Mayor of Lancaster.⁹² This election was more a symbol of Williamson's acceptance by the old manufacturers than an example of a new man 'storming the closet'. Williamson himself had always shown a suitable reluctance to take part in public life, and avoided too close an identification with his chief supporters, the Liberal shopkeepers. His election did not represent the overthrow of the 'patrician circle' as the chief dictators of municipal policy, but it did indicate that Lancaster could not be regarded in the same light as Morecambe. Williamson's election was a reminder that Lancaster's future lay as much in its new industries as in its appeal as a middle class refuge from the hubbub of the south Lancashire towns.

In addition, Williamson's election represented a triumph for the civic ideal. In a town in which few businessmen outranked their fellows and in which joint stock enterprise was largely financed by local capital, the Town Council was regarded as the meeting place of social and economic equals. Moreover the mayoralty was still regarded as the highest prize to which any citizen could aspire. Although the theory of the equality of property did not strictly work in practice, the municipal oligarchy contained the seeds of the destruction of the civic ideal which supplied

it with new life. For Williamson's economic power was to provide an increasing threat to the idea of communal leadership. Meanwhile the establishment of the Lune Shipbuilding Company by a combination of Liverpool and Barrow merchants and Lunesdale gentry showed for the first time that if local initiative was not forthcoming, economic decisions might well be taken elsewhere by industrialists who had little time for small Town Councils.

CHAPTER III The Town Council 1835-1870.Footnotes

1. Lancaster Town Hall, Borough Minutes, 6 February 1836.
2. Ibid., 11 March 1836.
3. Ibid., 26 April 1837.
4. Ibid., 20 June 1837.
5. Ibid., Borough Council Committee Minutes, 18 October 1839.
6. Lancaster Guardian, 5 February 1853.
7. Ibid., 3 August 1850.
8. Ibid., 22 May 1852.
9. Lancaster City Library, N.C.O., Thomas Swainson, December 1893.
10. A. Redford, The History of Local Government in Manchester, (1940), II, 28.
11. 5 & 6 Will, IV cap. 76.
12. B.P.P., 1835, XXV, Municipal Corporations, App. Pt. III, Cd. 188-207, paragraph 59.
13. Lancaster Guardian, 17 June 1837.
14. Lancaster Gazette, 13 January 1838.
15. B. Keith Lucas, The English Local Government Franchise (Oxford, 1952), pp. 55-6, 148.
16. Lancaster Records, (Lancaster, 1869).
17. Lancaster Guardian, 31 August 1850.
18. 13 & 14 Vict. cap. 99.
19. B.P.P., 1859, Session 2, VII, Poor, Cd. 450-1, pp. 170-1.
20. B.P.P., 1867, VIII, Misc., Cd. 603-9.
21. c.f. A. Temple Patterson's suggestion that it was the delicacy of the public conscience, rather than electoral corruption itself which grew in Leicester after 1832; see Radical Leicester (Leicester, 1954), p. 193.
22. B.P.P., 1886, LVI, Local Taxation & c., Cd. 378-419, pp. 40-81.
- 22b For the typical provincial situation see Charles Dickens's Edinburgh Gazette and Independent in Pickersick Papers (1837).
23. Lancaster Gazette, 8 October 1842.
24. Ibid., 2 November 1844.
25. Lancaster Guardian, 4 November 1843.
26. Lancaster Gazette, 31 October 1846.
27. Ibid., 9 February 1850
28. Ibid., 8 March 1858; compare treatment of Dr Stockmann by press in Henrik Ibsen's An Enemy of the People (1882).

29. Ibid., 30 October 1858.
30. Ibid., 15 January, 1859.
31. E.P. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons (1973), p. 315 et & R. Newton, Victorian Exeter (Leicester, 1968), pp. 124-5 alib.
32. Ibid., p. 27; c.f. 76% in Exeter 1836 48, see R. Newton op. cit., pp. 328-9.
33. cf. Average age of 52 in Barking in 1960's; see A.M. Rees & T. Smith, Town Councillors: A Study of Barking (1964).
34. Solidarity was undoubtedly increased by the founding of the Lancaster Law Society, 4 December 1837, one aim of which was to support 'generally the respectability of the profession', see Swainson & Son, 21 Castle Hill, Lancaster; c.f. Medical Book Club founded in 1841.
35. Compare the upsurge of the Municipal Reform Association in Leeds in 1870's, in similar response to heavy sanitary expenditure; see E.P. Hennock, op. cit., p. 211.
36. Recurring accusations at municipal elections e.g. Lancaster Gazette, 30 October 1858.
37. Sources:
B.H. Gillbanks & C. Directory of Preston and Lancaster (Preston, 1857)
R. Newton, Pen and Ink Sketches of Liverpool Town Councillors, pp. 329-30.
38. Lancaster, like Exeter, had an exceptionally large representation of lawyers: 17.1% in 1835-50 and 17.4% in 1836-47 respectively; c.f. Bristol 9.2% in 1835-51; see E.P. Hennock, op. cit., p. 28.
39. Ibid., pp. 192-204.
40. Ibid., pp. 27-34.
41. c.f. Hull where 'men of substance' abandoned municipal government altogether after 1850; see Ibid., p. 315n.
42. Lancaster University Library, Lancaster Banking Company Account Book 1825 29.
43. Lancaster University Library, 1851 Census Enumerators' Sheets for Lancaster (microfilm).
44. Extracts from Household Words etc. (Lancaster, 1865).
45. Manufacturers with 4 servants include John Greg who lived outside Lancaster, and was away from home during the 1851 census. In 1841 he had 1 male and 4 female servants.
46. The Freemen's Protection Association was led by Tories, but constituted a separate pressure group.
47. Ed. A. Murray, Lancaster Royal Grammar School - A Biographical Register (Lancaster, 1955).
48. Sedburgh School Register 1546 1909 (Leeds, 1909).
49. c.f. Leicester where Nonconformist ascendancy followed municipal reform; see A. Temple Patterson, op. cit. p. 23.

50. Lancaster Society of Friends, Minutes of Monthly Meeting, 13 May 1840.
51. Corporate processions to church were abandoned by the Liberals in 1835, but resumed by the Tories in 1840.
52. Dissent was noticeably more tolerant to Roman Catholics who were important political allies; see Lancaster Guardian, 10 June 1837 et alib.
53. National Society, Gt. Peter St., St. Thomas's, Lancaster, Rev. Colin Campbell to N.S., 9 June 1852.
54. W. Hewitson, Lancaster Unitarian Chapel, (Lancaster, 1893).
55. High St., Independent Chapel, Deacons' Minute Books.
56. Lancaster City Library, N.C.O., 1912. *N.B. The Duns were expelled from the Methodist Conference in 1850.*
57. R.N. Billington & J. Brownbill, St. Peter's, Lancaster (1910).
58. c.f. Preston's first lodge 1775-84, second 1811; see E.B. Beesley, Freemasonry in Lancashire (Manchester 1832), pp. 31-2.
59. c.f. Importance of Masonic Hall as meeting place in Cheltenham in early 19th century see G. Hart, A History of Cheltenham, (Leicester 1965) p. 302. J.M. Lee regards freemasonry as possible cement between landed and business interests in Cheshire in late 19th cent. see Social Leaders and Public Persons (Oxford 1963), p. 34.
60. H. Longman, Records of the Lodge of Fortitude (Lancaster 1895); *Lancaster C.L., MS. 4700 shows that over half members of Lodge in 1834 were craftsmen or tradesmen.*
61. Lancaster Gazette, 1 November 1856.
62. Ibid., 30 October 1858.
63. Lancaster Gazette, 8 November 1862.
64. No Chartists were elected to the Council, unlike in Leeds and elsewhere, see E.P. Hennock, op. cit., p. 198.
65. The Liberal Guardian promised that its rivalry with the Tory Gazette would be conducted on 'fair and tradesmanlike principles'; see Lancaster Guardian, 25 February 1837.
66. The Weathercock, (Lancaster, 1836).
67. Eventually crystallised in Lancaster Guardian's first leader (28 January 1837) as household suffrage.
68. The Weathercock, op. cit.
69. Lancaster Gazette, 30 September 1837.
70. Ibid., 29 September 1838.
71. Ibid., 6 April 1839.
72. Ibid., 9 November 1839.
73. Ibid., 14 December 1839.

74. Ibid., 7 & 14 November 1840.
75. Ibid., 6 & 13 November 1841.
76. Ibid., 6 November 1846.
77. Ibid., 8 November 1851.
78. Ibid., 13 November 1852.
79. Ibid., 3 November 1855.
80. Ibid., 7 January 1860.
81. Ibid., 10 December 1859.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid., 7 January 1860.
84. Ibid., 3 November 1860.
85. Williamson, for example, was ready to champion the views of cottage proprietors on condemned slum property; see Lancaster Gazette, 7 June 1862.
86. Ibid., 17 November 1860.
87. Ibid., 20 November 1861.
88. Ibid., 22 November 1862.
89. Ibid., 21 November 1863.
90. Ibid., 5 September 1863.
91. Ibid., 12 July 1862.
92. Ibid., 5 November 1864.

CHAPTER IVTHE TRIAL OF MUNICIPAL LEADERSHIP - THE PUBLIC HEALTH QUESTION

The public health crisis of 1848-1851 provided the town's leadership with a problem for which it was psychologically unprepared. No previous question had contained so much danger for the town's very existence; none had appeared in such a huge form, none had demanded such urgent remedy. Above all, none had required such an administrative upheaval or such enormous expenditure. By contrast, the conflict over municipal reform was to appear, in retrospect, as mere shadow boxing - an ideological argument which had made very little difference to the life of the town. Until the sanitary problem forced itself upon them, the two authorities, the Police Commission (set up by the Improvement Act of 1825) and the Town Council, had done little but tinker with the economic and social problems of the community. Both bodies certainly discussed such problems as lawlessness, lack of sanitation, market improvements and better communications, but abandoned any attempt at municipal policy in favour of a negative approach which at its worst was no more than a reconciliation of private interests. Municipal initiative in communal problems was paralysed as much by the psychological rejection of such a role as by legal restrictions. Both bodies were preoccupied by the determination to prove the superiority of reformed municipal government over its predecessor by its ability to balance its budgets and keep down the rates by the safest possible means - that of incurring the minimum expenditure. That neither body was successful in achieving this aim in the 1840's did not make matters easier.

The town had grown by about half in the first half of the nineteenth century. Unlike such towns as Stamford or Nottingham, geographical expansion was not seriously limited by the landownership of its environs.¹ Nevertheless much of the additional house provision took the form, found in bigger towns, of in-filling of gardens and open spaces with courts and alleys, particularly on the Green Ayre. The main directions of development were Eastward along St. Leonardgate and Southwards towards the canal and Penny Street bridge, but in neither direction had housing filled all available

ground by 1850.

Overcrowding was not as great a problem in Lancaster as in other north western towns (see Table).

TABLE 1

Density of North Western Towns 1831.²

(Persons per Acre)

Preston	16.89
Manchester	67.71
Liverpool	47.79
Chester	7.09
Carlisle	2.97
Lancaster	10.17
LANCASHIRE	1.20

In 1851 there were fewer very large households in Lancaster than in Preston (see Table 1) and in both 1851 and 1861 there were over a hundred houses unoccupied at the time of the Census. Overcrowding probably eased with the decline in pressure on the town's accommodation and the increase in stock of better class housing thanks to building clubs from the mid-1830's. Nevertheless there were pockets of overcrowding even in 1851. Cellar dwelling was rare in Lancaster, but many of the poorer section of the population lived in courts in the town centre. For example, 54 lived in five cottages in Hargreaves Court off St. Leonardgate. The sixth cottage was uninhabited. Even more overcrowded were the 83 who lived in Lucy Court, 47 of whom had been born in Ireland.³ Although such pockets were probably fewer in Lancaster than in larger or more prosperous towns, it was in these very courts that Owen found some of the worst sanitary conditions in the town in 1845.

More serious than overcrowding, was Lancaster's inadequate sewerage. Apart from the sewer from the Castle down Church Street to the Green Ayre built in 1813, Lancaster's main sewer was the ancient millrace which once had supplied water from the Lune for a corn mill and encircled the Green Ayre from Germany Street to Fleet Square.⁴ The millrace which had been built over during the late eighteenth century was never cleaned out, continued to be tidal and periodically backed up and flooded the cellars of adjoining houses.

Lancaster's second peculiar problem was its shortage of fresh water. There were a few wells in the town, but with overcrowding and inefficient dry earth collection they soon became insufficient and polluted. Further the well water was hard which made washing difficult without the purchase of soda. The Lancaster Canal provided one source of water but many relied on rainwater for drinking. Unlike other towns, Lancaster had no private water company willing to invest in reservoirs to sell fresh water to the inhabitants.⁵

These problems were not unique to Lancaster, but this fact does not detract from the searing experience which the town underwent in the years 1845-55. Inadequate knowledge of conditions, and inadequate medical knowledge combined with economic stringency and administrative chaos to produce a nightmare for those who tried to battle against disease and to fortify the town against the approach of cholera.

On the medical side the town was well off. Lancaster's numerous class of annuitants and popularity with the gentry, as well as such county institutions as the Castle and the Lunatic Asylum, made Lancaster an attractive place for medical men. In 1808 Lancaster had seven surgeons. By 1841 the town was served by 23 surgeons and physicians. This advantage over industrial towns Lancaster maintained. In 1861 Lancaster and Chester both contained one individual in the Registrar General's medical category (III(3)) to under 400 of the population, while Blackburn and Preston had only one to every 915 and 761 respectively.⁶ Between 1835 and 1860, 12 surgeons and physicians joined the Lancaster Town Council, reinforcing the social strength of medicine with municipal influence.

Lancaster greatly benefited from this strong medical presence. A Dispensary had been founded in 1781, and free inoculation for smallpox was available to the poor in 1802.⁷ In 1815 a severe outbreak of 'fever' in the town led to the formation of a voluntary Board of Health, consisting of the Mayor, Secretary, Treasurer, medical officers of the Dispensary and the local clergy. Its first act was the establishment of a House of Recovery financed by subscription.⁸

Prevention rather than cure was the aim of the officials of Lancaster's Board of Health. The connection between dirt and disease had been pointed out by one of the founders of the Dispensary in a pamphlet entitled 'Observations on Typhus or Low Contagious Fever', published in 1785.⁹ The same warnings were reiterated from time to time, particularly during epidemics such as the measles outbreak of 1819.¹⁰ Small outbreaks of cholera in 1826 and 1828 alerted the Board of Health in good time before the 1831-32 pandemic struck the country as a whole. In the summer of 1831 the Board of Health offered to pay for the whitewashing of cottages and the Town Clerk appealed to factory owners, cottage owners and cottagers to keep their premises clean and whitewashed. Employers were urged to check that their employees washed their hands twice daily and changed their linen frequently.¹¹ The secretary of the Board of Health, Dr. Johnson, went further and, using the new reformed newspaper, the Lancaster Herald, as a forum for debate, claimed that he could prove from the Dispensary registers that Lancaster's main drain, the old mill race, was a source of dangerous and fatal fever.¹²

Lancaster was well prepared by the time the cholera finally hit the town in October 1832. 'Anti-cholera flannel waistcoats' had been made by benevolent ladies for the town's poor, although one correspondent of the Herald (perhaps Johnson himself) warned readers that cholera 'does not fail to visit the very highest classes of society, when it acquires a certain degree of accumulation and intensity'.¹³ In October 1831 the Board of Health was augmented with Mayor, Aldermen and Magistrates to outwit the 'cholera morbus'. A Fast Day was held on March 21st 1832. On July 18th the town was divided into districts and the Boys' National School was designated an emergency cholera hospital. In the event of the outbreak, only five cases were diagnosed in the town, all of which proved fatal; 29 cases were diagnosed at the Workhouse (152 inmates) of which 15 proved fatal and as many as 246 cases occurred at the Asylum (354 inmates) of which 94 were fatal.¹⁴

Preparation was one thing, prevention was another. Lancaster was let off so lightly in 1832 that fundamental health reform was never considered. Yet one advance in medical provision was made in the decision to unite the Dispensary and Fever Hospital with the House of Recovery in a new building in Thurnham Street, opened in January 1834. In 1836 public baths were erected in Nelson Street, but the entry fee of one shilling a time or one guinea a year made cleanliness no more available to the masses, and for the young provided no substitute for the canal.¹⁵ Moreover, the streets at this time were kept cleaner for a while by more efficient scavenging.¹⁶

With no imminent threat of disaster in the 1830's, it was left to a new generation of Lancaster medical men to progress from analysis to action. The man chiefly responsible for this transition was Dr. Edward de Vitre, who, like several of his medical contemporaries (such as Howitt and C. Johnson Junior) and unlike the previous generation, represented by Johnson, ^{Senior} was university trained.¹⁷ On the eve of the cholera outbreak of 1832 he was appointed physician to Lancaster Infirmary and in 1840 transferred to the County Lunatic Asylum. He was elected to the Town Council in 1841 and soon became Mayor and then Alderman.¹⁸ He had his own ideas on the solution of Lancaster's health problems and in 1844 he joined the Health of Towns Association along with Dr. Arnott of Lancaster Infirmary. Richard Owen (born and educated in Lancaster) had joined the committee of the Association in 1843, and the combined influence of these three induced Edwin Chadwick and the two engineers, Robert Rawlinson and James Smith of Deanston to take a particular interest in Lancaster's problems.¹⁹

In 1842 the Association published De Vitre's report on the sanitary condition of Lancaster written in 1840.²⁰ It was a conservative document, emphasising the state of the streets, which with the retreat of the cholera scare had once again deteriorated,²¹ and also the mill race. De Vitre urged the removal of nuisances, the fitting of 'stench traps' to the sewers and the need for a general slaughter house. The novelty of the account lay in the fact that it looked beyond the state of cottage property and the need for better ventilation to the general conditions of poverty which De Vitre

described as 'one of the most predisposing causes' of disease. The answer, typical of paternalistic Lancaster, lay in the closer regimentation of the poor to ensure regular white-washing, a halt to intemperance, universal vaccination against smallpox, action against the illegal influence of trade unions, encouragement to use savings banks rather than friendly societies or clubs, and extensive moral and religious instruction by voluntary teachers. All in all, the account demonstrated De Vitre's faith in voluntary action, in spite of hints at police intervention and criticism of the scavengers' efficiency.

In response to the appeals of Doctors Arnott and De Vitre, the Health of Towns Commission deputed Professor Owen to report on the state of Lancaster.²³ Chadwick came to Lancaster to help settle the plan of the survey and Owen set about the task in late September 1844. With the help of 'all the most intelligent medical men and builders' but with the notable exception of Fearenside, the Superintendent of Sewers, Owen was able to build up a complete picture of the streets and courts of the town, and with James Grant's statistics of mortality he was able to make a correlation of 'decaying animal and vegetable refuse' with death from disease.²⁴

TABLE 2

Comparison of Lancaster Mortality with Environs and Preston (Owen and Clay)²⁵

1838-44	Lancaster Town	Lancaster Rural	Preston Town
Average Age at Death	27.87	35.44	19.6
Average Age of Death above 21	54.44	56.85	51.25
Proportion of Deaths from Epidemics(%)	16.77	9.25	

Owen found the town's sewers inadequate and the mill race 'probably a chief cause of the occurrence of typhus fever in its vicinity'. The ancient wells provided hard water which was often unfit to drink. Over crowding and dirt were largely responsible for a large range of epidemic diseases. What the town needed was a new supply of water to extend the flushing system already in use on a small scale at the Castle Gaol where:

All the excreta of the population (of the Gaol), there aggregated and immured upon the summit of the hill on which the town is built, are speedily and effectually removed by the application of water power, and conveyed to closed reservoirs, to be subsequently applied to the purposes of agriculture.

The marsh was to be the beneficiary of this highly Chadwickian scheme,²⁶ but Owen did not stop to consider the cost of applying it to the whole town. In the summer of 1845 a scheme was mooted to launch a private company to put Owen's proposals into operation. The idea was enthusiastically received by the Guardian, but the town had not yet even been surveyed by an engineer and these were in short supply at the peak of railway mania.²⁷ Even public opinion in Lancaster was far more interested in local railway schemes than in a new water supply. In a small town like Lancaster there were limited supplies of capital and enterprise, and it is noticeable that two of the men who were prominently connected with sanitary reform Edmund Sharpe, the town's chief engineer, and De Vitre, were deeply involved in these other schemes.²⁸ Finally, many followed the Guardian's lead, in making a virtue out of necessity by waiting on the success of Lord Morpeth's Public Health Bill.

The body responsible for 'paving, improving, cleansing and watering' the streets of Lancaster was still the Improvement Commission (commonly described as the Police Commissioners) set up by a local Act of Parliament in 1824. Such bodies of large ratepayers - Lancaster's commissioners had to either own property rented at £70 or occupy property rented at £40 or more - are to some extent the victims of mid-Victorian propaganda. Sharpe, who had a vested interest in attacking them, thereby magnifying his own achievement, believed that 'a more inefficient body ... could hardly have been devised'.²⁹ They made 'not the smallest trace of any practical or systematic attempt to grapple with the evils arising from deficient house drainage and other unwholesome conditions', at the approach of cholera in 1847. Instead they indulged in an 'abundance of that kind of popular stump oratory ... which addresses itself to the pocket sensitiveness of the lower class of ratepayers'. Sharpe admits that 'of the hundred ratepayers ... qualified to attend ... scarcely were any ten of them who had attended one meeting present at the following one'.

In many respects Sharpe was justified. Attendance was low, and even at the annual meeting when the rates for the succeeding year were to be decided, it was rarely as high as 40%. The town's leaders were very loath

to antagonise the smaller ratepayers with high rates or to penalise their own pockets when trade was uncertain³⁰ and money was needed for other ventures, like Sharpe's N.W.R. They also tended to leave the management of the Police Commissioners, to the larger cottage proprietors like the carriage manufacturer Thomas Wise and the surveyor, John Balderstone.

The work of the Police Commissioners was impeded both legally and financially. Their job had never been more than to ensure the minimal provision of watching, lighting and refuse disposal in the town. Their powers over the constables had been removed by the Corporation after 1835 and a private gas company had been formed in 1826. As far as cleansing and removing filth and 'nuisances' from public streets was concerned the Commissioners had ample powers, but they had no power to enforce house drainage, or to remove 'the soil of dung steads and privvies from private courts', and any attempt to have done so would have been regarded as an infringement of private property rights.³¹ Moreover, as soon became apparent, at many points their jurisdiction overlapped ~~with~~ that of the Corporation. As far as long term schemes to revolutionise Lancaster's sewerage was concerned, the maximum rate was 9d (calculated to bring in about £1,000 p.a.) and borrowing was limited to £3,000. The improvement rate was normally 6d, and the Commissioners felt that their contribution to cleaning up Lancaster was made when they terminated their scavenging contract with Cocker and divided the town into halves for scavenging purposes in January 1844.³²

In ~~the~~ inability to maintain lasting activity, ~~the~~ failure to exercise ~~the~~ extensive powers, ~~the~~ financial restrictions and ~~the~~ non-attendance, the Police Commissioners of Lancaster bore a marked similarity to those of Plymouth described in scathing tones by the Webbs.³³ Yet the Commissioners did build an important new thoroughfare through Lancaster in the early 1840's (namely North Road) and set out plans for East Road in 1848.³⁴ Moreover, they did take up ^{the} cudgels with the Gas Company (of which De Vitre was a director) to try to improve the quality of gas supplied to the town.³⁵

If the Police Commissioners are to be condemned in the light of the subsequent sanitary catastrophe, a similar responsibility lies with the town council. The Clerk to the Commissioners was also the Town Clerk and the leading Commissioners were frequently also Councillors. Non-attendance was a problem common to both bodies, as also was reluctance to levy rates.³⁶ The Town Council bore some responsibility for the sanitary state of the town through its control of the markets, yet these were no better looked after than the streets. Although a new market was provided in 1846, no heed was paid to Dr. Howitt's concern at the continuation of slaughtering cattle and sheep in the heart of the town.³⁷ In the mid-1840's neither body was much worried about the sanitary state of the town, and indeed, until the publication of Owen's Report in 1845, both bodies may be excused on the grounds of ignorance.

The initial result of Owen's Report was merely to stimulate discussion among the Police Commissioners on the subject of the mill race. It was at this stage that a division began to appear for the first time between the two bodies governing the town. Up till then Town Councillors had sat on the Police Commission and the Town Council had taken little interest in the question of Public Health. In July 1845, however, the Police Commissioners blamed the Town Council for the state of the mill race, as it had been the Corporation which had authorised adjoining proprietors to cover it over. In August the Town Council replied that, on the contrary, the mill race had become a common drain and so was the responsibility of the Commissioners. This dispute continued through the remainder of 1845 and the whole of 1846, in spite of efforts by the Guardian and the doctors to break the deadlock. In the end the Town Council took action on its own, disturbed by the record number of 2,141 patients admitted to the Dispensary in 1846 and the announcement that there had been more deaths in the town in the second six months in 1846 than in any corresponding period for the last six years. A heated discussion took place on the subject of the mill race, in which an Alderman poured scorn on Owen's views, and Sharpe had to remind Councillors that the families of Dodson

and De Vitre, who lived close to the dam, had both been struck by some 'rapid and unaccountable disease'. A committee of investigation was set up. It was composed entirely of professional men - two solicitors, an engineer (Sharpe) and two physicians (De Vitre and Howitt).³⁸ Furthermore in the winter of 1846-7 the Commissioners decided to seek more extensive powers and set about appointing a full-time surveyor.³⁹

In January 1847 a relief committee of 84 was set up to form a soup kitchen in the winter, whose secretary, ~~was~~ the district registrar, James Grant, ^{was} responsible for the disturbing figures of mortality.⁴⁰ It resolved to form a Visiting Committee. A medical man was to be appointed for each of the nine districts they had covered and was to assist them in their new job of enquiring into drainage, paving, street cleaning, water supply, building standards and ventilation, and provision of privies.⁴¹ The Lancaster sanitary reformers, like their counterparts in other towns, were anxious to arm themselves with all available information.

The Town Council committee on the mill race reported on 5 May 1847.⁴² Its ownership was confirmed as belonging to the Corporation, although most of the adjoining property (often arching over it) had been let out on renewable leases of 41 years. The leases contained covenants not to obstruct the flow of the dam, and in some cases clauses allowed for the 'ingress and egress' of the Lord of the Manor of Halton for the cleansing of the same - the latter dating from the days when the corn mill had been in working order. The report also provided the numerical proof of the mill race's fatal nature which Owen's had not:

From Sugar house Alley there were 52 cases of disease out of a population of 68 ... and the diseases were just such as would be likely to arise from miasma namely, diarrhoea, dysentery, erysepilas, and fever ... From Mason Street where there were 90 inhabitants there were 45 cases, all of the same character ... Typhus was never out of the street and was not likely to be. Remember also that these dwellings were all lodging houses, where all were crowded together indiscriminately, all more or less diseased, and only imagine the effect of the health of the town of such a body of people spreading themselves around its streets every day.

The report won for the sanitary reformers a number of allies on the Town Council, which was to prove useful in the next step of trying to obtain action from the Police Commission. Two meetings of the Commissioners

were held in May 1847.⁴³ At the first (the Annual Meeting) the commissioners received the De Vitre Howitt report on the mill race passed on from the Town Council. Howitt moved that the improvement rate be raised from 6d to 9d to make more money available for a cleaning up operation. The motion failed on the casting vote of the Chairman, but the attendance was only 24. What the Guardian called 'the stink interest' was still in the ascendant. At the special meeting immediately following the Annual Meeting, Henry Gregson (solicitor and manufacturer but as yet not a Town Councillor) and Edmund Sharpe moved that the Commissioners' powers be transferred to the Town Council. Gregson argued that the old Corporation had exercised similar powers to those of the present Commissioners before it had become insolvent and had been supplanted by the Commissioners.⁴⁴ The Corporation had recovered its powers over the watch in 1835 and would soon be in a position to finance sanitary improvements out of its own pocket thanks to the £6,000 compensation offered by the North Western Railway Company for the Corporation's land on Green Ayre. Edmund Sharpe, a leading promoter of the company, added that with over £5,000 to be derived from the enfranchisement of leaseholds and a debt of only £3,000, the Corporation would soon have £8,000 to spend on improving the town. Sharpe was followed by Rev. Colin Campbell, the vigorous incumbent of the recently opened St. Thomas' Church, who claimed that the clergy had been asked by the medical board of the Dispensary to qualify as Commissioners to help in the campaign to remove nuisances. In complaining of the conditions in St. Thomas' district, much of which was new property, he challenged even St. Giles's in London to show more noxious nuisances than those in Lucy Street. The intransigents, however, were not moved by this array of professional eloquence but again only defeated the reformers by the casting vote of their chairman.

Encouraged by their progress on both the Town Council and the Commission the sanitary reformers, on June 19th, passed a petition on the Council in support of Lord Morpeth's Public Health Bill.⁴⁵ The opposition was led, as in the Police Commissioners, by John Richardson, head of

of Gillows⁴⁶ and Thomas Wise, the railway carriage manufacturer, both economical radicals representing the small ratepayers of St. Anne's Ward. The sanitary reformers had made great headway in Lancaster even before the arrival of the second cholera epidemic of 1847-9, largely thanks to the combined initiative of professional men, supported by the local press.

The unity of the local press in their support and coverage of sanitary reform is surprising both in that newspapers elsewhere in Lancashire⁴⁷ appear to have taken less interest and in that the two Lancaster newspapers were normally fierce competitors and intense political rivals. The support of the Liberal Guardian had been unequivocally declared as early as October 1845.⁴⁸ The proprietor, Anthony Milner, a leading Wesleyan, saw sanitary reform as the town's moral duty towards its breadwinners. The Conservative Gazette took a strong interest from the autumn of 1847 once cholera had arrived in the country, but it was more concerned with public order than with moral duty. Its editor, Charles Quarre, felt that, in pursuit of public order, the cleaning and policing of the streets of Lancaster were of equal importance.⁴⁹ When he resigned the editorship of the Gazette in 1848 his successor agreed that the town was dividing between:

the friends of the dirt and disorder on the one hand and the friends of cleanliness and good order on the other. 50

Both Liberal and Conservative newspapers agreed with each other and with the leading sanitary reformer, De Vitre, in his report of 1840 that public health reform was as much to do with the moral as with the physical welfare of the people. All Lancaster sanitary reformers assumed that cleanliness would be a step nearer godliness.

During the summer of 1847, the town's attention was deflected from the health question by a General Election. Public health, although a national issue, aroused little interest during the local campaign. The main interest focussed rather on the fortunes of Alderman E.D. Salisbury, the Protestant candidate.

The division of the Conservative vote in the first general election since the repeal of the Corn Laws took Samuel Gregson, the Liberal

candidate, (and Henry Gregson's brother), to the top of the poll, and gave the Liberals their first victory in the borough of Lancaster.

The arrival of cholera in England in the autumn of 1847 and the rapid increase in the numbers of out patients admitted to the Dispensary stirred the sanitary reformers to bring the matter once more before the Town Council. After an urgent letter from De Vitre (now an alderman) warning of the approaching peril, the Mayor, John Sharp, summoned a special meeting of the Town Council.⁵¹ At this meeting, Edmund Sharpe begged that a memorial, drawn up by himself and Dr. Howitt, stating the case for sanitary reform, should be formally addressed by the Corporation to the Police Commissioners. Moreover Sharpe also intended a direct appeal to public opinion for:

this memorial should be carried through every bye street and alley in the town for aignature, before it was presented, in order that the feelings of the inhabitants might be known on the subject'.

Here the methods of the Chartists were being adopted by the Sanitary reformers, but Sharpe also wanted to ensure victory on the Police Commission by getting a high attendance of ratepayers.

The appeal to the public was not without success. After Sharpe's canvass, over fifty members attended the meeting of the Police Commissioners, and at last majorities for resolutions condemning the town's sewerage were secured.⁵² A new surveyor was to be recommended by the Health of Towns Commission, who would 'report, as soon as possible, on the sanitary state of the town, and the necessary measures for improving it'. Furthermore a new committee of ten was appointed with special responsibility for sanitary matters. Sharpe and Howitt were both members, but two of the leading obstructionists, Richardson and Wise were not. The reform party crowned its success in November by the election of Dr. Thomas Howitt as the new mayor.⁵³

As far as the public health was concerned Lancaster now had to wait. It had to wait first for the report of Robert Rawlinson, the engineer sent by the Health of Towns Commission at the request of the Police Commissioners, and secondly for the arrival of cholera. In the expectation of the second a voluntary local Board of Health was set up on the

initiative of the Town Council in October 1848, on the lines of the 1831 Board.⁵⁴ Two months later came Rawlinson's Report.⁵⁵ It came as a shock to all. Proceeding logically from the state of Lancaster's sewerage and water supply, he advocated the erection of a new waterworks and proposed an entirely new set of sewers. The reservoir for the waterworks was to be built above Scotforth Mill, where it would be supplied by rain water from moor and pasture land north east of the race course. The surface area of the reservoir was envisaged as 45 acres, supplying 600,000 gallons per day. Costing, however, was a major snag. Rawlinson's estimate of £15,000 for the reservoir was only a bare minimum which would only cover the cost of a 25 acre reservoir and did not include estimates for the necessary deep drainage of the watershed. The estimate for sewerage was £14,308, with additional apparatus for utilising it of £6,628. It was considered that the total cost would amount to at least £45,000 while the income from the sale of water and sewage was only estimated at a little over £5,000. The price of sanitary reform appeared prohibitive.

Edmund Sharpe claimed later that he managed to dissuade the committee from adopting such a 'miserably defective' scheme. Certainly the report, when presented to the full meeting of the Police Commissioners on 18th December, 1848, succeeded in confirming all the worst suspicions of the opposition. The atmosphere was thus entirely unsuited to Sharpe's next proposal which was for the Police Commission to voluntarily resign its powers to the Corporation, in anticipation of the application of the Health of Towns Act to Lancaster. In spite of the active support of such influential Commissioners as Richard Hinde, wine merchant and promoter of the North Western Railway Company, and John Greg, the cotton manufacturer, the proposal was rejected by the narrow margin of two votes (22 to 20). This reaction was not unrepresentative. In Sharpe's own words:

The effect produced on the town generally by this Report was equivalent to an utter defeat, for the time being, of the sanitary party. 56

At this stage it is important to enquire more deeply into the division in the town's leadership. The existence of such a rift is first indicated by voting patterns on the two municipal bodies in 1847, although

the terminology of 'black' and 'white' to differentiate between the two parties was not in general use till December 1848. The conflict was not allowed to affect parliamentary elections and never led to any municipal contests on sanitary principles alone. Both newspapers supported sanitary reform, yet political affiliations did tend to reinforce the polarisation of the two factions. Except for Henry Gregson and John Greg, who were Police Commissioners but were not elected to the Corporation until November 1849, all the prominent sanitary reformers were Conservatives; while, except for C.T. Clark who changed sides after the Rawlinson report, most of the leading 'blacks' were Liberals. This division was also mirrored in the political difference between the Town Council, where the Conservatives far out numbered their opponents, and the Police Commissioners, where the leadership was provided by the Liberals.

The split on the sanitary question did not affect the rank and file on the Council or the Commission. Thus not every member of either body can be identified as 'black' or 'white'. Many were neither. Of the twenty-four Councillors and Aldermen in the year 1848-9, at least nine were uncommitted ~~either way~~: that is they did not put forward even occasional support or opposition at the reported meetings of either the Council or the Police Commission. The struggle over the sanitary question rarely concerned more than a minority of either body. Instead the division is more easily explained with reference to a division between the Town Council and the Police Commission or rather between the group of largely Conservative notables (professional men and mill owners) who dominated the Town Council and the economical group of Radical businessmen who dominated the Police Commission.⁵⁷ The application of the Public Health Act to Lancaster threatened the very existence of the Police Commission and thus the power of the Radicals who had controlled it until challenged by the sanitary reformers.

When the occupational division between 'black' and 'white' is examined the social and occupational division seems less marked. Of the six leading sanitary reformers of the Town Council in 1848-9, the five

most active were professional men (including three doctors). Of their nine most active opponents, only three were professional men and none of these were medical men. In other words professional men were to be found on both sides, although there appear to have been very few 'black' doctors.

The distribution of property ownership is in some ways a better guide to the alignment of 'blacks' and 'whites'. One of the biggest objections to sanitary reform was the burden of improvements to cottage property which was seen to be a likely requirement. Another objection, this time to public expenditure, was that the owners of cottage property of rentable value of £5 or less were responsible for payment of the rates. Not surprisingly, the two heaviest investors in cottage property were both leading 'blacks' and both had building operations under way during the period 1847-1853. In 1851, Thomas Wise (who acted also as building contractor in both Lancaster and Morecambe) held property to the value of £450 rental a year, and John Lodge, a solicitor, owned £365 worth.⁵⁸ By contrast, neither De Vitre nor Howitt even owned the houses they occupied. There was, however, little to choose between the rest of the Councillors. Clark and Richardson (black) and Sharpe and Robinson (white) all owned property worth over £100 per annum; while Hadwen (black) and Greg and J. Dunn (white) had rentals of over £200 per annum. Thus only very heavy property investment can be said to have been coupled with a 'black' approach to the public health question.

The division between 'black' and 'white' on Lancaster Town Council is thus not simply explained by reference to politics, occupation or property ownership. Personalities were important and in the sanitary conflict there was a strong element of competition between those with cosmopolitan contacts such as Sharpe and De Vitre who led the 'whites' and those 'blacks' like Richardson and Wise, whose roots were far more local (including some of the more elderly Councillors) and who were at one with their constituents in fearing the cost of improvement.

On 31 August 1848 Lord Morpeth's Public Health Act became law.

Lancaster was included in the list of one hundred boroughs with death

rates exceeding the danger limit of twenty-three per thousand.⁵⁹ Before the General Board of Health could take any action in applying the Act to Lancaster, a public enquiry had to be held into the facts of the case. It was to be Lancaster's third submission to an outside investigator in just over four years, not to mention several purely local enquiries. This time the investigator was the engineer and public health inspector, James Smith of Deanston.

The inquiry preceded by what the Gazette called 'the Smith panic' began on Monday, 8 January 1849.⁶⁰ From the onset a clash seemed inevitable between Smith and the 'blacks'. At once the Paving Committee of the Police Commissioners challenged the power of the General Board of Health to order an inspection, on the grounds that there had been no petition from the inhabitants and that the average death rate over the last seven years had not exceeded twenty-three per thousand. Moreover, Smith as a convinced Chadwickian gave his full support to Rawlinson's scheme which the Improvement Commissioners had only recently rejected. The latter, however, had no alternative proposals to offer. The fear of the approaching cholera gave Smith and the 'whites' the full support of both the Gazette and the Guardian. The arguments of the 'blacks' were confounded by more statistics on mortality prepared by James Grant, the Superintendent Registrar, (always vociferous in his support of the 'whites'), while Dr. Robert Smith had produced a report on the hardness and corruption of water from local wells.

Cottage speculators received much criticism from those 'whites' who gave evidence before the public health inspector. De Vitre criticised building standards and Howitt blamed the owners of cottages rented under £5 per annum for their reluctance to sanction improvements in spite of returns on their investments as large as 10 or even 12%. Howitt also suggested that it was the encroachment of badly built houses that had infected the private wells of residents in Penny Street. Thomas Wise was stung into reply. He indignantly defended the health of his court off Penny Street and bitterly remarked to the Mayor (Howitt) that if he had been an owner rather than the tenant of his house he would have been as 'lusty a supporter of nuisances' as any of them.

The 'blacks' had no effective means of defence. The Police Commissioners set up a committee to examine the evidence of Howitt, De Vitre and Sharpe, but could make no positive contribution to the debate. At their June meeting, Wise declared that something must be done about the nuisances 'or people would begin to wish the Health of Towns Act introduced into Lancaster in all its rigour'.⁶¹ Little did he realise of the compulsory nature of the bill which passed its third reading on 25 June.

James Smith's report, completed in April and published in the local press on 24 June 1849, followed closely the conclusions of his predecessors.⁶² Far from the death rate being under twenty three-per thousand, it in fact stood at twenty-six over the past seven years. All the localities which were unhealthy and filthy when inspected by Professor Owen in 1844 were 'filthy and unhealthy still'. The mill race had been cleaned out, but it still flooded during spring tides, and Smith recommended that it should be dispensed with altogether 'by laying down a pipe sewer to receive the house drainage'. Considerable amounts of money had been spent on digging wells, erecting pumps and forming cisterns and tanks for storage of rain water, but without any great improvement in the standard of water supply. The tanks were often the cause of 'a great deal of damp in the courts, and often in the houses'. Moreover the rain water was not pure:

This water at best is tainted with a sooty taste, and therefore is unfit for drinking, cooking or making tea; and even in washing, although valued for its softness, it imparts a dingy colour and a disagreeable smell to the clothes.

For his proposed water supply, Smith adopted Rawlinson's scheme for a reservoir at Scotforth ridge. In addition he recommended a public cemetery, the removal of the slaughter house and shambles to the suburbs, the drainage of the moor to provide a recreation area, and the irrigation of the marsh with dilute sewage from the town. But he, like Rawlinson, was unable to disguise the plain fact that the cost of water supply and drainage system alone would amount to nearly £30,000. Against this enormous sum, it was small consolation to the ratepayers to be informed that the saving of soap, and labour, the income from sewage water and the saving of premature loss of life would all amount to 2s 10¹/₂d per

family per week.

On 9th July a public meeting called by the leading 'blacks' rejected Smith's report by an overwhelming majority.⁶³ In the next two days both the Improvement Commissioners and the Town Council followed suit, and in addition vetoed any application for a Board of Health to be established in Lancaster.

But opposition was by now too late. On 1 August 1849 the borough of Lancaster was obliged to adopt the Public Health Act by a Provisional Order - the first in Lancaster but at the same time as other old market towns such as Kendal and Gloucester.⁶⁴ The demise of the Improvement Commissioners had at long last been accomplished. Neither of the local newspapers expressed any regret. The Gazette's editor, after reading again the Lancaster Improvement Act of 1825, declared himself 'thoroughly satisfied' that 'the Police Commissioners possessed ample powers to effect infinitely more good than they ever attempted'.⁶⁵

The application of the Act to Lancaster came too late to save the town from the cholera. The pandemic made its first appearance on 11th August. Between 28th August and 7th November 1849 48 persons died of the disease and a further 23 died of 'other illnesses' notably 'diarrhoea, dysentery, and fever'.⁶⁶ The total number of cases recorded by the District Visiting Association was 1,466, or approximately 10% of the borough population.

Now that the deadlock in the town's administrative machinery had been broken by the Act, several of the most influential citizens returned to the Town Council. At the municipal elections in November, six candidates were elected unopposed after presenting a joint manifesto. The six comprised three Liberals, John Greg, William Jackson, and Henry Gregson, and three Tories, John Sharpe, Thomas Swainson, and Thomas R. Dunn. Three were substantial manufacturers and three were notable solicitors (one of whom, Henry Gregson was also a silk spinner). For only two, T.R. Dunn and Gregson, was it their debut on the Council. Sharpe and Swainson were simply applying for re-election, while Greg and Jackson were returning after a period without Council seats. In their manifesto

they deprecated the 'exercise of political strife' in municipal elections, perhaps because in the early 1840's it had operated to the disadvantage of Liberal notables.⁶⁷ On the question of sanitary reform only Sharp had been one of the leading reformers and as a group the six took a moderate line, favouring 'beneficial measures for the improvement of health as are reasonable, moderate and progressive, and which, upon trial, may prove economical and effectual'. Their election marked the return of town government by notables as in the period of the old Corporation rather than by party as had marked the period since municipal reform. Nevertheless, one consequence was the end to direct confrontation between 'whites' and 'blacks'. As Sharpe wrote in his history, the election gave the 'whites' a firm majority on the Town Council and thus on the newly formed Board of Health.

The Town Council now strengthened in prestige by the recruitment of the six notables was faced by a variety of sanitary schemes. On the 24th December Edmund Sharpe laid before the Board his dual scheme for house drainage and water supply.⁶⁸ Surface rain water and domestic drainage were to be carried by two different sets of sewers, the existing stone drains and a new series of deeply laid, circular, earthenware pipes respectively. For its new water supply, the town was not to look to Scotforth, but to 'the great water basin formed by the River Lune between the Skerton and the Halton mill dams.' The total cost of Sharpe's dual scheme was estimated at £12,000. Other schemes for reservoirs included one to use the Castle Ditch⁶⁹ and another from John Swainson of Halton to build reservoirs at Dolphinlee and on the Moor.⁷⁰ All three plans involved diverting water from the River Lune.

After rejecting Sharpe's offer to carry out all his proposals on payment of £1,200 a year, the Lancaster Board of Health asked for tenders for supplying the town with water. On 22 April, 1850 the successful tender was that of Robert Rawlinson the Board's engineer. His plan was to use the water of Rowton Brook and estimated a total cost of £10,000.

Rawlinson's success provoked a 'black' protest drawn up by Wise

and others and signed by 1,954 but the effect of the petition was reduced when it was revealed that 992 of the signatures were not in fact ratepayers.⁷¹

Nevertheless, the Board of Health became uncertain about Rawlinson's scheme and Sharpe remained convinced that he could provide a cheaper solution. On 23 April he gained three months' grace from the Board for planning a supply of 200,000 gallons of water a day at no more than £1,000 (one tenth of Rawlinson's estimate). It was during the next few months that Sharpe finally decided upon Clougha and Littledale Fell as the ideal catchment area a natural 'stone cistern' and an 'admirable filter of the most approved kind'. On 25 July he was able to bring the project before the local Board, just in time to prevent a private company, promoted by John Sharp, solicitor, a member of the Board, from taking the whole matter out of public hands.⁷²

The Board accepted Sharpe's new proposals and decided to apply to Parliament for the construction of waterworks.⁷³ This decision was taken in November 1851, the Lancaster Waterworks and Gas Act was passed in June 1852 and work began in April 1853.⁷⁴ The waterworks was not opened until 1855.⁷⁵ The delay was partly the result of opposition from the small ratepayers and from the property owners of Wyresdale. It was partly the result of hesitancy by the local Board and continued uncertainty over costs.⁷⁶ The final cost of the waterworks was over £40,000,⁷⁷ in addition to money spent on new sewerage for the town and the new cemetery on the Moor.⁷⁸ The town was racked by misgivings and denominational bickering in these years, as well as by considerable administrative muddle typical of the early Boards of Health in Lancashire,⁷⁹ In the meantime the town suffered a series of epidemics and high death rates.⁸⁰ The effect of the whole undertaking was to deter the Town Council from any similar ventures for a long time to come. John Greg expressed a common view in that year of achievement when he grumbled that if any more public works were undertaken without the promise of growing wealth, prosperity or population, the town would be 'dished'.⁸¹ Hence, although the Lancaster Gas Company Act of 1856 provided for the possibility of the Gas Company's purchase by the local

Board, as well as reconstituting and enlarging its share capital,⁸² such an eventuality rapidly receded as Lancaster Town Councillors shied away from any further large scale municipal expenditure.

In 1840 Lancaster had been far behind many Lancashire towns in its sanitary arrangements, even though it had good provision of doctors and clergy. By 1860 it had made considerable progress. The death rate by the early 1860's had been reduced to an approximate 24 per thousand if institutional deaths are included, 23 per thousand in the town alone.⁸³

In 1849, ^{by dint of the Health Act,} the town had become the first in the country to set up a local Board of Health, even though Liverpool in 1846-7 had been the first Lancashire town to establish a Corporation monopoly of public sanitary provision.⁸⁴ ~~Lancaster showed less hesitancy than other towns in embarking on expensive water and drainage schemes, and its waterworks of 1855 was one of the first Local Board reservoir schemes. Backwardness in the past necessitated prompt action during the 1850's.~~

The Lancaster water supply of 1855 - even though Chadwick himself had described it as potentially 'the finest yet known in England'⁸⁵ - was soon found to be insufficient and in 1863 the Lancaster and Morecambe Boards of Health shared the cost of a joint scheme to extend the Lancaster waterworks. By that date a change had occurred in the attitude of Lancaster's civic heads towards the challenge of sanitary improvement. During this period when the local textile industry had only just completed its conversion from traditional cotton spinning to the manufacture of table baize the councillors saw the town's future in county and educational institutions rather than in industrial enterprise. Healthy conditions and a good water supply were now regarded as natural resources to be exploited. It was symptomatic of the new spirit of confidence in the economic future of the Lancaster region that amenity provision could be extended when there was no threat of a sanitary crisis.

^{The first instalment of}
 Sanitary reform in Lancaster took over ten years to achieve. Only after years of arguments and five reports was the town given the new water supply and sewerage which it required. Little of this time was spent in ascertaining where the dangers to public health lay; most of it was spent

by the small group of reformers in trying to convert officials and ratepayers alike to a willingness to spend large sums of money. There were a number of reasons for this reluctance. Property ownership was certainly a major factor in 'black' reluctance to agree to an improvement programme entailing a heavy burden on the rates. One of the legacies of the reform period of the 1830's was the concern for economy in local government, and it was this which preoccupied both the 'black' leadership and rank and file on the Police Commission. Nor were matters helped by the severe financial difficulties of the Town Council.

One factor in the situation was the deep rooted suspicion by many of the leading citizens of outside interference. The hostility to compulsion by the General Board of Health was as strong in Lancaster as the dislike of the Poor Law Board in Blackburn. There was no faith in the ability of government inspectors to solve local problems more easily than the local inhabitants, and this suspicion was justified when the expense of Rawlinson's first scheme became known. Yet in the long run the support of Chadwick and his engineers was invaluable to the morale of the reformers.

The public health question became a test of local leadership. Was the town to take its orders from a small group of professional men some of whom were quite new to the town, whose position on the Town Council appeared to be paramount; or was the town to be led by the large number of small tradesmen who bore the burden of a major part of the rates and whose voice was heard loudest on the Police Commission? The personality of Edmund Sharpe provided as much a catalyst locally as that of Edwin Chadwick nationally.⁸⁶ In this controversy, as in others, the textile manufacturers, on whose prosperity the town's future progress depended held the ring and stepped in to take command during the depths of the crisis in November 1849.

The importance of the public health controversy for this study lies mainly in what it reveals of the problems of government in the mid-nineteenth century in Lancaster: the strength of inertia, the financial difficulties of the period, the shortage of leaders. With two ruling bodies before 1849 the town was singularly ill equipped to undertake the

major civic improvements envisaged by the reformers. The system of dual administration of the town was by far the biggest problem that the reformers had to overcome, and beside it the problem of communicating the need for reform was comparatively simple.

The single administrative unit which functioned after 1849 became one of the town's greatest advantages in coping with the health problem.⁸⁷ Although Professor Owen's report was not taken seriously by many when it was first published, so much evidence had been produced to support it by the summer of 1849 that the argument for some kind of action could not be refuted. It was the means and cost of reform which was the stumbling block, and the acceptance of the idea of large municipal expenditure without a viable economic return which was the most difficult to achieve. The reluctance to embark on such a revolutionary course was common to most municipalities. Lancaster was unusual in that it had a high death rate in spite of its small size and slow expansion. Its problems had arisen from neglect, ~~inadequate water supply and sewerage,~~ and ~~tightly packed coast dwellings.~~ Lancaster tradesmen and manufacturers felt unable to bear high rates for the purpose of improvement, mainly because they had justifiably little faith in the town's capacity for growth.

The advantage, however, lay with the sanitary reformers, including so many of the town's professional men, they possessed considerable prestige in the town and were able usually to equal and sometimes surpass the voting power of the 'blacks'. They had the advantage of press support which was denied to reformers in other towns. The geographical position of Lancaster meant that there was some delay between the arrival of cholera in England and its arrival in Lancaster. This gave the reformers time to propagate their ideas and gather information, even though the sword of Democles proved almost too long in falling in 1847 9.

Solution of the sanitary problem was made easier in Lancaster by the involvement of the Town Council. The inefficiency of the Police Commissioners and ^{the} Corporation's ownership of the mill race, one of the worst features of the health problem, demanded that the Town Council

should become the basis for the local Board of Health when the Public Health Act was applied to Lancaster in 1849. In addition the fact that notables such as Henry Gregson provided the link with the days of sole Corporate control before the Charter crisis of 1819 - a period also in retrospect of non-partisan, notable rule - strengthened the Town Council's case for becoming the local Board of Health. When the Corporation was promised compensation from the N.W.R. for land acquired on the quay, the ability of the Town Council to finance sanitary reform seemed imminent. The eventual cost of the improvements, although suspected by the 'blacks' was not fully appreciated. When the final cost was clearly seen to be in the nature of £30,000 to £40,000, the shock was sufficient to force a compromise between the 'whites' and the economists. The notables, who had entered the Council in 1849 to prevent a deadlock, had to take note of the changed economic circumstances and found it necessary to adopt the financial attitudes of the economists.

Chapter IV The Trial of Municipal Leadership: the Public Health Question.

Footnotes.

1. Ed. A. Rogers, The Making of Stamford (Leicester, 1965)
R.A. Church, Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town: Victorian Nottingham (1966), pp. 8,9.
2. B.P.P., 1833, XXXVI, Population, pp. 286, 304, 305.
3. L. Univ. Lib. Enumerators' Books, Lancaster, 1851 (microfilm).
4. Lancaster Corporation Minutes, 10 April, 1813.
5. Several other Lancashire towns had private water companies including Liverpool and Preston, although their existence did not make for a good supply:
E.C. Midwinter, Social Administration in Lancashire 1830-1860 (Manchester, 1969), p. 76.
6. W. Holden's Triennial Directory (1809), II.
B.P.P., 1844, XXVII, Population.
B.P.P., 1863, LIII, Pt. II, Population. The medical category included druggists as well as physicians and surgeons. N.B. The relative position of the four towns was no different in 1851.
7. Lancaster Gazette, 21 August 1802.
8. Ibid. 29 July 1815
For similar activity in Manchester and elsewhere see:
E.P. Hennock, Urban Sanitary Reform a Generation Before Chadwick E.C.H.R. 1957 8, pp. 113 119.
9. D. Campbell, Essay on Typhus, (Lancaster, 1785)
For another example of Lancaster medical expertise in this period see:
J. Johnson, 'Essay on Epilepsy', Medical Comment, V, (1777) and complete list in Lancaster Gazette, 20 May 1837.
10. Dr. C. Johnson's letter on 'Contagion' in:
Lancaster Gazette, 31 July 1819.
11. Lancaster Herald, 23 July 1831.
12. Ibid., 6 August 1831.
13. Ibid., 10 December 1831.
14. Lancaster Records, (Lancaster, 1869), 23 July 1831. c.f. 1,523 out of 4,912 cholera cases in Liverpool proved fatal in 1831 see:
E.C. Midwinter, op.cit., p. 70.
15. Lancaster Gazette, 26 March 1836.
16. Compare the despairing complaints about the town's streets in 1827 (Ibid., 27 November 1827) with the Editor's satisfaction in 1834 (Ibid., 20 September 1834) and the Royal Commission's approval in August 1833 (B.P.P., 1835, XXV).
17. Ed. M.W. Flinn, Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population, of Great Britain (1965)
18. Lancaster City Library, Lancaster Biographies, De Vitre. 642

19. Lancaster Guardian, 6 September 1846.
H.B. In addition to Lancaster members of the H.T.A., John Greg was Edwin Chadwick's brother-in-law.
20. E.D. De Vitre, 'The Sanitary Condition of the Town of Lancaster', Local Reports on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of England, (1842), pp. 341-8.
21. Lancaster Gazette was awake to the dirty state of the streets and the fish stones as early as 11 August 1838.
22. In the Dispensary's Annual Report of 1844, Dr. Arnott and his staff appealed for 'a strict scrutiny ... to ascertain from whence the malarious source originates, and to remove those causes which operate in its production.' See:
Lancaster Gazette, 3 February 1844.
23. D.M.B., Richard Owen.
24. R. Owen, The Life of Richard Owen (1895), I, 241.
25. R. Owen, Health of Towns Commission, Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Town of Lancaster by Richard Owen (1845); also J. Clay, Report on the State of Preston, (1844).
26. R.A. Lewis, Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement 1832-1854, (1952), p. 54.
27. Lancaster Guardian, 6 September 1845.
28. Sharpe was Secretary of the N.W.R. and De. Vitre was a Director, (See Part II, Chapter I).
29. E. Sharpe, A History of the Progress of Sanitary Reform in the Town of Lancaster from 1845 to 1875, (Lancaster 1876), passim.
30. Cited as reason for inactivity in Leeds at this time; see: E.P. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons (1973), p. 196.
31. James Smith's Report, op. cit., 1849.
32. Lancaster Gazette, 13 January 1844.
33. S. & B. Webb, English Local Government: Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes (1922), pp. 249-251.
34. Lancaster Records, op. cit., p. 281.
35. Ibid., p. 299.
36. Ibid., p. 310.
37. Ibid., p. 296.
38. Lancaster Gazette, 6 February 1847.
39. Lancaster Records, op. cit., pp. 301-2.
40. Lancaster Guardian, 23 January 1847.
41. Ibid., 17 April, 1847.
42. Lancaster Gazette, 8 May 1847.

43. Lancaster Guardian, 22 May 1847.
44. 91 other corporations were similarly powerless to act, see:
J. Simon, English Sanitary Institutions (1898).
45. Lancaster Gazette, 12 June 1847.
46. His brother, Joseph Richardson, was Mayor of Leeds 1854-5 at the height of municipal incompetence there; see:
E.P. Hennock, op.cit., p.207.
47. E.C. Midwinter, op.cit., pp. 71-2.
48. Lancaster Guardian, 25 October, 1845.
49. Lancaster Guardian, 1 April 1848.
50. Ibid., 23 December 1848.
51. Lancaster Gazette, 30 October 1847.
52. Ibid., 6 November 1847
53. Lancaster Records, op.cit., p. 307.
54. Lancaster Gazette, 21 October 1848.
55. Ibid., 23 December 1848.
56. E. Sharpe, op. cit.
57. Town Councillors 1848-9:
'Black': Richardson (Lib. Cabinetmaker); Wise (Lib. Coachbuilder);
Jackson (Lib. Spirit Merchant); Hargreaves (Con. Nurseryman);
Ald. Dockray (Whig, Retired Merchant); Coupland (Con. Retired Captain);
Clark (Con. Solicitor); Hall (Con. Solicitor); Lodge (Con. Solicitor).

'White': Ald. De Vitre (Con. Physician); Howitt (Con. Physician);
Sharpe (Con. Engineer); Sharp (Con. Solicitor); Ald. Robinson
(Con. Solicitor); Ald. Dunn (Lib. Gentleman).
58. Lancaster Town Hall, Poor Rate Book for Borough of Lancaster, 1851.
59. 11 & 12 Vict., cap. 63.
60. Lancaster Gazette, 13 January 1849.
61. Ibid., 9 June 1849.
62. J. Smith, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water and the Sanitary Condition of the Town of Lancaster. (1849)
63. Lancaster Gazette, 14 July 1849.
64. For other Lancashire Boards of Health, see:
E.C. Midwinter, op. cit., p. 82.
For other Boards at the same time as Lancaster's, see:
E.P.F., 1867, LIX, Miscellaneous, Cd. 152.
65. Lancaster Gazette, 4 August 1849.

66. A proportion similar to the county average of death rate from cholera in 1849 of 4 per 1,000; see: E.C. Midwinter, op. cit., p. 70.
67. Lancaster Gazette, 20 October, 1849.
68. E. Sharpe, op. cit.
69. Lancaster Records, op. cit., p. 321. The Castle Ditch was a cess-pool which although filled in by order of the Board in July 1851 was still a source of complaint in 1854, see: Lancaster Guardian, 17 June 1854.
70. Ibid., 23 November 1850.
71. Ibid., 26 April 1851.
72. The Lancaster Waterworks Company was provisionally registered on 22 July 1851. It also aimed to provide water from the Clougha. Apart from Sharp, its only other registered promoter was John Watson, civil engineer, a local rival of Sharpe, see: F.R.O., B.T. 41/344.
73. Lancaster Guardian, 15 November 1851.
74. Fifty Years Ago, (Lancaster, 1904), II, p. 249.
75. Lancaster Guardian 23 June 1855.
76. Lancaster Gazette, 26 June 1852.
77. Sharpe profited from the contract for the iron water-pipes, which went to his Phoenix Foundry, (see Lancaster Guardian, 1 January 1853), but Rawlinson approved of this on the grounds that Sharpe's were the cheapest and on the strength of his Ormskirk pipes (see ibid. 29 January 1853).
78. A Burial Board was formed in April 1854 as the result of the Privy Council Order closing existing burial grounds in the town and obliging the various denominations to sink their differences on the administration of the proposed cemetery. See: Ibid., 22 April 1854.
79. E.C. Midwinter, op. cit., pp. 86-9. And for Lancaster in particular, see: Balderstone's Report to Town Council in Lancaster Gazette, 7 August 1852.
80. Scarletina raised the death-rate to 54.4 per 1,000 in the first quarter of 1852; see Ibid., 29 May 1852. The third bout of cholera in 1854 although prompting a flurry of activity, hit Morecambe worse than Lancaster. See: Lancaster Guardian, 23 September 1854.
81. Ibid., 24 March 1855.
82. 19 Vict. cap. vi, see Lancaster City Reference Library.
83. D.P.P., 1863, XIV, Registrar-General's Annual Report.
84. E.C. Midwinter, op. cit., p. 69.

85. Lancaster Guardian, 4 September 1852.

86. Sharpe resigned from the Town Council in November 1853 and left Lancaster in 1855. Chadwick left the General Board of Health in 1854

See:

E.C. Midwinter, op.cit., p. 83.

87. Ibid., p. 70.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL UNREST AND CONTROL 1835-1870.i. Trades Unions before 1835.

Evidence of trades union activity in Lancaster before the 1830's is very sparse, and only the odd strike shows evidence of some form of organisation. Perhaps the sight of trade unionists committed to the Castle acted as a deterrent. It is quite possible that secret organisations existed of which we know nothing. Permanent organisation probably came first among the craft workers, intent on raising wages to keep up with rising prices, during the French Wars. Such a combination was organised by the journeymen shoemakers in August 1797,

'for the purpose of raising wages and to prevent all shoemakers who will not enter into their Society from receiving employment from the Masters'.¹

The Corporation led the attack on this combination on the grounds that it was a:

'great injury to the trade and to several well disposed workmen who are thereby deprived of their livelihood and the same is a dangerous example to journeymen and artificers in other trades and manufactories'.

It was accordingly resolved that the 'combination or conspiracy' should be suppressed as speedily as possible, and that

'the Mayor and Bailiffs will prosecute all persons concerned in the said conspiracy under the directions of A. Chambre Esq., the Recorder ...'

There is no evidence of trade union activity in Lancaster between 1797 and 1829. This does not mean that there was none, only that combinations did not attract the notice of the press or the Home Secretary. Lancaster lacked the large concentrations of the more militant workers such as cotton weavers and spinners, colliers or framework knitters.²

The authorities in Lancaster were well prepared for any possibility of trouble, and the Castle served as an inspiring reminder of the fate of victims of the Combination Acts.³ The success of friendly societies in the town suggests that they filled the role of trades clubs elsewhere.⁴ When the friendly societies went into decline after 1815 this was a signal for the rise of local trades clubs. Yet when the Combination Acts were repealed

in 1824 there is no evidence of great activity in Lancaster. The first recorded Lancaster trades union was a branch of the Journeymen Brushmakers.⁵ It had only six members in 1829. Yet a pattern soon developed. By 1840 Lancaster had several tiny branches of regional or national craft unions such as the Operative House Carpenters and Joiners, the Ironfounders, the Blacksmiths and the Typographers. None of these branches had more than a dozen members. These societies emerged from the wreck of Doherty's N.A.P.L. and Owen's G.N.C.T.U.⁶ Neither of these two organisations seem to have had branches in Lancaster,⁷ although the strike of woolcombers at Dolphinholme near Lancaster in 1832 was probably inspired by the initial success of general unionism elsewhere in Lancashire.⁸

ii. Trades Unions and Chartist

It was not till the late 1830's that trade union activity becomes apparent in Lancaster. Gradually union disputes came to replace in the press the more traditional feature of the town's labour problems namely the indiscipline of apprentices.⁹ The year 1836, one of heavy industrial action by a wide range of trades in Lancashire as a whole,¹⁰ saw no strikes in Lancaster, but may have seen the growth of local branches of regional unions such as those specified above. In February 1837 journeymen compositors appeared before the borough magistrates charged with intimidation in an effort to extend recognition of the printers' union from the liberal Guardian office to the Tory Gazette office.¹¹

Strike activity in the county town came right at the end of the boom of 1836-7. In March 1837 the journeymen masons struck for an increase to 24s per week on the grounds that this nominal sum would mean a real average of about 15s to 18s per week throughout the year.¹² The fear of blacklegs led the masons to post sentries at the entrance to the town.

The down-turn in trade came soon afterwards. By April 1837 a depression in the cotton trade was reported at Bolton, Blackburn and Preston, and there were riots of handloom weavers in Manchester. By January 1838, a hard winter in addition to industrial depression was causing much hardship in Lancaster.¹³ The opening for the unemployed poor of a subscription list provided an opportunity for blame to be laid at

the masons' door, implying that their strike in the summer had at least been partially successful.¹⁴ Nevertheless the change in the state of trade brought a chance for the master builders to retaliate. On 31 March a letter appeared in the Gazette from William Ralph, master mason, who declared his intention to employ, in future, only those 'who are willing to renounce the Union'. He cited two instances where the Union had penalised him and his men, but declared his intention to keep 'a Black or Knobstick Shop', regardless of 'the idle, factious, drunken and disorderly proceedings of Trades Unions'. Ralph called on all other workmen and masters to similarly boycott the union.

In February 1840 the cotton mills all stopped and a week later 75 leading employers signed a protest against combinations of workmen with particular reference to a masons' strike.¹⁵ The masons were out in protest against the terms of employment of their fellows engaged in building the new railway station at the Greaves.¹⁶ The cause of the strike was probably that the railway company contractors were not paying full union rates. The directors of the L. & P.J.R., however, remained adamant, and, at the threat of violence, promised protection for the contractors and their employees.

In May 1840 discrimination against unionists led to a strike among sawyers in one particular firm. The employer (W.K. Moore) claimed that with wages averaging 25s to 35s his workers were better paid than 'either at Preston, Kendal, Liverpool and the neighbourhood'.¹⁷ The only result of the men's action could be to see the introduction of a saw mill in Lancaster. If Moore's statement of the wages was correct the Lancaster sawyers were as well paid as their contemporaries in other Lancashire towns. Baines' figure for Manchester sawyers in 1832 was 24s to 28s, after fluctuating around this level since 1810. Sawing was a trade affected by technological change, and the status of sawyers was threatened by the introduction of steam saw mills. Such mills did not reach Lancaster until the 1850's, but the effect of sawyers' wages in Manchester was that between 1839 and 1859 the payment for a 59 hour week did not rise

above 26s.¹⁸ The implication for the Lancaster sawyers was that their bargaining position would have been as weak or weaker than their fellows at Manchester.

1839 and 1840 also saw at least two disturbances amongst the Lancaster cotton workers. One in October 1839 at the mill of Messrs. Burrow, Higgin and Farrer was caused by changes in the conditions of work resulting from a change over to the manufacture of a new type of cloth.¹⁹ The other, one year later, was a short-lived protest against a general reduction in wages of $7\frac{1}{2}\%$. If union activity had little success in Lancaster in these years, organisation was at last developing - especially in the building and cotton trades, the two largest sources of adult male employment in the town.

1840-1 proved to be the third successive hard winter as far as prices and wages were concerned. Although the price of oatmeal fell considerably in the autumn of 1840 and remained at about 30s per load for several years, the price of wheat was only temporarily reduced by the seasonal effect of the 1840 harvest and had climbed to about 38s or 39s per load by the spring of 1841. A poor relief committee was set up and for the first time Skerton was included with Lancaster.²⁰ £286 was distributed in the form of meal, flour, potatoes and coals among 720 families.²¹ Several attempts at suicide and summonses for non-payment of rates revealed the pitiful state of many Lancaster families. Two hundred Lancaster ratepayers with property worth less than £10 were relieved of the responsibility to pay the poor rate.²² The following winter (1841-2) turned out to be equally bad. Similar relief measures were taken, and, at the celebration of the christening of the Prince of Wales, the slaughter of 100 sheep provided a special dinner for an estimated total of 8,000 individuals at a cost of £162.^{23a}

Under such economic conditions working class organisation either broke down altogether in the face of bankruptcy or took on a mixed political and economic nature. In Lancaster, as elsewhere, once depression had hit the town, workers abandoned attempts at higher wages and turned

to efforts to protect themselves from wage cuts, without much success. Some turned to Chartism, others to the Anti-Corn Law League.^{23b} Both promised a political solution to the economic and social problems of the time.

Chartism was the first manifestation of a separate working class political initiative in Lancaster. For the first time the working class was offered its own political programme and was obliged to develop its own organisation without expectation of assistance from higher up the social scale. Indeed Lancaster Chartism developed in the teeth of strong opposition from both the Liberal manufacturers who dominated the Town Council until 1841 and from the Tory Gazette. In a town the size of Lancaster with strong traditions of deference, and with such competition from other groups, Chartism had little hope of success.

The Anti Corn Law movement had a head start. On 4th February 1839 John Greg convened a meeting of the working classes in Lancaster to petition Parliament for the abolition of the Corn Laws. The extent of the response is difficult to judge. The Gazette reported contemptuously that only twelve gentlemen - mostly mill owners - gave their support, while the body of the hall was 'exclusively occupied by working people, principally the servants and dependants of the manufacturers'.²⁴

On 8th June the first Chartist meeting was held on the Green Area (or Ayre) near Skerton Bridge. The Gazette showed less hostility to this gathering than to the Anti Corn Law meeting, but again stressed the weakness of the attendance, this time numerically rather than socially:

Some fifty persons attended and the orator was a stranger from Preston. The bulk of the town we believe knew nothing of the affair.²⁵

The Town Council which in 1839 still had a large Liberal majority gave full support to the Anti-Corn Law resolutions. Nine days after the first Chartist meeting it also gave its support to the ballot.²⁶ Whether it was hoped such a gesture would deprive the Chartists of some of their strength, it was not intended as an olive branch. Before the second Chartist meeting held on 27th July 1839, the Whig Mayor (Joseph Dockray) ordered masters and heads of families to prevent their dependants from

attending the meeting.²⁷ Meanwhile, in Skerton, a force of special constables was enrolled, in case the Chartists should consider adjourning to the other side of the River Lune to escape from the Lancaster police force.

The meeting took place despite such official discouragement. Again it was reported as a meeting of an irresponsible minority of the working class led by outsiders. The Gazette described the procession from Horse Shoe Corner, led by three 'strangers' from Preston and Ashton 'accompanied by a score or so of persons and a knot of noisy idle factory boys'. The meeting on the Green Area which attracted a large crowd (including the editor of the Gazette who was booed on recognition) consisted of about 150 men, women and children, chaired by Jonathan Earl, a factory hand. The speakers directed their fire against the Tories rather than the League, but their attacks on shopkeepers made no exceptions for Liberals.²⁸

Subsequently the Chartists tended to take the fight for the Charter into Anti Corn Law meetings rather than hold their own meetings in the open air. League meetings of March 1841 and January 1842 both turned into rowdy debates between the Liberal mill owners and the Chartist delegate, Lund. On both occasions the Chartists were defeated in the vote of the whole meeting, although no details were reported.²⁹

The relative weakness of both the Anti Corn Law League and the Chartists was shown in the general election of 1841. No Chartist candidate stood for election, although the Radical, James Acland, presented himself at an early stage. In the event there was only one Liberal candidate, John Armstrong, the local Unitarian silk manufacturer. Armstrong demanded the repeal of the Corn Laws but studiously avoided any reference to the six points of the Charter (including the ballot).³⁰ His lack of a running mate proved fatal, although the average vote of the two Tory candidates was still higher than his own. The Gazette thought that 'the tendency and effect of Radical (i.e. Liberal) tactics have been to place the two great classes of society in hostility to each other'.³¹

Which two classes were meant is uncertain. Class tensions were probably greater in the 1840's than at any other time, but the political division divided the community into three rather than two. Minor acts of violence were perpetrated by Armstrong's supporters after the announcement of the poll, marking the intensity of feeling.³² Nevertheless the poll book of the 1841 election shows no obvious signs of class polarisation.³³

The depression of 1841-2 brought about a revival in Chartist activities. Yet it was not till 2nd July 1842 that the Chartists held their first major indoor meeting in the town.³⁴ No public hall could be procured, but a room was hired in Brewery Yard, off Moor Lane. The meeting celebrated the first visit of Fergus O'Connor to the town (as a free man), and the size of his audience was estimated at about 150. There is little doubt that the Plug Riots in Lancaster were closely associated with this revival of Chartism. Although Lancaster was the last Lancashire town of importance to be affected it might well have been unaffected if Chartist organisation had not ensured close contact with working class political activities in other towns.

The deepening of the depression in 1841 and 1842 culminated in the largest and most important industrial disturbances of the years between the Reform Act and the Chartist demonstration on Kennington Common. Sparked off by wage reductions, the 'Plug Riots' or the 'Great Turn out' as the disturbances came to be called, had their origins in the heated controversy between the Chartists and the Anti Corn Law League for the support of the working classes (particularly in the Manchester area) in the first five or six months of 1842. The strikes which crippled each of the centres of the Lancashire cotton industry in August 1842 were primarily economic, but once out, the strikers voiced the political demands of the Charter as well as their own particular hostility to the wage reductions of individual employers.³⁵ The strike movement started off in the towns of Ashton, Stalybridge and Dukinfield, all notable for their strongly working class character, on 8th August. From this area a tidal wave of strikes had enveloped the whole of the South Lancashire

cotton towns within a week. Crowds of turn outs varying from a few hundred to over ten thousand strong moved from one town to another closing mills and pulling the plugs of the boilers as a means of keeping them closed. 'Spontaneous' strikes in such towns as Bolton and Preston render a simple tidal explanation insufficient, but even in these towns, preliminary meetings were addressed by speakers from Ashton and their work in the case of most towns except Preston was followed up soon afterwards by the arrival of the mob. The successful 'capture' of Manchester on 11th August had meant that the Manchester area remained the power house of the whole movement.

August 1842 was one of the few occasions in the nineteenth century when the mills at Lancaster were drawn into a strike movement developing from and led by the South Lancashire cotton towns. The 'tidal' interpretation of the Plug Riots is confirmed by the fact that Lancaster, as one of the seats of the Lancashire cotton industry most remote from Manchester, was the last to be affected by the wave of strikes which had begun in Stalybridge on 8th August. By the 13th, Preston mill hands had turned out (even though they were back within two days), and by the 15th, the rioters from the south east had turned out the mill hands at Blackburn, Wigan and Haigh. The Lancaster turn out occurred on the 17th August, the day of the repulse of the Chorley rioters at Walton Bridge, near Preston and the day on which the first attempt at a resumption of work was made in the Manchester district.

The origins of the Lancaster turn out are uncertain but the arrival at the Castle on the 16th of a number of rioters arrested at Blackburn may have provided the spur. The following day the strike began among the hands at Higgin's mill in Moor Lane which had already been the scene of a minor turn out of boy piecers in March.³⁶ The strikers at Higgin's Moor Lane mill at once proceeded to turn out their fellows at Jackson's. At Higgin's other mill at White Cross, the mill owner and his son had time to block the entrance against the turn outs, and, once joined by Superintendent Wright and the borough police force, eventually persuaded some

from Moor Lane to disperse.³⁷ Greg's mill workers joined in the strike, but soon returned to work after being promised a hearing. Higgin's and Jackson's men likewise submitted claims, but stayed out, and two days later (the 19th) were rejoined by Greg's whose demands had been refused. Although no plugs appear to have been drawn and no damage to property or bodily injury had been sustained, the same day saw the reinforcement of the small borough police force by the arrival of a detachment of the 60th Rifles who had been released from duty in South Lancashire and now took up quarters in the Castle, and the 61st Regiment passed through the town on the 25th en route for Kendal.³⁸

In its reaction to the 'riot' the Gazette expressed the horror of many contemporaries. Could the mechanical precision of the movement have been merely a bona fide strike for wages? If so it had nothing to do with the general public. Or was it rather the outcome of 'orders from headquarters of that mysterious power with whom has originated the general insurrection ...?' The Gazette suspected either the Leaguers or the Chartists as the master minds of the conspiracy. Such a view was not uncommon even in South Lancashire, where Sir Thomas Arbuthnot writing to the Home Secretary blamed 'the intemperate language' of the League's spokesmen and the joint action of the Chartists and Trade Unions. This view is also taken by the scholar, A.G. Rose. The Gazette, however, did not distinguish between the climate of opinion engendered by the League's propagandists and the direct instigation and participation in the riots of trade unionists and Chartists. To the organ of the Lancaster Tories, the strikes were 'the legitimate offspring of liberalism and liberalism has been the besetting sin of all governments' (since the Reform Act).

Nevertheless when, a week later (27th August) all three mills were still out, the editor of the Gazette wondered whether there was not a need for 'some kind friends, unconnected with either side ... to volunteer their good offices as mediators'. The fear of a permanent rift in the community was now worrying the Gazette even more than the danger of

interfering between master and men. Such worries, however, were greatly eased when the Chartist leaders were safely under lock and key and were awaiting trial in Lancaster Castle. At this point the Gazette recovered its dignity as the organ of the north Lancashire gentry. By then the 'Plug Riots' were seen as a 'regular rebellion' involving the 'marchings and counter marchings of countless mobs' and 'the forcible ejection of peaceable workpeople from their usual places of employment'. By such a skillful combination of the conspiracy theory of industrial unrest and the infectious quality of the Plug Riots, the Gazette managed to reassure itself and its readers that such an aberration had no place in the normal course of events. Thus no closer examination was necessary. The scapegoats presented themselves in the Chartist 'strangers' on trial at the Lancaster Assizes; no further blame needed to be apportioned within the community where the events had taken place.³⁹

The depression of 1846-8 proved to be far more serious to Lancaster's cotton trade than that of 1841-2. T.H. Higgin and Co. went bankrupt in July 1846, while Satterthwaite and Barrow closed their works in August.⁴⁰ The latter did manage to re-open in January 1847, but only on a four day week basis. Greg and Co. managed to keep afloat but that firm too had to go on to short time in April.⁴¹ Food prices which had been fairly stable from 1843 to 1845 shot up in the autumn of 1845 as a result of the failure of the potato crop, and reached famine levels by the spring of 1847. At a public meeting convened by the Mayor in April 1847, it was claimed that flour and oatmeal had increased in price by 30-40% in the past twelve months, while potatoes had increased by 50-60%. Alderman Salisbury reminded the inhabitants that 'the old town was always famous for its liberality on such occasions', while the Chaplain at the Asylum took the unusual step of demanding a survey of wages to ascertain the real state of the poor. A committee of 84 succeeded in raising £775 in a month. Two soup kitchens which had begun work in February served over 1,000 applicants per day.⁴² One of the primary motives in the generosity of the 'wealthy classes' was apparently fear of cholera, and in May the Mayor (John Sharp, solicitor) reflected that their reward was

an exemption from what 'might have become a common calamity'.

The depression of 1847-8 coincided with the third major Chartist campaign. Once again the Lancaster Chartists were not strong enough to put up a candidate at either of the two parliamentary elections. The attendance at their meetings, however, was sufficient to impress the Gazette which concluded that 'Chartist rebels are more numerous in Lancaster than most people imagine'.⁴³ By 1847-8, with the disbanding of the Anti-Corn Law League, the Chartists were the only organisers of working class discontent, and the Chartist case was strengthened by the apparent failure of the repeal of the Corn Laws to bring about any reduction in the price of bread, which reached famine prices in 1847. This increase in the number of adherents did not produce any change in the tactics of the Lancaster Chartists. The Chartist leader, Lund, continued to press the Chartist point of view at middle class public meetings. He did not appear to make any converts to O'Connor's Land Plan (in spite of its similarity to the aims of the Labourers' Friend Society of 1836), but his opposition to emigration as a solution to poverty and unemployment may well have influenced to some extent the coolness of public opinion on the subject.

Nevertheless the Chartists remained as politically isolated in 1848 as they had been in 1839. Neither the Tories nor the Liberals made any attempt to form an alliance with the Chartists. The Tories had no need of such subversive allies. The Liberals were divided between the manufacturers who ran the Anti Corn Law League and the shopkeepers, who once they had achieved political power locally became mainly concerned for their own respectability. Thus, while the League activities brought some Liberals into keen competition for working class support, others would have nothing to do with them on social grounds. The Liberal abandonment of the radical political demands made in the 1837 election in the 1841 election was a sign of its flight into respectability as a reaction to the Chartist agitation of 1839-42. The main weaknesses of Chartism in Lancaster lay in the socio economic structure of the town.

The smallness of the factory population and the relatively greater importance of the town as a market centre meant that the shopkeepers were not as reliant on working class custom as those in Preston or Bolton. In Lancaster, the variety of customers gave the tradesmen an independence greater than in most Lancashire towns.

In the light of the 22% increase in the cost of outdoor relief alone in the year 1847-8 on the average of the previous seven years, the Lancaster Poor Law Guardians called a public meeting to discuss emigration as a possible solution to the increase in the number of able-bodied poor, especially in the county town itself.⁴⁴ James Grant, the clerk to the Guardians, explained that forty or fifty individuals ('agricultural labourers, mechanics and some factory people') had already applied to him for help with the costs of emigration. Eight labourers had been sent out, under the new government policy of aiding only the emigration of agricultural labourers under forty years of age. Lund, the Chartist delegate, bitterly opposed such a scheme. As a true disciple of O'Connor he demanded government grants of half an acre of land for each of the unemployed instead of this resort to 'transportation'. Little notice was taken of Lund's contribution, and the Board decided to continue to receive applications for emigration grants.

In spite of the discouraging bias of government aid towards agricultural workers, emigration as a solution to unemployment remained firmly in the public eye. In 1849 the Gazette published a series of letters from 'A Lancaster Emigrant to the U.S.A.' who described to his fellow townsmen life in general and employment prospects in particular in Columbia and South Carolina.⁴⁵ His message was simple: 'In answer to the many inquiries as to emigration to the South, I would say stay at home'. Married men, he claimed, would take ten years to reach the position they occupied at home, even though a single individual if 'a good mechanic' might find work by coming to the South in the winter and moving northwards in the summer. The implication is that however attractive emigration to America might seem from the news of the Californian gold rush and stories of easy success in a frontier society,

there was also sober advice available to potential emigrants which showed a different side of American life. Thernstrom has suggested that it was difficult for immigrants to realise the American dream.⁴⁶ Such letters as those which appeared in the Lancaster Gazette suggest that disillusionment was also a contemporary phenomenon and was transmitted back to those most interested on the eastern side of the Atlantic. Such discouragement may be one reason why emigration to America from England at least was very small until the end of the century.

No figures of emigration from the localities were kept in the mid-nineteenth century. Nevertheless local press reports did not suggest a heavy emigration to any country from the Lancaster area. Those who left in parties rarely escaped notice. An example of such an occurrence was the party of fifteen who left the neighbourhood of Heaton with Oxcliffe in January 1852, on the steamer the 'Duchess of Lancaster' for Liverpool where they transhipped for America.⁴⁷ Attempts were made to encourage emigration by advertisement in the press (such as that of the Melbourne Argus claiming £3-4s per week wages for washerwomen in Australia),⁴⁸ Such appeals had some success. By 1854 there was a Lancaster community in Melbourne which helped to entertain E.D. Salisbury (Mayor 1844-5) when he went out on a visit.⁴⁹ Salisbury himself later settled on a sheep farm in New Zealand. It is unlikely, however, that emigration provided a meaningful alternative to most Lancaster working men. More Lancaster emigrants were probably drawn from the tradesmen class than from the craftsmen or manual workers.

With the revival of trade in 1852-3, Lancaster workers once more went on strike in the wake of other strike action in the south. The summer of 1853 saw industrial action by the joiners for an increase of two shillings, by the stonemasons for a reduction of hours and by the cotton piecers for increased wage rates. They were all successful, although the master builders only granted a half hour reduction in the masons' hours.

When support was demanded for the Preston Cotton Strike of 1854,

Lancaster workers were more sanguine than in 1842. The county town watched the events and listened to the arguments with interest but provided no support either in terms of monetary contribution or sympathetic strikes. Two meetings were held in the Oddfellows' Hall in February and April 1854. The Lancaster factory operatives were urged to support the Preston card room hands.⁵¹ Kilner, a Lancaster operative, urged his fellow workers to raise themselves by saving, but was not specific as to the means of showing solidarity with Preston. The following speaker, Gallagher, the delegate from Preston, made quite clear that the main purpose of his visit was to raise Lancaster's contribution to the strike funds, even if this meant 'craving charity' from the Lancaster operatives. George Cowell, the other Preston delegate, made appeal to the Saxon yoke theory of resistance. The Preston operatives, he explained, had Saxon blood flowing in their veins and they were not prepared to surrender their 'lives, liberties and all, at the feet of thirty eight gentlemen'. In more nineteenth century terms Cowell argued that 'if labour was a commodity to be sold, they had a right to sell it in the dearest market'.

On the second occasion (marked by the smallness of the attendance and the moderation of the Preston speaker) the Lancaster chairman, Christopher Taylor, gave the local operatives' reply to their neighbours at Preston.⁵² He was sorry that there was not amity between masters and men at Preston (implying that this was not true of Lancaster), and apologised for the smallness of the Lancaster contribution. The one reason why Lancaster subscribed so little was that operatives there were 'the worst paid of any'. This, however, was why he asked Lancastrians to 'come forward and subscribe liberally in order that at a future day they might be put in a position to claim their rights' (presumably a similar increase to that demanded at Preston).

The doctrines of non-resistance and class co-operation were well established in Lancaster by mid-century. Equally well established was the pattern of relative wage deprivation, and the acceptance of this as

an economic fact. The only way that could be seen of improving Lancaster's wage situation as a cotton town was to raise the level in the larger manufacturing centres. Taylor's arguments made good economic sense given a framework of laissez faire economics. Nevertheless such realistic pessimism could not hope to stir up much enthusiasm for union organisation among the Lancaster working class. Not surprisingly, Lancaster working men, on the whole, continued to refuse to subscribe to the Preston strikers. That conservatism and unemployment reinforced each other may perhaps be seen in the success of army recruitment in Lancaster in 1853-4.⁵³

1850-60 were prosperous years for the Lancashire cotton industry, which, Lancaster cotton workers to some extent shared. Nevertheless, frequent changes in ownership of the Lancaster mills suggested no long-term security, and considerable suffering was caused by wage cuts in the bad years of 1857⁵⁴ and short time in the Cotton Famine of 1861-64⁵⁵. were the main setbacks borne by the factory workers. The period 1850 to 1870 saw consolidation of trade union growth, but no meteoric developments. In 1861 the first Annual Trades Union Directory recorded the existence of branches of only five societies in the town: the Carpenters and Joiners, the Amalgamated Engineers, the Iron Moulders, the Stonemasons and the Blacksmiths.⁵⁶ The list was inaccurate. Other societies included the Brushmakers and Printers. Membership of such societies was still small (there were only twelve voting brushmakers in Lancaster in 1858),⁵⁷ but some societies had grown considerably. By 1865 the Lancaster branch of the Operative House Carpenters and Joiners had an average of 48 members, encouraged undoubtedly by the ~~two-hour~~ ^{in hours} reduction obtained in that year.⁵⁸ By 1872 it had 63 members, while the stonemasons had 155 on their books.^{59a} By 1870 the major improvement for craftsmen was a reduction in hours. By 1870 the Lancaster Carpenters and Stonemasons both worked a 55½ hour week.^{59b} This was still high by the standards of other towns, but it marked an improvement on the 60 hour norm of North Lancashire skilled manual workers in 1850. Advances of wages followed the boom of 1871-3 (e.g. for the carpenters and printers), although these too were low by

North-western standards.

Lancaster lagged behind other places in feeling the ^{Changes} ~~full~~ force of the trade cycle, but it also lagged behind the other north western towns in wages and hours. Stonemasons, for example, in South Lancashire towns were earning 30s for a $49\frac{1}{2}$ hour week by 1867.⁶⁰ In Lancaster, stonemasons still worked a $55\frac{1}{2}$ hour week in 1870, and wages _h did not top the 30s mark until the late 1870's. Cabinetmakers and upholsterers in Manchester and Liverpool were earning 28s and 30s a week by 1862,⁶¹ in Lancaster in 1866, they were earning 25s and 26s.⁶² Evidence from the wage positions of the carpenters and joiners suggests that Lancaster may even have fallen behind some north western towns in the mid nineteenth century.

Wages and Hours of Members of General Union of Carpenters and Joiners
1843-1872. 63

	1843	1864	1869	1872
Lancaster	21s	23s(59)	24s($55\frac{1}{2}$)	26s($55\frac{1}{2}$)
Preston	21s	25s($57\frac{1}{2}$)	29s($55\frac{1}{2}$)	29s($49\frac{1}{2}$)
Kendal	21s	22s($58\frac{1}{2}$)	25s($56\frac{1}{2}$)	27s(54)
Carlisle	20s	24s(61)	27s(58)	27s(54)

Lancaster membership of the union was only six in 1843 and had climbed to 63 by 1872. Lancaster carpenters and joiners were sharing in the increased prosperity, but were not benefiting as much as other north western members of the union. It should be noted however that they were doing better than fellow workers in some other provincial centres (e.g. Gloucester, 1872, 51 members, 25s for $56\frac{1}{2}$ hours). It is also worthy of notice that Lancaster, like Kendal, but unlike Preston and Carlisle, made a bigger advance in the eight years between 1864 and 1872 than during the previous 21 years. This no doubt reflects the quickening economic life of the town in these years.

Unions were well established among Lancaster craft workers by 1870. Strikes were rare, membership was low and wages too were low for the region. Unions did not seem to have kept the town's wages in step with other towns in the region, and in this direction they had achieved little to

offset the town's economic and geographical disadvantages for the craft worker. In 1870 the Lancaster craft worker could have been better off as far as hours and wages were concerned in most other Lancashire towns. What advantages may possibly have accrued to him in lower prices or rates are hard to measure. It is doubtful whether their effect would have been significant. Lancaster had slid to the bottom of the north west wages league in the 1820's and 1830's and remained there until the town's late Victorian revival.

iii Friendly Societies

The friendly society revival in Lancaster in the 1830's was a reflection of the general success of 'the great orders'. Their emphasis on youth and craft and their strict management of the funds guaranteed a greater stability, albeit a smaller membership, than was possessed by the independent societies of the late eighteenth century.

The major impact was made by the Independent Order of Oddfellows. Its first *lodge* in Lancaster was the John o'Gaunt established in 1827 at the Ship Inn. Three more followed between 1831 and 1834 (loyal King William IV, Earl of Lincoln and Dalton Abbey) and a fourth was added in 1845 (Duchess of Lancaster). The Ancient Order of Foresters established a court in 1834. These *lodges* all enjoyed considerable growth. By 1872 there were 942 Oddfellows and 215 Foresters in Lancaster itself. The first Druids' temple lodge was established in 1857 and two more followed in 1862 and 1865. By 1872 there were 120 Druids.¹

The new friendly societies resumed the practice of Whit Monday processions and dinners of their predecessors.² Conviviality, associated with their rendez-vous at the public house, was an important part of society life. So was the ceremonial, common to the friendly societies, trade unions and freemasons. As Baernreither wrote in 1889:

External forms have now only a subordinate position which ... present a **strange** contrast to the thoroughly practical and sober objects of insurance against sickness and accident. 3

A local writer had similarly to 'disabuse the public mind' in 1836, when it was explained in a letter to the Gazette that the Oddfellows were not a drinking fraternity but a sick club. Each lodge provided sickness and accident allowance and also free medicine and medical attendance. In addition there was made:

On the death of himself or his wife, a pecuniary donation sufficient to conduct the interment of either with credit and respectability. 4

Later a fund to relieve widows and orphans was set up.

The Orders were strongly approved of by the upper class. Not only did the Tory Gazette take every opportunity to sing their praises,⁵ but the practice of joint processions with Mayor and Corporation revived.⁶

Tea parties and balls were held to boost friendly society funds.⁷ Widespread support was given towards the erection of an Oddfellows' Hall. When it was opened in Mary Street in 1844 the celebratory dinner was chaired by the Mayor and John Armstrong, the silk manufacturer.⁸ The best relations were maintained with the mills which provided the leadership - at least in the case of the Oddfellows. Relations with the Vicar of Lancaster were usually good too, but became strained when he refused to allow burials in the new cemetery (opened 1854) on Sundays.⁹ In general, however, the elite did its best to foster the work of friendly societies and took an active part in their revival,¹⁰ as in the creation and preservation of the Mechanics' Institute, which had been founded in 1823 and was remodelled in 1848-50.¹¹

The fact that only about one in twenty of the population by 1870 were members of friendly societies indicates the exclusiveness of 'the great orders'. Lancaster shows the truth of Baernreither's observation that they comprised 'the pick of the English working class'.¹² Lancaster leadership came from mill workers and from craftsmen. Some friendly society leaders were publicans. Others set themselves up as innkeepers.¹³ Apart from the works sick clubs for mill workers¹⁴ the bulk of the working population were not covered by any form of insurance. The Lancaster Benevolent Burial Society was formed in 1841 with its headquarters at St. Anne's school, but it did not keep a register until 1876 and no figures for its early days have been found.¹⁵

iv The Co-operative Society

The first attempt to form a co-operative society in Lancaster was made as early as 1836, but it was short-lived.¹⁶ Another co-operative store founded in 1850 had a similarly brief existence. Not till 1860 was a third attempt made which was at last to provide the town with a reliable and permanent society. Its original object was to sell only provisions and was intended 'to destroy the pernicious credit system in Lancaster'. Support came from the Unitarians and it was probably not coincidental that the society was formed at the same time as the Working Men's Mutual Improvement and Recreation Society which was similarly Unitarian inspired. The first officials of the Lancaster Co operative Society were drawn mainly from workers at the Phoenix Foundry and the Ridge Lane Silk Mill. Thus from the outset the Co operative Society in Lancaster was identified with the prototype craft union the Engineers.

The society opened for business in January 1861 in premises on Penny Street. Two other rooms above and behind the shop were used for committee meetings and storage. For its first three years, the society's business was conducted under the name of Joseph Edmondson, a trustee who worked at the silk mill. He had helped to found a Family Bible Association at his mill in 1856.¹⁷ The respect with which he was regarded was an incalculable asset to the society in its early years.

In spite of some division among members the society was able to declare a dividend of 1s 9d after the first quarter. At first its range of articles for sale was very narrow, but gradually widened to include pots, brushes and coal later on in 1861 and drapery goods in 1862. In March 1862 premises were set up in Galgate, which, during the Cotton Famine, proved more remunerative than the Penny Street shop. The society lost over £400 in the destruction by fire of Halton Corn Mill in 1864, but this was more than made up by record sales which amounted to £4,474 by the last quarter of 1865. Two years later the annual turnover exceeded £20,000. Branches were opened at Morecambe in 1867 and Carnforth in 1868. They were not at first profitable, but were regarded as useful

for propaganda purposes and soon proved their value during the boom of 1871-3. By 1873 the society was in a flourishing condition with four branches outside Lancaster, over 2,000 members and sales worth £52,361.¹⁸ Share capital which had stood at £46,455 by 1872. The society had begun a library in 1867. All in all the Co-operative Society was well established. After 1870 its expansion was to be more rapid than any of the friendly societies.

Building SocietiesTABLEIncrease in Housing Stock Compared to Increase in Population.

Census	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871
Houses (Inhabitable & Uninhabitable)	1,611	1,731	1,889	2,038	2,365	2,691	2,944	3,165
% Increase (Houses)		7.4	4.3	12.3	16.0	13.8	9.4	7.5
% Increase (Popn.)		2.4	9.7	28.7	7.9	3.7	0.8	19.0
Crude Popn. Per House	5.66	5.46	5.64	6.39	5.87	5.57	5.05	5.53

A crude comparison of figures of population and housing supply in the census years gives a rough idea of the comparative pace of increased population and housing supply. The table shows that population in Lancaster only grew faster than the housing supply in the years 1811-31 and 1861-71. Whereas in 1811-31 population grew by 41.2% and houses increased by 17.7%, in 1831-51 the housing supply caught up (32.0%) while the population lagged (11.8%), and in 1851-71 the two rates achieved an equilibrium - housing increasing by 17.6% and population by 18.1%.

The distribution of housing supply among the social classes at any particular time is difficult to gauge. That housing facilities were as easily available to the working class as to the middle and upper classes at least during the period of slow population growth in the middle of the century is suggested by the small number of lodging houses in the town, at the time of the 1851 and 1861 censuses. Provisison appears to have been different for different social groups. The wealthy tradesman or professional man would normally have his house built privately by a contractor,¹ the clerks and smaller tradesmen relied on the building societies, and the journeymen and operatives rented cottages from property owners and building speculators. These speculators in cottage property were usually local men who sought an outlet for their surplus capital. Among the largest were John Lodge, a solicitor, whose family had long

held property off St. Leonardgate, and who began to lay out Lodge Street in 1852.² Thomas Wise, a coachbuilder, built even more cottages in St. Thomas's District off Penny Street. The cotton manufacturers built a few cottages for their employees (e.g. John Greg in Moor Lane), but their contribution to the housing stock was minimal compared to the work of manufacturers in factory villages and colonies elsewhere in Lancashire.

Building societies at first were the preserve of the 'middling' social groups.³ Their aim was to provide well built houses on reasonable terms to those who aspired to home ownership, and perhaps thereby to a parliamentary vote. The typical building society in Lancaster in the late 1830's and early 1840's was made up of a limited group of tradesmen who had clubbed together to finance each others' building projects and who disbanded once this purpose was achieved. In the words of the relieving officer, James Grant, himself a member of a society, the aim of such a society was to allow an 'industrious man' to

put by the surplus of his earnings, which by and by accumulated so as to enable him to purchase a little property he could call his own".⁴

A series of such societies were formed in Lancaster: the Benefit (1837-49), the Shakespeare (1840), the Amicable (Fleece) (1844-55), the Alliance (1845), Nat. Freehold (1848), United Benefit (1849-60), Commercial (1852), Royal Benefit (1855).⁵ Most of these ^{were terminating societies with} had a limited life span. Their total membership varied from a score or so to several hundred.

Such societies acted as superior friendly societies in that they not only provided an outlet for small savings, but also acted as social clubs for their members. Dinners were held at least once a year, and the societies showed the same connections with inns that friendly societies had formerly possessed. For example, both the Benefit and the Shakespeare held their dinners in the Shakespeare Inn, St. Leonardgate, although the Benefit later moved to the Old Sir Simon's.

The main development in the building society movement in Lancaster in the 1850's was the growth of the Freehold Land Society. The Lancaster branch of the National Society was founded in July 1848, only a fortnight

after Lund, the Chartist delegate, had put forward the proposal for government land grants to prospective emigrants but was not fully launched until August 1851.⁶ The new society was Liberal and middle class rather than Chartist and working class. At its inaugural meeting the chair was taken by Thomas Wise, the Liberal carriage builder, cottage proprietor and opponent of sanitary reform. The purpose of the Land Society to create Liberal votes was as important in Lancaster as elsewhere.⁷ In January 1852 it was announced that the society had purchased 38 acres, just outside the boundary of the parliamentary borough (i.e. in the constituency of North Lancashire), close to the newly opened Bath Mill, at a cost of £6,500.⁸ The land was to be laid out in building lots of 10 yards by 60, price £30 and subscribers were to pay 1s a week.⁹ According to the Gazette it was thought that the proximity of Bath Mill would make the property ideally convenient for the mill hands. Thus, although the inspiration and the leadership was middle class, the Freehold Land Society, from the outset, was orienting its appeal towards not only the small shopkeeper living in cramped conditions above his shop, but also to the aristocracy of labour which had been previously housed in rented cottage property.

The Freehold estate was only developed slowly,¹⁰ suggesting not only the lack of suitable newcomers to the town in the 1850's but also the financial weakness of the economic groups to which it appealed. In 1855 when the parish vestry was discussing the sale of fifteen acres of township lands in order to relieve the rates, Dr. W.E. Moss, a building speculator of some experience, pointed to the slow development of the Freehold Park as an instance of the low returns to be gained from the sale of land for building at that time.¹¹ An additional problem of the Society was the debt which it had incurred in installing main drainage.¹² In 1856 its committee demanded a rate reduction from the local Board of Health on the grounds that it had installed 5,000 feet of sewerage at a cost of £900 without any help from the Board.¹³ The situation was eased in the late 1850's when the Society succeeded in selling off more of its sites, but only a minority of those available in 1861 had been built on.

A new building society (the John o'Gaunt) was formed in December 1860, confirming the impression that building activity was recovering at this time. By March 1861, 820 shares had been taken up by 360 members 'most of whom are of the operative class'.¹⁴ The impression from such casual evidence is that by the 1850's the building society movement was beginning to affect sections of the working class.

An investigation of the social pattern of owner occupiers in 1851 and 1861 confirms that working class house ownership was a new departure. Using Anderson's SEGs for an analysis of the 202 owner occupiers of property rated for the Poor Law in 1851, only fifteen were found to come in the working class categories of IV to VII.¹⁵ By 1861, however, this position had definitely improved. Although no full-scale investigation of the whole town was made from the Poor Rate Book of 1861, the new streets behind St. Leonardgate and on the Freehold were studied.¹⁶ The results showed that nearly half the householders on the Freehold Estates were mill workers (VI & IV), journeymen craftsmen (V) or railway workers. Many of these were only tenants of members of the society.¹⁷ Although only one third of the Freehold occupiers owned their property, half of these were from the same working class groups. The same working class groups also made up one half of the owner occupiers on the new streets behind St. Leonardgate. The degree of working class cottage ownership shown in the table is surprising. Ownership hardly seems however to have affected the labourers (SEG VII). No unskilled labourers were found to be owner occupiers either on the Freehold or on the Leonardgate estate.¹⁸ Mid-Victorian prosperity was reaching the labour aristocracy, but not the unskilled labourer.

TABLE

Owner Occupiers and Householders 1851 and 1861.¹⁹

SEG	1851 Owner occs. Whole Borough Source: Ratebook	1861 Owner occs. Freehold Ratebook	1861 Householders Freehold 1861 Census	1861 Owner occs. Leonardgate: 5 streets Ratebook
I	58	2	9	0
II	7	3	18	1
III	55	10	19	6
V	11	7	18	7
IV & VI	2	6	24	7
VII	2	0	5	0
IX	1	0	4	1
X Incl. Proprietors of houses	23	2	2	0
N.K.	43	0	3	2
TOTAL	202	30	102	24

(N.B. Of the 43 unknown owner occupiers in 1851, only two had property valued at £5 or below).

CHAPTER V i & ii

Footnotes

1. Lancaster Town Hall. Corporation Minutes.
2. For the militance of these groups, see A. Aspinall, The Early English Trade Unions (1949), passim.
3. Lancaster Castle received many trade unionists successfully prosecuted under the Combination Acts; ibid.
4. See Part I, Chapter VII.
5. London School of Economics, Webb Trade Union Collection, Coll. E.D. 7
6. H. Pelling, A History of British Trade Unionism (1963), p. 39.
7. There is no mention of a Lancaster branch of the N.A.P.L. in the United Trades Co-operative Journal. The nearest branch was at Preston, established May 1830.
8. Lancaster Gazette, 20 & 27 October, 10 & 24 November 1832; for general unionism in Lancashire see S. & B. Webb, The History of Trade Unionism (revised edition 1920), pp. 120-4.
9. viz. the strike among the apprentices at Whewell's iron foundry in January 1835 (Kendal Mercury and Westmorland Advertiser, 24 January 1835).
10. Lancaster Gazette, 5 December 1835; 27 February 1836; 26 March, 5 March 27 August, 22 October, 18 February 1837.
11. Lancaster Gazette, 25 February 1837.
12. Ibid. 4 March 1837.
13. Ibid. 20 January 1838.
14. Ibid. 24 February 1838.
15. Ibid. 15 and 22 February 1840.
16. Ibid. 7 March 1840.
17. Ibid. 30 May 1840.
18. D. Chadwick, 'The Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford and district 1839-59', Quarterly Journal Statistical Society of London, XXIII, 1860, pp. 1-36; for sawyers' wage rates in the 1820's see E. Baines, History of the Cotton Manufacturer(1835) pp. 438-9.
19. Lancaster Gazette, 26 October 1839.
20. Ibid. 16 January 1841.
21. Ibid. 20 February 1841.
22. Ibid. 27 February 1841.
23. Ibid. 29 January 1842.
- 23b The Radicals formed an Operative Anti-Corn Law Association at the Ship Inn; see Lancaster City Library, Polit. File (1).

24. Ibid. 9 February 1839.
25. Ibid. 15 June 1839.
26. Lancaster Town Hall, Borough Council Minutes, 17 June 1839.
27. Lancaster Gazette, 3 August 1839.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid. 27 March 1841.
30. Ibid. 26 June 1841.
31. Ibid. 10 July 1841.
32. Ibid. 3 July 1841.
33. Lancaster City Library, Lancaster Borough Election Poll Book 1841.
34. Lancaster Gazette, 9 July 1842.
35. A.G. Rose, 'The Plug Riots of 1842 in Lancashire and Cheshire',
Lancs. Chesh. Antiq. Soc. LXVII, 1957, pp. 75-112.
36. Lancaster Gazette, 5 March 1842.
37. Ibid. 20 August 1842.
38. Lancaster Records (Lancaster, 1867), p. 273.
39. Ibid. 11 March 1843.
40. Ibid. 18 July 1846.
41. Ibid. 9 January and 17 April 1847.
42. Ibid. 1 May 1847.
43. Ibid. September 1848.
44. Ibid. 8 July 1848. This discussion may have been partly provoked by a riot in the workhouse; see Ibid. 13 May 1848.
45. Ibid. 16 June 1849.
- 46.
47. Ibid. 31 January 1852.
48. Ibid. 26 August 1854.
49. Fifty Years Ago (Lancaster, 1906) III, pp. 47-8, 54, 65, 68.
50. Fifty Years Ago (Lancaster, 1904) II, pp. 271-3, 287.
51. Ibid. 11 Feb. 1854.
52. Ibid. 15 April 1854.
53. Fifty Years Ago, III, pp. 24, 215, 309.
54. Lancaster Guardian, 14 November 1857.

55. Lancaster Gazette, 12 April 1862.
56. United Kingdom First Annual Trades Union Directory (1861), p. 60.
57. L.S.E. Coll E.D. 8 (Webb)
58. L.S.E. Webb, Coll. E.D. 20.
- 59a L.S.E. Webb, Coll. E.D. 119.
59b *The stonemasons had worked a 5 1/2 hour week in 1865; see L. Guardian, 15 April 1865.*
60. L.S.E. Webb, Coll. E.A. XIII, f. 261
61. BPP 1887 LXXXIX, Labour Statistics, Cd. 273-714.
62. Lancaster Election Commission 1866 , 17,719; 22,250; 29,031.
63. L.S.E. Webb, Coll. E.A. XI, f. 101, 119.

CHAPTER V. *iii & iv*Footnotes

1. BPP 1873, LXI, Trade; Slave Trade, Cd 131-148, pp. 75-92.
N.B. Oddfellowship spread to Caton in 1830, Bolton le Sands, Wray and Glasson Dock in 1830s. See Lancaster Records, op. cit. p. 198.
2. See Part I, Chapter VII.
3. J.M. Baernreither, English Associations of Working Men (1889), p. 221.
4. Lancaster Gazette, 23 April 1836.
5. eg. ibid. 11 April 1840.
6. eg. ibid. 5 June 1852.
7. eg. for A.O.F., see ibid. 16 February 1850.
8. Ibid. 27 July 1844.
9. Lancaster Guardian, 30 August 1856.
10. The Caton Union Society of 1829 was the first of the revived local societies, and its constitution was regarded as a blue print for others; see H. Gregson, Suggestions for Improving the Condition of the Industrious Classes by Establishing Friendly Societies and Savings Banks (1830).
11. Lancaster C.L., PT 429, G.M. Bland, 'The Library Movement its History in Lancaster'.
Lancaster Observer, 24 June 1932; also Lancaster Gazette, 13 December 1823, 6 March 1824; and Annual Reports of Lancaster Mechanics' Institute.
12. J.M. Baernreither, op. cit. p. 225.
13. L. District of Oddfellows 1856:
G.M., M. Hayes, lunatic asylum attendant who became licensed victualler; D.G.N., A. Clark, silk spinner; C.S., W. Atkinson, silk mill warehouseman who ran a night school in Main St., Skerton. Founder of Druids was A.K. Allinson, publican, Golden Ball, Moor Lane.
See Lancaster Guardian, 9 August & 4 October 1856 also 25 July 1857.
Lancaster C.L., Newsclippings, Lancaster Fifty Years Ago, 1856-57.
14. eg. Armstrong's sick club for silk mill workers at Galgate.
15. Lancaster Observer, 7 May 1897.
16. Lancaster Co operative Congress Souvenir (Manchester, 1916)
17. Lancaster C.L., N.C.Obituary, Joseph Edmondson, September 1909.
18. Congress Souvenir, op. cit.

CHAPTER V MFootnotes.

1. Some rented larger houses from such property owners as the Daltons.
2. Lancaster Gazette, 31 January 1852.
3. In 1837 the vice chair of the 'Benefit' was occupied by a brewer.
In 1841 the vice chairman of the 'Shakespeare' was the superintendent of the borough police.
See ibid. 27 November 1841.
4. Ibid. 3 January 1844.
5. By 1855 there were five local building societies, see ibid. 6 January 1855.
6. Lancaster Guardian, 16 August 1851.
7. Lancaster Gazette, 22 July 1848.
8. Lancaster Gazette, 17 January 1852.
9. Fifty Years Ago 1852-3 (Lancaster, 1904), p. 11.
10. Foundation stone of first house was laid on 17 March 1853; see Lancaster Guardian, 19 March 1853.
11. Lancaster Gazette, 8 March 1855.
12. Work preparatory for laying main sewerage began March 1853; see Lancaster Guardian, 2 April 1853.
13. Lancaster Gazette, 14 June 1856.
14. Ibid. 1 December 1860 and 23 March 1861.
15. Lancaster Town Hall, Poor Rate Book 1851.
16. Ibid. Poor Rate Book 1861.
17. Speculation of this kind was contrary to the aims of the society, but one way of getting the property built and occupied. £70 had been fixed as the minimum cost of the lower class houses to guarantee the respectability of the district;
see Lancaster Guardian, 28 August 1852.
18. cf. In Bristol in 1838 only 0.3% manual workers owned their own houses, although 1:7 had savings accounts or belonged to benefit societies see C. Bowles Fripp, Journal of Royal Statistical Society, II, 1839-40, quoted in S. Thernstrom, op. cit.
19. Lancaster Town Hall, loc. cit.; Lanc. Univ. Lib.; '1861 Census Enumerators' Sheets (microfilm).

CHAPTER VI

PATERNALISM DIVIDED AND TRANSFORMED.

The contractual nature of Tory paternalism as prevailing in Lancaster in the early nineteenth century was well expressed by a letter to the Lancaster Gazette in answer to the 'Whig-Radical' municipal election campaign of 1835. The correspondent upheld that the Tories were even more concerned for 'the comfort and happiness of the people' than were the Whigs and Radicals.¹ In return, every individual was expected 'to confine himself to his proper sphere and to give confidence to the possessors of property'. Disquiet on the part of 'the people' could lead to nothing short of inevitable misery, confusion and destruction, and destroys the lower classes first of all'. On each side of the contract there was room for manoeuvre. Although the 'lower classes' of Lancaster were usually 'quiet', ingratitude was one means of showing independence. On the other hand the urban gentry might withhold their bounty.² Yet even with all the instruments of coercion at their disposal (borough police, House of Correction, yeomanry - at their crudest), the town rulers had more to lose by social insubordination than by giving charity.

Social insubordination could be shown by those who were socially inferior to the givers of charity, but who were not the recipients of it. In the early 1830's the urban gentry did not always distinguish between their inferiors. Thus when the first municipal elections were shown to have been a victory for the Whigs and Radicals, the editor of the Gazette indiscriminately attacked the ingratitude of the 'poorer classes':

Whilst the lower classes were engaged in planning the defeat of the higher ranks of the town, who are in the bulk Conservative, the latter were benevolently preparing for the support of the ball annually got up in aid of the local institutions, devoted exclusively to the benefit of the necessitous. 3

For the first time a march had been stolen on the 'higher ranks', not by the 'necessitous' recipients of charity, but by an intermediate social group.

The political emergence of a class of small tradesmen between the town oligarchs and the 'necessitous' poor changed the attitudes of the

Tory paternalists. Instead of regarding their social inferiors as a conglomerate mass, there was a growing realisation of social distinctions other than that between the upper and lower ranks. The political victory of the Whigs allied to the tradesmen in 1835 awoke the Tories to the needs of preventing the Radicals from winning the political loyalty of the working class. Such fears were affecting the Tory party at a national level and were to give rise to Peel's Tamworth Manifesto and the Young England Movement. On a regional level Tory reactions to the Reform Act of 1832 were to organise 'operative' Conservative associations.⁴ In 1835 such societies sprang up in Blackburn, Bolton, Oldham, Salford, Middleton, Warrington, and Pilkington, while similar organisations had been founded at Wigan, Preston and Rochdale by March 1836.

In Lancaster and Liverpool, associations were formed primarily to attract tradesmen rather than 'operatives'. The Lancaster Heart of Oak Club (founded 27 November 1835) was in fact a revival of an old-style political club founded in 1818 to further the candidature of John Fenton Cawthorne.⁵ The revived society came as a last-minute reply to the energetic preparations of the Lancaster Reform Association. Unlike the Reform Association it was less an embryonic party machine than a dining club designed to bring together the Tory tradesmen with the local gentry and the Corporation elite, both of which groups played a paramount role by means of 'honorary' membership. Like the old Pitt Clubs, dining was its principal function, although in May 1836 it made a concession to the less welloff by opening a newsroom in St. Nicholas Street. Fears of local alienation were probably as strong as any national political considerations.

It has already been argued that the Tory paternalist revival was particularly strong in Lancaster. Visiting societies, money-raising charity functions, the Heart of Oak Club and the Mechanics' Institution all formed a part of this same attempt to preserve the vertical bonds of community. Nevertheless, although such institutions as the Heart of Oak and the Mechanics' Institution were both aimed to reach the 'working

classes', this term was still being used in its older meaning of all those below the gentry. In fact a conscious sub-division of the 'lower ranks' had already taken place. Whereas the Mechanics' Institution had grown out of a library founded in 1823 to educate apprentices and mechanics, the Heart of Oak had from its inception only been thinly disguised as 'something of an Operative Conservative Society'. For shortly after the Heart of Oak was founded for tradesmen, a separate society was founded for labourers.

The foundation of a branch of the Labourers' Friend Society in 1836 was a conscious attempt to remedy the increasingly middle class bias of other societies aimed at operatives and mechanics.⁶ At the inaugural meeting under the presidency of the Mayor (George Burrow), the Rector of Halton (Rev. T. Mackreth) explained how the idea of such a society had taken root after the labourers' insurrection of 1831-2. Down to 1785 or 1790 there had existed 'a generally connecting link between the possessor of property and the labouring man'. From the 1790's a variety of developments - notably the enclosure movement and increased pauperism - had brought about the destruction of this link:

The society's aim was to ... retrace our steps, and take back the labourer into the social chain. What they proposed was a sort of savings bank for surplus labour, which would enable men rightly to apply the evenings and the money which now too frequently was spent at the ale-house in riot and dissipation.

The fear of the effects of the Beer-House Act was evident, but how labourers were to spend their evenings was not clear. Garden-allotments were regarded as the ideal solution, although anything approaching the 'cottier system' of Ireland was to be deprecated. An allotment scheme was already in operation among Burrow's elderley employees:

They had men twenty or thirty years in their employ, who cultivated their little gardens and took great pride in growing the finest fruit and competing at exhibitions.

As Burrow had only gone into cotton-spinning in 1828 it is highly unlikely that many of his textile workers would have been included in this scheme. No clear distinction was made by any of the speakers between the needs of the rural and urban labourers. That the garden scheme was aimed

primarily at agricultural workers is suggested by the fact that the Labourers' Friend Society appears to have amalgamated with the Lancaster Agricultural Society. The latter gave prizes for the best-kept labourers' gardens in the vicinity. None were awarded to workers in the town itself, but annual shows were held and prizes were given for the best entries of fruit and flowers.⁷

The weakness of the Heart of Oak Club and the Mechanics' Institute and the fleeting existence of the Labourers' Friend Society underlined the basic weakness of paternalism in the political upheavals of the 1830's. This weakness consisted of an inability to interpret upper class responsibility for the social and economic welfare of the whole community in any but purely 'charitable' terms. Charity and prize-giving were the limits of Tory social policy at the local level. The problem of the social alienation of the working class was admitted, and a return to a mythical golden age before the French Revolution was desired, but such an examination of the problem produced only a more vigorous attempt to apply traditional palliatives. On the major issues of social policy such as the New Poor Law and the borough police, the Tories could provide no alternatives to the Whig reforms, while the Whigs accepted the traditional palliative of charity to cushion the people from the most painful effects of political economy.

The Lancaster Tories felt themselves to be in a position to ignore the problems of new economic and political relationships brought about by the Industrial Revolution and the ^{Reform Act of 1832.} In spite of the town's textile mills and iron foundries, their presence was not strongly enough felt to demand recognition by the Tory paternalists. Lancaster in the mid-nineteenth century could still be regarded as a country town. The term 'manufacturing districts' was used in a derogatory manner to describe the southern parts of the county. ^{8a} The same attitude produced the sneering remarks in the Gazette about the presence of 'apprentices and factory boys' at Anti-Corn Law and Chartist meetings. The mill-workers could easily be attacked as a fifth column in the town acting on the orders of

the heretical and radical mill-owners.

The exploitation of anti-industrial sentiment remained part of the essential stock-in-trade of the Conservative press right into the middle of the nineteenth century. The Factory movement of the 1840's, although receiving little support in Lancaster, was echoed in the Gazette's republication of a poem from the Court Journal called 'The Two Mills'.⁸ By pointing a symbolic comparison between an old corn mill where old women were 'ground' young and a new steam-powered textile mill where young beauties were turned into old hags, the poem crudely condemned the effect of factory work on health. Such anti-industrial prejudices helped to keep alive party feeling. In a similarly partisan vein were the Gazette's reference to John Greg as the 'very beau ideal of a supercilious cotton spinner'.⁹ Finally the mills were distrusted as strongholds of nonconformity. The defence of the Church of England as the national religion became an ever-increasing concern to the Gazette. Partly thanks to that newspaper's encouragement, the national days of fasting and humiliation during the Crimean War were taken particularly seriously in Lancaster. Much chagrin was thus felt when, on 26th April 1854, (one such day) all the mills in the town kept running except Hinde's silk mill in Ridge Lane.¹⁰

Anti-industrial sentiment rarely developed into social policy. Opportunity arose on questions of short time, early closing and the New Poor Law. The Lancaster mill-owners had petitioned against Fielden's Bill in 1833 to reduce the hours of children which produced scathing comments from the radical Herald which was in favour of some restrictions on child labour in the mills.¹¹ The Lancaster mill-owners were led by John Greg, and his family were foremost in the resistance to Government interference in mills. His brother, R.H. Greg, wrote a tract against the 'Ten Hours' Act of 1847 and became the first chairman of the National Association of Factory Occupiers in 1855.¹² John Greg himself was summoned in 1836 for infringement of the Act of 1833, and he was fined 60s for working children under thirteen more than nine hours a day.

One of William Jackson's employees was also fined for not keeping a Time Book.¹³ The short time movement however aroused little interest among the local Tories. By contrast, the clergy and the Tories showed themselves keen supporters of the Early Closing movement launched in Lancaster in 1845 to restrict shopping hours.¹⁴ Seven o'clock was declared the ideal winter closing hour and customers were urged not to shop after that time. As for the Anti-Corn Law movement launched in Lancaster in 1840, the Gazette condemned it as hypocritical. Manufacturers had reduced wages because of the influx of cheap grain and now blamed the cost of grain as the reason for working class impoverishment.¹⁵ Nevertheless the nearest branch of the Anti-League was at Garstang, and was almost exclusively composed of farmers and landowners.¹⁶

Opposition to the New Poor Law was strong in Lancaster. It differed however from much northern resistance to the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 in that it was not primarily concerned with the workhouse test and that there is little evidence of an alliance between Tories and Operatives. In Lancaster, opposition mainly focussed on the administration of the Act and the role of the Poor Law Commissioners. Alfred Power came to Lancaster to hold a meeting to establish a Poor Law Union in December 1836.¹⁷ Initially the main problem was the existence of a Gilbert Union at Caton, formed in 1819 and consisting of seventeen townships north and east of Lancaster, whose officers refused to have anything to do with the proposed Lancaster Union.¹⁸ The Caton Gilbert Union was worried about the £300 debt still unpaid on Caton workhouse and the prospect of subsidising the poor of a town the size of Lancaster. In 1839 the Commissioners decided to go ahead with organising a union for Lancaster and those parishes and townships to the south and north which did not form part of the Gilbert Union. The temporary Guardians were appointed in December 1839 and the first Relieving Officers a month later.¹⁹ But the non-cooperation successfully employed by Caton was now adopted by Lancaster. In December 1839, the Tories won control of the Lancaster Board of Guardians.²⁰

Meanwhile the magistrates refused to hand over the paupers housed at the County Lunatic Asylum. The Gazette gave ideological backing to this local awkwardness. It spoke out in ringing tones against the whole principle of the New Poor Law. It objected to:

the cold-blooded philosophical process of reasoning lately brought to bear upon all matters relating to the pauper poor. Either treating poverty as a crime, or deeming the afflictions of the unfortunate as all unworthy of consideration, your philosopher can bring his mind to think of nothing but the smallest amount in pounds shillings and pence at which each unhappy supplicant for relief can be maintained at the parish cost. 21

With such a lead from Charles Quarme, the Overseers of the Poor for Lancaster township refused Power's offer of £80 a year to rent the existing Lancaster workhouse on the Moor. In May the vestry offered to sell the workhouse to the Board of Guardians for 2,000 guineas, and in June the Guardians received estimates for converting it (£3,606) and for building a new one (£4,146).²² A majority of only 13 to 12 decided on a new workhouse being built.²³

The Lancaster Poor Law Union had been successfully launched, but its difficulties were not over. In March 1841 on the petition of thirty Lancaster ratepayers a meeting was held to petition Parliament against the renewal of the unconstitutional powers of the Poor Law Commissioners.²⁴ In May the Board of Guardians itself demanded the removal of the Assistant Poor Law Commissioners, Mr. Mott having visited Lancaster only once and Garstang never.²⁵

All in all, in spite of Tory complaints there were no constructive attempts in Lancaster to find alternatives to the Whig social policies of 1835-41. The Tories grumbled at class divisions and social change, described the New Poor Law as heartless, temporarily resisted the degree of government influence involved in the New Poor Law Board and in the County Police Act of 1839.²⁶ It was hardly surprising. If the Tories at Westminster had few alternative proposals to make, it was unlikely that there would be much positive thinking in the provinces.²⁷ The activities of Tories like Oastler were exceptional.²⁸ There was no reflection of Oastler's Yorkshire activities in Lancaster. Liberals and Tories alike

in Lancaster resented government interference. They disagreed as to which they disliked the most. For Liberals, factory legislation and the Corn Laws were anathema. The Tories disliked the New Poor Law and the Police Act most. They agreed on the abomination of the County Police Act.²⁹ With a generally similar agreement on the freedom of local government from central control there was no positive approach to be expected in terms of national social policy from the Tories.

Church issues (in the 1830's and 1840's) opened up more divisions between the men of property. The municipal reform campaign derived much of its support from the idea of Dissenting and Roman Catholic tradesmen ousting the Tory and Anglican merchants from their monopoly of the Corporation. In fact this propagandist view was not the full picture but the myth of religious liberation was a powerful one and it soon inspired an opposing Anglican myth that all must rally to save the Church from Whiggery and Popery. Between the two camps, occasions for friction emerged such as the triennial vestry meeting at the Parish Church when the Church Rate was fixed. In 1837 Councillors William Jackson and Richard Farrer, both Dissenting cotton-spinners, demonstrated against the imposition of a rate.³⁰ In 1840 the vote in favour of a farthing rate was 1136, but the vote against was 961.³¹ Alderman Eastwood was fined by the magistrates for refusal to pay. The depression was probably influential as there was no opposition to a halfpenny rate in 1843.³² Elections proved another opportunity for sparring between Churchmen and Dissenters. Opposition to W.R. Greg in the 1837 election was raised on the grounds that he was a Unitarian who would add one more voice to what one evangelical described as the 'Infidel Howl' in the House of Commons.³³

Roman Catholics joined in the fight against church rates, but were in a more difficult position when it came to General Elections. They were torn between supporting Radicals who would vote in the Commons against the privileges of the Irish Church and between voting for acknowledged Trinitarians. The attitude of churchmen made their decision easier. The

Gazette launched a vigorous attack on local Catholics in the late 1830's and in 1840 a Protestant Association was formed in the town.³⁴ Roman Catholic political strength was never decisive at elections, but individual Catholics threw their weight not only against church rates, but also against Sabbatarians on the issue of Sunday trains.³⁵ Such initiative inspired a Protestant reaction which even produced a Protestant candidate at the election of 1847, but the Protestant choice appalled even the Gazette, divided the Tory vote, and the experiment was not repeated.³⁶

The divisions of Lancaster's ruling class opened up by social and economic change, religious conflict and political warfare in the 1820's and 1830's began to heal again in the 1840's. Each type of rivalry rose to a head and then tended to subside. The clash between Church and Dissent rose to a peak between 1835 and 1840 and then subsided. The clash between the Church and Roman Catholics rose to a peak between 1840 and 1847 and then subsided. The party clash between Whig and Tory was at its worst between 1836 and 1841. The conflict over the New Poor Law died down in the 1840's. Anti-industrial sentiment expressed by the Gazette was short-lived. By the late 1840's both the Gazette and Guardian would be supporting one another in the public health question. Later in the 1850's and 1860's there was little to choose between them on most issues. Many of the conflicts burnt themselves out and were merely emotional responses to social and political change which Lancaster could do little about. Acceptance of Parliamentary, Municipal and Irish Church reform, of rural police, New Poor Law came slowly, as did the acceptance of new Dissent and revived Catholicism.

With increased acceptance, many of the ideologies became more tolerant and possibly less energetic. The sleepiness which characterised Lancaster's economic life in the 1850's was shared by its ^{political} institutions. This was in part a reflection of national self-satisfaction after surviving the international dangers of 1848, in part exhaustion after the conflicts of the 1830's and 1840's. ^{In Lancaster,} a certain closing of the ranks

by the upper classes is once more apparent. Undoubtedly the main instrument of such reconciliation and realignment was the threat of Chartism which combined with the deep depression of 1839-42 and the marked increase in crime of those years impressed on the governing class the dangers of division.³⁷ The campaign for the return of the Assizes to Lancaster initiated by the Manchester Law Association and taken up with enthusiasm in Lancaster gave an opportunity for combined action.³⁸ So too did the public health crisis of the late 1840's. Not that the closing of the ranks was ever complete. The elections of mid-Victorian Lancaster show the political division of the upper class in spite of the drawing together of Conservative Liberals and Palmerstonian Conservatives. Nevertheless idealism was at a sufficiently low ebb to allow the town to be cynically exploited by outside interests in the 1866 election and relish the process.³⁹

Traditional paternalism survived. Individual families like the Ripleys, the Gregsons and the Coulstons provided schools, baths and churches. The town could no longer afford generous communal action and the fact that the Councillors were answerable to ratepayers after 1835 ruled out any projects which might place additional burdens on them. Subscriptions for charities, friendly societies, the Mechanics' Institute and other organisations continued as part of the responsibilities of the well-to-do, although the evangelical fervour of earlier days tended to diminish.⁴⁰

The emphasis was less on saving souls, more on the education of the poor, to make them respectable and self-reliant. Ripley's Hospital was established by the will of Thomas Ripley of September 1851 but was not opened until November 1864 because of difficulties under the Mortmain Act.⁴¹ Endowed with it was the school which was open to orphans of both sexes whose fathers had resided within fifteen miles of Lancaster or seven miles of Liverpool. The 'hospital' was to provide education and industrial training for the children and Ripley had stipulated that they should be taught the doctrines of the Church of England and attend church

on Sundays. Ripley's was the last major endowment made in Lancaster from the profits of overseas trade. It was also the most spectacular educational investment of the mid-Victorian years. The drive for elementary education by the churches was equally impressive in its own way. The main Boys' National School and the Charity School for Girls were both moved into new buildings in 1850-51, as was the Grammar School.⁴² Between 1835 and 1875 National Schools were built attached to the town's subsidiary churches viz. St. Luke's Skerton (mixed and infants 1836), St. Thomas's (mixed and infants 1847), St. Anne's (girls and infants 1853), St. John's (girls and infants 1868), Christchurch (infants 1873).⁴³ In 1845 there were 340 boys and 81 girls on the National School Books; by 1871 there were 550 boys and 232 girls on the books (in the 1860's the number of boys had reached 674 in 1866).⁴⁴ The capacity was even greater. As was pointed out in the Annual Report for 1870:

In the existing building the room at eight square feet per child (the space recommended by the Government) is more than sufficient to accommodate one sixth of the population. The Church Schools can receive 810 boys, 744 girls (including the Blue School) and 755 infants. 45

Meanwhile St. Peter's Schools were rebuilt in 1851 and by 1870 had a capacity of 500, while the British and Foreign School had by 1870 a capacity for 337.⁴⁶ With such success by voluntary efforts Lancaster put off the necessity of a School Board until 1893. All schools provided the basic rudiments of the 3 R's mainly through a doctrinal medium. A list of books used in St. Thomas's in the 1850's showed that most were scriptural or catechateical with some readers, three History books, a Geography book, two grammar and two arithmetic books.⁴⁷ The main National School in St. Leonardgate had not only a night school, but also a sick club and clothing club attached.⁴⁸ Schools, like churches, played an important part as voluntary welfare centres in addition to their primary functions of disciplining and indoctrinating the children. Through a variety of methods it was hoped to produce educated, orderly and prosperous adults and thus ensure social harmony and peace.

In the aftermath of Chartism working men in Lancaster as elsewhere anxiously sought respectability. This in fact meant acceptance of the institutions of mid-Victorian capitalist Britain. This acceptance took the form of adopting the recommendations of the paternalists, namely education, church attendance and temperance. These were however now transformed by the use of Samuel Smiles' phrase 'self-help'.⁴⁹ Working class leaders had accepted upper class values (as transformed by the Evangelicals and the Whigs) and claimed them as their own. In that one phrase 'self-help', clergy, manufacturers and working men saw their aims and aspirations merged. In the field of education, manufacturers, like the Quaker cotton-spinner, Thomas Barrow, paid for ten of his men to attend the Mechanics' Institute while the Hindes began a library at their Ridge Lane silk mill. Membership of the Mechanics' Institute at last began to extend to mechanics in the 1850's.⁵⁰ Only when the question of control was raised as in 1860 by Rev. Henry Solly, was the harmony which had seemed to reign between paternalists and working men temporarily destroyed.⁵¹

^{and chapel} Church attendance conferred respectability, even though in Lancaster as elsewhere many of the working class attended no place of worship.⁵² It was respectability at ~~the price~~ ^{with} of a pew, and the necessity not only of 'Sunday best', but of Sunday attire worthy to be examined in a public place. For many, church attendance along with the whole concept of 'self-help' remained a pious hope. Respectability was to be achieved by paying lip-service to Sabbath observance and simply concentrating on avoiding the worst evils of poverty and drunkenness.

Temperance was an area in which working men and paternalists met on equal terms. The problem of drink was very serious. In 1851 the Working Men's Lord's Day Observance Society offered prizes for the three best essays on 'the various forms of Sabbath desecration in and around Lancaster, and the remedies adopted to meet them'. The winner was Joseph Wildman, a cotton warp-dresser.⁵³ Wildman listed 94 places where alcohol was

available in the town (cf. 119 adult innkeepers, publicans and beersellers in 1851 census). There was now one licensed premise to every 156 inhabitants (cf. 1:155 in 1831). According to Wright, Superintendent of the Borough Police, about 500 people frequented the pubs on Sunday, although other observers estimated the figure at more like 800. Wildman explained that publicans had become very wily and kept many in their houses all Saturday night. One inn on Sunday, 14th July 1850 was:

full in every part below stairs, before breakfast, and spirits and ale were sold.

Wildman also drew attention to Lancaster's eleven houses of ill-fame with their 'twenty-five prostitutes and twelve men whom they support as their agents and assistants'.

Wildman hoped that by more frequent preaching of the claims of the Sabbath as a 'Divine ordinance', distribution of tracts and female visiting of prostitutes the worst evils might be overcome. Stricter legislation against Sabbath opening was also necessary, and the various forms of work which still occurred on Sundays. In 1850 Thomas Greene, one of Lancaster's M.P.s, had presented a local petition to Parliament in favour of ending Post Office Sunday working. The number involved, according to Wildman, was only about five. A more serious problem was the number of barbers and small shopkeepers who opened on Sundays. There was little that could be done about this except by persuasion and voluntary effort. Some Lancaster shopkeepers (like Edward Frankland's master) regarded Sunday opening as a sin, others did not.⁵⁴ In Skerton, however, provision dealers and tradesmen did agree to close on Sundays in November 1840.⁵⁵ It is hard to say whether this agreement lasted when the depression of 1839-41 lifted.

The problem of Sabbath-breaking was intractable. There were over 14,000 inhabitants in 1851 and only places for about half of them in the churches and chapels. Apart from the effects of vice, there were otherwise harmless trips to the country for 'fishing, poaching with dogs, bird-catching and idling'. By 1850 the Sabbath-breakers had new allies in the railways. Sunday trains were the subject of a major debate in Lancaster

as elsewhere. Partly thanks to the efforts of Lancaster Town Council, and partly thanks to the anxiety of the directors to maintain a respectable image, the Lancaster and Carlisle Company ran only two trains on Sunday evenings out of Lancaster, apart from mail trains. The 'little' North-Western Company also confined itself to a minimum, but as Wildman pointed out, there were three trains in and out of Poulton-le-Sands every Sunday afternoon. In summer:

The people of Lancaster may be seen in hundreds at Poulton, whileing away the day in neglect of all that is sacred, and involved in every species of dissipation that the place and their means afford.

The Justices were doing their best to prevent public houses opening during the hours of Divine Service on Sunday afternoons but publicans could always claim the right to supply 'travellers'. Parties came not only from Lancaster and neighbouring villages but from Yorkshire as well and fights were not uncommon. The fact that railway stations became licensed premises (Lancaster in 1843) made the association between railways and Sabbath-breaking even stronger.⁵⁶

The Lancaster Temperance Society which had had such an auspicious beginning in the early 1830's was soon divided and in debt. The compromise pledge worked out by Dawson and others in 1835 did not satisfy the total abstainers for long, and by 1845 they had broken away to form the Lancaster Total Abstinence Society with the help of a Mr. Thompson of Leeds, an agent of the British Temperance League.⁵⁷ The new society had no easier time finding members or funds on its own, so there was a second amalgamation in 1848. But the final misfortune occurred when their meeting-place, the old Sugar House in Leonardgate, was burnt down in November 1848.

It was not until 1853 that total abstinence revived, encouraged by the founding of the United Kingdom Alliance in Manchester in the preceding year and aided by 'some friends from Preston'.⁵⁸ The new Lancaster Total Abstinence Society soon demonstrated the organisational vigour and the propagandist zeal of its parent organisation. The town was divided into districts, and a subscription committee soon raised money from the people

of property, including both M.P.s, the Mayor and the proprietor of the King's Arms.⁵⁹ Within six months 1,400 tracts had been sold weekly from door to door, nine temperance lectures had been held in the Oddfellows' Hall and over 500 had signed the total abstinence pledge. Missionary activities were begun in neighbouring villages. In Lancaster itself, the committee, almost entirely composed of Nonconformists (mainly Quakers) campaigned annually at the licensing sessions to reduce the number of licensed premises. By 1859 its financial success allowed it to convert the former Roman Catholic chapel in Dalton Square into a temperance hall at a cost of £1,400.

Paternalism was changing. By the 1850's the ~~tradition of moral~~ ^{tradition of moral} ~~aid~~, municipal or clerical assistance was being replaced by ^{the gospel} ~~the~~ of Smilesian self-help. The local heroes changed too. They were no longer the Heyshams or the merchant families or Housman and his followers, but 'self-made' men who had risen from the ranks of the working class. Such men in the 1850's and 1860's were the scientists Willian Whewell and Richard Owen. These were men who had triumphed by merit alone, or so all were led to believe. By the early 1870's more genuine and certainly more earthy examples of self-help were being paraded in the shape of the two oilcloth manufacturers Thomas Storey and James Williamson. By 1870 they had become favourite speakers at meetings of benefit clubs and friendly societies because their success gave some substance to the myth which all repeated.

By 1870 paternalism had ceased to be ~~one-sided~~, it had become mutual. Everyone paid lip-service to the myth of self-help and all were agreed on the social benefits of education, church attendance and temperance. Political divisions were not forgotten, but by 1870 there were no fundamental divisions about the organisation of Victorian society or about how the casualties of that society were to be helped. The notion of hierarchy had been re-established but only with the provision of a semi-fictitious ladder to allow access from the bottom to the top. Optimism had replaced pessimism, and the fantasies of Samuel Smiles those of Malthus or Housman.

CHAPTER VIFootnotes.

1. Lancaster Gazette, 1 August 1835.
2. Much criticism of attitude of rich towards St. Thomas', see National Society Archives, Gt. Peter St., St. Thomas', Lancaster, Rev. C. Campbell to Society, 30 November 1843, 14 November 1846.
3. Lancaster Gazette, 1 August 1835.
4. R.L. Hill, Tory Democracy (1929).
5. Lancaster Gazette, 28 November 1835.
6. Ibid. 6 August 1836.
7. Lancaster Records (Lancaster, 1869), 1836 et seq. passim.
- 8a The attack on mills and mill-owners was common Tory political currency, see: Fair Prices and Fair Wages (Lancaster, 1844), Lancaster City Library, PT. 265.
- 8b Lancaster Gazette, 13 January 1844.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid. 29 April 1854.
11. Lancaster Herald, 30 March 1833.
12. J.T. Ward, The Factory Movement 1830-1855 (1962) pp. 400,419.
13. Lancaster Gazette, 15 October 1836.
14. Lancaster Guardian, 26 July 1845; also 30 August 1845.
15. Lancaster Gazette, 14 November 1840.
16. Ibid. 30 March 1844.
17. Ibid. 31 December 1836.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid. 18 January 1840.
20. Ibid. 14 December 1839.
21. Ibid. 11 April 1840.
22. Ibid. 23 May 1840.
23. Ibid. 20 June 1840.
24. Ibid. 3 April 1841.
25. Ibid. 8 May 1841.
26. Ibid. 2 & 9 May and 16 June 1841. Here Liberals agreed with Tories.
27. D. Roberts, 'Tory Paternalism and Social Reform in Early Victorian England', American Historical Review 63, 958, pp. 323-337.

28. C. Driver , Tory Radical: The Life of Richard Oastler (New York, 1946), passim.
29. See 26.
30. Lancaster Gazette, 1 April 1837.
31. Ibid. 7 March 1840.
32. Ibid. 5 June 1843.
33. Ibid. 22 July 1837.
34. Ibid. 18 January 1840.
35. Ibid. 12 December 1840.
Correspondence between Rev. Charles Bury of St. Anne's Church and James Whiteside, a leading Catholic layman.
36. Ibid. 31 July 1847.
37. Ibid. 25 November 1843.
38. Ibid. 2 December 1843.
39. Lancaster Election Commission 1866 .
40. Housman died in 1838, but his followers maintained the traditions viz. Rev. Charles Bury (St. Luke's, 1833-40 ; St. Anne's, 1840-56) Rev. George Morland (St. John's, 1824-62), Rev. John Beethom (Free Grammar School 1812-50). St. Thomas' Church was founded in 1841 as an evangelical stronghold. There was much support from the laity too; see establishment of Church of England Education Society branch, Lancaster Gazette, 9 December 1854.
41. Fifty Years Ago (Lancaster, 1904), II, p. 131.
42. A.L. Murray, The Royal Grammar School, Lancaster: a History (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 136-142.
43. Great Peter St, National Society Correspondence. N.B. Enormous energy of Victorian clergy shown.
44. Lancaster City Library, Annual Reports of the Lancaster National Schools.
45. Ibid. Annual Report for 1870.
46. R.W. Billington & J. Brownbill, St. Peter's, Lancaster (1910), pp. 182-5.
47. The National Society, St. Thomas', Lancaster, Timetable for week and list of books.
48. Lancaster City Library, Annual Reports of the National Schools; St. John's Church had a benevolent society.
49. Samuel Smiles, Self-help (1859); although made famous by Smiles the phrase was first used in 1831 see Shorter O.E.D. (1962).
50. Fifty Years Ago, op. cit. p. 360.
51. Lancaster Gazette, 26 May, 8 September, 29 September, 24 November 1860.

52. P.R.O. HO 129/485/5, 1851 Religious Census, Lancaster. About half the population attended church on Census Sunday in Lancaster and Skerton.
53. Lancaster City Library, PT 157.
54. Eds. M.N.W. & S.J.C. Frankland, Sketches from the Life of Edward Frankland (1902).
55. Lancaster Gazette, 28 November 1840.
56. Ibid. 9 September 1843.
57. H. Whitaker, The Story of One Hundred Years' Temperance Work (Lancaster, 1953)
Lancaster City Library, Total Abstinence Society File.
58. Fifty Years Ago op. cit. III, 317.
59. Lancaster Gazette, 10 September 1853.

Summary Part III

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the population of Lancaster doubled, due largely to the development of oilcloth and railway carriage manufacture. Oilcloth expanded rapidly, and James Williamson and Son emerged as the town's major employer, concentrating from 1890 on floorcloth and linoleum, while Storey's specialised in table covers and leather cloth. Williamson's especially had a growing foreign market by 1914. The Lancaster Wagon Company meanwhile saw steady growth in the 1870s and rapid expansion in the booms of 1888-1891 and 1896-1901. Amalgamation with large Midland firms in 1902, however, led first to run down and by 1909 complete closure.

Lancaster had the advantage of a prosperous regional bank making handsome annual profits, and sharing nearly half its dividends among local businessmen. Other joint stock enterprises showed a variety of local initiative, ~~(but a shortage of capital and entrepreneurial skill)~~ There were a variety of individual efforts too, many of which were unsuccessful. Farming prospered in spite of the Great Depression, thanks to increased dairy output and cheap cattle feed. Certain industries associated with agriculture, particularly cattle feeds, expanded. Lancaster trades grew in response to rising population in the town. Building was particularly important. In its occupational structure it still bore the marks of a service rather than a manufacturing town. By 1911, however, those employed in oilcloth had increased from 7% to 21% of adult males and transformed the picture. Local economic decisions were still largely taken in Lancaster, although economic power was becoming concentrated in the hands of Lord Ashton.

With the increase in the size and wealth of Lancaster, the gentry families ceased to play a major role in the town's affairs. This was partly due to the decline of old gentry families. Power in town and locality passed to new families. The social elite became more pluralist, less concentrated than earlier. Judging by membership of the County Club, it included only the Town Council leadership, as in the early Victorian Lancaster. Notables involved themselves in the running of a variety of

voluntary associations. Individuals were remarkable for their wealth or political influence. Few, however, could rival the Storeys and Williamsons. Both families had had to work their way up the social scale by hard work and good marriages. The second generation of the two families in traditional manner tended to transfer their interests from the town to the county. Lavish charity confirmed their enhanced status. Lord Ashton retained a close personal interest in his firm, in Lancaster politics and in local institutions. Benevolence had a political purpose. Public opinion could be influenced through the press. As for the social elite, he largely ignored its existence.

The scope of municipal government greatly expanded in the late nineteenth century, although Lancaster never acquired County Borough status. It covered notably health and education. Municipal enterprises came to include water, gas, electricity and tramways. It did not extend to housing. The housing shortage was most acute at the lowest end, but the Town Council was put off by the expense of similar projects in other towns. The town was lightly rated - at least up to 1900 - and rates were heavily subsidised by municipal undertakings, especially gas and water. This policy favoured the minority of the population who were owner occupiers or cottage proprietors, who put pressure on the Council through Ratepayers' Associations. Caution was the by-word of municipal policy in Edwardian Lancaster. The number of officials grew enormously, as did the responsibility of the Town Clerk at their head. Town Clerks remained servants rather than becoming leaders of the Council. The borough was extended in 1888 and 1900 and the franchise increased slowly from 12% of the borough population in 1871 to 18% by 1911. Turnout at elections was high.

Greater emphasis on public spirit followed the moral shock of borough disfranchisement. The ideal qualities were felt to be 'natural' leadership, a 'smart' business sense, a concern for economy, and independence. Many of the ideals were incompatible. Competition to enter the Council rose as the town grew and reached its peak in the 1900's. The Council

had a large nucleus of men of experience. Its small size gave it something of a club atmosphere. The average age of Councillors was between 50 and 60. Councillors included many of the richest men in the town. The number whose fathers had been Councillors before them remained at about one in ten. There was a decline in the number of professional men's sons and an increase in the number of farmers' sons. A high proportion of Councillors remained Lancaster born, although many of the leaders were still 'off-comers'. The Grammar School educated minority remained substantial too, thanks to reforms the Council had itself helped to carry out. Most Councillors had had no secondary education and were not concerned about the fact. Many had probably had no elementary education either. By contrast only a handful had attended university. Access to the Council leadership was gained by between a quarter and a third of Councillors. Whereas half the total membership were tradesmen and small businessmen under a third became leaders. Half the leaders were drawn from the merchants and manufacturers who continued to dominate the Council as they had done in the 1860's. The aldermanic bench was largely Liberal and, after 1888, largely Williamsonite. The mayoralty which had been something of a party prize in the 1870s, became the preserve of the notables in the 1880s. A dearth of these from the late 1890s gave the office to the close allies of Lord Ashton.

The most strongly represented economic interest was that of the building trade. The manufacturers were well represented, especially in the years 1879 to 1895, but there was a marked indifference of managers to the Town Council. There was a sharp diminution of professional representation, with some revival due to participation by the 'newer' professions after the borough extensions. A Unionist bias and the trend towards living outside the borough, increasing professional responsibilities all provide some explanation of this unusual development.

Religious affiliation showed that the Church of England was still the most common, with subtle political distinctions between the churches. The Roman Catholic element was small. The outstanding feature was the heavy influx of Nonconformists who were associated with the specific

issues of rates and licensing and were generally associated with the Liberal ward associations. Nonconformist leadership was dynamic while in the hands of the Congregationalists in the 1880's and 1890's, but it never took full control of the local Liberal Party or of the Council. After 1900 Sir Norval Helme was the titular leader of Lancaster Nonconformity, but his prestige was greater than his power. Without an effective Liberal voice, the Radical element in Lancaster Nonconformity tended to look towards Labour. Freemasonry remained non-exclusive, in terms of social status, but did not include Roman Catholics or members of the I.L.P.

Liberal domination of the Town Council was only threatened during the Hom. Rule years of 1886-8, but after borough extension grew stronger. Manufacturers, merchants and tradesmen were mainly Liberal, professional men still tended to be Conservative. Issues and personalities were far more important than party. Party organisation was strongest among the Liberals. The Council provided several County Councillors and three Liberal Members of Parliament. Elections continued to be contested with rarity. Borough extension, the Conservative revival of 1893-95 and the rise of Labour after 1905, were the major causes of contests. General elections and the rivalry between the press helped to generate strong political feeling.

Trade unions in Lancaster received encouragement from the new attitude towards unions from the first Gladstone and Disraeli governments. Unionism was weak in Lancaster, and most societies, with the exception of those in the building trades, were very small. Some growth was registered in the mid 1870's, but wage cuts followed with the first signs of depression in 1878. The major strike by way of response was at the Wagon Works, resulting in a compromise. Unions in general suffered from the conflicts of 1878-79 and local membership dropped. Conflict was more muted in the wage cuts of 1885-86. Wages and union membership picked up again in the recovery of 1887-90 the builders leading the way. Attempts by the semi skilled mat weavers to organise for the first time did not meet with lasting success. More important was the setting up in 1891 of a Lancaster Trades Council, in line with other smaller industrial centres. It

concentrated initially on 'fair' contracts; but supported 'new' unionism and made a timid effort to assert the unionists' voice in local politics. Relations between the craft workers and the semi-skilled remained strained. Lancaster remained a low wage town by north western standards. When the question of I.L.P. support was raised, the Trades Council broke up in the depression of 1895. The renewal of economic advance in 1896 led to strikes in the building trades and at Williamson's. The Gasworkers' made little progress. The union to make most progress was the National Union of Shop Assistants. The Trades Council was reconstituted in 1900. It encouraged the organisation of the unskilled, but with little success. After 1903 unemployment re-emerged as a pressing problem and strikes were rare. The Trades Council, annoyed by the Town Council's inactivity on unemployment, affiliated with the Labour Representation Committee. The wage census of 1906 showed Lancaster craft workers to have improved with relation to other north-western towns since 1892, and to be paid well above the national average. Oilcloth labourers were however somewhat below it. The same difference was found with hours of labour. A great gulf remained between 'skilled' and 'semi-skilled' or 'unskilled'. Wages stood stationary between 1900 and 1912, meanwhile the cost of living went up over ten per cent. With economic revival in 1912, wages went up at last, but not sufficiently to catch up the cost of living. Trade unions wilted under hostile political conditions locally, in spite of rapid national growth.

The friendly society remained the first line of defence of the Lancastrian throughout the nineteenth century. Yet even in 1900, most only received payments to help with burials. The Lancaster Benevolent Burial Society catered for over twice the number of people covered by 'the great orders'. There were benefit societies attached to some of the mills. Oddfellowship remained the preserve of the labour aristocracy, combining the ethic of self help with deference. A variety of societies came on the scene, including temperance organisations. Political involvement was largely eschewed. Building societies continued to flourish, but the collapse of the Lancaster Permanent in 1893 cast a shadow over

this particular form of insurance. Perhaps the most successful of all such working class institutions of social defence was the Co-operative Society which by 1901 had 9,000 members and a large organisation. By 1914 it was one of the most successful business enterprises in Lancaster.

Paternalism had been the typical feature of Lancaster industrial relations in the nineteenth century. Factories were small. Considerable continuity was maintained in the key members of the workforce; loyalty and gratitude were the predominant sentiments. Such relations were inherited and carried on by Storey's and Williamson's. Their factories, however, were much larger and included a majority of adult male workers. Organisation was difficult, not least because of Lord Ashton's policy of minute personal supervision.

Paternalism affected the whole social relations of the town. Church organisations reflected the hierarchical nature of society. Most stretched from the top to the bottom of society. Those which were exclusively working class were not as politically minded as in other towns. The rediscovery of urban problems following the sanitary crisis of 1888-9 made the mechanism of paternalism far more complex. The Town Council was run by leading local manufacturers and after 1886 they held the town's parliamentary representation too. After further parliamentary reform, the Liberal Party, financed and led by Williamson, organised the new voters. The community was identified by the Liberal press with Williamson and his factories. This was made easier when Storey became a Unionist. The Liberal ethos played down class distinctions. Lib-Lab harmony was at first a prominent feature of the new Liberal Party, but was soon undermined. Lib-Labism was in noticeable disarray in 1895, but was patched up for the election of 1900. Occasions for class conflict were growing. Labour, however, was still a fringe movement even in 1906, and its leadership sometimes came from unexpected sources. Nor did the Labour movement use the language of class conduct. Liberalism in Lancaster did not undergo an Edwardian revival.

Labour's new campaign began in 1906 with support for local leaders from national figures. It had some success and provoked Lord Ashton's

intense scrutiny. Confrontation came into the open with an article criticising Lord Ashton in the Co-operative News in 1909. This was disowned by the Labour leaders and generally condemned in the town, but Lord Ashton determined to use the occasion to break the local movement. By his favourite method of interviewing individuals he succeeded in increasing differences in the local leadership. He also attacked the oldest and most controversial individual, William Wall. Entertainments at the newly opened Town Hall helped to make sure of a Liberal victory at the elections of 1910. His conciliatory policy in the Rail Strike of 1911 assured him that he had silenced Wall. In fact it only encouraged him. Wall's success at the Skerton election of 1911, in spite of Ashton's opposition, led to drastic retaliation. I.L.P. workers at Williamson's were sacked. Charitable operations were declared to be at an end. The labour bandwagon in Lancaster was halted. Lord Ashton dismantled his system of paternalism and transferred his benevolent interests to St. Anne's.

Part III

CHAPTER I

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND 1870-1914

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the growth of many towns had slowed down and the population of England and Wales was expanding but at a reduced rate, ~~that~~ Lancaster began to grow rapidly for the first time since the late eighteenth century. The population of Lancaster doubled in thirty years. In the forty years, 1871 to 1911, Lancaster grew faster than either the County or the towns used here for comparison.

TABLE 1

Comparative Growth of Lancaster and Other Towns 1871-1911.¹

	Lancs**	Lancaster	Carlisle	Chester	Preston	L'pool	Manchester
1871	2,819,495	17,245	31,049	35,257	85,427	493,405	351,189
1881	3,454,438	20,663	35,884	36,794	96,537*	552,425	341,508
1891	3,926,760	31,038*	39,176*	37,105	107,573	517,980	505,368*
1901	4,406,409	40,329*	45,480	38,309	112,989	684,958*	543,872
1911	4,825,089 ⁺	41,410	46,420	39,028	117,088	746,421*	714,333*

** Ancient County of Lancaster + Regn County of Lancaster

% Growth:

1871-91	39.3	80.0	26.2	5.2	25.9	5.0	43.9
1891-11	22.9	33.4	18.5	5.2	8.8	44.1	41.3

Although Lancaster remained well under half the size of its neighbour and old rival, Preston, it had caught up the other county towns of Chester and ^{nearly that of} Carlisle by 1901.

The reason for Lancaster's population growth in this period was the success of the two industries established in the town in the mid-nineteenth century. Oilcloth and railway carriage manufacture became major employers of labour. The number of men engaged in oilcloth production rose from an insignificant number in 1871 to 1,120 in 1901 and 3,359 in 1911. Lancaster became one of the leading centres of oilcloth in the country, and the only major centre in Lancashire.² Over a thousand were employed in carriage manufacture and over two

thousand were employed in the building and construction industry. A rapid growth of the trades accompanied the two major manufacturing industries in the town, and the borough boundaries were extended to include the growing suburbs of Skerton, Scotforth and Bulk.

It would be wrong to give the impression of a period of uninterrupted growth through the years 1870 to 1914. 'Bad trade' hit the town in the years 1876-9, 1885-6, 1893-5, 1902-5 and 1907-10. The town suffered much less from the Great Depression than the textile towns of South Lancashire. The first slump of 1873-9 was slow to reach the town, as was the depression of 1882-6 and that of 1890-5, according to Beales's classic periodisation. Lancaster's experience suggests that local variations may be just as damaging to the traditional interpretation of those years as other criticism made with reference to long-term economic trends.³

As in the two previous sections, the economic history of the town will only be looked at from certain angles, namely the port, the development of the oilcloth and carriage industries, the development of local business finance, the state of agriculture and the role of the town as a market centre.

a. The Port.

The peak of shipping using the port of Lancaster had been reached in the 1830's and 1840's. In 1831-40 an average of 630 ships of 41,000 tons a year paid dues at Lancaster. Small though this achievement was by national standards (Liverpool had topped 250,000 tons a year as early as the 1790's), it was not surpassed thereafter.⁴ Lancaster soon lost ground to the new railway ports of Fleetwood, Preston, Barrow and even, for a time, Morecambe. In the period 1871-80 the number of ships and total tonnage reached their lowest point since 1811-20. There was some revival from the late 1870's up to 1905, but the completion of the Midland Railway harbour at Heysham in 1904 put a stop to further expansion.

The main growth in the last quarter of the century was in overseas trade. This increased $2\frac{1}{2}$ times between 1850 and 1910. The main staples were Canadian timber and Indian corn from America, the former for Lancaster and Preston builders, the latter for millers and cattle feed merchants.

A trade insignificant in tonnage, but important in value was that carried out to supply the Lancaster oilcloth works, particularly James Williamson and Son. In 1890 the Customs Officer at Glasson Dock reported the need for additional accommodation because of the oilcloth supply ships:

The nature of the trade is coastwise in oil, soda, white lead whitening, naphtha, paint in casks, chalk & c. 5

By 1899 ships were bringing cork from Spain and Portugal, and James Williamson and James Helme were sharing a flotilla of seven ships.

The coastal trade of the port was mainly carried out through Morecambe. Heavy goods played some part. Iron ore was supplied to the Carnforth Ironworks, cement for Manchester Corporation's Thirlmere operations. China clay and stone were also transported coastwise through Morecambe and Glasson Dock, the latter benefiting from the rail link to Lancaster, built in 1883 at the behest of James Williamson. From 1904, Heysham replaced both Morecambe and Glasson as the main port for

Lancaster.⁶ Competition between various railway and shipping companies appears to have kept freight rates low to the advantage of local industrialists.

b. Oilcloth

By 1870 oilcloth had established its place as a leading industry in Lancaster. After 1870 and particularly from the 1880's, it was James Williamson and Son that emerged as the town's leading oilcloth firm.

James Williamson took his two sons, Thomas and James, into partnership, but his elder son Thomas retired early from ill-health and went to live at Burscough and then Southport.⁷ When, in 1875, James Williamson's health required him to spend much of his time abroad, it was his second son, James, who became the real head of the firm. It was to continue under the title of James Williamson and Son, even after his father's death in 1879. The firm expanded rapidly under James junior's control. In the 1870's the construction of Lune Mills was begun on the site of a former shipyard on Lancaster Marsh, and it was on these premises that the firm began to manufacture floorcloth, and later blindcloth (1884), and, after a long period of experimentation, cork linoleum in 1887.⁸

Storey's expanded too, although by the 1890's it had been rapidly outgrown by Williamson's. A persistent rivalry existed between the two firms which expressed itself in the form of a price war in the late 1880's.⁹ It is difficult to date ^{this} precisely, but it seems to have occurred after James Williamson senior's death and to have roughly coincided with Williamson's entry into the floorcloth market and with the growing political tension between the two families after the Home Rule split in 1886. The price war ended in a victory for Williamson's who subsequently dictated prices, wage ceilings and conditions of business generally to the smaller firm. The details of the terms are not known, for certain, but it was well known in Edwardian Lancaster that Storey's wages were all at a lower level than Williamson's. It also included an agreement restricting advertising. One consequence of the conflict was a division

of production. Up until the 1870's both firms were renowned as table cover manufacturers. From 1890 Williamson's concentrated exclusively on floorcloth and linoleum, while Storey's specialised in table covers and leathercloth.

The bulk of the Lune Mills site on Lancaster Marsh was purchased by James Williamson from Lancaster Corporation in 1889.¹⁰ It was there that the major development of the firm took place thereafter, particularly in the booms of 1896-1901 and 1912-13. In these years Lord Ashton established a virtual monopoly in English production of 'third printed', the lowest quality linoleum.¹¹ His domination of this bottom end of the linoleum market was achieved by investment in modern machinery, by intense price competition and by effective marketing. The cork was imported directly to the port of Lancaster from Spain, Portugal and Morocco, while linseed oil was brought by rail. Freight rates were reduced to a minimum by playing off the L & NWR against the MR. Direct personal control ensured maximum efficiency at the works. Wages were low compared to wages in the industry nationally, and no oilcloth or general labour union was allowed to organise the workers to raise them.¹² Such was Lord Ashton's success that he employed about three thousand workers by 1911. Although the details of his success are not known, it seems likely that oilcloth was an industry which benefited from a combination of falling commodity prices, low freight rates and, above all, the rising demand for cheap consumer goods, particularly in the years of growing real wages between 1882 and 1900.¹³ The late Victorian working class could not afford fancy table cloths or carpets, but they could and did afford oilcloth table and floor coverings and later linoleum.¹⁴

Disagreements exist about the proportion of Williamson's products which were exported. Former employees have stated that it was only about a third. Lord Ashton's accountant in 1930 ~~maintained~~ that 'by far the greater proportion of the firm's output had always gone abroad'.^{15a} Destruction of firm records, in 1930 and during the Second World War, makes the truth difficult to ascertain. The national figures lead one to expect an important export market. Nationally the exportation of

oilcloth and allied products rose from an average of nearly four million square yards in 1870-4 to thirty-two and a half million square yards by 1913.¹⁶

Williamson's had an important South American market and by the outbreak of the First World War Lord Ashton had already made inroads into Europe. He had large shares in firms in Belgium and Germany and his own depot at Antwerp. These foreign markets were seriously disrupted by the war and the Antwerp depot ^{was} destroyed.¹⁷ Even with greatly reduced assets and inadequate reconstruction, Lord Ashton still managed to be worth ^{million net} £9½[^] at his death in 1930.¹⁸ In 1914, at the height of his success, his firm would probably have been worth a great deal more.

While Williamson's remained a private firm until after Lord Ashton's death, Storey brothers formed a limited company in 1896. It was remodelled in 1902.¹⁹ Two smaller oilcloth firms grew up in the town in the wake of Williamson's and Storey's. James Helme, a Church Street draper, opened a small table baize business at Halton Mill about 1872, which later flourished under the management of his son, Norval, and with the support of Williamson's, with which firm it was finally amalgamated in 1932.²⁰ The other oilcloth firm, that of Wolfendale and Mansergh, under the title the Lancaster Oilcloth Company was launched as a joint stock company in 1878, but was dissolved five years later,²¹ and the mill, Ridge Lane, was pulled down in 1889. Matting factories too sprang up as satellites of the oilcloth factories. Some were very transitory, like George Ramsden's, which relied on a loan from the bank and went bankrupt in 1885. A more successful manufacturing venture was W.J. Sly's cocoa matting factory at Albion Mill. This was started in 1874 by the son of the innkeeper of the King's Arms.²²

c. Lancaster Wagon Company.

The company's early troubles have been described in Section II. The company was slow to recover from the losses of 1866 and the failure of Shrimpton, the contractor, one of the many financial crashes of that year. After the disastrous year of 1866, the company made losses in 1867 and 1868 (amounting to £2,072 3s 6d), and again in 1871 (£7,525 17s 10d). After 1871 the company only once more had to report a loss to its shareholders, in 1879 (£1,972 13s 3d). Nevertheless annual profits were small. Between 1871 and 1883 profits only once exceeded £10,000. After 1883 the profit margin became much larger, but fluctuations were considerable. Three times (1886, 1894 and 1895), annual profits fell below £10,000, while twice they exceeded £30,000 (1891 and 1901). The annual balances of the profit and loss account show that, throughout the company's life, there were only two periods of major success: these were 1889 to 1892 and 1897 to 1901.²³

1874 was only the second year in which a dividend was paid. By then the debt incurred on the undertaking of 1866 (£16,460) had been written off, and the problem of too small a capital, which had dogged the company from the beginning, had been largely overcome. Although 1875-8 were years when trade conditions were not favourable and competition was keen, the company still managed to keep up its annual payments of dividend. Output fell seriously in 1877, 1878 and 1879. By 1879 output had fallen 40% on that of 1876, and for the first time since 1873 the company was obliged to suspend the payment of a dividend.

After the nadir of 1879, business revived remarkably. Between 1880 and 1889 annual profits on work done exceeded all but the best year of the previous decade (1874). In the 1880's, orders were still scarce, profit margins were small and rates of hire for wagons were low, but the company prepared for future expansion by building up a substantial reserve fund, while continuing to pay a small but steady dividend (1881-4, 4%; 1885-8, 5% per annum).

The real expansion of business came in the years 1888 to 1891. Profits on work done doubled between 1887 and 1890, although they were

to fall back to the level of the early 1880's in the years 1893-6.

1888 was described as an 'exceedingly prosperous year'. Contracts were kept cheap in spite of the rising costs of raw materials. More important was the recovery in export markets. The Lancaster Wagon Company benefited from the export of British capital to Argentina between 1885 and 1890.²⁴ The Wagon Works' largest single customer in 1888 was the Central Argentine Railway. Overseas railway speculation was to provide the uneasy basis of the company's expansion. Expansion in demand led to expansion in buildings and machinery. In 1888-9, over £23,000 was spent on additional production space and new machinery. 1889 saw an even bigger turnover than in 1888 (£353,000 as against £293,000), in spite of increases in the price of materials, the Liverpool Dock Strike and a strike by the labourers at the Wagon Works itself.

The boom continued into 1890 and 1891, and the company paid an annual dividend of 10% (1888-91), but by 1892 it was over. The drop in British foreign investment in 1890-1 and general depression in overseas railway construction struck the company's South American and Australian markets, where the bulk of its business was done.^{25a} The company's turnover was halved. 1893 brought no encouragement. It was reported that the Brazilian market was affected by political troubles while trade with Argentina and India remained very bad.

It was not until 1896 that business took an upward swing, and the company could afford a dividend of 10% for the first time since 1891. Once more trade boomed. Profits again doubled, resuming the level which they had reached in 1888-91. 1896-1901 proved to be a period of unequalled prosperity and expansion for the company. In 1898 much work was done to extend and improve the plant: a new foundry was built, a new upholstery shop was finished, and the yard used for painting the wheels was covered over to allow the work to be carried out all the year round. Some difficulties were experienced. In 1899 there were delays in deliveries of iron and steel, and there was a scarcity of mechanics. In 1900, although

a year in which profits were second only to those of 1890, increases in the price of materials, labour and coal caused some concern, while the management also looked with apprehension to the growth of American and Continental rivals. Such fears were taken lightly at the time (the annual report 1901), but in retrospect there seems a strong possibility that Shackleford, the managing director, was preparing the ground for major changes in the structure of the company.

The possibility of amalgamation had never been considered at any annual general meeting before 1902, and so when it was announced it came as a severe shock to the locality. Nevertheless there had been uncertainty about the company's future expressed in the local press, as well as at the A.G.M. of 1901. The Guardian had considered the possibility of some such eventuality as early as June 1900:

...imagine what the effect to the town would be if the works were suddenly shut up and the thousands of pounds that are spent in the town transferred to some other centre of industry. Happily there is no risk of this ...

The proposed amalgamation was announced in the spring of 1902.²⁶

The four other companies were named as follows:

Company	Date of Establishment	Issued Capital
Ashbury Railway Carriage & Iron Co., Openshaw, Manchester.	1862	£ 288,042
Brown Marshalls & Co., Saltley, Birmingham	1897	100,000
Metropolitan Railway Carriage & Wagon Co., Saltley, Birmingham.	1862 (reconstructed 1896)	150,000
Oldbury Railway Carriage & Wagon Co., Staffs.	1886	127,000
c.f. Lancaster Railway Carriage & Wagon Co., Lancaster	1863	34,135

The Lancaster Railway Carriage and Wagon Company was small by national standards.²⁷ The Lancaster company's position in the new combination as the smallest and the most isolated did not look encouraging. Nevertheless the amalgamation was taken calmly by both the shareholders and the press. The chairman, W.G. Roper, re-assured the shareholders (their share of the transaction was to be 1½ shares in the new company for every one in

the old as well as a final dividend and bonus of 22⁵/₁₀₀):

each set of works would be able to deal with the portion of the business for which it was best adapted by its plant and geographical position.

The amalgamation would facilitate economies of scale in the purchase of materials and the acquisition of contracts. There was, of course, no hint in Roper's report that one economy would be the closure of the Lancaster branch. At this stage there is no reason to suppose that even the Lancaster directors anticipated the closure. At the meetings of shareholders, only Alderman William Smith objected to the proposed amalgamation. Regardless of advantages to the shareholders in the proposed deal, Smith cast serious doubts on whether such an amalgamation with its centre at Birmingham would be as conducive to Lancaster's interests as the old company had been. His opposition had no effect.

The dissolution of the Lancaster Railway Carriage and Wagon Co. Ltd., was formally registered on 22 January 1903.²⁸ 1903 saw the completion of the last major engineering contracts by the company: the electric trams for the Lancaster Corporation and the royal train. The year was one of depression in both the cotton and engineering industries, and, in spite of the optimism of the Lancaster directors at the time of the amalgamation, the Wagon Works at Lancaster was gradually run down. No drastic change was made, but by the beginning of 1904, local observers had little doubt that the new company's operations at the Lancaster works were being cut back:

The amalgamation of the leading carriage and wagon companies has altered the bases of trade, with the result that there have been fewer skilled workmen employed at the Lancaster works than formerly. All this has had an effect on the trade of the town and the townspeople are bitterly conscious that their turnover during the year has been very much less. 29

When the company applied to the borough magistrates for a license for the Wagon Works Refreshment Room in March 1904, it was stated that since amalgamation the wheel works had been stopped and the proportion of forge men employed had been reduced by about half. The company's acting solicitor informed the bench: 'We do more carriage and less wheel work' (than before the amalgamation). 30

The next bout of serious depression took the carriage^{work} as well. As the Observer commented in September 1906, trade was now so bad that there was insufficient carriage work to go round.³¹ The smallest of the five works had already been shut down. The Lancaster works would be temporarily closed, although the machinery would not be removed so that the works might be reopened when trade revived. The announcement made by the company gave little cause for hope. Foreign orders had not been so plentiful of late, notably from Argentina (at one time a major customer especially of Lancaster). German and Belgian competition was undermining British exports of rolling stock.³² There was unlikely to be a renewal of activity in that quarter for some time. Hopes of early re-opening faded when it became known that men and machinery were being sent to Birmingham and Manchester, and it was rumoured that the 'best' men from Lancaster were replacing 'the less capable' men at Ashbury's (Openshaw). Certainly the skilled men at the Lancaster Wagon Works found work with the amalgamated company elsewhere. The unskilled were less fortunate, and had little hope of finding another job with a Lancaster iron firm - the only other being the Phoenix Foundry, still run by the Sharpe family, but only giving work for two hundred employees.³³ The choice for the Wagon Works labourers was either to move from Lancaster or face unemployment.

d. The Financing of Local Business.

i.) The Lancaster Banking Company.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the rapid expansion of British banking. Joint stock banks continued to replace private banks, and amalgamations of small banks helped to make them more secure.³⁴ The better facilities offered by banks to their customers were symbolised by the increased use of the cheque, while the confidence shown in British banks may be seen from the fact that total U.K. bank deposits grew from £500 million in the mid-1870's to £1,200 million by 1914.

The Lancaster Bank, by 1870, was a regional bank of moderate proportions. It provided a healthy dividend to its three hundred proprietors and indirectly allowed Lancaster businessmen, who formed the bulk of the proprietors, to draw on the savings of a wide area stretching from Barrow and Windermere in the north to Kirkby Lonsdale in the east, and Blackpool in the south. One of the first joint stock banks to be set up (in 1826), its survival up to 1907 was partly due to the growth of North Lancashire after 1860 and partly to successful direction. Its solid and respectable reputation, attested by its conduct of official county business, was consistently upheld.³⁵

Capital formation suffered a severe setback in the Great Depression of 1873-96. The Lancaster Banking Company maintained remarkably steady profits in these years. This was made possible by the diversity of areas which the company supplied: industrial, agricultural and vocational/residential, all of which responded in a different way to the changing conditions of these years.

In spite of the annual complaints about the Depression's effects on the bank's business, profits never once fell below the average for the boom years of 1871-3 in the forty years which followed.³⁶ Only in the year 1887 did the company's profits fall below £70,000 after 1873, although it was equally true that only in the years 1875-7 did annual profits rise above £80,000 until 1898. 1903 proved to be the year with the record profit of £88,645. From 1874 to 1878 the dividend ~~was~~ stood at £7 10s. This was reduced in 1879 to £6 10s and in 1880 to £6.

In 1883 it was raised to £6 5s where it remained until the shares were divided in 1890, after which the dividend rate rose gradually from 26s a share in 1891, to 27s in 1899 and 28s in 1903. Its period of maximum prosperity was undoubtedly in the decade before amalgamation.

The period did not witness the extension of the area of the company's dealings so much as the intensification of its coverage of North Lancashire and the Lake Counties. In 1870 the bank had 14 branches at Barrow, Dalton, Ulverston, Cartmel, Kendal, Windermere, Kirkby Lonsdale, Lancaster (head), Garstang, Blackpool, Lytham and Fleetwood.³⁷ By 1877 the bank had 17 branches, manned by 70 officials. By 1908 it possessed 56 sub offices manned by 140 clerks. New sub branches were opened at: Barrow (Ramsden Square 1872), Holborn Hill and Grange (1875), Kirkham and Morecambe (1876), Carnforth (1877), Ambleside (1882), Brinscall (1886), Heysham (1897), Bowness (1898), Adlington (1901) also Elterwater, Grasmere and Greenodd (1901), Ansdell (Lytham) (1902).

In the late 1880's an ambitious building programme was embarked on to provide new premises for existing branches and sub branches. In 1889 new buildings were provided at Blackpool, Grange and Carnforth. Other new premises were completed at: Broughton (1890), Dalton (1894), Coniston (1898), West End of Morecambe (1899), Windermere, Heysham and Bentham (1901), Kirkby Lonsdale (enlargement), Greenodd, Haverthwaite, Ambleside and Bootle (Cumberland) (1902), Ansdell (1906) and Kirkby Ireleth. Such building operations were a reflection of the vitality of the Lancaster Banking Company, and in this way it kept in step with the four fold increase in the total number of bank offices between 1870 and 1914.³⁸

The nature of the company's finance structure changed markedly in these years. In 1874 it had a paid up capital of £250,000 in 10,000 shares of £25 dividemad among 325 proprietors. In 1875 1,000 reserved shares were issued to raise the paid up capital to £275,000. By that year, the reserve fund had been built up to the same amount. In 1881 the question of the adoption of ~~the~~ limited liability under the Act of 1879 was considered by the directors and rejected. In 1882 the question was again raised, and it was noted that of 52 banks which had been unlimited ~~when~~

when the Act of 1879 was passed, only 28 had by then not adopted limited liability. In 1890 the 11,000 £25 shares were divided into 55,000 of £25 shares, £5 paid. In 1893 the capital account was increased to £302,500 and the reserve fund to £300,000. In 1896 the company adopted limited liability, but did not increase its share capital. In 1907 when the Company amalgamated with the Manchester, Liverpool and District Company its shares still only numbered 55,000, estimated at the time to be held by under 1,800 shareholders.

How far was the company's prosperity related to that of Lancaster itself? Like many firms in the town, the Banking Company served a much wider area than the county town and its immediate vicinity. The bank's branches covered an area stretching from Preston to Carlisle. In this area it was the major, although not the sole local banking company. In 1873 the issue of notes, authorised to the various local banks in North Lancashire and the Lake Counties, was in descending order: Lancaster, £64,311; Kendal, £44,663; Cumberland Union, £35,395; Bank of Whitehaven, £32,681; Whitehaven Joint Stock, £31,916; Carlisle and Cumberland, £25,610; Carlisle City and District, £19,972; Bank of Westmorland, £12,225.³⁹ The Lancaster Bank's reliability had been tested in 1866, when the smaller Preston Banking Company had to suspend payments.⁴⁰

The addresses of the company's shareholders were more widespread than the area which it served. In 1873 the published list of proprietors included addresses as far apart as London and Darlington, Cheltenham and Windermere, yet in fact only 6% of the proprietors came from beyond the confines of North Lancashire, the Lake Counties and Yorkshire. Among the 94% from that region, 42% came from Lancaster itself, while 52% came from the region which it served, outside the county town. In 1873 there were 287 proprietors; by 1882 the number was 550; by 1892 it was 855 and by 1907 it was just under 1,800. Although lists of proprietors at later dates are not easily available, it seems likely that the trend which had reduced Lancaster's proportion from 100% to 42% between 1826 and 1873 would have continued in view of the fact that the total number

of proprietors had increased over five-fold, while Lancaster itself only doubled in the same period.

Nevertheless, the directors always made much of the Lancaster connection at their annual meetings, whose deliberations were reported in detail in the local press. In 1873, when reporting on a 'good' year, the chairman, S.E. Bolden, emphasised that increased business had characterised both head office and branches. In the depressed years 1874-5 only the Kendal branch made a loss. In 1877, Thomas Storey, a director of the company since 1866, considered that the prosperity of the bank had been one of the chief means of earning for Lancaster 'the character of being a rich town'. In 1882, when an increase in the number of shareholders was under consideration, it was mentioned that a characteristic of the bank had always been to seek to win the direct interest and co-operation of 'our townsmen and neighbours'. In 1873, most of its proprietors were tradesmen, mainly from Lancaster, but also from the other North Lancashire towns which the bank served. In addition there were a number of gentlemen and gentlewomen and a few farmers and professional men. As the company grew and an increasing number of customers and proprietors had no links with the town, the bank's directors still remained conscious of the company's roots and continued to make a point of encouraging local custom. The bank was certain that it had played a valuable part in the town's growth and, after a period of mutual congratulation, like other commercial enterprises in the town, now thought in terms of regional and national rather than purely local markets. Nevertheless the predominance of Lancaster businessmen on the Board of Directors, right up to amalgamation in 1907, showed that the firm's roots were buried deep in the county town.

The Lancaster Banking Company was characterised by its conservatism as well as by its vitality. It was very proud of its age and of the continuity with the past provided by the long and faithful service of its officials. In its eighty years of independent existence it had only three managers: John Coulston (1826-66), Henry Hadwen (1866-79) and John Sanderson (1879-1908).

TABLE 2

Lancaster Banking Company 1870-1906.

Year	Branches	Staff	Share holders	Notes in Circulation	Accounts	Turnover	Price of Shares
1870	14		300 (1873)				
1880	20	74 (1881)			2.7M		22
1890	26		732	54,310	3.6M	4.2M	29½
1900	47	122 (1902)	1,343	55,595	5.0M	5.7M	33½
1906	56	137	1,620	36,945	4.9M	5.6M	

All three managers were born in Lancaster, the sons of a currier, a spirit merchant and a schoolmaster respectively. Hadwen and Sanderson both had long periods of service with the bank before coming to the position of manager. Sanderson first entered the bank's service in 1845 at the age of fourteen. He was promoted to the rank of sub manager in 1873 and of manager in 1879. Sanderson was made a director in 1903. If nothing else, his interest in local affairs, as a county magistrate (after 1891), as a charities trustee (after 1892) and as a governor of the Grammar School, ensured that the bank continued to play an important role as the bank of the county town.⁴¹

The conservatism of the bank's management showed itself in a number of ways, not the least of which was its reluctance to apply for limited liability after 1879. In 1896 when the directors finally acquiesced, *this was* the last joint stock bank to seek limited status.

The bank's investment policy too was highly conservative. At a time when British capital was being exported on a massive scale, the Lancaster Bank's investments were largely confined to Britain, government stock and railway debentures and preference shares. It did not invest in foreign stocks. This meant that the company avoided involvement in some of the worst crises of the 'Great Depression' (e.g. the Baring's Crisis of 1890). It also meant that in the years after 1896 the company made less return on its investments than its big rivals.

The bank faced the trend towards amalgamation with reluctance and

distrust. The bank had held its own with other local banks of North Lancashire and the Lake Counties. But in the 1890's it began to face the new challenge of competition from banks based on Liverpool and Birmingham. In 1899 it explained its policy of eschewing amalgamation on the grounds that 'the Lancaster Banking Company has always been identified closely with the neighbourhood, and with the special needs and requirements of local industries'. Yet the national trend was towards bigger banks. In 1880 there were 121 English joint stock banks; by 1913 there were to be only 43.⁴²

Amalgamation, therefore, was only a matter of time. In 1907 the long awaited news was announced of a merger with the Manchester, Liverpool and District Banking Company. The Liverpool Daily Post hailed the merger as 'the fusion of two strong banks', rather than the absorption of a weaker by a stronger. The Lancaster Observer welcomed the merger as the creation of the 'largest county bank in the kingdom'.⁴³ For the town, the merger meant one more step in the gradual transfer of economic decisions to larger industrial centres.

ii) Patterns of Joint Stock Investment.

The joint stock principle was a much favoured way of starting business ventures in Lancaster in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It enabled a small number of subscribers to club together in the hope of attracting other shareholders to their ranks. Failure was more frequent than success.

TABLE 3

Lancaster Joint Stock Companies: The Failures 1870-1915.⁴⁴

Name of Company	Reg'd	Original Capital	Max. Value Taken Up	Reg'd Dissolved
L. Oilcloth and Varnish	1878	15,000	12,200	1883
L. Steampacket	1887	5,000	55	1892
L. & D. Billposting & Advertising	1888	800	800	1890
L. Printing & Publishing	1893	5,000	4,965	1902
L. Pneumatic Tyre	1895	1,500	1,310	1898
L. & Mcbe. Motor Car	1899	5,000	1,450	1900
L. Polish	1912	1,000	770	1916
Lune Valley Engineering	1915	10,000	6,252	1929

Businesses were often started in fields in which other entrepreneurs had been successful. Oilcloth, varnish, brewing and steampacket transport were all seen as industries in which there was much money to be made. Brand new industry, such as the manufacture of cycles and household goods, ~~were~~ seen in a similar light. Such new light industries took root in many old provincial centres in this period; Lancaster businessmen ^{were} less successful than others in areas closer to the traditional centres of the engineering industry. Meanwhile, no Lancastrian invented any successful patent sauce, medicine or cleaning agent, although attempts were made. For example, the Lancaster Polish Company attempted to promote William Male's patent boot polish 'Go Nap' in 1912, but in spite of the support of an assortment of people (including two members of the Storey family, the Chief Constable and the Vicar of St. Luke's) the company soon folded up. On enquiry from the Registrar, the solicitors declared that 'it was got up in some measure as a philanthropic endeavour and has not been a success'. Such measures to provide employment were doomed to fail outside a major population centre without skillful promotion and a close attention to costs.

Some of the 'fly by night' companies merely provided embarrassed businessmen with a means of selling their tottering enterprises and were thus regarded by their promoters as an end rather than a beginning. In firms which had more honest intentions, limited supplies of capital were a common feature (see table³), although, from the small initial sums laid down as nominal capital, it is clear that horizons were equally limited.

The numbers of shareholders was usually very small. Only one or two Lancaster joint stock companies (e.g. the Lancaster Railway Carriage and Wagon Co. and Storey Bros.) were able to attract large numbers of shareholders. Such firms only succeeded because of established reputations and payment of dividends which attracted investors from outside the town. Public service companies had the next biggest appeal: by 1894 the Lancaster and District Tramways Company had

attracted 460 shareholders. Ventures with a more sectional appeal did less well, and of the smaller companies, only the Lancaster Printing and Publishing Company (founded to provide a Conservative newspaper, the Lancaster Standard), the Lunesdale Brick and Tile Company and the Lancaster Coffee Tavern Company (appealing to temperance supporters) attracted over 100 shareholders.

The successful companies were distinguished by their much heavier capitalisation. In the list below, only the two companies formed partly for charitable purposes (Athenaeum and Coffee Tavern) did not require a nominal capital of over £5,000. None of the other successful companies had a nominal capital under £20,000, and all succeeded in disposing of their shares soon after commencing business.

TABLE 4

Lancaster Joint Stock Companies: The More Successful 1870-1915.⁴⁵

<u>Name of Company</u>	<u>Reg'd</u>	<u>Original Nominal Capital</u>	<u>Original Shares Taken Up (Max)</u>	<u>Reg'd Dissolved</u>
L. Athenaeum	1859	2,500	1860 (£5)	1884
Lune Shipbuilding	1863	30,000	1864 (£5)	1872
L. Railway Carriage & Wagon	1863	200,000	£85,850 by 1866 (£5)	1903
L. Kings Arms Hotel & Land	1878	25,000	£17,460 by 1884 (£10)	1898
L. Coffee Tavern	1878	5,000	£3,000 by 1890 (£1)	1923
L. & D. Tramways	1888	20,000	£19,765 by 1894 (£1)	1928
Storey Bros.	1896	40,000	7 shares only	1903
Lunesdale District Brick and Tile	1897	30,000	1901 (£1)	1901

The following table (Table 5) shows the wide range of investment patterns when broken down by social class categories. Class I (gents., manufacturers, merchants and professionals) made up 61% of the Lancaster Athenaeum, the company formed as a benevolent enterprise for providing entertainment and instruction for the Lancaster lower classes. At the other end of the scale, Class I composed only 12% of the shareholders of the Lancaster and District Tramways Company. Class I was frequently the largest single group of shareholders, but only in the case of the Athenaeum did it form a majority of the proprietors. Its proportionate holding of shares was usually larger than its proportion of holders. Once again, its share of the holdings was usually large, but rarely predominant.

TABLE 5

Social Pattern of Investment (Lancaster & Morecambe J.S. Companies 1870-1914.
by Shareholders and Shares by Class Grouping.

	Class	L. Bank 1873	L. Athen aeum 1882	L. Oil cloth 1883	L. Coffee Tavern 1880	L. Print ing & Pub. 1893	L. Tram ways 1894	Lunes dale Brick 1901	M. & M. Dist Club 1902	M. Elec. Light 1895	M. Theatre 1898	M. Steam boat 1905
					(Mean)							
%H	I	47	61	28	17	39	12	32	49	16	33	17
%S		(57)			36			52	(47)	(24)	39	24
%H	II	7	3	12	15	14	12	9	18	25	15	8
%S		(9)			18			3	(18)	(21)	20	7
%H	III	25	11	53	21	24	20	28	25	25	35	18
%S		(31)			28			22	(25)	27	30	19
%H	IV				6	10	10		8	8	2	17
%S					8				(10)	3	1	15
%H	V	1		2	2	4	10	2		3		4
%S		(1)			1			1		2		5
%H	X	20	25	6	38	9	36	29		22	15	37
%S		(25)			10			22		24	10	29
%H&S	%	1000	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N. of H:	N.	(122)	(71)	(51)	(151)	(254)	(460)	(143)	(61)	(87)	(48)	(115)

The range within Class II (the clerical and managerial group) was from 3% of the total number of shareholders in the Lancaster Athenaeum to 25% in the Morecambe Electric Light Company. The proportion of shares held by this Class ranged from 7% in the Morecambe Steamboat Company to 21% in the Morecambe Electric Light Company.

The range within Class III (tradesmen and shopkeepers) was as large as in Class I. It spread from 11% of the shareholders in the Athenaeum to 53% of those in the Lancaster Oilcloth and Varnish Company. Its proportion of shares tended to fluctuate between a quarter and a third.

Classes IV and V, composed of artisans and skilled workers on the one hand and semi-skilled workers and labourers on the other, played a very small role in joint stock investment. Class IV, rarely contributed as many as 10% of the shareholders, while Class V rarely made up as much as 5%. In only two companies do we find a higher proportion of either class: the Morecambe Steamboat Company, in which Class IV made up 17% of the shareholders holding 15% of the shares, and the Lancaster and District

Tramways Company, in which Class V formed 10% of the shareholders (including 15 labourers, 7 railway workers, 6 gardeners, 5 coachmen and 4 warehousemen).

Class 'X' acts as a category for the remaining shareholders not included in Classes I to V. It was mainly composed of female proprietors whether spinster, married or widowed. The strength of this group varied from 6% in the Lancaster Oilcloth and Varnish Company to 38% in the Lancaster Coffee Tavern Company. It was the largest single group in the Coffee Tavern Company, the Morecambe Steamboat Company and the Lancaster and District Tramways Company. Its proportion of shares varied from 10% in the Coffee Tavern and Morecambe Theatre Companies to 25% and over in the Lancaster Banking Company and the Morecambe Steamboat Company.

Most Lancaster businesses were privately financed. The source of Lord Ashton's finance is unknown. It may be assumed that plough-back played an important part. Williamson's was exceptional for a firm of its size, but a host of small businesses were also run as family enterprises. The records of the bankruptcy proceedings at Preston show how slender were the reserves and how limited the capital resources of many small firms.

Many businesses were founded with little or no capital. Michael Condon, the Irish house painter (bankrupt 1890), asserted that he had set up in business in Barrow in 1884 with no capital at all.⁴⁶ So did William Carruthers, a travelling draper (bankrupt 1895) with assets of £261 who also began his business in 1884 in Lancaster.⁴⁷ Christopher Anderson, draper (bankrupt 1893 - assets £150), was a former shop assistant who set up on his own in 1890 without any capital, although he worked in the shop himself and employed his family as dressmakers.⁴⁸

Of those who began businesses with capital, few started with very much. Most bankrupts in Lancaster started with under £100. William Brown (bankrupt 1890 - assets £184) started as a coal merchant in 1889 with £50 he had saved as a manager for Singer's, sewing machine manufacturers.⁴⁹ John Hargreaves (bankrupt 1908 - assets £52) set up as a carter in 1887 with £50 savings.⁵⁰ Thomas Sargent (bankrupt 1896 - assets £71) started

on his own as a blacksmith in 1890 with £30 savings.⁵¹ Frederick Haigh (bankrupt 1905) opened shop as a music dealer in 1902 with £429 borrowed from his wife.⁵² John Troughton (bankrupt 1912) began as a tobacconist in 1870 with £70 from his mother.⁵³ Others like J.P. King, aereated water manufacturer, (bankrupt 1886 - assets £326), borrowed from friends.⁵⁴ Few borrowed money from a bank. Bankrupts rarely mentioned dealings with banks.

Reasons for inability to meet debts were many and various. Many bankrupts in charge of small businesses admitted that they had never kept any books. Inadequacy of book-keeping lay at the root of the bankruptcies of even quite large firms. Gorrill's (bankrupt 1893) the boot manufacturers, for example, with factories at both Lancaster and Kendal and over six branches, had only one set of cash books for the whole firm.⁵⁵ In some cases, specific transactions could be identified as the source of the trouble. John Greene, timber merchant and builder (bankrupt 1890 - assets £1,185), who had begun business in 1870, blamed a transaction concerning property in Bulk made in 1889.⁵⁶

Personal extravagance was rarely mentioned as a cause of bankruptcy and there were few obvious cases of people living beyond their means. One such was Rev. Edward Potter Hall, a former Unitarian minister in Lancaster, (bankrupt 1902) who had subsequently moved to Trowbridge before his bankruptcy.⁵⁷ His was the case of a professional man on a small salary (£190-220 while at Lancaster, but considerably less at Trowbridge owing to the agricultural depression), who had married a wealthy but unhealthy wife whose health required expensive treatment abroad. Hall's case caused a sensation at the time and was a reminder of how difficult many professional men with small salaries found it to maintain their accustomed life style.

Most bankrupts blamed 'lack of business' or 'bad trade'. Some could see nothing but the immediate disaster of bankruptcy, and had no idea where their money had gone. Most had been aware of their deficiency for many months before the court proceedings, and most had accepted the humiliation of the proceedings in order to obtain the protection of the

court.

It was aptly remarked in the 'Observations' column of the Observer in January 1894 that there were two causes of bankruptcy: firstly in the unfitness of heirs to businesses and secondly the readiness of some people to go into trade with nothing more than a legacy or money received from friends:

Without knowledge of business, without commercial insight, without any natural aptitude for the sort of occupation they embark upon, these persons open a shop, an office, take a farm, an hotel, or even a theatre and, after a series of financial gyrations find themselves in a huge mess without knowing how they got into it. 58

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e. The State of Agriculture.

English agriculture as a whole suffered from a fall in prices in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century arising from the impact of foreign competition. Agricultural prices fell, but the worst hit areas were the arable lands of the south and east.⁵⁹ Lancashire agriculture was oriented towards livestock. In north Lancashire the uplands supported cattle mainly for dairy purposes while the arable coastal strip was devoted to provision of oats, roots and seeds for consumption by sheep and cattle alike. Farmers not growing their own foodstuffs benefited from the fall of one third in the price of cattle feed during the Great Depression. Farms were generally small (average 40 acres in 1875) and labour costs were low, owing to the continued predominance of family labour.

By intensification of existing systems of production, as T.W. Fletcher has shown, the 'Great Depression' was a prosperous time for Lancashire agriculture.⁶⁰ The 50% increase in the Lancashire population between 1870 and 1900 and 83% increase in the Lancaster Registration District meant a bigger market for the dairy farmers. The retail price of milk remained stable only because of the big increase of output (50%). Cheese output rose too. Expanding markets also encouraged increased production of pigs (20%) and sheep (about a third). The last quarter of the century did, however, have its ups and downs. The early 1890s were a bad time for sheep and cattle sales and farmers were quick to point out that landlords' rent reductions were inadequate.⁶¹ There was talk of bankruptcy⁶² and emigration, but the complaints were shortlived. In the long term the years 1870-1914 were good for landlord, tenant and labourer alike. Rentals on the Derby estates on the Fylde and the Forest of Bowland grew by a quarter between 1884 and 1904.⁶³ Farmers survived by hard work, grumbling but prosperous. Lancashire labourers enjoyed an increase in wages from 15s 7d in 1872 to 18s by 1892 and 18s 9d by 1910.⁶⁴ The continued system of farm service and hiring fairs allowed them to get the highest market price for their labour and they remained among the best paid farmworkers in the country.

Patterns of trade altered. The decline of local cattle and cheese fairs showed that the railways had set a new marketing pattern

which ~~required~~ adaptation by the local cattle and dairy farmers.⁶⁵ Only gradually did local farmers look for alternative means of marketing their products. The creation of the Lancaster Farmers' Auction Mart Company in the late 1880's was intended to help small farmers in this way in the new market area developed on Prince William Henry field. Its prime initiator, William Haythornthwaite, auctioneer and farmer, was also the cause of much trouble between the Company and the Corporation in its early years. Haythornthwaite himself went bankrupt in 1892, but differences with the Corporation were ironed out and by the mid 1890's the company showed a steady increase in business.⁶⁶ From 1894, it annually paid a full 10% dividend, while its turnover increased from £79,796 in 1894 to £82,563 in 1897, and £105,191 by 1902.⁶⁷ Meanwhile the number of cheese fairs were increased from two to six each year in 1887.⁶⁸

Industries associated with agriculture expanded, particularly in the area of cattle feeds. Cattle feed cake was coming into increasing use in North Lancashire in the 1850's and 1860's. In 1882, James Bibby, a Quernmore miller, began to manufacture calf meal and cattle foods in Fleet Square and Conder Mill. In 1885 Conder Mill burnt down, and Bibby moved to Liverpool, where the firm rapidly expanded and became one of the largest of its kind in the country. When James Bibby junior died in 1928 he left £434,450 nett.⁶⁹ The Lancaster milling business was handed over to W & J Pye, but the two firms remained closely linked by marriage. Pye's continued to provide a major outlet for Bibby's cattle feeds. Pye's imported much of their grain through Glasson Dock and from there transported it to their mills at Thurnham and Lancaster.⁷⁰

Meanwhile, A. Bell & Sons, and other firms, specialised in the production of agricultural machinery. Bell's won the silver medal at the Agricultural Society's Show in 1877 and 1887 for the best general collection of implements.⁷¹ At Claughton and Caton in the late 1880's a large supply of clay was discovered, useful for making bricks and tiles, and two companies were floated to exploit it. From 1894 the Claughton Brick and Tile Company was manufacturing all types of agricultural drains.⁷²

The meat trade remained important in Lancaster. One example was William Wilkinson and Sons, a high class butchers who had two shops in Blackpool as well as their main shop in Cheapside, Lancaster. Their slaughterhouses were at Greaves Farm, Lancaster, but some cattle and sheep were sent to Blackpool to be slaughtered. In the season, the firm was by 1894 weekly slaughtering and disposing of a total of 300 sheep and lambs, and 12 cattle as well as calves and pigs. In 1891 the firm won a medal at the Birmingham Agricultural Exhibition as one of the largest purchasers of fat stock.⁷³ Lancaster butchers benefited from the fall in the price of livestock which occurred in the early 1890's.⁷⁴

The Observer saw as its duty the promotion of harmony within the old 'agricultural interest'. ~~(in the depression)~~ ^{The main} part of such an appeal was to counteract anti-landlord propoganda by the Liberals; ~~but it was also to provide some peaceful way for all parties to survive the crisis of the depression.)~~

The landowner's capital is in his land; the farmer's is in his plant and stock; the labourer's is in his bodily vigour, his skill and knowledge. ⁷⁵

The Observer saw that the ~~(only)~~ way forward was for North Lancashire agriculture to be modernised as fast as possible. Much publicity was given to the latest ideas in dairy methods and agricultural education, while editorials emphasised the main points in lectures given to such local agrarian minded bodies as the Lunesdale Agricultural Association. The Royal Liverpool, Manchester and North Lancashire Agricultural Show provided a platform for all the most modern agricultural techniques and its proceedings were reported in full each year. In 1887 lecturers gave special attention to dairy methods and the editor of the Observer pleaded with North Lancashire farmers to take notice 'at once, in order to prepare for turning out next year the finest samples of butter that have ever been judged by officers of the show'.⁷⁶ Ten years later in 1897 the Lancashire County Council employed a special lecturer to hold butter making classes in the villages round Lancaster for farmers and dairymaids.⁷⁷

In December 1892 the Lancaster 'Tenant Farmers' Association was formed to represent local farmers' interests in such matters as excessive

rents. By the end of its first year it had 77 members.⁷⁸ The connection with the Liberal Party was very strong: William Smith, Liberal M.P. for Lonsdale was its first President and E.H. Dawson of Aldcliffe Hall its first Vice President. Once the association had become firmly established both resigned on the grounds that both of them were themselves landowners. Smith resigned his seat in Parliament in 1895 (as did Lord Ashton), but the L.T.F.A. gave equally loyal - if less successful - support to their Liberal successors.

In March 1895 the Association produced a report on the State of Agriculture in North Lancashire.⁷⁹ It found that farms varied in size from 40 to 200 acres, while rents varied from 17s to 50s per acre according to the quality of the land. Reductions of rent in the cases of a specified number of farmers had averaged 13% in the period 1889-94, (c.f. as much as 50% in lowland arable areas).⁸⁰ Although there was a good demand for farms in North Lancashire, the selling value of agricultural land was 40% lower than twenty years before. Falls in the value of produce (livestock by 33%, cheese and butter by 25%, and grain by 50%) and in that of capital (by 35%) had been greater than reductions in the price of feedings stuffs and manure (by 25%) and machinery (by 5%). The depression had led to a large scale conversion from arable to grass to enable labour economies, although most farms were still described as mixed. The number of labourers had as a result fallen by 25%. Tenants' problems in the area were described as insecurity of tenure, restrictions in land management and high rents. Yet in spite of this report which was fundamentally unfavourable to landlords, the Conservative candidate was returned for the Lancaster Division of Lancashire in 1895.

~~The early 1890s had been a temporary setback. (after 1900 there were signs of improvement)~~ Migration and emigration continued to reduce the population of Lunesdale and there was some increase in the size of farms.⁸¹ The continued growth of the Morecambe Bay resorts provided an incentive for the development of market gardening. The development of West Lancashire early tomatoes and potatoes went on apace.⁸² ~~(Given the upland farms were more prosperous. The rateable value~~

~~of the land in the Lunesdale Poor Law Union which had remained stable from the late 1880's to 1900, now began to rise.)~~

Agriculture was becoming more efficient, and the new industries connected with agricultural machinery, feedstuffs and fertilisers continued to grow and to centre on the county town. In some cases, falling agricultural prices gave bigger profits to urban tradesmen, who did not at once pass on the advantage of the cuts to their customers. Fortunes were thus made by men who operated between the farmer and the townsman. Finally, agriculture continued to supply a ~~fast~~ pool of cheap labour to the new industries of Lancaster. Throughout the years up to 1914, the attraction of somewhat higher wages in Lancaster ~~and the diminishing prospects on the farms~~ was a major asset to Lancaster manufacturers, who always compared their labourers' wages not with others in the same trade, but with the wages of agricultural Lunesdale.

f. Lancaster As A Market Centre.

Lancaster's service trades grew greatly as the result of the doubling of the town's population in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. Tradesmen looked with gratitude to the manufacturers and fully shared in the quickening of economic life by which the town threw off its old mid-century image of a sleepy old market town. The relationship between Lancaster and its surrounding area also changed. Railways had widened the economic horizons of businessmen and farmers. New rivals sprang up in the shape of Darnforth and Morecambe, although luxury and occasional service trades benefited from the demand which the two new towns could not supply themselves and some Lancaster tradesmen followed the example of the Banking Company and set up branches of their businesses in the surrounding towns.

The doubling of the town's population in thirty years led to a greatly increased demand for goods and services.⁸³ The town had 33 butchers in 1857. It had 35 in 1886 and 62 in 1901. There were 9 bakers in 1886 and 34 by 1901. There were 9 chemists and druggists in 1857, the same number in 1886 (green grocers had increased from 10 to 23 in the same period) and 16 in 1901. There were 11 confectioners in 1857, 28 in 1886 and 52 in 1912. Some of the increase in trade was due to the general improvement in real wages in the 1880's and 1890's. Some was due to changes in consumption habits. The number of fish friers, for example, was 8 in 1896, 18 in 1901 and 37 by 1912. The number of coffee taverns increased from 4 in 1886 to 16 by 1912. By 1896 there were two ice cream vendors, and by 1901 there was a bird dealer and a dog biscuit manufacturer. The number of newsagents rose from 7 in 1896, to 15 in 1901 and 19 in 1912, as the popular dailies began to take a hold. New fashions such as cycling became popular. There were 5 cycle shops in 1896 and 16 in 1912. The professions benefited too. There were 5 dentists in 1886, 7 in 1901 and 11 in 1912.

Not all trades showed growing numbers in the directories. The

trend towards larger enterprises often meant a decline in independent suppliers. The numbers of milliners and dressmakers, for example, fell from 71 in 1857 to 57 in 1886 and 35 in 1912. There were 3 town gunsmiths in 1857, 2 in 1886, but only one in 1901.

Many trades witnessed an expansion up to the 1890's and thereafter a contraction in the more difficult Edwardian period. There were 8 ironmongers in 1857, 14 in 1901 and 10 in 1912. There were 12 joiners and builders in 1857, 23 in 1901 and only 18 in 1912. Lancaster had 13 cabinetmakers and upholsterers in 1857, 22 in 1901 and only 12 in 1912. The number of bakers fell from 30 in 1901 to 18 in 1912.

Some trades showed remarkable stability. There were 8 undertakers in 1896, and still 8 in 1912. There were 52 boot and shoe makers in 1857, 47 in 1886 and 51 in 1912. There were only three more blacksmiths in Lancaster in 1912 than there had been in 1857. There was one less cab and carriage proprietor in 1912 than there had been in 1857, and only one more chimney sweeper.

With the growth of the town, the hotel trade too developed. The King's Arms was rebuilt in 1879 as 'a first class family and commercial hotel', by a joint stock company.^{84a} The hotel was run by Samuel Duxbury who soon after built ^{the} County Hotel next door to the Castle Station and entrusted their management to two of his sons, Charles and Josiah.^{84b} A third son, George, took charge of the building of another hotel, the Grand Hotel at West Hartlepool (1899). The second son, Josiah, acquired 'The Elms' at Bare and rebuilt it as a hotel. Their success is reflected in their wills: Charles left £9,000 nett in 1919, Josiah left £10,000 nett in 1916.⁸⁵

During the last third of the nineteenth century there was a marked contrast between the demographic growth of the county town and its immediate neighbourhood and the demographic decline of rural North Lancashire, (see Table 6). Whereas the subdistrict of Lancaster increased by over three quarters in the years 1871 to 1911, the district of Lunesdale actually saw a fall in population. Lancaster was now a growing industrial town and the growth of the district of Lancaster similarly

reflected the growth of industrial areas such as Carnforth or residential/tourist areas such as Morecambe.

TABLE 6

Comparative National and Local Growth Rates 1871-1911. ⁸⁶

	E & W	Lancs (Anc. C ^y ty)	MB of Lancr.	Sub Dist of L (incl MB)	District of Lanr.	District of Lunesdale
1871-81	14.4	22.5	19.8	27.2	25.0	2.2
1881-91	11.7	13.7	50.2	28.9	27.3	3.8
1891-1901	12.2	12.2	33.2	21.0	30.5	-6.2
1901-1911	10.9	8.7*	2.7			-0.9
1871-1911	49.2	57.1 *(Regn. C ^y ty)	105.9			-1.1

g) Occupational Structure

A comparison of the occupational structure of the six selected north western towns in 1901 (see Table 7) shows that Lancaster still had more in common with Chester and Carlisle, the towns nearest in size and function, than with Preston its nearest neighbour or the huge metropolitan centres of Liverpool and Manchester. On the other hand, a comparison of individual occupational groups shows that there was much in common among all six towns. For example, all six continued to employ a large proportion of ~~its~~ ^{their} adult male population in transport services (Group VI). In this group Lancaster had the smallest proportion, the town only being a minor railway centre in comparison with even the non metropolitan towns, and employing a lower proportion in this sector than the Lancashire average. Of the six towns, only Preston had a major proportion of its men engaged in textile manufacture, although this type of employment remained the most outstanding feature of Lancashire as a whole. Lancaster's outstanding feature was, as in 1861, that, of all six towns, it had the largest proportion in the building and construction industry, with a considerably larger bias in this direction than the county as a whole. As for the county town's manufacturing sectors, furniture making still only occupied a small place and the textile sector had shrivelled since 1871. Lancaster's main manufacturing industries, by 1901, were oilcloth and railway wagons, neither of which featured significantly in the other towns. In 1901 oilcloth manufacture only occupied 0.1% of the adult male

population of Lancashire. The minor categories (e.g. Vii, Xiii, XIII
 XV, XVI, XVII, XIX XX) show remarkably similar proportions in all six
 towns. Finally the unoccupied and retired category (XXIII) shows the
 exceptional size of this group in Lancaster.

TABLE 7

The Comparative Occupational Structure ^(%) of Six Towns in the North West 1901
(Males 10 and Over).87

Reg General Occupational Group Category	Lancs	Pr	Lr	Cl	Ch	Lpl	Man
V2 Commercial or business clerks	3	2	2	2	3	5	4
VI Conveyance of men, goods & messages	12	10	8	18	14	27	14
VII Agriculture, Farms, Woods, Gardens	3	-	-	1	3	-	-
X3 Engineering & Machine Making		8	6	7	5	5	11
X47 Miscellaneous Metals		8		7	5	-	-
XII Building & Construction Works	8	9	14	10	11	8	9
XIII Wood, Furniture, Fittings, Decorations	2	3	3	2	2	3	3
XV Chemicals, Oil, Grease	2	1	3	1	1	2	3
XVI Skins, Leather, Hair							
XVII Paper, Prints, Books, Stationery	2	1	1	3	2	2	2
XVIII Textiles	13	20	3	2	-	-	4
XIX Dress	3	4	3	4	5	3	5
XX Food, Tobacco, Drink, Lodgings	6	8	5	9	9	8	7
OTHERS*		21	32	24	28	21	24
XXIII Retired or Unoccupied	14	14	20	17	17	16	14
TOTAL (Males over 10) N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
		1,626,721	15,520	39,506	16,339	14,068	252,037
							203,089

Population 1901: Preston 112,989, Lancaster 40,329, Carlisle 45,480,
 Chester 38,309, Liverpool 684,988, Manchester 543,872, Lancs. 4,387,043.

Pr=Preston, Lr=Lancaster, Cl=Carlisle, Ch=Chester, Lpl=Liverpool, Man=Manchester.

*(including, for Lancaster, Floorcloth, Oilcloth 7 and construction of vehicles 4).

N.B. 1901 Census: 72 per 1,000 males 10 & over engaged in Floorcloth and Oilcloth manufacture in Lancaster.

1911 Census: 206 per 1,000 males 10 & over engaged in Floorcloth and Oilcloth manufacture in Lancaster.

1921 Census: 62 per 1,000 males 12 & over engaged in Other Materials
(chiefly in Linoleum, Oilcloth and Floorcloth)

(This drop may be partly explained by the separate category for 'general or unskilled workers' in 1921 (85 per 1,000))

The unoccupied and retired category (XXIII) shows Lancaster ~~well~~ ahead of the field, although all the towns had as many or more in this category as Lancaster as a whole. What emerges from this comparison is the basic similarity of occupational structures among the six towns while each had its own distinctive features. Liverpool's enormous commercial element stands out, along with Preston's large cotton sector and large railway sectors of Carlisle and Chester. Lancaster's largest sector of employment remained a service industry, building, but this was supported by a manufacturing sector composed primarily of oilcloth and wagon manufacturing industries. The Registrar General's classifications disguise the fact that nearly all the chemical and oilcloth production was concentrated in two firms, Williamsons and Storeys (the former employing about 2,500 in 1894, the latter perhaps 1,000), while the engineering and vehicle construction was dominated by the Lancaster Wagon Company, whose workforce was estimated at 1,100 in 1894.⁸⁸

By 1900 Lancaster was as diversified in its economic structure as Chester and Carlisle. It was by no means a single industry town of the type described by the Lynds in their study of 'Middletown'. Yet, if not a single industry town, Lancaster certainly regarded oilcloth as its leading industry and the owner of Williamsons, ^{James Williamson II, Baron} ~~Lord~~ Ashton, as its leading citizen. If still a market town with a diversified economic base, the town looked to manufacturing industry as the mainstay of the prosperity of the service industries. Oilcloth and railway wagons were the pace setters for the town's economic growth, for the market sector of Lancaster's economy could not look elsewhere. Although the town serviced a wide surrounding area, the hinterland remained overwhelmingly rural. Moreover the population of Lonsdale had tended to fall rather than grow in the late nineteenth century as it shared with other rural areas the experience of *continued out-migration.*

Lancaster of 1900 differed from many American urban models and indeed from the Lancaster of 1970 in that economic decisions were for the most part still taken within the town. Although Lancaster was subject to the national and international economic currents and had been the victim of the geographical concentration of the cotton industry, local industry and retail business were still owned by local people. Lord Ashton was the sole proprietor of Williamson's, the Storey Family owned and ran Storey Brothers, while the building and engineering firms in the town were all local family businesses. Joint stock companies existed in the shape of the Wagon Company and Gillow's. ^{88b} Change was on the way: Gillow's was taken over by Waring's of Liverpool in 1897 and the Wagon Company by a consortium based on Birmingham in 1902. Yet until these two changes there was little economic activity which was not locally controlled. Most of the retail shops were family businesses, some of which had been in the same family for several generations. It was again not until the turn of the century that the large chain stores were to make an entrance on the Lancaster scene.⁸⁹ Only the railway operators were conspicuous by their remoteness from the locality, and it was regarded as a major duty of the Member of Parliament to negotiate with the L & N.W.R. and the Midland Railway Company to ensure the best possible goods and passenger services at the Castle and Green Ayre stations.⁹⁰

Economies of scale, in the form of regional and national amalgamations were to present the greatest danger to the economic independence of Lancaster. In the twentieth century, the removal of decisions from the town, leading to a reduction in the labour force, was to become a familiar experience. The first taste of such a removal came in 1902 with the take over of the Wagon Company, followed by the immediate reduction of its labour force. The power of the proprietors to effect such a change was consequently high-lighted. Public attention concentrated on the remaining local proprietors in the hope of compensatory expansion. The expansion of Williamson's had raised cries of gratitude since the 1870's.⁹¹

Confidence knew no bounds during the boom of 1896-1901, but the

partial closure of the Wagon Works in 1902 gave it a severe shaking. The Wagon Works closed for good in 1909 and Waring and Gillow's went into the hands of the liquidators in the ~~same~~ year.⁹² Fortunately the latter emerged with its Lancaster branch intact, thanks, it was rumoured, to Lord Ashton's intervention. Lord Ashton also helped to maintain employment by his finance of public works such as the Ashton Memorial (1904-9) and the new Town Hall (1905-9). He planned new mills and ~~no doubt~~ ⁹³ ~~he~~ expanded his European operation in 1911-13. Local eyes fixed on him, but no one was in serious doubt that Lancaster's industrial base was dangerously narrow in the opening years of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER IFootnotes.

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5. Custom House, Lower Thames St. London. Heysham Letter Book 81/62.
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11. I owe this information to Mr Wilfred Wolfendale, 15 Eden Park, Lancaster,
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 prices were fixed by an agreement between manufacturers in 1906. There
 was an international price regulation convention too.
12. B.P. 1914, LXXX, Commercial and General Interests, 440.
13. S.B. Saul, op. cit. pp. 31-2.
14. F. Walton, The Infancy and Development of Linoleum Floorcloth (1925).
- a) 15. Liverpool Post and Mercury, 9 June 1930.
- b) 15. Darkness undoubtedly thicker as a result of 'the strong tradition of secrecy
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 on Linoleum and Felt Base (HMSO, 1947), p. 4.
16. H.M. Jones, 'A Comprehensive Account of the History and Manufacture of
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 and later a director.
18. The Times, 28 May 1930.
19. P.R.O., BT 31/6750/47484.
20. Lancaster C.L., Encuttings, Gbituary, James Talbot, 1902.

21. P.R.O., BT 31/2416/12151.
22. Lancaster C.L., N.E.O., W.J. Sly, 1915. The factory was small, and was one of only two in the county and nine in England and Wales, see BPP 1890, LXVII, Cd. 199.
23. Facts and figures re the Lancaster Wagon Company derived from the Annual Reports published in the local press.
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- b) 25. 'A Visit to the Works of the Lancaster Railway Carriage and Wagon Co. Ltd', Cross Fleury's Journal, No. 58, June 1901.
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27. W. Ashworth, Economic History of England 1870 1939 (1960), pp. 93-5.
28. P.R.O., BT 31/856/812C.
29. Lancaster Observer, 1 January 1904.
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31. Ibid. 4 September 1908.
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34. J. Dun, 'The Banking Institutions, Bullion Reserves and Non Legal Tender Note Circulation of the U.K. Statistically Investigated' Journal of the Statistical Society, XXXIX, 1876, pp. 118-121.
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38. W. Ashworth, op. cit. p. 167.
39. Lancaster Guardian, 26 July 1873.
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43. Lancaster Observer, 1 November 1907.
44. References of companies at P.R.O.:
Oilcloth & Varnish (BT 31/2416/12151), Steam Packet (BT 31/3880/24196),
Billposting & Advertising (BT 31/1060/25953), Printing and Publishing
(BT 31/5507/38169), Pneumatic Tyre (BT 31/6510/46043), L & Lobe Motor Car
(BT 31/3417/61241), Polish (BT 31/13965/123920), Lune Valley Engineering
(BT 31/22934/1411173).

45. Athenaeum (BT 31/382/1414), Lune Shipbuilding (BT 31/828/676C), Railway Carriage and Wagon (BT 31/856/812C), Kings Arms Hotel and Land (BT31/2427/12266), Coffee Tavern (BT 31/14612/12645), Tramways (BT 31/14954/27701), Storey Bros. (BT 31/6750/47484), Lunesdale Brick and Tile (BT 31/7403/52537).
46. Lancaster Observer, 4 July 1890.
47. Lancaster Standard, 15 November 1895.
48. Lancaster Observer, 24 March 1893.
49. Ibid. 3 April 1890.
50. Ibid. 13 November 1908.
51. Ibid. 24 January 1896.
52. Ibid. 20 April 1905.
53. Ibid. 17 May 1912.
54. Ibid. 13 August 1886.
55. Ibid. 14 July 1893.
56. Ibid. 28 February 1890.
57. Lancaster Guardian, 17 May 1902.
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59. Ernle, English Farming Past and Present (6th Edn. 1961), pp. 382.
60. T.W. Fletcher, 'Lancashire livestock farming during the Great Depression', Agricultural History Review, IX, 1961, pp. 17-42.
61. Lancaster Guardian, 29 October 1892.
62. Only 0.1% total farming population went bankrupt in Lancashire in 1881-3 c.f. Hunts. 0.6%. For examples of two later bankruptcies (Bainbridge and Askew) see Lancaster Observer, 20 April 1905.
63. T.W. Fletcher, op. cit. p. 33.
64. Ernle, op. cit. Appendix IX.
65. Lancaster Observer, 9 July 1886, October 1891, October 1892.
66. Haythornthwaite's bankruptcy, Lancaster Observer, 25 March & 14 April 1892.
67. Lancaster Farmers' Auction Mart Co. Annual Reports in Lancaster Observer and Lancaster Guardian.
68. Lancaster Observer, 7 January 1887.
69. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O., James Bibby 1928.
70. A Graphic Description, op. cit. p. 40.

71. Ibid. pp. 30-1.
72. Lancaster Observer, 16 February 1894. The two companies (Lunesdale Brick and Tube Co. and Claughton Brick and Tile Co.) were amalgamated in 1897 to form the Lunesdale District Brick and Tile Co. Ltd. A rival was formed in 1898, the Claughton Manor Brick and Tile Co.; see P.J. Gooderson, op. cit. pp. 26-27.
73. A Graphic Description, op. cit. p. 38.
74. Lancaster Guardian, 29 October 1892.
75. Lancaster Observer, 15 April 1887.
76. Ibid. 16 September, 1887.
77. Ibid. 12 February 1897.
78. Ibid. 8 December 1893 and 3 January 1896.
79. Lancaster Standard, 22 March 1895.
80. T.W. Fletcher, op. cit.
81. See Table 6.
82. Ernle, op. cit.
83. With no detailed census returns for Lancaster between 1871 and 1901 we are reliant on information from directories, viz. P. Barrett (1886), W.J. Cook (1896 and 1901) and T. Bulmer (1912).
- (a)84. A Graphic Description, op. cit. pp. 34-5.
- (b)84. Andrew Carnegie stayed here with his family in 1881 at the same time as the new High Sheriff; see A. Carnegie, Our Coaching Trip (New York, 1882), pp. 131-2.
85. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O., Charles Ducksbury 1919, Josiah Ducksbury 1916, George Ducksbury 1920.
86. For sources see Table 1.
87. BPP 1902, CXVIII and CXIX, Population, England and Wales.
- (a)88. A Graphic Description, op. cit.
- (b)88. Gillow's furniture works had been revived under the direction of S.J. Harris with a large amount of new building between Leonardgate and North Road (1875-1885) and had enjoyed prosperity and fame in late Victorian England. By 1900 it had 250 employees at its Lancaster depot and factory; see 'A Visit to the Show rooms and Works of Messrs. Gillow Ltd., Lancaster', Goss. Fleury's Journal, No. 64, Dec. 1901, pp. 8-15.
89. By 1912, Boots Cash Chemists, Liptons, Home and Colonial, Maypole and Hepworths all had branches in Lancaster, see T. Bulmer (1912).
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91. e.g. Lancaster Guardian, 11 November 1882; 24 November 1889.
92. Lancaster Guardian, 21 January 1911, 18 February 1911, 10 June 1911.
93. Information on his foreign factories is hard to come by. They were being discussed in the press by 1909. See Fifeshire Advertiser, 20 November 1909 and Lancaster Mail 20 January 1910. Lancs. GRO, DDX 909 PeelMS

CHAPTER IITHE ELITE

Lancaster's social elite changed considerably in the late nineteenth century. The rapid economic growth of north Lancashire from the 1860's onwards created much new wealth. ~~(The agricultural depression in the free trade era was more than compensated for by money derived from industry and commerce)~~ Above all, the increase in the size and wealth of Lancaster itself transformed the nature of the town's social leaders.

Many of the old North Lancashire gentry families ceased to play an important part in the affairs of the county town. The Greenes still lived at Whittington Hall and the Martons still lived at Capernwray, but their role in county society was diminished. In wealth they had been overtaken by newcomers, while politically their importance was much reduced. G.B.H. Marton (1839-1905) was briefly Member of Parliament for Lancaster in 1885-6, but two contests within a short time cost him £1,800 in election expenses alone and when he stood again in 1889, it was for the Lancashire County Council, not Parliament.¹ When he died in 1905 he left a nett personalty of £12,359. His contemporary, D.C. Greene, left £21,354 in 1897. Meanwhile Thurnham Hall had passed to another branch of the Daltons, one of whom died at Bournemouth in 1902 worth £8,325.² Of these three representatives of old county families, none had left over £25,000.

The importance of such eighteenth and early nineteenth century families was overshadowed by the arrival of newcomers to north Lancashire, such as W.H. Foster of Hornby Castle, owner of the Queensbury Mills at Bradford, who became M.P. for Lancaster in 1896. Another was Rev. C.T. Royds, Rector and Lord of the Manor of Heysham from 1865 to 1900 who, like the Martons of Capernwray, quickly adapted to the County Councils Act of 1888 and fought his way onto ^{the} Lancashire County Council, defeating a Dawson of Aldcliffe Hall in the process.³ Another was G.T.R. Preston, son of a Mayor of Liverpool and wine importer, whose father had bought Ellet Grange in the middle of the

century, and who too retired to Ellel after an active business life in Liverpool.⁴ All of these three left over £100,000 when they died.

The economic revival of Lancaster was the key to the changed situation. Lancaster became a rich and flourishing town and, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it dominated its immediate region far more than ever before. The town produced men of wealth while agriculture stagnated. The town produced a multiplicity of social organisations which were too many for the rural gentry to dominate. Above all, the town was, from 1885, the centre of a new constituency, composed of both rural and urban elements, but which the town was able to dominate for the most part until 1918. With these new economic and political developments, power passed out of the hands of the older families which had dominated Lancaster in the first two thirds of the nineteenth century. The new men who replaced them lacked their social cohesion, as the town ceased to be governed by a clique of old families. Elite institutions and functions are less easy to identify in this period of change. Social life still revolved round the major events associated with the Assizes and the Shrievalty, but it became more identifiable in terms of different circles, professional, commercial, landed, rather than one circle of notables as earlier in the century. Specialisation was now beginning to affect the social life of the elite as much as specialisation of industry was affecting the town's economy.

Town members of the social elite continued to include a mixture of manufacturers (both active and retired) and professional men. There was an element too which was new to the town; those who had retired from business life in south Lancashire and ^{had} ~~came~~ to Lancaster as annuitants. Some were members of old families who had left Lancaster to do business elsewhere, like John Satterthwaite, leather currier and Mayor of Preston in 1877, who retired to his native town in the 1890's.⁵ Some were new to the town, like T.P. Greene, landscape gardener, and Edmund Langstre~~k~~, a New Zealand farmer. Such men, like those who had grown rich in Lancaster itself, could not afford large landed estates,

but built themselves large detached houses on the fringes of the town at Haverbreaks, Scotforth or Bolton le Sands.⁶

The attraction of Lancaster for men of substance may be seen in the growth of the County Club which, by 1894, had 114 members, a third of whom had postal addresses as Lancaster. Founded in 1873, as 'Lancaster's most exclusive club' it aimed to provide club facilities for country gentlemen with business in Lancaster, but it included from the beginning men like Paley, the architect, Sir. Thomas Storey and James Williamson, oilcloth manufacturers and Dr. Wingate Saul, surgeon, all of whom lived in Lancaster.⁷

As in earlier periods, there was an overlap between the social elite and the Town Council. Some Town Councillors were members of the County Club, but only those of high status. The membership list of 1894 suggests that only if a Town Councillor was landowner, manufacturer or professional man, would he be eligible.⁸ An exception would only be made if he had held the office of Mayor. By 1894 only eleven Town Councillors had been members of the County Club in the twenty-one years of its existence.

It is noticeable, for example, that of the thirty men (representing twenty eight families), with addresses in Lancaster, who appeared in Hall Caine's Lancashire Biographies and Rolls of Honour (1917), only seven (or one quarter) were or were to become Town Councillors. By other criteria, all qualified as representatives of leading families. By education all were from L.R.G.S. or public school. A majority were professional men (9 solicitors, 1 barrister, 2 clergy, 3 teachers, 1 architect, 3 surgeons), although three were landowners and three were manufacturers.

Although notables tended to eschew ~~the~~ participation on the Town Council, they did not entirely shun public office. Of local offices, church office was among the least onerous and the most prestigious, while hospital committee work and charity trusteeship were equally popular. For many notables, elevation to the magistrates' bench, either for the borough or for the county, provided sufficient public engagements.

Some took part in party politics, like Rev. C.T. Royds who became chairman of the Lancaster Conservative Association or Colonel Whalley (1842 1908) who held office in the Primrose League. Whereas the bias on the Town Council was to the Liberals, the bias among the local notables was to the Unionists, following the national trend among the upper classes after 1886.⁹ Some stood for the County Council, but few, if any, could be said to have become national figures. Lancelot Sanderson and J.R. Greg were both Unionist candidates, the former for Carlisle in 1906, the latter for Nuneaton in 1911-13,¹⁰ but otherwise Lancaster's notables, apart from Lord Ashton, made little attempt at either local or national acclaim in the years preceding the First World War.

Possible Rivals of the Williamsons and Storeys

Before considering the wealth, power and influence of the two major notable families of this period, those of Williamson and Storey, it will be necessary to consider in more detail some of their possible rivals among the members of Lancaster's social elite.

One was Albert Greg (1835-1910), the eldest son of John Greg who, in his time, had been as dominant a personality on the Town Council as James Williamson or Sir Thomas Storey (see above in Part II).¹¹ Yet the Greg family's economic interests had been transferred from Lancaster back to ~~their first cotton mills at~~ Styal, ~~Bollington~~ and Manchester, after John Greg had sold his mills at Lancaster and Caton to the Storeys during the Gotton Famine. Unlike the sons of earlier Lancaster businessmen such as the Crossfields and the Bibbys, who had moved their interests elsewhere, and more typical of late nineteenth century millowners in general, Albert Greg preferred the life of a rentier and small landowner in an area removed from his family business. In this respect he was very different from Lord Ashton, although, unlike Ashton, he had a large network of cousins who shared responsibility and they all relied on trusted managers. He succeeded his father in taking an active part in many aspects of Lancaster life, although, like most of the second generation Storeys, he never stood for the Town Council.

He was a Charity Trustee, President of the Lancaster Royal Infirmary (1893-1902), and a leading light in the Coffee Tavern movement. He was a key figure in Lancaster's economic life as a Director of the Lancaster Bank (1888-1903) and as Director and, from 1893, Chairman of the Wagon Company. Unlike John Greg, Sir Thomas Storey and Lord Ashton, he had little interest in politics. His munificence was also on a modest scale, compared to that of either of the other two key families. His main interests in local government and civic development lay not in Lancaster, but in the neighbouring village of Caton, where he lived. There he pioneered a new water supply in 1883-4 at a cost of £4,000. From 1888 to 1903 he represented Lunesdale on the new Lancashire County Council. In this, he was a typical representative of second generation manufacturing wealth in county government.¹²

Another prominent local figure of similar wealth, derived from similar sources, was W.H. Foster (1848-1908), a worsted manufacturer from Bradford, whose father had acquired Hornby Castle and a sizeable landed stake (11,000 acres) in the Lune Valley in 1879.¹³ ~~W.H. Foster~~ Albert Greg was a notable who played a variety of roles - businessman, rentier, small landowner, county councillor. W.H. Foster was simply a manufacturer whose father had invested in land and had changed counties in order to be accepted in county society as a landowner.¹⁴ Like other Lune Valley families before him, his interest in Lancaster was confined to the seat which the division might provide for him in Parliament. And indeed he graduated from being the Lord of the Manor of Hornby and Tatham to become, from 1895 to 1900, the Member of Parliament for the Lancaster Division.¹⁵ He had stepped straight into the tracks of such families as the Martons, and, like them, played only a small part in the affairs of the county town. A Conservative, Foster felt much more at home in the Conservative parts of the division, notably Lunesdale and Morecambe, and his comparative lack of interest in Lancaster partly accounts for his failure to retain his seat in the Khaki Election of 1900.

The only local landed family to take a persistent interest in

Lancaster affairs was the family of Dawson of Aldcliffe Hall. The Dawsons of Aldcliffe had owned land adjacent to the borough since the beginning of the nineteenth century and had ranked among the most successful in the county. They were unusual in ^{North Lancashire} county circles in being active Nonconformists (and in remaining consistently loyal to Liberalism), and it was mainly in matters relating to their beliefs that they were active in Lancaster. They ranked high in national Congregational and Temperance affairs¹⁶ and took an active part locally in the High Street Congregational Church and in the temperance and coffee tavern movements. Their nonconformity did not however take them into party politics. No Dawson ever stood for Town Council or for the representation of Lancaster in Parliament, and the family's role in local Liberal Party affairs was surprisingly small.

Few men acquired wealth comparable to the Williamsons and Storeys outside the worlds of manufacturing and land ownership. Professional families (solicitors, doctors, land agents etc.) possessed considerable prestige in Lancaster - helping to stock such elite institutions as the Rowing Club, the John o' Gaunt (Archery) Club and the various balls and assemblies of the winter season,¹⁷ but few had the wealth of the manufacturing families. Some professional men, of course, had the chance of joining business partnerships, but in Lancaster itself such partnerships were few and rarely profitable. An exception was the case of G.W. Maxsted (1819-98), who came to Lancaster to practise as a solicitor in partnership with John Higgin in 1845. It was a flourishing practice, and in 1867, Maxsted and W.H. Higgin formed a consortium with William Satterthwaite to purchase Galgate Silk Mill. The venture was a success, and Maxsted died with a nett personalty of £150,000. He played no small part in local politics as Liberal election agent in the borough from 1847 until the disenfranchisement in 1866, and in the division of North Lancashire for Thomas Storey in 1880. He was Clerk to the Lancaster Canal Company until its dissolution in 1885, and a Port Commissioner (1851-54 and 1857-90); yet in spite of his

wealth and experience he appears to have been an adviser and executor rather than a leader or initiator in local affairs. In his obituary he was described as 'one of nature's gentlemen.'¹⁸ Such a description would have fitted many of Lancaster's professional men, implying, as it did, the quiet, unthrusting approach of men who sought to know rather than to act.¹⁹

Two men may be said to have exerted power and influence comparable with that of the Williamsons and Storeys. The first was William Smith (1849-1913). Smith was a member of one of the Roman Catholic middle class dynasties in Lancaster. His father (a corn merchant), and his uncle (a grocer) were both prominent members of the Town Council, Liberals, and close allies of James Williamson in the 1860's and 1870's. William Smith made a fortune as a partner in Walmesley and Smith, grain importers and millers at Barrow and Lancaster.²⁰ Smith's success was instantly recognised by Lancaster Town Council. He was first elected in 1890, was elected Mayor one year later, and Alderman two years after that. His Mayoralty was marked by lavish entertainment of the ratepayers and their wives at the Town Hall, Christmas dinners for 3,000 children and an Easter festival, again for children.²¹

Like ^{the member of} other prominent Catholic families in Lancaster, he was an ardent Liberal. In the year of his election to the Council he became President of the Reform Club, and in 1892, with the backing of James Williamson II and his family newspaper the 'Barrow News' he was elected Member of Parliament for North Lonsdale. In 1895, however, he retired from his seat, and ~~he~~ abandoned further political ambitions when, in the same year, he went to live at Newsham House, Broughton.²² Nevertheless he retained his seat on the aldermanic bench, and as a Director of the Lancaster Bank and the first President of the newly founded Lancaster Chamber of Commerce, he retained an important say in the business affairs of the region. Nevertheless his lone protest against the amalgamation of the Lancaster Wagon Company in 1902 had no influence on the directors or his fellow shareholders. Without the powerful political and economic backing of Lord Ashton his influence became

simply that of a prominent city father. In civic affairs perhaps his major contribution was to pilot the Corporation Tramway scheme, an ill-starred venture, which received much opposition.

The other local political figure of major importance was Norval Helme (1849-1932).²³ He was the son of James Helme who had started a small oilcloth factory at Halton in 1872. Norval Helme became head of the family business in 1882 and, like the other oilcloth firms, his seems to have prospered. Yet it never grew to any size. At his death in 1932, he was only worth £23,789 gross and his firm was immediately gobbled up by Williamson's. There seems little doubt that this might have happened long before if Lord Ashton had exerted pressure, and this position of economic dependence on Ashton should warn us of putting too much store by Helme as an independent force in Lancaster politics. He became a Town Councillor in 1889 and in 1896 achieved the distinction of being the first Methodist to be elected Mayor. From 1900 to 1919 he sat as an alderman. From 1892 to 1928 he also sat on Lancashire County Council, first as a Councillor, later as an Alderman. His career as a local dignitary was crowned in 1900 when he was elected Member of Parliament for the Lancaster Division, at an election when Lancaster went against the national trend. Helme held the seat for the Liberals until 1918 when he was unseated in the 'Coupon' Election and did not stand again. He was President of the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce for thirty years and President of the Lancaster Liberal Association from 1900 to 1926. Helme was knighted in 1912. In spite of such apparent power and honours, he was politically as well as commercially dependent on Lord Ashton who was the financial mainstay of the party organisation and who made ~~it~~ quite clear at every election his undying belief in Free Trade and his warm approval of Norval Helme, in spite of his somewhat diminished popularity in local Liberal circles.²⁴ He was later to follow Lord Ashton's example of abandoning the official Liberal Party when it became identified with Lloyd George, the bête noire of both men. In 1931 Helme gave his support to the Conservative candidate who had unsuccessfully opposed him in 1910 (Herwald Ramsbottom).

Helme never made any attempt to challenge Lord Ashton's authority. Defection would have meant disaster, for although Helme won much local respect for himself, his commercial and political association with Lord Ashton was regarded as his major asset.

None of the possible rivals to the Williamsons and Storeys came near to challenging their supremacy. Few families in a town of Lancaster's ~~Size~~ had the wealth. Few had the accumulated prestige of years of public service. None had the personal influence over the lives of thousands of families which the two dominant family firms bestowed on the Storeys and Lord Ashton. Most men of their standing had abandoned the greater pressure of contemporary civic life for the quieter and more gentlemanly pursuits of the countryside, leaving their business to the care of skilled managers. Politics had become a one party matter for many notables after 1886. Liberal politics was ~~now~~ identified with Nonconformist shopkeepers and its triumph in Lancaster made politics even more distasteful to notables. The second generation of Storeys ~~was~~ ^{was} already making this change in the 1880's. The death of Sir Thomas Storey in 1898 began the break up of the family's influence.

H.L. Storey was ~~seen to be~~ ^{after 1901,} seen rarely in Lancaster while his cousin Isaac had moved out to Caton. They returned for meetings of the Storey Brothers board. Only Lord Ashton remained in Lancaster exerting a unique personal influence. With tight control of the Liberal Party organisation, and indirect influence on the Town Council through men like Alderman Smith and Norval Helme, there was little point in any individual family trying to challenge him. Any challenge could only be directed through the Conservative Party at a General Election (and even Conservatives only made sly gibes at his personal influence), or through organised labour which threatened the whole system of personal influence and deference to traditional families on which the Lancaster society and government were based.

In conclusion the social as opposed to the governing elite was not sealed off from the Town Council, and although it existed separate and above the latter in terms of social prestige, social and governing

elites mixed on the local bench, charitable committees, political associations and at countless 'ad hoc' functions, e.g. Such winter occasions as the Infirmary Ball, by 1903 'one of the recognised social functions of the year' with a committee made up of the Mayor, one or two councillors, many notables and infirmary officials. Nevertheless there was a hierarchy of status and the social elite, because of its wealth, stood at the apex. At the top of the local apex stood the county landowners such as G.B.H. Marton and W.H. Foster who still provided the county's Members of Parliament and stood only below the peerage. Lancaster had only one member of the peerage, Lord Ashton. Although once a member of the Town Council and a founder member of the County Club he stood aloof from both governing and social elites. Mixing very little in Lancaster or county society, outside his own family and team of political and business advisers, he preferred to act as patron and boss rather than ^{as} colleague or friend.

Williamson and Storey

The two families which combined status and influence to the highest degree in the Lancaster of the late nineteenth century were those of Williamson and Storey. They were the two families which could claim considerable wealth, a large local influence, both economic and political, and something of a regional or national reputation. In the late nineteenth century they were the only two local families to receive honours from the Crown: Thomas Storey, a knighthood in the year of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee,²⁵ and James Williamson II, a peerage in 1895.

The Williamsons and the Storeys were two of the wealthiest families associated with the borough in the last third of the nineteenth century. James Williamson I left 'under £80,000' when he died in 1879, while his son, Lord Ashton left an estate valued at £9 $\frac{1}{2}$ million in 1930.²⁶ The eldest Storey brother, William, left under £90,000 in 1879.²⁷ Sir Thomas Storey left a gross estate valued at £288,178 (nett personalty £204,939), when he died in 1898. In 1913, his younger brother, Edward,

left £117,468 gross (nett personalty £115,354).²⁸ Few other Lancaster people could compete with wealth of these proportions (see Appendix).

Both the Williamson and Storey fortunes were based primarily on table baize. Neither James Williamson nor the Storey Brothers inherited any significant sum, their fathers being a small woollen manufacturer and schoolmaster respectively, thus both families had only become rich and powerful in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁹ By 1880 their two firms were two of the three largest firms in Lancaster. Williamson's interests were largely confined to table baize, and his son, Lord Ashton too was mainly interested in oilcloth and linoleum. The early history (up to 1870) of both Williamson's and Storey's has been sketched in Section II and the later history in Chapter I of Section III.

Wealth was one means to social recognition for 'new' families, such as those of Williamson and Storey. Careful marriage was another. James Williamson I's wife was only the daughter of an elderly innkeeper. His sons did better. His elder son, Thomas, married the daughter of a cotton spinner. His younger son, James Williamson II, later Lord Ashton, married three times: firstly to the daughter of a leading Keswick draper, secondly to a wealthy widow and thirdly to a colonel's widow.³⁰ None of these ~~were~~ ^{was a} spectacular prizes, but one of his daughters by his second wife married the heir of Viscount Peel in 1899. This helped to make his own peerage more respectable.

Like the Williamsons, the Storeys made greater social advances with the second generation rather than in the first. Sir Thomas Storey's second marriage was to the sister of Charles Blades, timber merchant and fellow councillor, who was a newcomer, like the Storeys. The Storey brothers' children, however, made alliances with established local families. William's daughter married Edmund Sharpe junior (1873), thus strengthening the ties of business and friendship which already linked the Storeys to the engineering and architectural dynasty of Sharpe and Paley.³¹ Thomas's daughter married Richard Inglis Hall (1880) land agent and scion of an old Lancaster professional family. Edward's

daughter married Willian O. Roper, (1835), then Deputy Town Clerk, later Town Clerk, a member of another old Lancaster family.³²

Marriage had political as well as social importance for both the Williamsons and the Storeys. The marriage patterns of the two families were influenced by the division between the two families on the Town Council. The Storey marriages (outlined above) were all to Conservative, Anglican families with records of long service on the Council.³³

Williamson marriages also went on political lines. Two relations by marriage, R. Jackson (cotton spinner) and S.W. Wearing (an official at Williamson's), were both loyal lieutenants of James Williamson I on the Town Council in the 1860's and early 1870's.

Of James Williamson I's three children, only the future Lord Ashton did not marry a Williamsonite. The latter's aloofness from other local families may be seen as part of his rejection of the narrow confines of local borough politics.

Land conferred the ultimate seal of respectability on any aspiring family. James Williamson senior was too much concerned with his Lancaster business to buy land. In 1873 he possessed only eighty acres which were probably divided between his mills and his house, Parkfield, on the southern outskirts of the town.³⁴ His successor in the family business (James Williamson II) soon set about establishing himself as a local landowner. In 1884 he bought Ashton Hall (an ancient mansion with several hundred acres attached) from the widow of L.P.C. Starkie, at a cost of £100,000.³⁵ Subsequently he bought other houses such as Ellet Hall (1898) at Galgate, Lune Villa in Skerton, Alford House in Knightsbridge (1888) and finally The Bungalow at St. Anne's (1913).³⁶ In spite of the geographical spread of his residences, Lord Ashton spent most of his time either at Ryelands (his father's last home in Skerton) or in London.

The Storeys too invested in landed property for social rather than investment purposes. Sir Thomas Storey's house in Lancaster was Westfield, but in addition he acquired Downing Hall, Flintshire, near some of his business interests, a shooting estate at Plas Moutyr,

and finally an estate on the outskirts of Lancaster, at Bailrigg in 1887.³⁷

A more easily available source of status - at least to the first generation of Williamsons and Storeys - was local office. Both Thomas Storey and James Williamson I took a very active part in local institutions. Both were prominent city fathers for most of their working lives. James Williamson I was a Town Councillor from 1853 to 1865 and an alderman from 1871 to 1890. He was Mayor of Lancaster in 1864-5. William Storey became a Town Councillor in 1857 and his brother Thomas was elected in 1862. William resigned, but Thomas held continuous office until 1890 (he became an alderman in 1871 and was Mayor four times: 1867-8, 1873-5, 1886-7).³⁸ In addition he held office as High Sheriff in 1880. Edward Storey succeeded his brother William on the Council in 1879 and remained till 1884. Thereafter he confined his activities to the Port Commissioners, and the Charity Trustees, of which body he was Chairman from 1899 to 1913.³⁹

The second generation in both families showed a much greater reluctance to become burdened with the responsibilities of public office within the town. James Williamson II was a member of the Town Council from 1871 to 1880, resigning shortly after his father's death. In 1881 he became a Justice of the Peace for the county and in 1885 served as High Sheriff. Later he served as Constable of Lancaster Castle, but he refused all offers to the aldermanship and the mayoralty made by Lancaster Town Council. Of the sons of the Storey brothers, only one, Herbert L. Storey (Thomas's eldest son), joined the Town Council, from 1893 to 1901. Members of the second generation had less need than their fathers to keep a close eye on municipal developments. Oilcloth had become the established local industry, an object of praise rather than criticism. Nor were they so ready to accept either the political requirements of canvassing at elections (increasingly necessary in the 1890's - see below) or the company of ordinary local tradesmen. For the second generation of Williamsons and Storeys politics and social intercourse were to be on a higher plain than ~~those of~~^{for} their fathers. H.L. Storey was High Sheriff in 1904 and in 1913 was President of the

Lancaster Historical Pageant. His cousins had a variety of interests especially sporting and scientific, but took no part in the public life of Lancaster.⁴⁰

One of the best ways of using their money to acquire local prestige was the bestowal of gifts on Lancaster. This was a time honoured procedure for Members of Parliament and other local notables, but the Williamsons and Storeys surpassed all their predecessors in splendour of their munificence. As was traditional for local benefactors, these gifts were made in areas where there was least community provision, and whereas participation in local government was confined largely to the first generation, munificence proved hereditary.

Thomas Storey's main contribution was to educational provision in the town. In his youth he had been secretary of the Mechanics' Institute (1849-53) having only had a minimum of formal education as a child. In 1875 he endowed a Storey scholarship at Lancaster Royal Grammar School. In 1886, in his year as Jubilee Mayor, he announced his intention of building a school of art and an art gallery to commemorate the Jubilee. Provision for a technical school was later added, and the whole complex was completed in 1891 and handed over to the Corporation in 1893.⁴¹ Family interest in the Royal Albert Asylum has already been mentioned. In 1896, Sir, Thomas Storey presented 'The Storey Home for Feeble Minded Girls' erected on the Asylum site. Further large gifts totalling £15,000 were made to the Asylum and to the Storey Institute by his son, H.L. Storey.⁴²

James Williamson I's most famous gift to Lancaster was Williamson Park.⁴³ The Williamsons on the Town Council had long demanded a public park.⁴⁴ At last their leader was able to give them one himself. It was created out of the disused quarries on Lancaster Moor at a cost of £13,230 and handed over to the Corporation by his son in 1881, along with a maintenance fund of £10,000. Less well known are James Williamson I's gifts to elementary education, including £500 towards the schools at Scotforth and the setting up of a ragged school in Aldcliffe Lane.

Lord Ashton

James Williamson II, Baron Ashton, although born in 1842, was in many ways more typical of an earlier generation of industrial entrepreneurs than that into which he was born. Many industrialists of his generation were retiring from the pressures of the Manchester or Preston factory to the remoteness of some country estate in Cheshire or the Lake District, leaving the operation of their business to managers.⁴⁵ Lord Ashton's business had not yet reached sufficient maturity to allow this.

He showed all the concern to maintain close personal control of his enterprise exhibited by such early entrepreneurs as Josiah Wedgwood and Richard Arkwright.⁴⁶ His distrust of subordinates was Byzantine in its intensity and grew stronger as his ability to control them weakened with age. With no son to succeed him and reluctant to see his daughter's inheritance diminished in any way, he retained absolute authority from his father's death in 1879 to his own in 1930, at the age of 87. Only after his death did his firm become a limited company with his son-in-law as its first chairman.⁴⁷

Lord Ashton's passion for the exercise of power extended beyond his firm to the town. As James Williamson II, he got himself elected Member of Parliament for the Lancaster division in 1886, and only resigned in 1895 in favour of a barony bought by much needed contributions to Liberal party funds.⁴⁸ As the town grew, he moulded its politics in the interests of his works. Lancaster returned a Liberal Member of Parliament at every election from 1886 to 1918, except for that of 1895. After his neglect of the constituency in that election, he never again failed to urge the necessity of Free Trade (and therefore Liberalism) for the prosperity of his works and therefore the town as a whole. He sent his second and third wives to grace Liberal platforms in the election campaigns, and himself gave generously to local party funds.

He not only responded generously to the Liberal Party's financial cramp after 1886, (rumours fluctuated between £40,000 and £100,000).⁴⁹

Lancaster's growth led to a demand for social facilities which other industrial towns had acquired years before. Moreover Lord Ashton was determined to leave his mark on the face of the old county town which his firm had transformed. In 1881 he provided an endowment for Williamson Park which his father had had laid out, and later gave a new park in Skerton, the suburb of Lancaster, where he and his workers lived cheek by jowl. He gave £5,000 to the rebuilding fund of the Lancaster Royal Infirmary and subsequently contributed another £4,600. He gave £2,000 to the Lancaster Royal Grammar School, £15,000 to the County Asylum and gave smaller gifts to Anglican and Methodist churches in the town. In 1909 he presented the Corporation with a new Town Hall at a personal cost of £150,000.⁵⁰

His second purpose was to subsidise institutions and societies used by his own workpeople. He did not, in his public utterances, lay stress on the doctrine of self-help, more typical of an earlier generation of entrepreneurs. He did not maintain his close links with the Mechanics' Institute and left the support of adult technical education in Lancaster to the Storey family. Instead, he used his money to create ties of interest and dependence with all types of voluntary institutions in the town. The large gifts to the big institutions have already been mentioned. His donations to most local societies were much smaller. They fell into two categories: occasional gifts in times of special need and annual subscriptions. The first category was largely made up of societies and clubs formed to take advantage of the increase in leisure made available to working men from the reduction of hours of work in the late nineteenth century. These new societies were small, and their membership tended to fluctuate as a function of the town's population and economic fortunes. In times of expansion, with a growing membership, they wanted new facilities; in times of economic depression, with a stationary or declining membership, they needed to be bailed out. Lord Ashton's gifts, in such cases, ranged from provision of a new police recreation ground and a bowling green for the Parish Church Working Men's Bowling Club to paying off the debt on

the Lancaster R.U.F.C. and the Trades Council's debt on the Trades Hall.

His regular giving was mainly directed towards charities to aid the poor. He paid an annual subscription of about £200 to the Jubilee Town Mission, providing an annual birthday treat to old people in Skerton, and ran his own charity committee to distribute food and clothing to the very poor.⁵¹

Lord Ashton put out roots of benevolence far and wide. His charity was described as bribery by the frustrated local Tory press which was convinced that his influence prevented the Tories from winning the division, but, for the most part, Lord Ashton was popular in Lancaster before the First World War. The expansion of his works had brought prosperity to the town and his gifts to local institutions not only helped to alleviate the rates but also introduced an element of personal concern linking the highest and lowest in a society where official charitable provision was grim and impersonal.

Lord Ashton's link with the voluntary institutions was not purely financial. He kept in close personal contact with certain key men whose advice was invaluable. Such a man was William Bateson, assistant overseer of the poor and surveyor of highways, who, on his death in 1907, was described as Lord Ashton's 'private almoner' for thirty years. He had at one time been a warden at St. Luke's, Skerton and was, of course, 'a sturdy Liberal'.⁵² Some of these link men were Lord Ashton's own employees. Such a man was George Parkinson, a senior clerk at Williamson's and afterwards Lord Ashton's secretary. In 1912 he was secretary of both the Lancaster Naturalists' Society and the Skerton Liberal Club.⁵³ His senior, the chief clerk at Williamson's was a former secretary of the Park Ward Liberal Club.⁵⁴ Other employees held other key places in the working class institutions of the town.⁵⁵

It was not surprising that, through such men, Lord Ashton was able to draw on an endless supply of local gossip, which suitably sifted, gave him an idea of Lancaster public opinion without leaving his study. The Peel M.S.S. show that records were made of conversations conducted

by or communicated to Williamson's clerks on topics of current local interest.⁵⁶

Not only could Lord Ashton assess public opinion through private channels, he also found a means of influencing local opinion through public channels. Through the columns of the Lancaster Observer he was able to explain and justify his policies while the editorial comment always put the most favourable interpretation on his actions. It was rumoured that Lord Ashton had provided the paper with financial support, and certainly by 1910 the proprietor, Bell, was following a Williamsonite editorial policy. Thus Ashton's paternalism was supported by a steady flow of gratitude and praise from the Observer, echoed to a lesser degree in the other Liberal organs.

Although Lord Ashton stood at the pinnacle of Lancaster's elite, any association of him with it is largely academic. Whereas the social elite largely avoided borough politics, he himself was heavily involved. While the elite was largely Unionist, Lord Ashton was a passionate advocate of Free Trade and therefore Liberalism. While the majority of the elite had allowed a managerial class to assume the heaviest burdens of business life, he was active unto death. While the elite enjoyed an active social life, and the Lancaster region became renowned for the variety of its game, Lord Ashton shut himself up at Ryelands or left Lancaster for holidays in London, St. Anne's or Biarritz. His only sports were cycling and billiards which were more typical of the Lancaster shopocracy which he encouraged to identify with Liberalism and with himself, and which was heavily represented on the Town Council where he had far more contacts than among the social elite. Thus, all in all, Lord Ashton operated in spite of, rather than in co-operation with the Lancaster elite. Like a monarch with a dissident aristocracy, he consequently became highly vulnerable to personal attacks.

NUMBER IIFootnotes.

1. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O., 18 August 1905.
2. Lancaster Guardian, 23 August 1902. N.B. No one had resided regularly at Thurnham Hall since the death of Elizabeth Dalton in 1861; see N.C.O., 12 May 1902 and A. Hewitson, Northward (Preston, 1900).
3. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O. March 1900.
4. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O. November 1891.
5. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O. 22 October 1903.
6. The Haverbreaks estate was bought for £7,000 by Amos Dowthwaite builder and his brother in law, W. Todd, solicitor and laid out between c. 1893 and Dowthwaite's death in 1906. Dowthwaite built a house on the estate for himself; see N.C.O. 20 November 1906.
7. Lancaster Guardian & Observer, 7 February 1958.
8. Lancaster C.L., County Club, Members' List 1894.
9. H.U. Emy. Liberals, Radicals and Social Politics 1892-1914 (Cambridge, 1973).
10. J. Vincent and M. Stenton, eds., McCalmont's Parliamentary Poll Book 1832-1918 (1971).
11. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O., 1910.
12. See J.M. Lee, op. cit. p. 58.
13. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O., 1908; also E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills - a History (Liverpool, 1958), pp. 355-6.
14. Ibid. p. 366. His three brothers were variously established on estates near Whitby, in Staffordshire and Oxfordshire.
15. His father had been a Liberal, and in 1880 had been considered a possible candidate for North Lancashire.
16. e.g. They were governors of Mill Hill school.
For their wealth, see Appendix C4; for their generosity to multifarious causes see, Lancaster C.L., MS 3132, Dawson. Notebook showing amounts given to charity compared with rents and dividends 1859-74. e.g. income from rents and dividends 1859: £2,818, 1873: £4,102. Gifts to charities were 1859: £278, 1873: £470.
17. Rules of the John o'Gaunt Bowmen (Lancaster, 1876 and 1901)
County Club, List of Members, 1894,
18. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O., 1898.
19. See below for general consideration of professional contribution to public life in the town in the late 19th century.
20. J.D. Marshall, op. cit. p. 403.
21. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O., 1913.

22. By 1906, he was supporting the Unionists.
23. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O., 1932.
24. Lancs. C.R.O., Peel MSS, Hints of a 'Dump Helme' movement among local Liberals in 1910.
25. As Jubilee Mayor.
26. Lancs. C.R.O., Lancaster District Registry of Wills, 1879. Also The Times, 24 June 1930.
27. Lancs. C.R.O., ibid. 1879.
28. Lancaster C.L., N.C.O., 1913.
29. Even though James Williamson was descended from a Secretary of State under Charles II; see Lodge's Peerage (1907), p. 199. Ten generations were shown nine of which had lived at Crosthwaite, nr. Keswick. In the tenth, J.W. I had come to Lancaster.
30. 1. Margaret Gatey (1869)
2. Jessie Hume (nee Stewart) (1880)
3. Florence Whalley (nee Daniel) (1909); see A.C. Fox Davis, Armorial Families (1929).
31. N. Pevsner, North Lancashire (1969), pp. 31-3.
32. G. Christie, op. cit. passim.
33. e.g. Three generations of the Hall family provided five members of Lancaster Town Council between 1836 and 1910.
34. BPP 1874 Pt. I, LXXII, Return of Owners of Land of England & Wales, Lancashire Cd 611 90, pp. 52-80.
He bought Parkfield in 1871, but in 1874 he bought Ryelands in Skerton, from T.R. Dunn (see Section II).
35. A. Hewitson, op. cit.
36. For purchase of Alford House see Lancaster Observer 2 March 1888; sale of Parkfield see ibid 3 August 1888; purchase of bungalow see ibid 4 April 1912.
37. Ibid. 8 July 1887.
38. Lancaster Gazette, 8 January 1879 & Lancaster C.L., N.C.O., 1898.
39. All these four held a multiplicity of local elective offices including Poor Law Guardian, Port Commissioner and Charity Trustee.
40. G. Christie, op. cit., pp. 225-234. Opportunities for travel led to a wide dispersal of the Storey clan, after its previously heavy concentration in Lancaster.
41. Ibid. pp. 219-20.
42. Mayfair, 23 November 1911.
43. His most famous, but not his first: this was probably the gift of coloured glass to St. John's in 1849; see Lancaster Records, op. cit., p. 319.
44. See debate re memorial to Prince Albert (Lancaster Gazette) 12 July 1862) in Section II. Lancaster was conscious of being far behind other

Lancashire towns in this respect, (e.g. Preston) which had several parks before Lancaster had its first.

45. J.H. Lee, op. cit. pp. 1-29.
46. M. McKendrick, 'Josiah Wedgwood and Factory Discipline', Historical Journal, IV, 1961, pp. 30-55.
47. Lancaster Observer, 14 August 1931.
48. H.J. Hanham, 'The Sale of Honours in Late Victorian England', Victorian Studies, III, 1960, 277-89.
49. The Times, 13, 16 and 17 July 1895.
50. Lancashire Daily Post, 27 May 1930.
51. In times of acute distress it could run into expenditure of £40 a week; see Lancaster Observer, 19 March 1909.
52. Ibid. 13 September 1909.
53. T. Bulmer & Co. Directory of Lancaster 1912.
54. Lancaster Observer, 3 April 1926.
55. e.g. C. Prescott, Secretary of Workpeople's Committee of Royal Lancaster Infirmary for over 20 years, Director of Economic Building Society, Member of Committee of William Smith Festival and Roman Catholic Brethren Friendly Society; see N.C.O. 23 March 1917.
56. Lancs. C.R.O., DDX 909, Peel MSS, Newscuttings and Scrap Books, April 1908 to December 1911.

CHAPTER III

THE TOWN COUNCIL

i. The Scope of Municipal Government.

The scope of municipal government in Lancaster greatly expanded in the late nineteenth century. Urban growth demanded the extension of the established responsibilities for health and police, and added elementary education in 1903. Municipal enterprise, limited to water in 1870, had by 1914 been enlarged to include gas, electricity and public transport (electric tramways).¹ In all its undertakings Lancaster Borough was subject to the Local Government Board, set up in 1871, but this body did little more than provide expert advice and financial assistance in the form of loans. Assigned revenues, which played such an important part in the finances of the county boroughs after 1888 were not available to boroughs the size of Lancaster. Nevertheless, Corporation expenditure rose from £3,620 in 1886 to £43,544 by 1906, while that of Lancaster Urban Sanitary Authority rose from £31,278 to £80,993 in the same period.

Lancaster, climbing in population above the 40,000 mark in 1901, made several applications for County Borough status seeking control of a larger range of services.² Each application was turned down. The town's population never reached the 50,000 minimum requirement, and there were no special circumstances as in the case of some small county towns such as Chester. Lancashire County Council fought a successful rearguard action against the loss of smaller towns such as Lancaster.

The borough of Lancaster maintained its own police force (totalling 40 in 1901), while the county traditionally bore responsibility for Skerton Bridge and after 1888 took nominal charge of the principal county roads.³ In practice, however, the upkeep of the main roads through Lancaster remained under the administration of the borough and its surveyor. Jurisdiction over the poor remained with the Board of Guardians.

The principal sphere of municipal activity continued to be that of public health. The 1876 Water and Improvement Act enabled the town to

build a new waterworks, and, in 1878, its first Medical Officer of Health was appointed.⁴ In 1880, as a result of another local Act, public slaughter houses and a new market were erected,⁵ and in the following year Lancaster's first public park, Williamson's Park, was opened. A new sanatorium was established in 1891 and the waterworks were extended in the same year and again in 1900.⁶ In 1896 a new Infirmary was opened.⁷ The Edwardian period brought the first appointment of a lady Health Visitor in 1903⁸ and the opening of new cemeteries at Skerton (1904) and Scotforth (1908). Thanks to the work of energetic Medical Officers of Health, the death rate, which stood at 20 per 1000 in the 1880's, was reduced to 14 by 1896 and 13 by 1906. The infantile death rate which stood at 161 in 1886 was slower to fall, and was only down to 138 by 1906, and 100 by 1911.⁹ Lancaster's health record in the late nineteenth century was typical of many English towns. In 1911 its death rate of 13.9 was almost identical with that of England and Wales (13.8). For this study the effect of health on borough politics is the prime concern. Rising sanitary ~~problems~~ led to the two extensions of the borough in 1888 and 1900, while the problems of health transformed progressive views of municipal government just as they had done in the 1840's.

Education was initially outside the scope of municipal government. Although the Corporation acted as trustees for the Lancaster Royal Grammar School and the Storey Institute (endowed in 1887), the Town Council had no influence over the elementary educational provision of the town. As in Preston, the churches, with the help of the denominational societies (National and British), ran the town's elementary schools, in spite of a minority demand for a School Board. Voluntary efforts were not, however, sufficient to keep up with the rapid growth of the population in the late 1880's, and in 1893 a School Board was set up.¹⁰ New schools were built at Bowerham (1895) and Marsh (1896) and Skerton British School was purchased in 1900.¹¹ When the Balfour Act of 1902 abolished School Boards, responsibility for the borough's elementary schools passed to the Education Committee

of the Town Council. By 1914 Skerton School had been greatly enlarged and new schools had been built at Greaves and Dallas Road (1912).¹² In co-operation with the county, the Lancaster Royal Grammar School was reorganised in 1896 and 1910 and in 1914 a Girls' Grammar School was built.¹³ The rate for education which had stood at 2½d in 1895, stood at 1s 1¾d by 1913 (excluding the Free Library rate of 1d introduced in 1895). Municipal concern for education grew from a watching brief over Lancaster Royal Grammar School to responsibility for elementary, secondary and technical education in the town.

The first major extension of civic enterprise beyond water supply and sewerage came with the take over of the Lancaster Gas Company. The Gas Company's decision in 1878 to apply to Parliament for additional powers brought a hostile reaction from the Town Hall. The Company's plan to supply electricity as well as gas with additional capital of £83,000 was well known, and fears were aroused by the absence of plans for restricted prices. The Council, led by the Town Clerk, decided to oppose the bill, and the opposition was endorsed by a meeting of local ratepayers and by the local press.¹⁴ Both the Company and the Town Council realised the waste of a parliamentary contest, and negotiations began for the town's purchase of the Company. The Corporation offer of £75,000 was rejected by the Company, and in the end the Council accepted the Company's price of £80,000.¹⁵ The Guardian was bitter at the outcome, but both sides were certain that the cost would quickly be recuperated from the profits.¹⁶ This forecast proved to be correct. From 1882 to 1891 the gas undertaking recorded a nett profit annually of £2,081. In 1894 an electricity undertaking was started.¹⁷ Initially it ran at a loss, but it too was running at a profit by 1898, although electricity profits were always much smaller than those of gas, averaging £882 a year between 1900 and 1910.

The Corporation electric tramway, planned in 1899 and built in 1902 was opened in 1903 with lines from Dalton Square to Scotforth and Williamson's Park.¹⁸ The enterprise was highly controversial from

the first and ran at an annual deficit of over £2,000 until 1905. A line from Dalton Square to Castle Station was built in 1905, but the route over Skerton Bridge to Morecambe remained the monopoly of the Lancaster and District Tramways Company and it refused to sell. The reaction against municipal ownership reached a peak in December 1905 when the Skerton Councillors, backed by the Ratepayers' Association, demanded that the Town Council accept a private offer to buy the municipal tramways.¹⁹ The Tramways Committee, led by Alderman William Smith, refused to give way and received the support of the majority of the Council. The news that the municipal tramways had had their first profitable year (1905-6) confirmed this confidence in Smith and his Committee and was celebrated by a 2d reduction of the total rates in March 1906.²⁰

Municipal enterprise had taken on the care of the town's health with gusto, but such care stopped short at housing. Overcrowding as a problem in its own right was slow to occur to health officials and Councillors alike. It was the journalists who first drew attention to it as a major concern independent of the problem of dirt and working class morals. It forced itself on their attention in 1889 with the pressure on lodging house accommodation from navvies engaged on building both the Damas Gill reservoir and the Thirlmere pipeline for Manchester Corporation.²¹ The town's birth rate reached peaks of 32.47 and 32.7 in 1885-7 and 33.07 in 1889 and did not fall below 30 till after 1892. ~~A death rate of over 20 per thousand prevailed in the 1880's~~ The Observer demanded wider streets and healthier dwellings, and it was supported by the Radical Liberals and the health officials.²² The cottage owning and building lobby was, however, too strong for them. Some progress was made. The Town Council appointed its first inspector of common lodging houses in February 1894²³ and opened the town's first municipal lodgings house in 1895.²⁴ This was, however, only a replacement for private lodging houses demolished in China Lane in fulfilment of a Corporation street improvement scheme (1891-96).

TABLE C1

Population and Housing Supply in Lancaster from 1871 to 1911²⁵

(Percentage increase in brackets)

Census	Population	Houses		Building
		Inhabited	Uninhabited	
1871	17,034	3,080	85	33
1881	20,663 (21.3)	3,621 (17.6)	85	50
1891*	31,038 (50.2)	5,483 (51.4)	116	63
1901*	40,329 (23.0)	7,495 (36.7)	173	153
1911	41,410 (2.7)	7,662 (2.2)	655	20

* Borough extension since preceding Census (1888 and 1900)

Table C1 shows the degree to which house building in the period kept up with the rise in population. Although the population growth of the borough is distorted by the extension of the boundaries which took place in 1888 and 1900, this distortion is of no consequence when population and housing supply are compared. Such a comparison shows that from the 1871 to the 1891 Census house building was scarcely keeping up with population increase. The main building boom took place in the 1890's with 1,000 houses built between 1891 and 1896 and another 1,000 built before the end of the decade. In this decade housing supply rose much faster than population, resulting in a sizeable number of dwellings uninhabited or building in 1901. Between 1901 and 1911 both population growth and new house building fell to a bare 2 or 3%. The peaks of building in this decade occurred in 1903 and in 1908. Even with very little new building there were 778 empty houses in the borough by 1911.²⁶ Between 1871 and 1911 the housing stock had increased by 149%, while the population had increased by 143%. Builders hardly did much more than keep up with the growth of population. They did not do much to rehouse the poorer members of the community.

The demand for cheap housing recurred periodically in the press from 1879 onwards. The housing shortage reached a peak in 1889-91. The problem forced itself into the Corporation's attention by its own demolition work under the 'street improvements' clauses of the local

Act of 1888. The Radical Liberals took up the challenge, led by William Gilchrist, coachbuilder, but the building trade interest proved too strong for them.²⁷ The majority of the Town Council had no wish to commit the Corporation to pioneering work in the field, and even the Co-operative Society showed similar caution by rejecting a £5,000 cottage building scheme in May 1891.²⁸ Pressure from the Radical Liberals was intermittently exerted during the purchase and demolition of China Lane, but their case was weakened by the Building Society Scandal in 1894, in which one of their number, Nathan Molyneux, was found guilty of large scale embezzlement. Municipal cottage building did not seem an economic proposition. Hence the shortage of cottages in the 3s 6d to 4s 0d range demanded by Rev. H.W. Smith and others before the Local Government Inquiry.²⁹

The Town Council did not heed the pleas of the Radical Liberals, nor those of Dr. Parker, the borough's MOH between 1888 and 1911. The latter had not taken part in the campaign for municipal housing in the early 1890's, but by 1897 he was hinting that intervention by the Urban Sanitary Authority was necessary to compel improvements in housing.³⁰ In 1901 he proposed an experimental scheme to provide four roomed houses for working men in preference to the 'flat system' as adopted by Chester, Barrow and Carlisle.³¹ The proposal aimed to attract temperance support, but it received little backing when presented as a proposal by Bowness. The Radical Liberals had lost interest and it was the Trades Council which took the proposal up with most vigour.

In June 1904, the Trades Council, wrote to ask the Corporation to construct low cost housing for the working classes. The Insanitary Dwellings Sub Committee refused, on the result of findings of other towns. Municipal rents were all very high, ranging from 5s 6d upwards, and were usually unpopular.³² The Trades Council contested the Sub Committee's conclusions and attributed its attitude to that of the private builders on the Town Council.³³ It did not abandon its campaign

and continued to receive ammunition from Dr. Parker's reports, until his resignation in 1911, but neither the Labour members nor Parker made any progress in converting the Town Council to municipal housing in the years before the First World War.

The Corporation continued to place not only builders before the low paid, but also property owners before lodgers. In July 1910 the municipal lodging houses were handed back to private enterprise. It was announced that if the project had been successful such success would have encouraged a larger project of building workmen's dwellings.³⁴ Instead the municipal lodging houses would be closed to put an end to the Corporation's 'unfair' competition with private individuals.

Only in the big towns were municipal building programmes common before the First World War. Some smaller towns also took the initiative, but more abstained on grounds of economy.³⁵ In Lancaster, the Edwardian decade was largely one of economic stagnation and intense fears were expressed about the declining profitability of property investment. Indulgence in an economic risk at the expense of strong building and property owning interests was not to be seriously countenanced by the Lancaster Corporation before 1914. Only with the growth of Labour representation after the War did the Town Council change its tune.

A major limitation on the jurisdiction of the Lancaster Town Council was its members' view of its role. Most Councillors regarded it as their job to maintain the town's vital services (police, lighting, water, sanitation, etc.) as efficiently and economically as possible. The extension of the Corporation's monopoly to include gas (in 1880) and electricity (in 1894) was part and parcel of the imitation of the 'gas and water socialism' of bigger towns like Birmingham and Manchester. At first highly controversial undertakings, municipal enterprises were soon being regarded as 'milch cows'.³⁶ In Lancaster, their profits became a means of subsidising the rates. In 1895 Lancaster could boast that it was the lowest rated town in the Kingdom.³⁷

Lancaster's rates rose very slowly.³⁸ In 1880 the total rate stood

at 3s 0d in the pound. After some temporary increases in 1886-7 it was back to the same level by 1890 and in spite of the additional free library and School Board rates after 1895, by 1900 the total rate had only increased by 8d to 3s 8d. By 1910 it stood at 5s 0d and by 1913 at 5s 2d. The main reason for this increase was that the rate for elementary education more than doubled between 1901 ($5\frac{3}{4}$ d) and 1913 ($12\frac{3}{4}$ d), while in 1904 an additional penny rate was added for higher education. ~~an~~ Increases in the county rate by $4\frac{3}{4}$ d (to $9\frac{1}{2}$ d) and the poor rate by $2\frac{1}{2}$ d (to $8\frac{3}{4}$ d) accounted for the rest of the total rate rise between 1900 and 1913.

Lancaster Corporate finances benefited considerably from the growth of the ~~borough~~ town in this period. The rateable value increased by 30.1% in 1881-89, 31.9% in 1891-1900 and 14.3% in 1901-10. Only after 1910 was there an actual halt in its growth and indeed it fell by 2.0% from the record level of £213,000 in 1909-10 to £208,000 by 1913 14. Except for these last years 1910-13 (and the year 1885 6) the Corporation could rely on a steadily growing income from rates.

Profits from gas and water undertakings were drawn on heavily by the Corporation. Water profits, which had run at about £1,000 a year in the late 1880's, increased by leaps and bounds in the 1890's as the demand from both Lancaster and the surrounding districts increased. Profits of over £5,000 were made in 1896-7 and 1898-9, again in 1901-2 and consistently after 1905-6. The gas undertaking yielded profits which fluctuated more wildly, but were never less than £1,000 (except 1893-4), although only occasionally over £4,000 (1894-5, 1902-3, 1906-7, and 1909-13). In 1912 13 the gas profits reached a record of £8,000.

Such profits were constantly drawn on to subsidise rates. In 1893-4 the sum was only £2,000. By 1898-9 it was nearly £9,000. By 1913 the contribution of municipal trading to the relief of rates was nearly £12,000. Between 1892 and 1912 a total of £35,000 was handed over by the Gas Committee to relieve the borough rates,³⁹ while all profits from the water undertaking went towards financing the rates

from 1896 to 1913.⁴⁰ Although 'gas and water socialism' was used to subsidise the ratepayers at the expense of the consumers there were few complaints. The Guardian pointed out in 1899:

The present system allows the authorities to parade the town as low rated, but at the same time, it practically means that those least able to pay have to pay far more heavily than is necessary to benefit the owners of cottage property.⁴¹

James Hodkinson, the shop assistants' leader and Secretary of the Trades Council disagreed. When attending the opening meeting of the 1904 Ratepayers' Association he argued that rates were not primarily a worry for property owners:

The only people who paid rates in Lancaster were those who occupied premises. ⁴²

Their enemy was not high rates, but jerry-built houses.⁴³

Yet the Guardian continued to champion the interests of the consumer as opposed to those of the ratepayers. Ratepayers, it argued again in 1911, were entitled to as cheap water as was possible.⁴⁴ Moreover, cheaper gas would lead to an increase in gas consumption. The Guardian looked forward to the government audit ordered by the Local Government Board.

The consumers could not altogether complain. The price of gas was reduced progressively from 4s 6d per thousand feet before the municipalisation of 1880 to 2s 6d in 1887 and 2s 3d in 1888. It was raised again in the early 1890's to 2s 9d in January 1894, but was down to 2s 3d once more by 1896. By 1912 it stood at 1s 11d (1s 0d to large users). The water charge at this stage stood at 1s 4d. Thus in 1896, Lancaster had cheap gas and very low rates, but her water was more expensive than in many other towns (e.g. Carlisle 1s 6d, Manchester 9d and Liverpool 7½d).⁴⁵ Also, while rate assessments were low, rents tended to be higher than in neighbouring towns, or at least so it was argued by Alderman Smith.⁴⁶ Altogether the ratepayers came off better than the consumers and tenants. When it is borne in mind that one sixth of Lancaster rates were paid by five companies in this period, low rates were evidently as much in the interests of big businessmen as shopkeepers. Under one in five householders in Lancaster were

owner occupiers in 1901.⁴⁷ Rates were assessed to the occupiers, but in the cases of cheaper property they were compounded and paid by the owners.

The majority of cottage proprietors were shopkeepers, clerks and artisans, and the average holding in cottage property was quite small (under £100).⁴⁸ The biggest holdings of cottage property were still in the hands of builders in 1911. Of the major firms, both Storeys and Williamsons owned houses, but did not build them as a matter of policy. After the builders, Mitchell, the brewer, probably held more property than any other landlord. Property let at between 5s 6d and 10s a week, but it was often heavily mortgaged. It became a popular investment for old age or for widows and unmarried daughters. The demand for property fluctuated, but maintained an upward direction until 1904. Thereafter there were always empty houses, and in 1911 as has been mentioned, there were as many as 778 unoccupied.

In 1913, a Lancaster Property Owners Association was formed.⁴⁹ The association complained of 'reduced rents, empty properties and continually increasing expenditure'. The rates increase of 4d in the pound in April 1913 had precipitated combination. By September 1913 it had 260 members who, between them, owned 2,252 houses or at least one quarter of the town's housing supply. The association hoped to fill its property by attracting new industry to the town and, after an interview with Lord Ashton, extracted a promise from him to start the new mill arranged before 'the trouble'.⁵⁰ This 1913 association had more to complain about than the Ratepayers' Associations of 1881 2 and 1904 5, but it followed ⁱⁿ the same tradition. Such associations in late Victorian and Edwardian Lancaster were a perpetual reminder to the Town Council to keep municipal expenditure to a tolerable minimum. The level of tolerability periodically changed, and such changes were always accompanied by upsets in the normally smooth routine of the municipal body.

Municipal government was carried on by the services and in the

interests of the shopkeepers, house owners and ratepayers. A sense of responsibility to the whole community was only awakened when crises in the health or employment of the working class threatened the interests of the shopkeepers. It was not surprising that the health officials, led by Dr. Parker, the M.O.H., fought a running battle with the Town Council, or that Joseph Cates, Parker's successor and the borough's first full time Medical Officer of Health, resigned within twelve months of his appointment and went to St. Helens on a higher salary.⁵¹ The Councillors never seriously considered taking measures to provide houses or jobs for the lowest paid. Selfishness was not entirely to blame. Ideas of the sovereignty of market forces were still predominant in a town whose chief industry thrived on free trade and where men tended to look to Lord Ashton if new jobs were needed.

Limited municipal borrowing powers were increased by the Acts of 1888 and 1900, and further financial aid from central government would have been available under such enabling Acts as the Housing of the Working Classes (1890). The Corporation was loath to incur debts, particularly when its main sources of normal income (rates and municipal enterprises) ceased to expand after 1911. As a non-county borough it was cautious in the schemes which it was prepared to adopt. Even the tramways system was regarded as a considerable risk and indeed turned out to be as unprofitable as its original opponents had warned. By 1908 the Corporation had a nett debt of £537,453 and, in a Local Government Board Inquiry in 1908 over the Corporation's request for a £7,000 loan for the purchase of a site in Dalton Square for a new Town Hall, it received a sharp rebuke for failing to apply early enough.⁵² Such experience with the Board and with unprofitable undertakings like the tramways did not encourage the Corporation to pursue adventurous policies in other directions. In the last few years before the First World War, additional capital expenditure was mainly directed towards education. In 1911 the Town Council received sanction from the Local Government Board to borrow £41,000, part of which was for the new Town Hall, but most of which was for a new elementary school and a girls' grammar

school.⁵³ Such loans for educational purposes gave rise to a good number of doubts in the minds of Town Councillors, but government and county direction gave them little choice for disagreement.

ii. The Officers

The officers of the Corporation grew enormously in numbers in the years between 1870 and 1914. Whereas in 1880 a total of £1,505 was spent on salaries from the borough and district funds, by 1900 the sum was £1,859 and by 1912 was £4,527. The number of officials, which had stood at 47 in 1895 had risen to 87 by 1914.⁵⁴

An indication of the increase in the Corporation's activities may be seen in the growth of the Town Clerk's department. From a department of one in 1870 it rose to two in 1883 (with the appointment of an assistant Town Clerk), to three in 1901 and four in 1910. The Town Clerk's salary rose as his status at the head of the Corporation's officials grew. From £125 p.a. it rose to £300 in 1878, later increased to £375 and in 1892 a new maximum salary of £550 p.a. was introduced when W. Roper became Town Clerk. On his resignation, his successor was appointed at £400 p.a., which had risen to £500 p.a. by 1912.

Thomas Swainson continued as Town Clerk from 1858 to 1892, when he retired at the age of eighty. From 1883 he was assisted by William O. Roper, his legal partner, who succeeded him as principal Town Clerk in 1892. He in turn resigned in 1896 and was succeeded by ^{T. Cann} Hughes, who remained Town Clerk until 1922.

The role of Town Clerk became increasingly important with the growth of Corporation business. In 1873 the Town Council had eleven committees and the Urban Sanitary Authority had nine. By 1912 there were sixteen principal committees and a considerable number of sub committees. By that date the Town Clerk headed a department of five, supported by a surveyor's department of eight and an accountant's department of eleven.

Equally important in the growth of the Town Clerk's work was the spread of the Corporation's power and activities. ~~The~~ ^{The} Water and Improvement Act ~~of~~ ^{of} 1876 and the municipal takeover of the Gas Works in 1879 was followed immediately by an Act .

to permit the extension of the Gas undertaking and for raising additional capital. By the Lancaster Corporation Act of 1880 further powers were obtained to conduct street improvements and to carry out a fusion of the Corporation with the Urban Sanitary Authority.⁵⁵

In 1888 the Corporation applied to Parliament for authority to borrow heavily for street market, slaughter house and town hall improvements, and for paving and improving the mill race. Part II of the Bill provided for the extension of the borough boundaries to include Skerton and Scotforth, the two largest suburbs, across the Lune and to the south respectively.⁵⁶

The continued growth of the town, however, made the 1888 Act insufficient in itself. ~~The Corporation conducted an electricity enterprise from 1894.~~ In 1900 a third Act empowered the Corporation to build an electric tramway system and to widen the streets for the purpose. The Act clarified admission to the freedom of the borough and the privileges appertaining, and commuted the payment of tithes to the Vicar of Lancaster. Powers were acquired to build a new market behind the King's Arms Hotel. The borough boundaries were again extended, this time to include parts of Bulk and Scotforth townships.⁵⁷ After the 1902 Balfour Act, elementary education also came under the Corporation's control.

With the increased volume and range of business the role of the Town Clerk as lawyer, secretary and spokesman for the Corporation was bound to be enhanced. E.P. Hennock has argued that in his period, the policy makers still had advantage over the administration, even though individual Town Clerks like Joseph Heron of Manchester (Town Clerk for nearly 30 years) could operate as an 'independent force'.⁵⁸ Thomas Swainson was Lancaster's Town Clerk for 34 years, although much of the work for the Act of 1888 was carried out by his assistant Roper. There is no doubt that Swainson built up considerable influence over this period, ~~and that~~ The claims that a number of decisions such as Williamson Park in 1878 and the demolition of old properties round the

castle in 1872 had their origins in him are probably justified. He does not appear, however, to have developed an independent initiative and was a loyal servant rather than a leader of the Council.⁵⁹

His successor, William O. Roper, was another product of a well established Lancaster family, once mercantile turned professional, and partner of Thomas Swainson. His father was a prominent member of the Town Council, Mayor in 1869, and Alderman 1879-88. As such he had played a leading part in the extension of the town's water supply in 1876-80. His son was appointed Deputy Town Clerk in 1883 and Town Clerk in 1892. He played an important part in the Corporation Act of 1888 and in the Lancaster Marsh Act of 1892. His negotiations with James Williamson II in 1888 over the terms of sale of Marsh land attracted a good deal of criticism from the Williamsonites - particularly the Liberal, non-conformist shopkeepers outside the Council. In the end he resigned on medical grounds. He had married the daughter of Edward Storey in 1885 and in 1896 he became a director of Lancaster Wagon Works. He died in 1908 aged 52.⁶⁰

Roper was succeeded by Thomas Cann Hughes, Town Clerk 1896-1922, a newcomer to the town. Cann Hughes was born and educated in Chester. Moreover he was the first graduate to fill the office of Lancaster Town Clerk (Pembroke College, Cambridge), and the first to have gained experience elsewhere - in the Town Clerk's office at Manchester. Like Roper he was a leading antiquarian and F.S.A., like Swainson he received the exceptional honour of the honorary freedom of the borough - a mark of public recognition and appreciation rarely bestowed on elected representatives.⁶¹ Unlike Roper he was not identified with any particular group or interest on the Town Council. He was Lancaster's first full time professional municipal servant. On the whole, he deferred to the wishes of the elected representatives, particularly the Aldermen who chaired the committees.

The number of other officials grew too. The main expansion was in the sphere of public health. The first Medical Officer of Health for the borough was appointed in 1878. A Sanitary Inspector was appointed

to assist him. By 1912 the M.O.H. had a staff of five. Officials were also introduced to staff the sanatorium, built in 1891. In 1895 there was only a matron and attendant and a nurse. By 1912 there were seven nurses and four servants apart from the matron.

The establishment of the Storey Institute (technical school) in 1887 involved a staff of five by 1895. By 1912 the education department included elementary as well as technical education and had expanded to a total of thirteen.

The Franchise

The Municipal Franchise Act of 1869 reduced the qualifying period of residence from two and a half years to one and gave the vote to women where they were householders. Thereafter there was no major change in the municipal franchise until 1918.⁶² The Lancaster borough electorate grew in size as the town's population expanded, but only grew in proportion to the population after the extension of the borough in 1888. In 1871 the electorate was 2,098 or 12.3% of the population. By 1886 it stood at 3,518 or 12.1% of the population. With the expansion of the borough by three new wards in 1888 (Skerton, John o' Gaunt and Park) the electorate grew to 4,521 and its proportion to 14.6%. In 1900 Bulk and Scotforth wards were added, increasing the electorate to 6,363 and its proportion of the total population to 15.8%. By 1911, with an electorate of 7,410, 17.9% of the population of the borough had the right to vote in municipal elections. This figure was very much on a par with the 19% in Wolverhampton and Birmingham and the 20% in Ipswich and Leeds.⁶³

Turn out was usually very high, particularly after 1888. In the period between 1888 and 1914 it was rare for the number of voters in a ward to be under 80% of the electors, and a turnout of 90% was not unusual. At one by election in Queen's Ward in 1913, the turnout reached 93.2%. Thus interest in municipal contests, fostered by both press coverage and party organisation (after 1886) was keen, even though elections only directly involved less than one in five of the population.

iii. The Concept of Public Service.

Lancaster undoubtedly suffered a moral shock as a result of the disenfranchisement of the borough as a parliamentary constituency in 1866. Many saw the event as proving the moral and political bankruptcy of the town and its leaders.⁶⁴ New ideas and new men were required to redeem the town's honour. The Liberals, whose conduct in 1865 had not been markedly superior to that of the Conservatives, took it upon themselves to herald a new dawn. Rev. David Davis, a Unitarian minister and school proprietor, when standing for St. Anne's Ward in 1871, argued that with the approach of a redistribution of political power, an improved moral tone was essential for the health of the community as well as for the return of the borough's representation in Parliament:

The town is now suffering the bitter penalty for its transgressions and we are not without hope that a higher tone and a purer morality in public matters will be among the fruits of our humiliating experiences. Unless this can be shown to be so, there is little hope for us in the future.⁶⁵

Thus the Unitarians in Lancaster were to echo the demands of their friends in Birmingham for a reawakening of civic pride in the 1870's. The Guardian became the mouthpiece of the civic moralists. In 1875 the Editor pleaded for scrupulous honesty at the elections

as the only fair test we have of the character of the new blood, that has been by the process of time, infused into the old roll of citizens.⁶⁶

By 1879 it was suggested that the new spirit of the town was showing itself in the enthusiasm for street widening and 'improvements'. The old Lancaster must be converted both physically and morally for:

the narrowness of the streets generated many of the moral causes of the disenfranchisement of Lancaster'.⁶⁷

One way to bring about the change was to ensure that the new leaders of the town were filled with the correct public spirit. Civic pride was an emotion which was easy enough to arouse but far harder to convert into public service. Nor were keen moral sense and a feeling of civic pride sufficient qualifications. In stating the requirements of a Town Councillor in 1884, the Guardian called for 'the smartest

and the most municipally patriotic men we can get hold of'.⁶⁸ The appeal was inspired by the resignation of Edward Storey (brother and partner of Thomas Storey) from the Town Council in 1884. The Guardian did not disguise its regret that 'capable businessmen should leave the Council'. In other words, what was required was (according to the Guardian) a position of 'natural leadership' in the community combined with a spirit of municipal patriotism and a 'smart' business sense. Civic pride had to be combined with economic power and social prestige. The newspaper made periodic appeals for such men to come forward and usually took a very pessimistic view of the results.

Faced with the reluctance of some of the town's 'natural leaders', the local press had to pursue an educative function in showing the lesser mortals who did aspire to the Town Council what was required of them. This sometimes took the form of diatribes; more often the same ends were achieved by the subtler means of praising retiring or defeated Councillors and aspirants. Thus the defeat of Joseph Albright, a retired chemist and druggist, in 1873, drew the following comment from the Guardian:

As a tradesman of long standing, he (J.A.) was conversant with the wants of the town and opinions and wishes of ratepayers, and having recently retired from business he had time at his disposal to devote to the interests of the town, while his practical common sense would have been a decided acquisition to the Council. 69

Praise of common sense was not just the tacit acceptance that an aspirant Councillor's talents were limited. What it was meant to imply was the subject's awareness of the overriding principle of economy. No Councillor possessed of such a virtue would allow the waste of public money. A Councillor's first responsibility was to keep the rates as low as possible.⁷⁰ As long as the rates remained stable, Councillors could expect an easy return to the Town Council every three years. Whenever the rates were raised by more than a mere fraction, ratepayers were up in arms, quick to condemn what could only ever be explained in terms of wasteful extravagance and lack of vigilance. Such occasions gave rise to vociferous ratepayers' associations (as in 1879-82 and 1904) and threatened security of Council tenure. Those who challenged the conventional

wisdom as to the sanctity of the rates, such as William Gilchrist in the public health crisis of 1889, were immediately required to defend themselves. This concern for economy goes far to explain why Lancaster remained a town with low rates, heavily subsidised by its gas and water undertakings, in favour of the ratepayers at the expense of the consumers.

A great number of notions of representation were expressed. Independence was highly prized in Town Councillors. It was a quality traditionally looked for in politics. When making a list of qualities to guide the electors of the newly enlarged borough in 1900, the Free Church Council ranked independence highly.⁷¹ The Free Church leaders urged the election of 'men of sound conscience, integrity and independent character'. Here it was meant as independence of the drink interest. It was a term more often used at the end of the century to describe independence from political party and in this context was largely used by Conservatives and Unionists who aimed to attract voters who disliked the intrusion of organised party politics into local elections in the 1890's. From the Liberal point of view such 'independence' was often so much 'transparent hypocrisy, cant and humbug'. In 1894 William Smith, Liberal M.P. for Lonsdale and an Alderman of the Borough, protested that such 'independence' meant nothing more than the dictation of 'a few men meeting in a back parlour'.⁷²

The idea was frequently expressed that Town Councillors should be representative of the population as a whole or some interest or class rather than merely of the ward to whose electors they appealed every three years. Appeal to class was frequently made in election speeches. Most Councillors of whatever status claimed special relationship with the working men of their ward. Thomas Marshall, spirit merchant, claimed that his election in 1871 was unconnected with any political party, but was due solely to 'the united efforts of the working men of Lancaster'.⁷³ William Dixon, R.D.C. surveyor and bookmaker, standing for the new ward of Bulk in 1900 proclaimed:

I am a Lancaster man born and bred, and have a keen and loyal interest in the prosperity of my native town and in the welfare of the working class to whom I belong. 74

H.L. Storey, the oilcloth manufacturer, claimed to be a 'working man', when he stood for St. Anne's Ward in 1890.⁷⁵ Like other employers before and after him, his principal argument was that the interests of masters and men were identical. Principles of class exclusiveness were introduced by the Labour candidates in the 1890's. George Jones, a journeyman tailor and President of the Trades and Labour Council, argued, when standing for the same ward in 1894, that rich people were not fit to represent working men, as they could generally afford to live outside the town and so were totally unacquainted with the alleys and back slums which the labouring portion of the people inhabited.⁷⁶

The ideals of public service were as numerous as the electors. Conflict was inherent in the situation, for many of the ideals were not compatible. For example, the much publicised independence could not be fully reconciled with the notion of service to the interests of constituents. Party allegiance sometimes ran counter to Ward loyalties, but some wards demanded a party political approach by their candidates. Concern for economy was not always compatible with the best interests of the people or with 'a smart business sense'. Such successful businessmen as Sir Thomas Storey and William Gilchrist were both identified with schemes for heavy municipal expenditure. Economy was a fashionable and successful election cry in 1881 and 1904, but not in 1889. The local press, the most informed critics of the Town Council, rarely spoke with a single voice. The Guardian tended to favour spenders; the Observer favoured economists. Every individual elector had his own idea of whether a manufacturer, a solicitor, a shopkeeper or a trade unionist was likely to fulfil his ideal best. There were advantages and disadvantages in them all. The bulk of Councillors continued to be shopkeepers, hence the press looked to a sprinkling of manufacturers and professional men to leaven the lump. Working men provided a new dimension to Council work, with representation for the first time of

Corporation workers and the town's trade unions. They were seen as leaven too, but the traditional press did not want too many working men, partly as an affront to the dignity of the office and partly as they were avowedly partyisan. When working men were involved in major local controversy, as over unemployment in 1911, the local community withdrew its sympathy at once. Although the electors were fickle in their concept of the ideal Councillor, they were conservative in their choice. Once elected, few Councillors were unseated, and many represented the same ward, undisturbed, for years on end. Personality was important here, but so too was a dislike of change for change's sake.

iv. Turnover

The number of new Town Councillors was nearly 17% smaller in the period 1871-1915 than in the period 1835-1870. This is explained partly by the very large turnover of Councillors in the years 1835-40 (3.8 newcomers a year) which was sustained at a level of 2.6 in the 1840's and 1850's, but fell off heavily in the 1860's to 1.1 a year. In the 1870's and 1880's the turnover was more rapid (2.0 per annum) increasing to 2.5 in the 1890's, and falling off in the years leading up to the First World War. These figures show how the competition to enter the reformed Corporation, which had been at first intense, had died away in the 1860's, only to revive with the growth of the town after 1870. Political animosity revived with the creation of new wards in 1888, but it did not last, and the Edwardian years produced no great enthusiasm to sit on the Town Council, except from Labour leaders.

TABLE C2Experience of Lancaster Town Council in Years of Office.

	Over 10 years	Over 15	Over 20	Over 30	Total on Council
1856	8 (33.3)	3 (12.5)	1 (4.2)	—	24
1870	15 (62.5)	6 (25.0)	3 (12.5)	1 (4.2)	24
1881	13 (54.2)	10 (41.7)	6 (25.0)	1 (4.2)	24
1889	10 (41.7)	9 (37.5)	5 (20.8)	2 (8.3)	24
1900	13 (40.6)	5 (15.6)	—	—	32
1910	17 (53.1)	10 (31.3)	8 (25.0)	—	32

The rate of turnover was reflected in the degree of experience found among Lancaster Town Councillors. Table C2 shows that when turnover was small, as in the 1860's, the proportion of Town Councillors with over ten years' experience was high. This remained true even when turnover increased in the 1870's and 1880's, suggesting that, while a large proportion of Councillors changed rapidly, an almost equally large

number remained. The result of the borough extensions of 1888 and 1900 was to introduce new blood to the Council, thus reducing the proportion of Councillors with long experience, but only temporarily. For it is noticeable that by 1910 the predominance of those of ten years' or more experience had reasserted itself. If we compare the proportion with over fifteen years' experience in Lancaster with the Councils of Leeds and Birmingham in the late nineteenth century, it is evident that Lancaster usually had twice as many men of experience to call on as Leeds, and at least half as many again as Birmingham. ⁷⁷ Hennock had identified party political fluctuations as a major factor in the high turnover of Leeds. The few contests and low political key of Lancaster Town Council was presumably one explanation of its low turnover and large number of key men. There is little doubt either that the small size of Lancaster Town Council, (24 until 1900, 32 thereafter) made it something of a social club. The friendliness of its meetings as reported in the local press, and the frequent jibes at the 'old clique' in letters and press comment, especially in the 1870's and 1880's, testify to the strength of common ties as one incentive for more experienced members to remain.

TABLE C3

Experience in Lancaster Town Council, Councillors and Aldermen Compared.

	<u>Members with 10 Years Experience.</u>				
	1870	1881	1889	1900	1910
Councillors	9/18	7/18	4/18	5/24	9/24
Aldermen	6/6	6/6	6/6	8/8	8/8
All	15/24	13/24	10/24	13/32	17/32

When one compares the experience of Alderman and Councillors a modification of the picture emerges. It is evident from Table C3 that whereas throughout the period 1870 to 1914, Aldermen were always men of long experience of Council work, the proportion of Councillors with long experience fluctuated. The proportion of Councillors with over ten years' experience fell from 50% in 1870 to 21% in 1900, largely as a result of the two extensions of 1888 and 1900. By 1910 the proportion of experienced Councillors was up to 38%, as its

membership recovered some of the stability lost in the immediate aftermath of extension. The fact that, by contrast, the Aldermen were, without exception, ~~(and, unlike, in the middle of the century)~~ men of long experience, partly explains the dominance of that body.

v. Age

The average age of all members of the Town Council fluctuated between 1870 and 1914. In 1870 the average age was 52.6. By 1881 it had jumped to 58.5, but was down to 56.5 in 1889 and 54.5 in 1900 after borough extension. By 1910 the average age was up to 57.2. The contrast between the ages of Aldermen and ordinary Councillors continued. In 1870 the average age of Aldermen was 63.2, while that of the Councillors was 48.9. By 1881 the gap had been closed to 63.3 against 56.8. The new Council of 1889 saw a division once more between the old notables on the aldermanic bench with an average age of 68.7, and the newer Councillors averaging an age of 52.0. But by 1900 many of the older generation dominated by Sir Thomas Storey, Thomas Preston, Charles Blades and James Hatch had passed on, and the new Council saw a much closer identity of age between Aldermen (54.3) and Councillors (54.6). By 1910, a new leadership of the Council had emerged with an average age among the Aldermen of 65.1, while the Councillors' average age was 53.7. Only very tentative conclusions should be drawn from age changes. As G.W. Jones has warned, age is not necessarily a reliable indicator of calibre.⁷⁸ There may be some significance however in the age differential between aldermen and councillors. The bigger the gap, it may be argued, the bigger the division between the leadership and the rank and file of the Town Council. On the other hand, Table C3 shows quite the reverse. In terms of experience, the gap between Aldermen and Councillors was widened rather than narrowed between 1870 and 1881 and between 1889 and 1900. Between 1900 and 1910 the age gap broadened while the experience gap narrowed.

At least half of the men who became Town Councillors of Lancaster between 1871 and 1910 were between the ages of 36 and 50 on entry. Of the rest, the largest group was that between the ages of 51 and 60, with only very small groups below 35 or over 60. Some variations can be seen over the years. Only in the 1870's were new Councillors exceptionally old, and only in the 1880's and 1890's did much younger

men join the Council. A comparison with the age figures for the period 1835 70 shows that new Councillors tended to be older in the latter part of the century, than they had been in the 1840's and 1850's . In spite of minor variations, the main conclusion must be that the concentration of new Councillors in the age bracket 31-50 remained broadly the same.

TABLE C4

Age at which Men became Town Councillors (First Time Only).

	Under-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66+NK	Total
1871- 80	1	-	3	2	3	3	6	-	-	2 20
1881-90	2	1	6	4	3	-	1	1	1	1 20
1891-00	2	-	3	7	3	1	1	1	-	7 25
1901-10	-	-	2	2	5	-	2	-	1	6 18
Total	5	1	14	15	14	4	10	2	2	16 83
c.f.										
% Known	7.5	1.5	20.9	22.4	20.9	6.0	14.9	3.0	3.0	100.1 (N = 67)

vi. CompositionTABLE 35Occupations of New Town Councillors 1871-1915.

	Hfr.	Mer.	Craft/ Trade	Solr.	G.P.	Other Prof.	Gent.	Misc.	TOTAL
1871-80	6	2	7	1	1	1	2	-	20
1888-90	3	4	7	-	-	3	2	1	20
1891-00	2	4	12	2	2	1	2	-	25
1900-10	-	-	12	-	-	3	1	2	18
1911-15	-	-	3	-	-	1	2	-	6
<hr/>									
1871 - 1915	11	10	41	3	3	9	9	3	89
%	12.4	11.2	46.1	3.4	3.4	10.1	10.1	3.4	100
c.f.									
1835 - 1870	17	16	31	15	12	7	8	1	107
	15.9	15.0	29.0	14.0	11.2	6.5	7.5	0.9	100

(N.B. Manufacturers include 4 table baize and oilcloth manufacturers, 1 matting, 2 furniture makers, 2 marble manufacturers, 1 brewer, 1 coach builder).

Merchants include 1 shipowner, 3 timber merchants, 1 corn merchant, 3 wine merchants, 1 wholesale grocer, 1 wholesale baker, 1 newspaper proprietor/printer.

Craftsmen/Tradesmen include 5 builders, 1 slater & plasterer, 1 electrical engineer, 1 ventilating engineer, 1 painter, 4 drapers, 3 chemists, 8 grocers/tea dealers, 3 ironmongers, 3 watchmakers, 1 boot factor, 1 butcher, 2 bakers, 1 tailor, 1 gunsmith, 1 publican, 1 shopkeeper, 1 mineral water manufacturer, 1 cab proprietor, 1 fellmonger.

Other Professional men include 1 surgeon, 2 surveyors, 1 Unitarian minister/schoolmaster, 1 landscape gardener, 1 land agent, 1 accountant, 1 auctioneer, 1 colliery agent.

Miscellaneous include 1 railway clerk, 1 farmer, 1 printer).

The occupational balance of newcomers to the Corporation definitely changed. The numerical importance of the craft/trade increased significantly from 29% to 46% of all new Councillors. In the Edwardian period a majority of new Councillors were tradesmen. While the manufacturing and mercantile groups declined from 31% to 24%, the professional groups fell more heavily from 32% in 1835-70 to 17% in 1871-1915. The greatest fall was in the number of medical men and solicitors; the members of other professions

in fact increased. The presence of medical men and solicitors on the old, pre-1835, Corporation has been noted in Section I. The numbers who entered in the 1840s were taking revenge for their abrupt exclusion from power in 1835. Concern for the town's public health was, moreover, a very important concern for medical men such as Edward de Vitre. In the late nineteenth century professional men played a much smaller part in public life. The Liberal bias of the Corporation told against them in the 1890s. In the era of party ward associations few professional men (especially Liberals) were willing to risk their independent status in a political struggle. Meanwhile the minor professions showed their increased importance by increased representation on the Town Council. The period 1871-1915 saw the entry of two headmasters, two auctioneers, an accountant and a colliery agent. The complete lack of interest of the rising managerial class in the work of the Town Council has been discussed elsewhere. Working men made their first appearance on the Council from 1907 in the form of a journeyman printer and later a rail clerk.

TABLE C6

Comparative Composition of Lancaster and Other Town Councils in Late Nineteenth Century 79a

	NK	Mfr.	Mer.	Cft/ Trade	Slr.	G.P./ Surgn	Other Prof.	Gent.	Misc.	TOTAL
LANCASTER	-	6	5	9	1	-	-	2	1	24
1881		25.0%	21.0%	38.0%	4.0%			8.0%	4.0%	
1901		5	5	15	2	1	2	1	1	32
		16.0%	16.0%	47.0%	6.0%	3.0%	6.0%	3.0%	3.0%	
EXETER	-	2	7	25	6	1	12	3	-	56
1881		4.0%	13.0%	45.0%	11.0%	2.0%	21.0%	5.0%		
1901		4	2	27	7	1	12	2	-	55
		7.0%	4.0%	48.0%	13.0%	2.0%	22.0%	4.0%		
PRESTON	3	8	10	10	2	1	10	4	-	48
1881	6.0%	17.0%	21.0%	21.0%	4.0%	2.0%	21.0%	8.0%		
1900	3	10	6	11	4	2	5	7	-	48
	6.0%	21.0%	13.0%	23.0%	8.0%	4.0%	10.0%	15.0%		
LIVERPOOL	-	7	19	11	7	3	14	1	1	63
1881		11.1%	30.2%	17.5%	11.1%	4.8%	22.3%	1.6%	1.6%	

Lancaster Town Council remained small, even after the borough extensions of 1888 and 1900. In 1881 there was one Town Councillor or Alderman to every 861 inhabitants and by 1901 there was one to every 1260 (1:609 in 1851).

In Exeter the ratio was one to every 731 inhabitants in 1801 and one to every 353 in 1901. (c.f. 1:634 in 1851). The ratio had risen in both towns in the second half of the century, but whereas it had doubled in Lancaster, the increase was much smaller in Exeter, where population growth was small in the very years when Lancaster was expanding. Preston's population also grew less fast than Lancaster's between 1871 and 1900, and the ratio there moved from 1:1,449 in 1851 to 1:2,011 in 1881 to 1:2,354 in 1901. In Liverpool the ratio moved from 1:8,632 in 1801 to 1:6,116 by 1901 (c.f. 1:5,874 in 1851). The biggest change was thus in Lancaster. This was because Lancaster Town Council remained small in size in spite of the big increase in population of the borough. Lancaster Town Council maintained a greater cohesion because of its small size even at the expense of the Councillors becoming more remote from their constituents. The effect of this change was reduced by the greater application of party organisation to local politics by which the local ward party acted as a bridge between the Councillor and his constituents.

Lancaster, in 1857, had displayed in its Council membership the twin features of a manufacturing and market town. This combination of features had been in sharp contrast with the heavy bias of Preston Council towards cotton manufacturers and of Exeter Council towards tradesmen. By 1881, the Lancaster pattern had changed little. The Council continued to contain a powerful group of manufacturers and merchants, together just outnumbering the shopkeepers. Exeter too continued its established pattern, with shopkeepers making up almost half the Council membership. In Preston and Liverpool the Council structure had changed. In Preston, the contingent of manufacturers fell from 41% in 1857 to 17% in 1881. (c.f. Blackburn where manufacturers still had over 40% of the representation as late as 1875). In Liverpool the proportion of Councillors who were merchants had likewise fallen from 42% in 1857 to 30% by 1881.

By 1881 the tradesmen had not gained appreciably more ground on any of the four Councils. In Lancaster and Exeter they made up as earlier between a third and a half; in Preston and Liverpool, again as in 1857, under a quarter. Liverpool's tradesmen now had 13% of the Council seats;

as opposed to about 10% before.

The professional element had changed most. In Lancaster it had become much weaker falling from 25% to 4%. In Preston, Exeter and Liverpool, the old professions reinforced by the new had risen to a position where they held between a quarter and a third of the seats.

The role of the gentlemen which had been only significant in Liverpool in 1857 (20%) ceased to be of consequence in any of the four towns by 1881 (c.f. Chester where in 1879 the gentlemen were over a third of the membership and contributed two thirds of the aldermen).

How far had these patterns changed by 1901? Lancaster saw the increased participation of tradesmen (up to 47%) and the late arrival of the new professions. Exeter saw tradesmen consolidate at almost half the membership, with continued strong professional involvement. Preston saw likewise little change, with no further headway made by tradesmen and no marked fall off in professional participation. The vastly increased size of Liverpool Council from 63 to 113 made comparable figures difficult to come by.

Both Lancaster and Exeter Councils contained, by 1901, a large building interest which had not been present in 1851. In Exeter, the building interest (builders, architects, auctioneers) stood at 13% in 1881 and 11% in 1901. In Lancaster, the comparative figures were 21% and 25%. In Preston, the building interest was only 4% in 1881 and 2% in 1900. It was equally insignificant in Liverpool.

The drink interest, as far as it can be measured without detailed knowledge of the individuals concerned, made up about 6% of the Preston Council, 5% of the Liverpool Council in 1881. In Lancaster, it amounted to 4% (one wine merchant). By 1901, there was little change at Preston (about 4%) or Lancaster (about 6%). In Exeter, the drink interest accounted for about 15% in 1881 and about 10% in 1901.

The representation of manual interests was of the same order. They made up about 6% in Preston in 1881 and 1901.^{79b} In Lancaster and Exeter, there was no manual representation in either year.

vii. Wealth, Exclusiveness and Family Connection.

TABLE C7

Nett Estates of Town Councillors (Where Known) 1851-1915.

Entry	Over £ 200,000	Over £ 100,000	Over £ 50,000	Over £ 25,000	Over £ 10,000	Over £ 1,000	Over £ 100	TOTAL
1851-60	1 (g)		3 (1g)	2 (1g)		1	1	8
1861-70	1		1		1	2 (1g)		5
1871-80	1	2			2	2		7
1881-90				1	4 (1g)	2		7
1891-1900					2	4		6
1901-10				1	1	3 (1g)		5
1911-15			1	1				2
1851-1915	3 (1g)	2	5 (1g)	5 (1g)	10 (1g)	14 (2g)	1	40

N.B. Estate Values are nett except where stated g (gross).

Bankruptcies excluded: 3 bankrupts out of a total of 127 Town Councillors. (N. Molyneux 1894; R.C. Warriner; 1899; T. Gladstone 1908).

Of the 127 new members of Lancaster Town Council between 1851 and 1915, estate values at death have been discovered for only 40 (about 32%). If we restrict the field to those entering after 1871, figures exist for 27 out of 89 (about 30%). From Table C7 it is plain that, of the minority whose estate at death is known, most Councillors (25 or 63%) left a nett estate of under £25,000. The fifteen who left over £25,000 nett personalty included seven manufacturers (five of whom were members of the Storey or Williamson families), three corn merchants, two timber merchants, a draper, a solicitor and an architect. Of these fifteen, six became alderman or mayor. They were John S. Burrell (timber merchant, Mayor 1853), James Williamson (table baize manufacturer, Mayor 1864), Sir Thomas Storey (table baize manufacturer, Mayor 1867 et al), his brother William (Mayor 1872), Samuel J. Harris (furniture manufacturer, Mayor 1881) and William Smith (corn merchant, Mayor 1891). These men were among the richest and most powerful in the town.

There is no evidence from table C8 (next page) to suggest that Town Councillors were either much richer or poorer than non-Councillors who followed equivalent trades or professions, in late Victorian Lancaster.

TABLE C8

Distribution of Main Occupational Groups (Town Councillors) through Estate Categories (and of all Known Lancaster Estates in brackets).

Group	Over £ 200,000	Over £ 100,000	Over £ 50,000	Over £ 25,000	Over £ 10,000	Over £ 1,000	Over £ 100	TOTAL
Merchant/ Mfr.	3(4)	2(4)	3(4)	2(3)	3(5)	3(5)		16(25)
Craft/ Trade			1(1)	3(5)	5(12)	6(10)		15(28)
Professl		(1)	1(2)	(3)	2(7)	4(8)	1(1)	8(22)
Gent.	(1)	(4)		(3)	(7)	1(10)		1(25)
	3(5)	2(9)	5(7)	5(14)	10(31)	14(33)	1(1)	40(100)

The majority of ^{known} Councillors (60%) left estates valued at between £1,000 and £25,000,⁸⁰ this is also true of non-Councillors (64%). These are similar, even though the Councillor sample is weighted in favour of manufacturers and tradesmen while the total sample was fairly evenly balanced between the four occupational groups. Of the 35 who left over £25,000 in the sample, 15 were Town Councillors. Of the 21 men who left over £50,000 in nett personalty in this sample, 10 were members of the Town Council at one time or another and 4 became Alderman or Mayor. The Town Council was not only made up largely of the men of property in the town, it also included many of the wealthiest in the town. The man who left the most money in Victorian Lancaster was Sir Thomas Storey who died in 1898 worth £205,000 in nett personalty. He was four times Mayor of the town and Alderman for over twenty years.

The numbers of Town Councillors whose fathers had also been on the Council or had been members of the old Corporation fell in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The numbers fell both absolutely (from 12 in 1835-70 to 8 in 1871 1915) and also proportionately (from 11.2% to 9.1%). The fact that the drop was small reminds ^{us} of the continued importance of 'Corporation families' such as the Halls and the Ropers who provided members of Lancaster Town Council throughout the nineteenth century. New 'Corporation families' of the period might be said to include the Storeys and the Prestons.

TABLE C9

Occupations of Fathers of Lancaster Town Councillors 1871-1915

Date of Entry	Mfr./ Merct	Craft/ Trade	Professl.	Gent	Misc	Known	Not Known	TOTAL
1871-80	5	3	4	1	2	15	5	20
1881-90	4	3	2	-	1	10	10	20
1891-00	4	8	2	-	4	18	7	25
1901-10	2	2	-	1	6	11	7	18
1911-15	-	3	-	-	-	3	3	6
1871 1915	15	19	8	2	13	57	32	89
% Known	26.3	33.3	14.0	3.5	22.8	99.9		
1835 1870	22	20	18	1	7	68	39	107
% Known	32.4	29.4	26.5	1.5	10.3	100.1		

In spite of the large proportion of Town Councillors whose fathers' occupation is unknown (about one third), this table shows some of the same social trends as Table C5 (Occupations of Town Councillors). Table C5 had shown the striking growth of the craft/trade category on the Town Council in the years 1871-1914, particularly after the 1880's. Table C9 does not mirror this trend exactly, partly because of the large number of unknown. It does, however, show the decline of the professional element. Not only were professional men not entering the Town Council, but equally the sons of professional men were not becoming Councillors. Because sons so often followed their fathers' professions, this almost amounts to the same thing.

A major increase is seen in the miscellaneous category. This is accounted for by the fact that 8 out of the 13 were farmers. Local farmers' sons had traditionally played an important part in Lancaster's economic life, and had occasionally gone into local municipal politics. The volume of entrants from this rural middle class was one sign of the flow of migrants into Lancaster from the surrounding area, in the late nineteenth, as in the late eighteenth century. Of the eight sons of farmers on the Town Council in this period, six belonged to the craft/trade

category: ironmonger, grocer (2), joiner and timber merchant, electrical engineer, slater and plasterer. One had gone out to farm in New Zealand, but unlike most emigrants from the Lune Valley, had returned to Lancaster in later life. One was a professional man (surveyor). Three were Conservative and five were Liberals. Three became Mayor: J. Fenton, grocer (1882); W. Huntington, timber merchant (1897); and J. Heald, ironmonger (1904).

Over half Lancaster's rulers in the latter part of the nineteenth century were natives of the town or neighbourhood. In spite of the major change in the nature and size of the town at the turn of the twentieth century, the proportion of Town Councillors who were born in Lancaster remained high. In 1871, 13 out of 24 Councillors and Aldermen had been born in Lancaster or district, while two more were born just across the boundary of neighbouring counties. In 1901, 21 out of 30 Councillors and Aldermen were born in Lancaster or district and two more came from established Lancaster families. The proportion is similar when taken for all new Town Councillors in this period.

TABLE C10

Birthplace of Lancaster Town Councillors 1871-1915

Date of Entry	Lancaster or District	Elsewhere	Known	Not Known	TOTAL
1871-1915	48	29	76	13	89
% Known	63.2%				
c.f.					
1835 1870	59	22	81	26	107
% Known	72.8%				

16 out of the 25 members of the Aldermanic bench were born in Lancaster and district and a further four came from the borders of Yorkshire and Westmorland. Of the 29 who became Mayors between 1871 and 1915, 17 were born in Lancaster or villages within a fifteen mile radius.

The numerical predominance of native Lancaster men among Town Councillors, Aldermen and Mayors disguises the fact that, as in the earlier period of the new Corporation, many of Lancaster's most active

public figures were 'offcomers'. James Williamson from Keswick, Thomas Storey from Bardsea, Charles Blades from Aysgarth, and William Gilchrist from Kirkcaldy were all in this category.⁸¹ Yet in spite of their foreign status, few of them had come far, all had come young, and all had made their money in the town.

TABLE C11Education of Entrants to Lancaster Town Council 1871-1915.

	Elementary Only		Secondary & (University)					Total Known	Not Known	Total Entrants
	N.	B.	G.S.	B.S.	Q.	S.A.	(U.)			
1871-80	-	-	7 (1)	1	-	-	(2)	8	12	20
1881-90	3	1	4	2	-	1	-	11	9	20
1891-1900	5	-	6 (1)	1	2	-	(3)	14	11	25
1901-10	4	-	1	3	3	-	(2)	11	7	18
1911-15	1	-	1 (1)	-	2	-	(1)	4	2	6
1871-1915	13	1	19 (3)	7	7	1	(8)	48	41	89
% Known	27.1	2.1	39.6	14.6	14.6	2.0	(16.7)	100		

N.B. Elementary Only: N (National School, C of E), B (British School, Nonconformist).
 Secondary (& University): G.S. (Grammar School, mainly Lancaster Royal), B.S. (Boarding School, including Ackworth, Quaker; Holly Mount, Ushaw, Roman Catholic; and Liverpool College), Q. (Friends' School, Lancaster), S.A. (Lancaster School of Art), U. (University including Edinburgh, Glasgow, Trinity (Dublin), Owen's College in Manchester, also Manchester College and St. Mark's College, Chelsea).

In brackets under G.S. are those who moved from G.S. to B.S. These are not included in the B.S. figures.

The educational background of Lancaster Town Councillors diversified after 1870. Although the Education Act of 1870 made elementary education compulsory for all, this could not affect the membership of the Town Council before the end of the century. Even so, the spread of elementary education through the growth of National Schools (and one British School) in the town was affecting the Council by the 1890's.⁸² In that decade alone, five new members had been educated at a National School. When the Council took over partial authority (under the County Council) for the town's elementary schools in 1903 there were to be a good number of Councillors who had direct experience of what sort of education the Lancaster schools were providing.

The number of Councillors who had been educated at Lancaster Royal Grammar School was 16 or 18% of all the entrants. The proportion of Lancaster born Councillors who had been educated at the Grammar

school had not changed very much since the period 1835-70 (i.e. between one quarter and one third) and the proportion of old boys in the Council as a whole had hardly changed (from 19% to 18%). This is at first sight surprising when we consider the rapid growth of the town in the late nineteenth century and the rise of late Victorian democracy. The steady size of the Grammar School element on Lancaster Town Council is partly explained by the continued recruitment to that body of the town's social and economic leaders, and partly by the Grammar School's transformation which enabled it to cater for the sons of wealthy Lancaster people. The Town Council, as trustees of the school, played an important part in that transformation. The continuation of strong connections with the Grammar School was one aspect of the 'compromise' status of the school after its refounding in 1851-3.⁸³ With the change in status a large boarding element was introduced, which benefited the school as a whole. Prosperity, derived from boarders, led to an increase in the number of day boys, thereby improving the school's service to the town's men of property and thus to the Council itself.

At least a half and probably as many as two thirds of the Council had not received any secondary education at all. This gap in educational attainment on the Council was a reflection of inadequate provision in the town. Few were much concerned by it. An exception was Lee's successor, as Headmaster of the Grammar School, Rev. W. Pryke, (H.M. 1872-93).⁸⁴ In 1875, to try to bridge the gap, he offered entrance scholarships at the Grammar School to boys from local elementary schools. In 1882 the Moon and Wane scholarships were endowed for a similar purpose. Moon and Wane were respectively superintendent's assistant and superintendent of St. Anne's Sunday Schools for over forty years. Although Wane was an old boy of the Grammar School, Moon had had only 'a plain elementary education'. Both had achieved a highly respected position in the town, Moon as first clerk, then manager, then partner at Gillow's, and Wane as a dyer and cheese factor and a Town Councillor.⁸⁵

Both were regarded as exemplars of citizenship, for both had spent lives devoted to public service in the town. The scholarships were founded, not by them, but in their honour, in order to make an educational ladder available to the talented sons of working men. In 1906 a County Scholarship scheme was also introduced for the same purpose.⁸⁶

Yet remarkably little interest was taken in these new schemes to provide access to the Grammar School. The majority of governors never showed much interest in these schemes. General economic and social considerations made them impractical to most working class parents. In addition to the economic sacrifices there was the important obstacle of social snobbery. Furthermore, the very success of J.C. Moon, without a Grammar School education, suggested that 'a plain elementary education' might not be such an obstacle to improved social status within the town. The large group of former elementary school pupils on Lancaster Town Council (comprising about a third of the leadership) confirmed such feelings, while the holding of such gatherings as 'Nashy' reunions, including some important local old boys, made Grammar School education seem unnecessarily pretentious.⁸⁷ The retardation of the Free Library and School Board movements in the town betrays similar satisfaction with Lancaster's existing mid-Victorian educational provision.⁸⁸

Another gap existed between the Councillors educated at the Grammar School, and those educated at boarding schools and universities. The number having attended boarding schools had increased, reflecting the increased prosperity of Lancaster's merchants, manufacturers and professional men. The boarding school minority on the Council⁸⁹ included one or two men, such as T.P. Greeney and J.J. Bennett who had retired to Lancaster from elsewhere. In this way, Lancaster was still benefiting from the traditional appeal of the Lune Valley to those retiring from the strains and stresses of life in major industrial centres. This appeal took on a new lease of life with the growth of

Morecambe as a resort in the 1880's and 1890's.⁹⁰

There was probably still a sizeable element among Lancaster Town Councillors between 1871 and 1915 who had had no formal education at all. This is less surprising when it is remembered that the Storey brothers, one of the success stories of the age, had received little more than a Sunday School education. The problem is to decide where a man had received no formal education and where his schooldays had been forgotten. Information is missing for 41 out of the 89 Councillors in this period. The proportion whose education was unknown or non-existent amounted to 31% of the leadership (aldermen and mayors) compared to 28% known to have attended only elementary schools and 41% known to have attended secondary school of some sort. Among the rank and file of the town councillors the proportion was much higher. As much as 56% of the rank and file entrants to the Town Council between 1871 and 1915 received no known schooling - compared to 12% known to have attended only elementary school and 32% known to have attended some secondary school. With such a large unknown factor in the 31% and 56% figures, only tentative conclusions may be drawn. At least a quarter of the leadership and probably a third of the rank and file had had no education at all. This perhaps explains the low importance attached to educational policy by the Town Council in this period. No clear cut division emerges on the Town Council between the educated and the uneducated. Both leadership and rank and file had a large share of both.

The number of University graduates among Councillors grew no larger in the late nineteenth century. Only 8 out of 89 Councillors in 1871 to 1915 had attended university. University education was still seen as a unnecessary luxury for all but the sons of rich professional men or manufacturers, or for such strange geniuses as Whewell, Owen or Frankland.⁹¹ Local activities such as the Athenæum, the Philosophical Society and later, University Extension lectures were pursued by those who looked on learning as an additional social

refinement, generally missing in the more elementary climate of nineteenth century Lancaster.⁹² The examples of Whewell, Owen and Frankland were revered, but less for their achievements than for their reputations and, above all, for the simplicity and crudeness of their first steps to eminence which had been common to many other Lancaster men and which provided excellent local material for the myth of self help.⁹³ Antiquarian studies in late nineteenth century Lancaster flourished among a few, but the general level of educational attainment among both Councillors and townsmen was low.⁹⁴

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ix Council Leaders

Of the 65 men who joined the Town Council between 1871 and 1900, 15 had become Aldermen by 1915 (23%) and 20 had become Mayors (31%). This compares similarly to the numbers of new Town Councillors between 1835 and 1870: 33 of 107 became Aldermen (31%) and 37 became Mayors (35%). The proportion of Aldermen had not fallen greatly when it is remembered that 6 of the earlier group of 33 Aldermen were elected to the bench en bloc in 1835. While access to the key offices of Alderman or Mayor does not seem to have diminished much in the years after 1870, it does not seem to have widened greatly either. The practices of practically unlimited tenure of office for Aldermen and of re election of notables to the Mayoralty continued as strong as ever.

Two men held the office of Mayor three times between 1835 and 1880 and six men held it twice. Between 1870 and 1915, four men were Mayors three or four times and eight had at least two terms of office.

As in the period 1835-70, the craft/trade group was much less dominant among the leaders (Aldermen and Mayors) of Lancaster Town Council than among the Councillors as a whole. In the leadership, 31% were tradesmen (c.f. 47% membership), while 54% were manufacturers or merchants (c.f. 24% membership) and 13% were professional men (c.f. 17% membership). In comparison with the 1835-70 period, the manufacturers merchants and tradesmen had all increased in importance at the expense of the professional men. (See Table C12).

The chances of becoming Alderman or Mayor were reduced for entrants after 1870 by the influence of those who had entered before. One third of the leaders of the period had entered the Council before 1870, and they continued to dominate it right up to the early 1890's. The chances varied too from occupation to occupation. Whereas 67% of all manufacturers and merchants entering the Council after 1870 had become Alderman or Mayor by 1915, the chances for other groups were not nearly so good. Only 20% professional men, 19% tradesmen and 11% gentlemen became Aldermen or Mayors. The low rating of professional men and gentlemen is explained by low motivation. Meanwhile the gap between

chances of high office for big businessmen and for other members of the Council which had existed in the period 1835-70, became appreciably wider by the end of the century. In the contest for municipal leadership those with economic power stood best equipped to win.

TABLE C12

Grouped Occupations of Aldermen and Mayors of Lancaster Town Council

Entered Council	1870-1915								TOTAL	T.E.*
	Mfr.	Mer.	Craft/ Trade	Solr	GP/ Surg	Other Profl	Gent	Misc		
Pre-1870	5	2	4	2	-	-	-	-	13	
1871-1880	2	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	7	20
1881-90	4	4	3	-	-	1	1	-	13	20
1891-1900	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	25
1901-1910	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	18
TOTAL	11	10	12	2	2	1	1	0	39	
%	28.2	25.6	30.8	5.1	5.1	2.6	2.6		100	

N.B. * T.E. = Total Entrants.

The Aldermanic Bench

The Aldermanic Bench, composed of progressively six members from 1835 to 1888, seven from 1888 to 1900, and eight thereafter, represented, along with the Mayoralty, the peak of municipal achievement. Aldermen were accorded precedence in municipal ceremonies and they were not subjected to the rigours of democratic election. They played an important part in the choice of the Mayor and they often acted as the Chairmen of the Committees of the Town Council. In this capacity they played a key role in the formulation of Corporation policy in an age when municipal business had become far too diverse to be dealt with in meetings of the full Council except by way of simple confirmation or rejection.

The composition of the Aldermanic bench changed considerably in the years 1871-1915. In the 1870's, four of the six aldermen were

active of retired manufacturers (including John Greg, Thomas Storey and James Williamson). The other two aldermen were wholesale grocers, (Thomas Preston and Henry Welch). In the years 1879-84 three of the manufacturers resigned or died, and their places were taken by a solicitor (William Roper), a timber merchant (Charles Blades) and a builder (James Hatch). After 1888 there was a period of flux, but by 1894 a new pattern had established itself in which the building interest had been increased to three. After the second reorganisation in 1900 the three members of the building interest had been joined by a table baize manufacturer (Norval Helme), a watchmaker (George Bowness) and a retired landscape gardener (T.P. Greene). This balance of the building interest against a variety of trades and manufactures remained up to the First World War.

Politically, the Liberals were the majority party on the aldermanic bench just as they were on the Town Council. As in the Council as a whole, a minority of Aldermen were Conservatives. More important as far as Lancaster local politics were concerned was the balance of personal followings. In the 1870's the balance was maintained between the Williamsonites and the Storeyites, although the Williamsonites were the largest single group. In the 1880's the death of James Williamson in 1879 and the resignation of his son from the Council in 1880 left the Council very much to Thomas Storey and his supporters. In the years preceding 1888 the number of Liberals (Gladstonian) on the Aldermanic bench fell to one (Henry Welch). After 1888 the political complexion again changed, with the election as Aldermen of several of the products of the new 'ward association' Liberalism, including a representative of the Ratepayers' Association. James Williamson gradually won back the influence he had lost in 1880, not by re-appearing on the Council himself, but by recreating his father's old alliance with the Liberal tradesmen. As the titled head and chief benefactor of Lancaster Liberals, he benefited and, in return, made large gifts to public bodies, a form of subsidisation of the rates, which pleased the ward associations who supported him.

His great personal influence over leading members of the Corporation was well known. These included William Smith, corn merchant (Alderman 1893-1906), Norval Helme, proprietor of a small table baize works at Halton, Alderman and Member of Parliament (1900-18), Robert Wilson, builder (Alderman 1909) and James Heald, electrical engineer (Mayor 1904 and Alderman 1916-19). Lord Ashton's influence on Corporation politics ~~was to diminish the importance~~ reinforced the trend towards the ~~diminution~~ of traditional Conservative Liberal rivalries (which had ~~not been~~ temporarily revived after the 1888 extension ~~of ever-rising importance on the Council since the 1840's~~), and to replace them with a antipathy of both older parties towards the emerging Labour groups, represented in Lancaster municipal elections by the I.L.P.

The Mayoralty

Frequent attempts to define the necessary qualifications for the highest dignity in the borough were made in the local press. In 1873, the Guardian picked out 'personal and social fitness', along with 'business aptitude and energy'.⁹⁵ A Mayor had to be ready not only to chair Council meetings, but also to act as host and chief civic dignitary on important municipal occasions. Such occasions might involve the Mayor in considerable expense.⁹⁶ Thus it was necessary that he be not only a man possessed of the social graces, but also a man of means, ready to spend his money in the cause of civic hospitality. In this he was assisted by the Mayor's salary of £100 per annum.⁹⁷ In spite of this salary, Councillors looked for men of wealth to occupy the office.

Because of the demands made on the Mayor in his term of office, the number of suitable and willing candidates at any one time tended to be small. Yet when it is considered that between 1865 and 1880 only one man (Thomas Storey) held the office more than once, the number was evidently not so small as to turn the office into the perquisite of one family. In these years a high turnover was maintained by the competition between Williamsonites and Storeyites. After 1880 the principle of a new Mayor every year was less strictly

maintained. Between 1880 and 1914 nine men held the office more than once. Sir Thomas Storey, Charles Blades (timber merchant), and Robert Preston (grocer), all held the office four times, while Robert Wilson (builder) held it three times. S.J. Harris (head of Gillow's), Edward Clark (retired chemist), Thomas Preston (grocer), and William Huntington (timber merchant and builder) held the office twice. William Briggs (retired chemist) was elected Mayor in 1913 and was re elected in 1914 and throughout the Great War.

TABLE C13

Mayors of Lancaster 1861-1914

Decade	Occupation	Politics	Religion	Birthplace	Education	Ave. Age	Ave. Time on P.C.
1861-70 (10)	5 Mfr. 3 Craft/ Trade 2 Solr	7 LIB 3 CONS	7 C of E 2 Indep. 1 Unitn.	5 in Lancaster 5 not in Lancaster	4 LFCS 1 SS	53.6	10.8 Yrs
1871-80 (9)	2 Mfr. 1 Merchant 5 Craft/ Trade 1 M.D.	5 LIB 4 CONS	8 C of E 1 R.C.	6 in L & D 3 not in L & D	3 LFCS 2 N.S. 2 SS	55.9	12.4 Yrs
1881-90 (7)	2 Mfr. 2 Merchant 3 Craft/ Trade	1 LIB 3 LIB U. 3 CONS	6 C of E 1 R.C.	4 in L & D 3 not in L & D	1 LFCS 2 N.S. 1 SS	61.1	17.7 Yrs
1891-00 (7)	3 Mfr. 2 Merchant 2 Craft/ Trade	5 LIB 2 CONS	2 C of E 1 Meth. 1 Indep. 1 Unitn. 2 R.C.	4 in L & D 3 not in L & D	2 LFCS 1 N.S. 1 St. P.	47.0	8.6 Yrs
1901-10 (8)	1 Merchant 5 Craft/ Trade 1 M.D. 1 Professl	4 LIB 4 INDEP/ CONS	5 C of E 1 R.C. 2 N.K.	5 in L & D 3 not in L & D	2 LFCS 2 N.S. 1 St. P.	53.1	12.1 Yrs
1911-14	1 Craft/ Trade 1 Dentist 1 Gent.	2 LIB 1 INDEP/ CONS	2 C of E 1 Meth.	2 in L & D 1 not in L & D	1 Friends 1 S of Art	62.6	13.0 Yrs
TOTAL 1871 1914 (29)	6 Mfr. 5 Merchant 13 Craft/* Trade 2 M.D. 2 Professl 1 Gent.	16 LIB/ LIB U. 13 CONS/ INDEP.	20 C of E 2 W. Meth 1 Indep. 1 Unitn 3 R.C. 2 N.K.	17 in L & D 12 not in L & D	7 LFCS 6 N.S. 2 SS 1 St. P. 1 Friends 1 S of Art	53.6	10.9 Yrs

In Table C13: Total for each decade includes all Mayors; total for 1871 1914 includes one reference per Mayor with age and length of experience when first elected.

LFGS: Lancaster Free (later Royal) Grammar School

N.S.: National School St. P.: St. Peter's R.C. School

SS: Sunday School Friends: Quaker School

S of Art: School of Art

L & D: Lancaster and district (villages within 15 miles)

* Including 4 builders.

It is evident from Table C13 that the manufacturers and merchants shared the highest civic dignity with the smaller employers of labour (represented by the craft/trade category). Similarly the Liberals shared the honour with the Conservatives, although, in terms of years, Conservative Mayors only held office in 15 out of the 45 years 1871 to 1915. The table shows the strength of the Anglican hold on the Mayoralty throughout, except in the 1890's. The majority of Mayors in this period were born in Lancaster and its neighbourhood, although of these under one half were educated at the Grammar School. The average age (53.6) and the average length of experience on the Town Council prior to first election as Mayor (10.9) show how maturity was regarded as a vital requisite for the honour. Exceptions were made only in cases where the candidate possessed considerable prestige. Thus William Smith of Walmsley and Smith, corn merchants of Barrow and Lancaster, and political protege of James Williamson II, was elected to the Mayoralty in 1891 after only one year on the Town Council and at the age of only 32.

Contested Mayoral elections were as rare after 1870 as before, They occurred in 1870, 1871 and 1877, and, like the Mayoral contest of 1860, represented attempts by the Radical shopkeepers to get a fair share of the honour. All three contests saw the Williamsons and the Storeys ranged against each other (see below); James Williamson as champion of the Radical shopkeepers, Thomas Storey as defender of the 'old guard' of retired manufacturers and Conservatives. The Radicals were defeated in 1870, but saw their candidates elected in 1871 and 1877.⁹⁸

After 1880 the Mayoralty was put out of politics which meant that

it became the preserve of the big employers.

In the 1880's the Mayoralty was dominated by four of the major employers in the town: S.J. Harris (Gillow's), Thomas Storey (knighted as the Jubilee Mayor 1886-7) and his brother in law, Charles Blades (timber merchant) and James Hatch (builder). Between them these four occupied the Mayoralty for seven out of the ten years 1881-90. All four were Unionist in politics, Anglican in religion, and, except for Harris, each was over 60 years of age. The Guardian explained this situation as the result of the increasing unwillingness of 'gentlemen to court or care for the office of Mayor'.⁹⁹ One problem was the expense of office, and the newspaper recommended the election as Councillors of men who would be able to afford to become Mayor.¹⁰⁰

This mask of general indifference to office hid the internal conflicts that still surrounded the election of the Mayor. The difference was that after 1877 there were no more open contests. The matter was decided by informal consultations among senior Councillors and Aldermen, who formed a Committee of the Council when no obvious candidate was willing to serve. From this time onwards the full Council merely ratified a decision which had already been taken by a smaller group in secret. Names were frequently rumoured in the press at election time, but in spite of the rumours the fiction of unanimity and sometimes even of a sole candidature were successfully maintained.

The enlargement of the Town Council in 1888 led to an increase in the size of the Liberal ascendancy. The immediate result was a succession of Liberal Mayors, led by long serving men like Preston and Blades, but followed by comparative newcomers such as Smith, Kitchen, Gilchrist and Robert Preston. Of these last four, none were Aldermen, although Robert Preston was the son of Alderman Preston while William Smith was the latter's nephew. A new generation was taking control. The generation which had dominated the Mayoralty and Aldermanic bench in the 1870's and 1880's had now passed on. Alderman Storey retired in 1889, and Alderman Clark in 1893. Alderman Blades

died in 1893 and Alderman Preston in 1894. Their passing left a temporary vacuum in municipal leadership. The new men, Kitchen (Mayor 1892-3) and Gilchrist (Mayor 1893-4), had both made rapid progress by their espousal of popular causes. Kitchen had been chairman of the Ratepayer's Association in 1881, and was described in the press as Lancaster's first working-class Mayor. Gilchrist had achieved prominence by his championship of the electors of Park Ward in the Public Health crisis of 1889. Free Lance in the Guardian did not much approve of the new style of Mayors. In 1893 it recommended thanks by other Councillors to Gilchrist for getting them out of an awkward position by accepting the Mayoralty.¹⁰¹ In the following year it remarked on the difficulty of finding the right men to fill the dignity.¹⁰²

The Mayoralty was once again advertised as an honour suitable for the town's notables with the approach of the 700th anniversary of Lancaster's first charter.¹⁰³ In 1899, the Guardian, backed by the Observer, urged that Lord Ashton should be offered the Mayoralty in recognition of his being 'the greatest living Lancastrian' (Sir Richard Owen, Sir William Turner, and Sir Thomas Storey were all dead.)¹⁰⁴ It was suggested that Lord Ashton might delegate the ordinary details of municipal work, 'that the general run of Chief Magistrates are called upon to do', to the ex-Mayors who, it was imagined, would be only too willing to help. In 1900 Free Lance in the Guardian repeated the suggestion and even added that the 71 year old Edward Storey might be offered the honour in the following November:

'In this way Lancaster would be taking the opportunity of honouring those who deserve to be honoured.'¹⁰⁵

Lord Ashton promptly wrote to both the Guardian and the Observer refusing the invitation 'under the present circumstances'. Nevertheless the move to 'honour the deserving' won considerable popularity among the local readership. One correspondent of the Observer recommended that the honour be bestowed on G.W. Shackelford, managing director of the Wagon Works, in recognition of his 'creation of one of the staple industries of the borough'.¹⁰⁶ The names of Jackson (brewer) and Smith

(corn merchant and ex-M.P.) were also rumoured as candidates.¹⁰⁷

The press was unable to gratify its longing to see great names occupy the town's chief office. It found some consolation when the principle of seniority threw up men such as Robert Preston (Mayor 1894, 1899, 1900), a wholesale grocer whose father had been a close ally of James Williamson I, and Robert Wilson (Mayor 1907-10) a builder who helped dole out Lord Ashton's private charity. Similarly Richard Inglis Hall (estate agent, Mayor 1901) was a son-in law of the late Sir Thomas Storey. None of these were more than worthy local representatives and appeared somewhat ridiculous in the light of attempts by local press to bathe them in glory. In fact, the elected representatives were completely over-shadowed by Lord Ashton and assumed the role almost of caretakers for him.

Nevertheless, the Edwardian Mayors did try to live up to Masterman's ideals of the Mayoralty.¹⁰⁸ Far from seeing the two ideals of 'professional' chairman of the Council and fairy godmother of the town as conflicting, they tried to be both. Admittedly few achieved great success. Although all of them were experienced Councillors, none of them had very much money to spend on charity or on entertainment at the Town Hall. The nearest to achieve this success was Robert Wilson, the builder. As a Skertonian (the first to be elected Mayor of Lancaster), the son of a joiner, the product of the National School, St. Thomas' Night School and the Mechanics' Institute, his appeal was not as a wealthy scion of an established family. The Conservative Standard described him as a 'rank outsider'.¹⁰⁹ Yet Wilson proved a great success as Mayor and was the first to hold office three years running, (1907-10). After his first year of office he was congratulated as an exceptionally active Mayor both in the Council Chamber and in the Police Court. Above all, the Guardian liked the fact that:

he has sown his sympathy with every class of social, philanthropic and religious work claiming his attention. 110

Perhaps most important of all in such hard times, Wilson had the ear of Lord Ashton. He was not only a Churchwarden of St. Luke's (of which

Lord Ashton was a patron), but he also helped J. Bateson to distribute Lord Ashton's private charity.¹¹¹ The 'people's mayor' was thus also Lord Ashton's mayor, a combination which was universally regarded as ideal as long as Wilson would serve.¹¹² During Wilson's Mayoralty, Lord Ashton built a new Town Hall although it was he not the Mayor who laid on lavish receptions when it was opened in January 1910.

By 1914 the Mayoralty had lost much of its earlier prestige. The holders of the office no longer brought to it any great economic or political power of their own and the memories of days when such had been the case were gradually receding. It was not just that the economic leaders of the town no longer sought the honour, in some cases they now resided outside the town (Lord Ashton at Prince's Gate or Lytham, Herbert L. Storey at Bailrigg); more often economic power had passed elsewhere. The Wagon Works and Gillow's had both been taken over by firms with centres far from the town. Economic depression hit the rateable value of the town and thus took the Corporation's spending power and confidence lower. Moreover, labour disputes with their divisive effect at Council meetings made the Mayor's job as chairman less glamorous than before but more necessary than ever. Masterman's 'new' Mayor - the 'professional' chairman - had emerged in Lancaster before the outbreak of the First World War, while the ^{family}godmother' rôle up to 1912 was performed not by the Mayors but by Lord Ashton.

x. Economic and Social Representation.

The most strongly represented economic interest on the Lancaster Town Council in the period 1871 to 1914 was that of the building trade.¹¹³ In the period 1835 to 1870 many Councillors had property investments in the town, but only a handful of Councillors were dependent for their livelihood on the trade. Individuals concerned with construction included an architect (1841-53 and 1858-61), a marble manufacturer (after 1854), a plumber and glazier (after 1856) and a timber merchant (after 1861), but these did not constitute an interest group.¹¹⁴ The steady increase of the town's population after 1870 expanded the demand for private housing and public buildings. The expansion brought profits to those engaged in the building trade and builders became respected members of the community. As other groups had done before them, they sought to confirm their new status by participation in public affairs. Moreover with the increase in public controls on new building (in the form of bye-law regulations and the Planning Committee), the builders saw membership of the Council as a means of protecting their own interests and directing their trade. Retaining much property themselves they were as concerned as any house owners to keep rates low. They were equally concerned to prevent any municipal housing schemes put forward by the Labour Party from 1901.

In 1871 there were one timber merchant, a marble manufacturer and two builders on Lancaster Town Council. In 1901 there were two marble manufacturers, a plumber and four builders. Usually there was also a representative of the associated professions of surveying and architecture. The strength of the building interest was maintained right up to the First World War, running through most of the period at a little under one quarter of the Town Council.¹¹⁵ This number included two Aldermen by the time of the first extension of the borough in 1888. From 1895 the trade had three Aldermen, and most became Mayor at least once (see above). Their leaders included Charles Blades, Anthony Bell, Robert Kitchen and Robert Wilson. There is no doubt that members of the

building interest constituted one of the most dynamic elements on Lancaster Town Council at this time.

Unlike in some towns, the brewing interest was not strong on Lancaster Town Council.¹¹⁶ Lancaster was not a brewing town, although two local breweries, Mitchell's and Yates and Jackson's, expanded by leaps and bounds in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. William Mitchell, the bigger of the two, never sat on the Council, but the interests of the industry were represented by his competitor, George Jackson, who sat from 1890 until after the First World War, and became an Alderman in 1918. His was not an enviable position among so many Nonconformists eager for licensing reform, but while they sank their teeth into licenses in the old part of the town, he promoted the interests of the trade in the new suburbs of Scotforth, Marsh, Bowerham, Primrose, Bulk and Skerton, and made a fortune for himself at the same time.

The Big Firms

The largest firm in the town throughout the period 1871 to 1914, James Williamson and Son, was only represented briefly on the Town Council. James Williamson I had been first a member and then an Alderman from 1854 to his death in 1879, and he had been joined by his son in 1871. But James Williamson II resigned in 1880 and subsequently refused all invitations to return. Nevertheless, as has been seen above, he maintained close contact with affairs on the Council, particularly after 1890, through his business and political associates, Aldermen Smith, Helme and Wilson.

Throughout the period there was always one representative on the Council of the table baize interest. The Storeys were continuously represented from 1857 to 1890, by the brothers William (1852-79), Thomas (1862-90) and Edward (1879-84). Thomas's eldest son, H.L. Storey, sat from 1893 to 1901. From 1900 to 1919 Norval Helme ensured an immediate hearing for table baize.

The Wagon Works, until 1903 the second largest employer in the

town, was equally well represented in its early years. Its first secretary, William Whelon, was a Councillor (1856-65), as too were many of its first directors: De Vitre, Howitt, Welch, Blades, Sharp, Clark and Wearing. When, however, Charles Blades and Edward Clark resigned from the Aldermanic bench in 1893, there was no director left on the Council. The change was brought about by the simultaneous change in personnel of both Council and Wagon Works board. Although the new directors were not Councillors, they included members of old Lancaster families such as Sanderson, Dawson and Gregson. Relations with the Lancaster Bank were bound to be improved and the appointment of the Town Clerk, W.O. Roper, appeared to maintain the company's interest. Yet relations with the Town Council cooled during the period after 1897 when W.C. Shackelford, the company's manager, was appointed a director.¹¹⁷ Even so, the rows which blew up over issues such as the licensing of the company's refreshment room and the price of Corporation-supplied gas were symptoms rather than causes of the company's difficulties.¹¹⁸

Gillow's, the oldest Lancaster firm of any size, was, like the Wagon Works, well represented on the Town Council up to 1884. The Couplands, father and son, had between them occupied at least one seat from 1843 to 1884. S.J. Harris, a partner from 1863 and the man most responsible for the expansion of Gillow's Lancaster works in the 1870's and 1880's, was a Town Councillor from 1878 to 1883 and in that time twice Mayor. Once the firm had been taken over by Lord Waring in 1897 the firm passed out of local control while the continued existence of the Lancaster works relied heavily on influence exerted by Lord Ashton.¹¹⁹

It is evident that Lancaster's manufacturing industry was well represented on the Town Council up until the late 1880's and early 1890's. In some respects the period 1879 to 1895 may be identified with the 'New Era' of municipal activity marked by participation of big businessmen, as in Leeds and Birmingham.¹²⁰ Its lack of representation after this was caused not so much by any change in the nature of Lancaster politics although Williamson's power was evidently growing - out by a change in

the internal structure of Lancaster's major manufacturing industries. Owners were selling out to larger firms ruled from afar, or were leaving their businesses to the care of managers. Yet the Town Council was not receiving much interest from the new managerial class.

A few examples of this managerial indifference to municipal government will suffice. William Atkinson (1841-1926) was Works Manager for James Williamson and Son at St. George's Works and Lune Mills from 1881.¹²¹ He was a freemason and a life deacon of Centenary Congregational Chapel, but took no active interest in municipal politics and retired in later life to Hest Bank. Similar lack of interest in public affairs was shown by John Swindells (1836-1913), manager at Bath and Greenfield Mills from 1865 right up to his death.¹²² Nor did managers of the smaller companies in Lancaster take any part in civic matters. (e.g. John Case, (1864-1900), Manager and Secretary of the Lancaster and District Tramways 1894-1900; John Gornall (1850-1918), Secretary of the Lancaster Farmers' Auction Mart Company, a prominent Wesleyan Methodist circuit steward and trustee of several chapels).

Similarly, such an active man as James Diggins (1835-1906), first Secretary and Principal of the Royal Albert Asylum who took a leading part in the technical education and free library movements in the town (and was even co-opted onto those particular sub committees of the Town Council) never actually put himself forward for election, in spite of a vigorous interest in local Liberal, and, after 1886, Liberal Unionist affairs.¹²³ Even men with the high social standing of manager of the Lancaster Bank never stood for local office, although several of the bank managers took part in charitable organisations in the town. Nor were those managers who were sprung from old civic families apparently any keener to enter public life than managers who had risen from the shop floor. A good example is Edmund Sharpe (1847-1925), the son of the pioneer of sanitary reform in Lancaster, and a manager and later director of Storey Brothers, who 'refused all town or county offices' and went to live at Halton Hall in 1882.¹²⁴ Lastly the case of W.O. Roper may be

cited. He was Town Clerk from 1892 to 1896 and became the first secretary of Storey Brothers Ltd. in 1896. A new administrative elite was emerging which was consciously non political.¹²⁵

The Professions

It is not true to say that the representation of professional men on Lancaster Town Council ceased altogether after 1870. There was, however, a sharp diminution. Whereas 34 professional men had obtained election to the Council in the years 1835 70, only 16 succeeded thereafter. Furthermore, whereas the 34 between 1835 and 1870 had included 12 doctors and 16 solicitors, the period 1871 to 1915 saw the election of only 3 doctors and 3 solicitors (see above, Table C5).

It was not that Lancaster's old professions were declining. Their numbers grew, although, admittedly, not in proportion to the population of the town as a whole.

TABLE C14

Ratio of Professional Men to the Population and the Town Council.¹²⁶

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1886	1896	1901	1912
Professional:Pop'n	1: 235	209	296	332	440	551	552	828
Professional: T. Council	1: 2.7	3.4	4.0 (1857)	6.0	8.0 (1889)		8.0	16.0* (1910)

Categories included: solicitor, barrister, surgeon, physician, accountant, broker, architect.

* including 1 R.D.C. surveyor.

Table C14 shows that the old professions did not grow at the same rate as the town as a whole. Lancaster became an industrial town between 1870 and 1900, and its professional men were swamped by the growth in the size of the working population. The change was mirrored by their decline in numerical strength on the Town Council from 1:3 in the 1840's and 1850's to 1:6 by 1871, 1:8 by 1889 and 1:16 by 1912.

TABLE C15

Professional Men as Proportion of Total Council.¹²⁷

	1856	1871	1881	1889	1896	1901	1911
Lancaster	25.0	16.7	4.2	12.5	16.7	15.6	6.3
Exeter		20.8	18.3			21.4	20.6
Birmingham	6.3	7.8	10.9	19.4		18.0	23.3
Leeds	7.8	0	6.2	14.0		18.5	26.6

But Lancaster's pattern of professional participation on the Town Council was not purely dictated by the ratio of professional men to the population. The decline was not without fluctuations. The extensions of the borough in 1888 and 1900 appear to have brought about a temporary revival in professional participation, but the figures hide the fact that part of this revival was made possible by the participation of some of the 'newer' professions: surveying, auctioneering, accounting etc. By 1911 the proportion of professional men, even including the new professions, had fallen again, even though there is no evidence to prove that this was permanent.

The experience of other towns suggests that the role of professional men was not necessarily declining everywhere. Exeter's case showed remarkable stability of interest, while the cases of Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Wolverhampton showed that participation of professional men on the Town Council was actually growing before 1914.¹²⁸

In Birmingham, a new interest in municipal affairs was aroused among medical men when public health once more became a major issue in the 1870's. In Leeds, professional men played an important part in the Liberal revival at the turn of the century. Moreover, when Birmingham absorbed its outer suburbs in the creation of Greater Birmingham in 1911, there was a striking increase in the number of professional men on the new Council, drawn widely from the law, teaching and accountancy rather than the medical profession.¹²⁹

Did the factors operating in favour of professional men's participation in municipal affairs in Birmingham and Leeds affect Lancaster? Certainly the public health issue in the 1840's had brought many medical men onto the Council (see Part II), ~~although~~ when it revived in the late 1880's and early 1890's there was some response from the old professions, ^{but} the reforming group was led by a carriage manufacturer and a builder. The leadership provided in the 1840's and 1850's had since been taken over by manufacturers and

later builders. With neither group did Lancaster's professional men have much in common. The manufacturers were rarely, in Lancaster, the great patrician figures who formed the alliance between big business and old professions, seen in Birmingham. An exception was the co-operation between the Ropers, the Masergh's and the Storey's in the 1880's to achieve waterworks extension. Another possible indicator is the increasing bias of Lancaster's old professions towards the Unionist Party, always the minority political group on the Town Council in the late nineteenth century, ^{while the manufacturers remained Liberal.} Meanwhile, changes in the conduct of party politics in the 1880's and 1890's - its professionalisation with the introduction of full-time constituency agents¹³⁰ and its popularisation with the emergence of party ward associations - may have discouraged professional men from the active participation they had shown in the middle of the century. The humiliation of the Election Petition of 1866 may be adduced the starting point of this trend.

The different experience of other towns suggests that the decline cannot be simply attributed to general changes in the status of professional men or their life styles.¹³¹ Economically, Lancaster professional men were hardly much better or worse off than the more prosperous tradesmen in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Other explanation needs to be found for the change in professional men's habits. The case of the lawyers may be considered in detail.

The financial pattern of the lawyers is not markedly different from that of the professional men as a whole: the majority leaving under £25,000, a minority leaving a good deal more. Nevertheless, the lawyers constituted a separate group in the hierarchy of Lancaster professions. Although Reader places solicitors and doctors in the second rank, as inferior in status to the Church, the Bar and the Services, in Lancaster they occupied a place at the top. For there were too few of the ~~top~~ professions to constitute a separate rank. Owing to Lancaster's top heavy ecclesiastical structure, the Vicar of Lancaster was the only cleric of real substance in the town. Moreover Lancaster had few

barristers and even fewer retired servicemen, while many professional men took commissions in local volunteer units. The solicitors and doctors were the largest of the 'old' professions. Of the two groups, solicitors were the most important as far as their political activities and public involvement were concerned. While Lancaster doctors tended to come and go, legal partnerships frequently led to the creation of local legal dynasties, often inter linked with the older medical families, possessed of a knowledge of local affairs indispensable to town and county society alike.¹³² This access to county society was no doubt shared by their colleagues in other county towns but far less in the larger industrial towns.¹³³ In addition an increasing number were being educated at boarding school thereby cutting their links with the town at an early age.

Another important change was one of address. Whereas a previous generation of solicitors had lived in Lancaster, on Castle Hill or in Dalton Square, the late nineteenth century saw the migration of many professional families from the town. The trend had started early in the century (the Clarks had moved to Cross Hill as early as 1818 and the Gregsons had moved to Moorlands soon afterwards). The new exodus took professional men even further from the scene of their professional lives. R. Hall bought Slyne Lodge in 1879, T. Gibson bought the Elms, Bare in 1888 and later retired to Westmorland. Perhaps the most flamboyant purchase was that of Halton Park by J.G. Wright from the executors of S.J. Harris, for £18,000 in 1908.¹³⁴ Yet this was a long established trend among notables in general, as was the trend towards boarding school education.

It would be the reverse of the truth to say that Lancaster lawyers in the late nineteenth century, because of living in the country or separate education, took no interest in public affairs. They took a close interest and benefited accordingly. The variety of the public functions which they performed is, in fact, far more striking than that found among earlier generations.¹³⁵ Obituaries of solicitors

recount endless lists of offices held, with or without financial remuneration.¹³⁶ The growth of the town and the development of new or greatly expanded institutions such as the Infirmary, the Asylum, the School Board, the School Attendance Committee put a great strain on the manpower of the Lancaster legal profession.

Whereas clerkships or secretaryships were common among Lancaster solicitors, representative positions were rare. Apart from the small number involved in Lancaster Town Council (mentioned above), one or two took part in other representative institutions. Thomas Gibson was Chairman of Morecambe School Board, while J.G. Wright was a member of Lunesdale Board of Guardians and later of Lunesdale Rural District Council. Such cases were exceptional.

From the experience of this one particular group, general observations can be made as to the reasons why professional men (particularly members of the old professions) took less interest in gaining a seat on the Town Council. Professional men of this status led very active lives during which they held positions of responsibility in a large variety of economic and charitable institutions in the town. These burdens had increased rather than diminished with time. Secondly the trend towards non residence reduced the interest felt by many professional men in the way that the Town Council spent or failed to spend the rates. Lancaster did not grow fast enough for them to be affected by the growth of large suburbs or the expansion of a new professional or even clerical middle class as was occurring on the outskirts of London, Liverpool, Manchester and other large cities.¹³⁷ Thirdly, the social and sporting life of the Lune Valley gentry was reaching its peak in this period and was proving ^{an} important counter attraction to young professional men.¹³⁸

Fourthly, professional men may have shared the worries of the press about the reduction in social status of the membership (especially when such heroes as Williamson, Greg and Storey retired from it).¹³⁹ Objectively, the increased predominance of the craft/trade group, especially the building trade, and the first appearance on the Council of

men with genuine working class backgrounds made the Council less congenial as a social club. The growth of committee work and the increased demands of attendance added to the arguments against professional candidature.¹⁴⁰ Meanwhile, an enhanced sense of professional status, strengthened by the growth of the new professions, led professional men to align themselves more closely with the town's officials than with its elected representatives.

It may also be that professional men resented the growth of Lord Ashton's power, which, although indirectly exerted through friends on the Council, was the perpetual reminder of the comparative insignificance of the town's elected rulers. Few professional men were attracted to this particular local bandwagon. Nor did such scandals as the collapse of the Lancaster and County Permanent Investment Society, whose secretary was a Councillor and whose President was Lord Ashton's brother in law, improve the reputation of the Council.¹⁴¹

Ignorance of the ^{local} pattern since 1914 makes any definite conclusion hard to draw. It seems dangerous too, to isolate professional men from other notables. It has been noted that the reduction in the role of manufacturers only occurred after 1900, and mainly for reasons connected more with the nature of local business than with the prestige of Council membership. It seems that the prestige of the Council sank because of the decline in the number of manufacturers taking part and not vice versa. The role of gentlemen and retired people continued on the same level without much fluctuation. Thus the reasons for professional abstention should be sought more in the nature of professional work and self esteem, rather than in the general attitude of notables towards the Council. Increased complexity of legal and medical work came into conflict with the increased demands of Council work. Political and social alienation seems to have been a contributory factor but not a decisive one.

xi. Religion

TABLE C16

Religious Affiliations of Lancaster Town Councillors 1871-1915

Entry	C of E	Nonconformist	R.C.	Total Known	Not Known	TOTAL
1871-80	8	5	-	13	7	20
1881-90	4	8	2	14	6	20
1891-00	14	5	1	20	5	25
1901-10	4	8	-	12	6	18
1911-15	2	3	-	5	1	6
1871-1915	32	29	3	64	25	89
% Known	50.0	45.3	4.7	100.0		
c.f.						
1835-70	58	14	10	82	25	107
% Known	70.7	17.1	12.2	100.0		

The Church of England still retained the loyalty of a good many Councillors, and, as in the town at large, it remained the largest single denomination by a long way.¹⁴² Unlike in Preston, where, judged by church building the Church of England remained immensely vigorous up to the eve of the First World War,¹⁴³ in Lancaster, in both town and Council, the church had left the initiative to others and its active support had diminished in proportion to the total. The word 'active' is particularly important in this context, as many of the Councillors of unknown religion were probably nominally Anglican. Of the 32 known Anglicans, 20 held some church office or other, implying that, as among the Nonconformists, church and town governments overlapped to a large extent in the late nineteenth century in Lancaster.

The Anglicans were the only denominational group which could claim a political balance between Conservative and Liberal allegiance. Of the 32 known Anglicans, 16 were Conservatives, and 13 were Liberals (including 1 Liberal Unionist). The politics of the three remaining are not known. Of the Liberal Anglicans, half were officeholders in their churches, showing that their allegiance to the Church of England was by no means nominal.

Nevertheless, a distinction may be drawn between the various Anglican churches in the town. No Liberal Councillor, in the period, ever held office at St. Mary's (the Parish Church), while no Conservative

Councillor ever held office at St. Anne's or St. Luke's, Skerton. St. John's, the Corporation church, occupied a neutral position. The ratio of Conservative to Liberal Councillors holding office there was 4:2. Both Thomas Storey and the Williamsons (father and son) were churchwardens there at different times. The future Lord Ashton was also a churchwarden at St. Luke's (Skerton) in the 1870's and later became its patron. His second wife and younger daughter were regular attenders at St. John's.¹⁴⁴ Lord Ashton was the mainstay of the finances of both St. Luke's and St. John's, while he also gave generously to the Parish Church. The eldest (William) Storey was churchwarden at the Parish Church (1862-74), while a younger brother, Edward, became churchwarden at the new parish of Christchurch (1866-1913) and gave the site for the mission church in Dale Street.¹⁴⁵

TABLE C17

Religion and Occupation of Town Councillors 1871 to 1915.

Group	C of E	Nonconformist	R.C.	Known	Not Known	TOTAL
Manufacturer	5	2	1	8	2	10
Merchant	3	2	1	6	3	9
Craft/Trade	14	22	-	36	9	45
Professional	7	3	-	10	6	16
Gent/Misc.	3	-	2	5	4	9
	32	29	4	65	24	89

Political and sectarian animosity was stronger in Lancaster by 1890 than it had been in 1870. The common Protestant front which had existed between church and chapel in the 1840's had broken up by the 1890's. The sense of Protestant mission which had shown itself by giving a high priority to evangelical Sunday School teaching had been lost in the development of individual church and chapel schools in the 1850's and 1860's. Moreover, Anglican clergy became increasingly influenced by the clericalism of the Oxford Movement. St. Anne's and St. Luke's, in the early part of the century united strongholds of the 'Housemanites', became, by the late nineteenth century, the scenes of strife between clergy and laity. In both cases the clergy were triumphant but at the expense of a substantial secession from Church to Chapel.

St. Anne's Church ceased to be 'like a Dissenting place of worship' with a new vicar, Rev. James Francis, in 1875, determined to 'modernise' the church and enforce the 'parochial principle'.¹⁴⁶ High church practices also created friction at the Parish Church of St. Mary under the otherwise inactive Rev. John Allen (1871-93).¹⁴⁷ Similarly, St. Luke's Skerton became the centre of sectarian controversy in 1887 when the Vicar tried to establish exclusive Anglican control of the Parish schools.¹⁴⁸ Better relations between churchmen and dissenters prevailed at St. Thomas's,¹⁴⁹ but church and dissent battles flared up periodically through the 1890's and 1900's on such subjects as cemetery use, church rates, education, and licensing. Only in 1907-1909, with a large turnover of ministers and clergy on both sides, did a more lasting spirit of co-operation emerge,¹⁵⁰ with the recognition of common problems of unbelief and the contemporary interest in Mormonism and Spiritualism.

In spite of the growth of Roman Catholicism in the town in the late nineteenth century, the Catholic element on the Town Council was small. It consisted entirely of four members of two families who were linked by marriage: the Smiths and the Prestons, corn merchants and grocers respectively.¹⁵¹ The Roman Catholic community was less on the defensive against militant Protestantism than earlier, although it took an intense interest in the education issue, especially in the School Board elections of 1893 and in the General Election in 1906. A close correlation between politics and religion can be traced. All four Roman Catholics were Liberals and worked closely with the Williamson family in local politics. Alderman Thomas Preston (Town Councillor and Alderman 1890-1906) received full support from James Williamson II in his successful election campaign in North Lonsdale in 1892, and remained the M.P. for three years.¹⁵²

The main characteristic of the religious pattern among Councillors in this period was the heavy influx of Nonconformists. This was in part a reflection of the growth of Nonconformity in the town and neighbourhood, but was also connected to the political triumph of the

trades. The full range of the main Nonconformist churches were represented on Lancaster Town Council. Of the 29 known Nonconformists, 20 were representatives of 'old' Dissent (2 Quakers, 13 Congregationalists, 4 Unitarians and 1 Baptist) while 9 were Methodists (7 Wesleyans, 1 Independent, 1 Primitive). The timing of the influx was specific. Two entered before 1877, seven between 1878 and 1887, four between 1888 and 1890, fourteen between 1900 and 1913. The influxes coincided with the threat of greater rates in the shadow of the 1879 Act and after the extensions of 1888 and 1900 when Nonconformists also feared unrestricted licensing in the new suburbs. This joint concern for rates and temperance and the close association with the Liberal Party caused a constant flow after 1900, right up to the eve of the Great War. The interest of the denominations varied. While the Unitarians were spread over the whole period, the two Quakers did not enter till after 1907. Methodist interest dated only from the borough extension of 1888, and the two non Wesleyans did not enter the Council until after 1900.¹⁵³ Nearly one third of the newcomers to the Council between 1901 and 1910 were Methodists, and all but one held high office in the chapel hierarchy. Their overall influence, however, was small in comparison to their numbers. They took no major part in Council debates, and did not stay long on the Council.

Their leader was Alderman Norval Helme, the table baize manufacturer, whose brother in law owned the Lancaster Guardian and whose grandfather had been a trustee of the first Methodist chapel in Lancaster in 1806. Helme became a class leader at Sulyard Street on his father's death in 1882 and a representative to the Manchester Conference in 1886. In 1891 and 1901 he attended the Oecumenical Conferences at Washington and London and, as the town's Member of Parliament from 1900 to 1918 he was an active advocate of licensing reform. He still carried on his duties at Sulyard Street.¹⁵⁴ As the Methodist Times put it:

He is unspoiled by prosperity. Week after week he travels down from London for the Sunday to work and worship among his own people.

When it came to church building, he and his brother provided a new

chapel at Skerton on the condition that the Sulyard Street Congregation raised the money for another new chapel at Greaves. The Methodist Times found it gratifying in 1909 that a fourth minister would soon be needed in Lancaster. Helme was not a great political leader but he had the support of Lord Ashton and was much respected in his own right for his chapel and parliamentary record.

The Nonconformist group to provide the most recruits for the Council was the Independent or Congregationalist which was divided roughly equally between the members of High Street and Centenary (Stonewell) Chapels. Of the two, Centenary provided the more Radical members in terms of temperance and social reform, but inter chapel rivalry, a high turnover among the Nonconformist members as a whole and a traditional antipathy to 'party politics', prevented them from welding the Nonconformists into a united pressure group.

Nearly all the Nonconformists were Liberals, with the exception of Lancaster's first Labour Councillor, Henry Jemmison, a deacon at Centenary. Three others joined the Council as Independents between 1909 and 1911, in protest against Liberal-Labour policies at Westminster.

Lancaster saw two upsurges of Nonconformist politics in the nineteenth century. The first has been described above. It took place in the aftermath of the Municipal Reform^{Act} of 1835 and was characterised by a personal vindictiveness and obsession with corruption which was entirely negative. The second came in the 1880's and 1890's as part of a new Nonconformist radicalism which was then sweeping the country. 155 In Lancaster the second upsurge was characterised by a large influx of Nonconformist tradesmen onto the Town Council, the application of Christian enthusiasm to the solution of social problems and the merging of grass roots Nonconformity with Liberal Party organisation.

In Lancaster in the early 1880's much of the material for a Nonconformist initiative in local politics existed. The chapels were in a healthy state and benefiting from the town's growing population. There was a flourishing temperance society, with bands of hope established at the chapels and three Anglican churches, and a number of temperance

friendly societies. In 1878 a Lancaster Coffee Tavern Company was founded in imitation of Preston.¹⁵⁶ Licensing reform had never been a major vote winner in Lancaster, but 'the trade' aroused temperance opposition in the municipal elections of 1871, 1874, 1882, 1889 and 1890. By the 1880's, the split which temperance had caused in the ranks of 'old' Dissent in 1872 by the secession of the teetotallers from High Street Congregational Chapel to form Centenary Congregational Chapel, had been healed by the spread of temperance values and by the close co operation of the two ministers who came to the chapels in 1885 and 1884 respectively.

Nonconformist leadership became much more distinctive and dynamic in the 1880's. It had thrown off most of its lingering associations with Evangelical Anglican Churches in the town and exchanged the dry intellectual leadership of the Unitarians under Rev. David Davis for the evangelistic spirit of militant Congregationalism under Rev. H. William Smith, pastor at Centenary Chapel from 1884 to 1905. Smith threw himself wholeheartedly into his chapel work in the middle of a dense population where there was no other church, and also established missions at Halton, Hest Bank, Carnforth and Bowerham, in co operation with Rev. J.F. Cowley at High Street.¹⁵⁷ More than this, a native of West ~~Boyn~~ ^{Boyn}wich, Smith was a disciple of Rev. R.W. Dale, Rev. Minister of Carr's Lane Chapel, Birmingham from 1852 to 1895. Dale declared that for a Christian:

His (Christ's) commandments cover your municipal life, and no devoutness can be an excuse for not paying your rates, neither can it be an excuse for keeping away from the polling booth at the time of an election. ¹⁵⁸

Smith took up the Birmingham civic gospel and preached and practised it in Lancaster. Smith, above all, helped to weld the civic gospel, Nonconformity and Liberalism, into a powerful weapon in the town. Smith became an active member of the Lancaster Reform Club and in 1886 was one of the leaders of the Home Rulers.¹⁵⁹ In 1889 he helped found a branch of the Peace Society in the town and in 1891 helped set up a Total Abstinence Society.¹⁶⁰ He was a member of the Soup Kitchen Relief

Committee.

Smith had every confidence in James Williamson II in 1892. As a keen Home Ruler he appeared with Williamson on the political platforms of that year's election between Williamson and Storey. Smith was also an ardent advocate of moves to liberate the agricultural worker. He eulogised Williamson for letting some of his land out as allotments in Skerton in 1891 and hailed the Parish Councils Act of 1894 as the harbinger of 'Home Rule' in every parish in England.¹⁶¹

But the Lancaster Liberal establishment of which Smith had become so important a member received a severe blow in November 1893 with the arrest of a prominent Liberal Councillor and Unitarian, Nathan Molyneux, the secretary of the Laneaster Permanent Building Society.¹⁶² £20,000 was unaccounted for, Molyneux was declared bankrupt with gross liabilities of over £15,000, most of which was owed to the building society. Molyneux was shown to have fooled a number of people, not least the directors who had included prominent Liberals such as James Williamson I, S.W. Wearing, and Alderman Preston. Another scandal revealed more weaknesses in the Lancaster Liberal Party. It emerged that Councillor Jackson, the brewer, had been supplying liquor to the Corporation, and that two Corporation officials had been drunk and disorderly in one of Jackson's public houses. The Radical leader, Councillor Bowness, alone demanded a full inquiry but was refused by the Mayor, his former ally in the Public Health campaign of 1889, Alderman Gilchrist.¹⁶³ Bowness accused Gilchrist of being 'a puppet of a portion of Liberal members' and his words were at once roundly condemned by his colleagues and by the Observer.

Bowness at once received support from his fellow Radicals of the Centenary Church. A meeting was held at the Palatine Hall, chaired by John Brash, draper, a fellow founder with Bowness of Centenary. The meeting was addressed by their minister, Rev. H.W. Smith, who demanded new standards of municipal conduct. Smith's version of the civic gospel was that the Corporation should undertake measures of social and moral reform, in particular the building of working class houses to

rent at between 3s 6d and 4s 6d a week, under the Act of 1890. On the moral side Smith demanded the sale of the town's seven municipal public houses and the adoption of Sunday closing. Yet the Radical Liberals who supported him were in a minority on the Council. When Alderman Preston died in 1894, Bowness was defeated in the contest for his successor by Bell, a marble manufacturer, who had the support of the manufacturers and professional men, Liberal or Tory.¹⁶⁴

The Molyneux scandal produced an anti-Liberal reaction in Lancaster which was one factor in the Liberal defeat at the General Election of 1895. The scandal also introduced a note of realism near to cynicism in attitudes towards municipal work and in particular the Nonconformist upsurge. The Observer summed this up in its comment on Molyneux:

the people of Lancaster will long have occasion to remember it (the building society) and its secretary, who brazened out his evil deeds by posing as a public man, with the interests of the community at heart; who sat in a front pew with the biggest hymn book and the most reverent demeanour and who at festive gatherings was ever ready to sing a song or crack a joke. No wonder he felt relief when he was apprehended or that he should say he had lived in hell for years. 165

One of the first victims of the Molyneux scandal was the Nonconformist effort to win seats on the newly constituted Lancaster School Board. Rev. H.W. Smith was the moving spirit behind the Lancaster Nonconformist Councils programme for 'healthy and commodious school buildings and spacious playgrounds'. A united front was made impossible by the demand of the Unitarian minister, Rev. J.C. Pollard, for the exclusion of religious instruction from elementary education. Of the four Nonconformist candidates, only Smith was elected and he came eighth out of the nine successful candidates.¹⁶⁶

Nor was the Nonconformist campaign for licensing reform much more effective. The temperance element on the Council grew in the years after 1888, but not sufficiently for the Corporation to sell its public houses or to campaign for local option. The abstainers could do little more than take some credit for the closing of many public houses in the old central area of China Lane and Bridge Street, during the demolition work of 1891-5.

The events of 1895 were a further blow to Lancaster Liberal Nonconformity. The announcement of Williamson's peerage, although followed by denials of a political bargain, besmirched the names of the local Liberal leader. The defeat in the 1895 General Election and the sordid allegations^{by Williamson's detectives} in the Lancaster Election Petition which followed created widespread disillusionment. Individual Liberals turned to different courses, many followed H.W. Smith in his campaigning for more schools and for the abandonment of tithe payments to the Vicar of Lancaster.¹⁶⁷ Helme's election as Member of Parliament in 1900 was a Liberal victory, but it did not ^{to be} turn out a new dawn for Lancaster Liberal Nonconformity.

Smith was President of the Nonconformist (renamed Free Church) Council in 1900 and issued a manifesto to electors before elections to the newly extended Town Council. Smith's appeal for 'men of good conscience' may have been successful, but few of them had much regard for 'the proper housing of the poor' or a determination to rid the borough of the evils of 'intemperance, gambling and impurity' or sympathy for district option.¹⁶⁸ But Smith was near the end of his tether. In 1902 he was Chairman of the Lancashire Congregational Union. In 1903 his health broke down. Although he recovered in 1905 he had a relapse and had to resign his pastorate.¹⁶⁹ By 1907, the year of his death, his Free Church Council was being criticised as 'lacking interest in municipal life' and 'inactive in the pursuit of social reform'.¹⁷⁰

Councillor Bowness had got no support in 1901 when he had suggested that proceeds from the sale of land on the Marsh might be used for the erection of working class houses on what remained of Corporation property in that growing part of the town.¹⁷¹ In 1902 he became a deep opponent of the Balfour Act which subsidised denominational schools out of the rates. Although elected an Alderman for Bulk Ward in 1900, Bowness was never elected Mayor probably because of both his views and his means of livelihood. He remained a lone figure. The other Nonconformists tended to be short term visitors to the Town Council, and interest in educational and licensing reform seemed to be on the decrease in Lancaster in the

Edwardian era.

Nonconformity remained a powerful force in Edwardian Lancaster. It continued to be essential to the Liberals at general and local elections but failed to find an effective voice on the Town Council. Much of its Radical element took an interest in the Labour movement from 1900 and found itself often with divided loyalties in the Lib Lab confrontations of 1909, 1911 and 1912.

xii Freemasonry.

Of the 100 recruits to the Lancaster Town Council between 1861 and 1915 a minimum of 25 were Freemasons and 6 were Oddfellows. In five cases men were both Oddfellows and Freemasons. Although a minority on the Council, Freemasons included many of the most important. Ten were Mayors and seven were Aldermen. Freemasonry was one of those binding elements which transcended both religious and political divisions. 6 out of the 25 were known Nonconformists as opposed to 13 known Anglicans. The Nonconformists included one unitarian, three congregationalists and three Wesleyans, a fair cross section of Dissent, while the Anglicans included members of all the Lancaster churches. The absence of Roman Catholics remained one of the few distinctive features of the 'craft'. In politics, 11 were Unionist, 12 were Liberal and 2 were unknown. It included no I.L.P. members before 1914. Taking the 25 as representative of Freemasonry as a whole in the town, it appears to have included a larger proportion of Unionists than the townsmen elected either at municipal or general elections in this period. In terms of occupation, 15 of the 25 were in the trade/craft category suggesting that the membership at least of this secret organisation was not exceptionally elitist.^{171B} No conclusion can satisfactorily be given about the role of Freemasonry in the social pattern of town government. In public statements, Freemasons emphasised loyalty to British institutions and concern for 'harmony'. It may well be that some of the underlying harmony to be found in the deliberations of Lancaster Town Council for most of the time in the late nineteenth century was the product of a comradeship among its senior members, which if not actually generated by Freemasonry, was certainly reflected in its popularity.

xiii Politics.TABLE C18Political Inclinations of Town Councillors (Period of Entry 1871-1915).

Entered	Cons	Indep	Lib	Lab	Total Known	Not Known	TOTAL
1871-80	9	-	9	-	18	2	20
1881-90	6	-	13	-	19	1	20
1891-1900	8	1	12	-	21	4	25
1901-10	4	1	5	2	13	5	18
1911-15	-	3	2	-	5	1	6
	27	5	41	2	76	13	89
% Known	35.5	6.6	53.9	2.6	99.9		
c.f.							
1835-1870	44 L/C	10	50	-	104	3	107

Liberal domination of Lancaster Town Council, which had re established itself in the 1850's continued to the end of the century. The balance of the parties, although liable to jolts, was never in the Conservatives' favour. Although the ratio of 7 Conservatives to 17 Liberals in 1871 was altered to 10 Conservatives and 14 Liberals by 1874, the ratio never improved further. It remained remarkably constant at 10:14 until the borough extension in 1888. By that time the Irish issue and the consequent defection of several Liberals seemed to threaten the Liberals' political majority. The earlier balance was restored after the 1888 extension and remained, in the 1890's, at about 10:14, but with the extension of both borough and Council in 1900, the new ratio settled down at about 10 Conservatives and Independents to 20 Liberals, and the entry of the first two Labour Councillors in 1907 in fact helped to strengthen the Liberal hegemony.

TABLE C19Political Inclinations of Councillors by Groups 1871-1915.

Group	Cons/Indep.	Liberal	Known	Not Known	Total
Manufacturer	2	8	10	1	11
Merchant	3	5	8	2	10
Craft/Trade	9	24	33	9	42
Professional	10	2	12	3	15
Gentlemen	5	2	7	2	9
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	2	2
	29	41	70	19	89
% Known	41.4	58.6	100.0		

The occupational balance of the Corporation explains its political make up. Although no occupational group was exclusively dominated by one party, most merchants and tradesmen were Liberal, while manufacturers on the Council tended to be Liberal to a man. Edward Storey was the Conservative manufacturer, as was his brother William, and, after the Home Rule split, the whole family became Unionists, although they maintained their support for Free Trade. Most of ~~what~~ the other manufacturers followed ~~was~~ the Gladstonian Liberalism of Lord Ashton.

It was amongst professional men that Conservatives were dominant. This political difference between tradesmen and the 'old' professions in Lancaster provides political confirmation of the social division which existed between tradesmen and professional men (see elsewhere).

A few Town Councillors changed their political views in the course of their public careers. There was a small but important group of Liberals who became Liberal Unionists. They included Thomas Storey (1862-90), Charles Blades (1861-93) and S.J. Harris (1878-89). Thomas Huntington (1895-) changed from Liberalism to Conservatism, while S.W. Wearing (1860-79), changed from Toryism to Liberalism after marrying the daughter of James Williamson I and taking a job in his father in law's business. None of these changes made a significant alteration to the balance of power on the Council. Lancaster Town Council was not run on disciplined party lines, although party activity was sometimes aroused in the election of Aldermen. On the whole the Council tended to divide according to the conscience or interests of its members, and a hard and fast division between the parties on local issues is rarely discernible. Separate issues played a far more important part, while personalities could produce divisions cutting clean across party lines — as in the Williamsonite-Storeyite split of the 1860's and 1870's. Clashes were provoked when groups of reformers had emerged, as in the public health question of the 1890's. On the whole Lancaster Town Council was even more non political than is suggested by the infrequency of contested elections to enter it.

Only a minority of Town Councillors in this period were actively

involved in party politics. Out of 89 Councillors, 19 are known to have held office in some political organisation. Such organisations include the Reform Club, the Liberal Association, the Primrose League and the Trades Council. 13 out of the 19 were Liberals. Lancaster Liberals were far better organised than Lancaster Conservatives (except perhaps in the years 1893-1896), and Liberal representation on the Council was far more closely associated with party work. The Liberal caucus was very active in Lancaster, and, through its hierarchy of ward associations and 'Two Hundred', provided a ladder to civic position for many an aspiring tradesman. Meanwhile the Conservative activists tended to represent established social groups. 7 out of the 13 Liberals, were tradesmen, while the 4 Conservatives comprised a gentleman (retired), a manufacturer, an auctioneer and a rail clerk. This harnessing of the new professions to the Conservative party may well have gone further. For in 1912, while the secretary of the Reform Club was a fruiterer and confectioner, the secretaries of both the Constitutional Club and the Conservative Club were bank clerks.

Although for most of the Councillors politics was very much a local and part-time affair, a few indulged on a regional and even a national plain. Several Town Councillors served as representatives for Lancaster wards on the Lancashire County Council, after its formation in 1888. They included Norval Helme (1892-1928), John Kitchen (1894-1916), Thomas Preston (1892-4) and his son Robert (1906-). None of these men would have had any influence over county government under the old regime, but they represented on the new body much of what was best in the reformed order of the Lancaster Corporation: moral rectitude, a devotion to duty and - in Kitchen's case especially - a concern for social justice.

Finally, in the heyday of Lancaster civic politics, three members or ex members of Lancaster Town Council became Members of Parliament. They were James Williamson II (Town Councillor 1871-80 and M.P. for Lancaster 1886-95); William Smith (Town Councillor and Alderman 1890-1906 and M.P. for North Lonsdale 1892-95), and Sir Norval Helme

(Town Councillor and Alderman 1889 1919, County Councillor and Alderman 1892 1928, and M.P. for Lancaster 1900 to 1918). Not surprisingly all were Liberals and all came from local commercial families which had helped to expand the trade of the town and region in the second half of the nineteenth century. All believed stoutly in Free Trade and in Home Rule for Ireland and all relied heavily on their urban base in Lancaster from which they could sally forth to convert the farmers of the Fylde and Lune Valley to Liberalism. A fourth Councillor, Sir Thomas Storey (Town Councillor and Alderman 1862-90) twice stood for Parliament. In 1880 he was the Liberal candidate for North Lancashire and in 1892 he stood as a Liberal Unionist for Lancaster, but neither time with any success. Allied to the more Conservative and elite groups in the town of Lancaster, he was unable to command the same popular appeal among shopkeepers and working men that the three successful candidates mentioned above secured as the basis of their electoral strength.

Councillors had to submit themselves once every three years to popular election. But elections were rarely contested. Periods of intense political activity at ward level followed the borough extension of 1888, but by 1891 this had died away. A Conservative revival between 1893 and 1895 provoked contests at the municipal elections in those years. A revival of interest took place after the borough extension of 1900, but this amounted to little more than a reshuffle of the old members and an influx of some new blood, and municipal elections quickly re acquired their former tranquillity. The main interest in municipal elections after 1900 was the campaign for representation of the I.L.P. from 1905 to 1911. There were few contests and those which there were usually involved Labour.

Whereas personalities rather than issues had been the major factor in municipal elections in many cases in the mid nineteenth century, this changed in the latter part of the century. Personalities still counted for much, as the municipal elections of 1909 and 1911, involving Lord Ashton, showed, but issues became more important as the electorate grew and the view of the Town Council as a meeting of natural leaders

established by 1870, came under fire from time to time. The first major impact of issues (since public health in the 1840's and 1850's) was in 1881 when the Lancaster Corporation Act of 1880 promised to plunge the town into any amount of indebtedness from improvements to the gasworks, waterworks and streets. At the same time a class dimension was introduced for the first time in local elections since the conflict over Municipal Reform. Attacks on 'broadcloth', 'secret committees' and the 'inner circle' all brought the nature of town government to the forefront of people's minds.¹⁷² The Ratepayers' campaign was, however, soon absorbed by the Liberals. ~~and~~ It was not till 1889 and 1890 ~~when~~ ^{that} more municipal legislation raised the question of 'the condition of Lancaster' and ^{that} borough expansion sparked off conflict between temperance and 'the trade' over new licenses in the suburbs. 'Fair contracts' made their first appearance as an issue at the same time. This was a question which was to recur at municipal elections as late as 1913, and was to produce some unexpected political alignments. Public health re emerged as a major issue in 1889-90, and continued to feature prominently at the elections of 1894, 1900 and 1907. A particularly emotive issue was that of playgrounds for children which Labour took up with some zest after 1905. The depressions of the Edwardian years made municipal expenditure in 1904, unemployment in 1908, and Lord Ashton's treatment of labour in 1909 and in 1911, the key issues of the day. With a wider electorate and full press coverage, municipal election campaigns were dealt with far more exhaustively than ever before. Much was believed to be at stake, although faith in the Council's power to control the town's economic and social future seems to have passed from boundless optimism in the 1890's to disillusionment and cynicism by 1913.

National political considerations were not entirely ignored. The candidates usually announced themselves Liberal or Conservative, at least when obliged to face a contest, and if they did not do so themselves the local newspapers would label them for the benefit of the voters. Traditionally the Guardian backed the Liberals, while the Gazette and

later the Standard and Mail backed the Conservatives or Unionists. The political division was enhanced by the role of ward committees (replaced largely by ward associations after 1888) in nominating the candidates and backing them with money, canvassers and carriages. The more frequent the contests the greater was the sense of party political rivalry. Often they occurred in years close to general elections as in 1871-4, 1879-81, 1886 (but not 1885), 1888-90 (associated with the extensions), 1893-5, 1900 (result of second extension), 1906-09 (influenced by rise of labour) but none in 1910. In years of few contests, particularly 1875-8, 1882-5, 1896-99 and 1901-5, the Councillors won an independence of both ward politicians and electors which they relished. Occasional shocks awaited those who took their Council seat too much for granted in these years of quiet. It was considered quite a shock when, in 1879, the retiring Mayor, Dr. Hall, came bottom of the poll in a contested election in St. Anne's ward, because he had refused to canvass.¹⁷³

Special municipal political terminology was used at Lancaster, as elsewhere.¹⁷⁴ 'Radical' was a term used in the 1860's and 1870's to describe Liberal shopkeepers and businessmen who were watchful of Corporation expenditure and who did all they could to protect the interests of property owners. On the Town Council, the 'Radicals' formed a small group around such leaders as James Williamson senior and Thomas Preston.

By the 1870's the division between the 'Radicals' and the rest of the Councillors meant more than the division between Liberals and Conservatives. In terms of national political allegiance the Liberals had a majority of 17 to 7 over the Conservatives on the Town Council in 1870. The Conservatives had only five Councillors (four sat for Queen's Ward), while the fifth, William Storey, sat for St. Anne's Ward with his brother, Thomas, who was a Liberal. Their two Aldermen, Hall and Brockbank had both been on the bench since 1856 and were to die in the near future (Hall 1871, Brockbank 1873). Nevertheless, Conservative Councillors were by no means excluded from the Mayoralty. Indeed the Mayors of 1870-1 and 1872-3 were both Conservatives (J. Bradshaw, draper,

and W. Storey, table baize manufacturer). When it came to Mayoral elections the Conservatives and the older Liberals joined forces under the leadership of the Storey brothers against the 'Radicals' led by James Williamson.

Lancaster Conservatives benefited from the local reaction to the threat of Gladstonian licensing restrictions.¹⁷⁵ In 1871, the spirit merchant, Thomas Marshall, was elected for Castle Ward, with the support of 'the trade'.¹⁷⁶ So too was James Williamson junior, suggesting that squabbles over the Mayoralty on the Council were not reflected in the elections. Marshall was joined by three other Conservatives in the years 1871-3, causing some dismay to the Liberal press. The revival was only short-lived; in 1874 Marshall lost his seat when applying for re election. The electorate seemed to have an equal dislike of extremes on the drink issue: in 1874 Tory spirit dealers came bottom of the poll in both Castle and Queen's wards, while in St. Anne's ward the teetotal 'Radical' (James Mansergh)^{also} came bottom of the poll.¹⁷⁷ The attempts to make temperance an issue came too early. Only later did temperance organisations really begin to win support.

It was not until 1879 that any local issue aroused sufficient popular feeling to sustain an organised political movement. In May of that year a meeting was held by a group of ratepayers in St. Anne's Ward to protest at the heavy expenditure due to be incurred by the Corporation on such projects as the purchase of the gas works, the new waterworks and the extensions to the Town Hall and the Market. The meeting decided not to form an association at the time, but a committee of thirteen was appointed in order to sponsor two candidates at the November elections.¹⁷⁸ Various names were put forward including William and Anthony Bell, sons of the marble manufacturer, but ^{the} majority decision was for John Watson, a Liberal coconut [^]matting manufacturer, and Dr. Hall, Conservative Councillor for St. Anne's since 1873, and Mayor. One ratepayer did warn of the danger of crossing party lines in this way. At the election he proved to be right. For Watson was returned along

with Anthony Bell, (both Liberals), while Dr. Hall came bottom of the poll. Hall had been alone in refusing to canvass.¹⁷⁹

Meanwhile those Liberals within the ratepayer movement whose desire to set up an association had been opposed by the leaders, broke away to form a Liberal Association in September 1879 and it was their work which had unseated both Dr. Hall in St. Anne's and W.F. Sharp, a Conservative solicitor, in Queen's Ward. The united ratepayer front had already broken up. In 1881 the Liberal Association was converted into a joint stock venture registered as the Lancaster Reform Club with a nominal capital of £3,000. Among its first subscribers were Anthony Bell and Rev. David Davis (Unitarian school proprietor and Councillor for Queen's Ward), the first two beneficiaries of the awakened Liberal movement.

Ratepayer attentions were soon brought back to the original grievance. In April 1881 the worst expectations of the champions of economy seemed to be fulfilled. Alderman Preston announced that in order to pay for intended street and other improvements the general district rate would have to be raised from 2s 0d to 2s 6d in the pound. Few believed his assurances that such an increase would only be temporary. The Observer was convinced that this was a blatant case of municipal extravagance.¹⁸⁰

The ratepaters of St. Anne's ward needed no further encouragement. A memorial signed by 200 ratepayers demanded the attendance of their six Councillors and two Aldermen at a meeting to explain their inaction in allowing such a lamentable financial situation to arise. To the annoyance of the leaders (Mr. Parker a shopkeeper of Cheapside acted as Chairman), only two Councillors of St. Anne's (G. Cleminson and A. Bell) attended, supported by W. Towers, representative for Castle Ward, all three of whom were founder members of the Reform Club.

In September 1881 a Ratepayers' Association was at last formed to ensure the election of frugal men to the Town Council in the November elections.¹⁸¹ On this occasion the Chair was taken by John Kitchen

(1842-1916), a working stonemason who had started on his own account in 1869. The proposal to form the Association was made by Joseph Edmondson, another self made man who had formerly worked in Hinde's Silk Mill and who had since set up as a retail hatter; an original trustee of the Lancaster Co-Operative Society, he had also helped found the Reform Club. With two Liberals as its principals, the new Association, in spite of its aspirations to impartiality gradually became a Liberal organisation and provided the training ground for the leaders of Liberal ward organisations of the late 1880's.

The ratepayers campaign, true to its name, amounted to little more than an attack on municipal expenditure. The activities of the Gas and Water Committee, chaired by Alderman Roper, were subjected to the most intense criticism. An annual balance sheet and a reduction in the price of gas were demanded. Corporation salaries and pensions paid to officials such as the Gas Manager and the retired Superintendent of Police came under fire. A more political note was sounded in the attack on the subsidising of the Grammar School out of the rates, which amounted to favoured treatment of Anglicans. The new Association also pledged itself to attack bribery, and one member darkly hinted the intention of unseating 'every Councillor who shall enter the Chamber by corrupt or illegal means'. These reforms did not amount to a programme, but they provided sufficient steam for the election of several Ratepayer candidates in the municipal elections of 1881 and 1882. Their greatest success was Kitchen's defeat of Edward Storey in Stl Anne's Ward in 1881.¹⁸² Although Storey held second place and so kept his seat, this success of a stonemason against one of the Storey brothers, in a high poll, showed the strength of the reaction against the dominance of the manufacturers on the Town Council. Such popular radicalism further elected a Liberal wine merchant and a draper to the Council in 1882,¹⁸³ but the association was snubbed when it offered to sponsor William Huntington, a leading member of the building trade.

Ratepayer enthusiasm quickly waned in the 1880's. The feared

explosion of municipal expenditure did not occur. The borough rates stood stationary at 2s 5d from 1882 to 1887 and even declined to 2s 4d in the years 1889-91.¹⁸⁴ Meanwhile the level of the total rate which stood at 3s 0d in 1882 only rose above this amount in three years during the rest of the decade (1882-3, 1885-6, 1886-7). These temporary increases were the results of exceptionally high poor rates in those years. The Corporation projects of the 1880's were financed out of government loans and departmental profits. Only after 1893-4 did the rates once more begin to take an upward turn. After 1894 the total rate never fell below 3s 4d, although it did not reach 4s 0d until the Education Act of 1902 indirectly placed a greater strain on the rates. By 1910 the rate had reached 5s 0d and by 1914 total rates amounted to 5s 6d in the pound.

Thus the *raison d'être* of the Ratepayers' Association was removed in the 1880's and the Association rapidly dissolved after its minor successes at the elections of 1881 and 1882. Its more active members now turned their energies to the Reform Club and, after 1886, to the development of a new Liberal Association on the Gladstonian principles of Home Rule. When the movement revived in a new form in the autumn of 1888, it was to support James Williamson junior in his bid to buy large portions of the Marsh at a low price.¹⁸⁵ On this occasion, however, John Kitchen, who had been at the heart of the 1881 Association, was to be found on the opposite side, and as a result came close to losing his seat in St. Anne's Ward to H.L. Storey in the election of 1890. The swing against Kitchen in 1890 showed how far the popular radicalism of the early 1880's, which had been channelled into Liberal organisations after 1886, had become Williamsonite in content. A snub to the Storeys was acceptable but a challenge to Williamson was not. At any rate, by this stage, Kitchen's appeal to economy was old fashioned in the face of the public health crisis of 1889.

In the elections of 1890, both Liberals and Conservatives were one and all pledging themselves to the support of measures which would necessarily involve additional rather than reduced expenditure. The

Medical Officer of Health's reports of 1889 and 1890, along with the Sanitary Committee's Report of November 1889 had made sanitary reform a key election issue. In fact the death rate was probably lower in 1890 than during many of the years of the preceding decade, but the extension of the borough in 1888 had given a new vigour to public debate, and contestants rightly saw public health as an issue of vital political importance.

If both Liberals and Conservatives took up the issue with equal gusto, the Liberals were far more specific in their proposals.¹⁸⁶ Bowness was the most constructive. He advocated a municipal lodging house and a 'big Scheme' for the Corporation to buy up and 'sweep away' the insanitary areas. To pay for such a plan he suggested that the Corporation should borrow money. While many candidates warned of false economy, only Gilchrist (coach builder) actually took the bull by the horns and admitted that such improvements would have to be paid for out of increased rates. The Observer congratulated Gilchrist on his forthright approach to the problem. Park Ward re elected him, and the Park Ward Liberal Association demanded that he be put on the Finance Committee. That this attitude to the rates could now be fashionable showed what changes in attitude the combination of party organisation and public anxiety could achieve. Only a few days before, F. Sharpe, head of Phoenix Foundry, had been representing the low level of the rates as the hallmark of civic virtue and municipal thrift. His view was uncharacteristic of the manufacturing leadership and untimely expressed, and he was not elected.

The extension of the borough boundaries in 1888 and the creation of three new wards (Skerton, John o'Gaunt and Park) brought a new interest in municipal affairs and a new competitiveness to get on the Town Council and help shape the future of the borough which now seemed to have a future as well as a past. This competition was given additional edge by the participation of political parties on a far larger scale than at any time since the 1830's. The creation of Lancaster as a division of the

county in the Redistribution of Seats in 1885 had revived the activity of the Lancaster political parties and they were all set to try their talents at local elections.

The Liberals responded most quickly. Branches of the National League and the Peace Society were formed in 1889, new ward committees were organised, and in Park a new Ward Association sprang out of the old St. Anne's Ward Association. By 1891, Park, John o'Gaunt, Queen's and Skerton Ward Committees were all represented on the Liberal Council of 200. 187a

Conservatives followed more slowly. A local branch of the Primrose League had been founded in 1882, and was active from 1885, but it was not until 1895 that the Conservatives could match the ward committees of their opponents. The change was partly the response to the new political atmosphere of the enlarged Town Council and partly the result of the arrival of J.H. Bottomley, as Conservative and Unionist agent in 1893. Bottomley's first election was the School Board election of August 1893, in which the Church candidates came top of the poll. His second was a St. Anne's Ward election in November 1893, in which H.L. Storey, son of Sir Thomas, defeated the Trades Council candidate, George Jones.

Party organisation was encouraged by the burgeoning of the local newspaper press which aligned itself on party lines. The Lancaster Guardian was joined in March 1892 by the Lancaster Times which at once declared itself 'a People's Paper' and was Radical like the Guardian. It survived until 1897. Another Liberal paper called the Lancaster Comet appeared temporarily in 1893. On the other side, the Unionists had the Lancaster Observer from 1886, but it gave strong support for Williamson after 1900. The Lancaster Gazette folded up in 1894, but the same year the Lancaster Standard was launched as a popular Conservative newspaper. Heavily subsidised by the local Unionist leaders, it managed to carry on until 1909 and, after its demise, was replaced in turn by another Unionist newspaper, the Lancaster Mail, although this had to

close within two years, leaving the town with the Lancashire Daily Post as the only non-Williamsonite newspaper published locally.

Some of the new candidates after 1888 were themselves products of the party organisation. It might also be argued that some candidates had insufficient influence and money to win local elections without such help. In the past, however, in spite of help from the trade for 'wet' candidates, most Lancastrian tradesmen and shopkeepers had reached the town council without such aid.

The party machines themselves became an issue. In some wards, particularly Castle, there were no party organisations and ad hoc ward committees remained the order of the day. Liberals and Conservatives alike condemned the encroachment of national issues on ~~the~~ local politics. This was an implicit condemnation of the new power of the tradesmen who seemed to be aiming to take power out of the hands of the natural leaders. Conservatives, with weaker organisation, at first argued that not only were national politics largely irrelevant to local affairs, but also that party intervention led to the exclusion of talent. Edward Storey represented the views of many Lancaster Tories when he told the electors of John o'Gaunt Ward in 1889 that 'if men were chosen politically they would not get the best men'.^{187b} Nor were such views completely outmoded by the arrival of Bottomley to organise the Unionists in 1893.

The Liberals countered such arguments by urging the superiority of a party system to any other means of selection. James Crookall, chairman of the Park Ward Liberal Association, expressed the view that such organisations were better than the 'old system of committees called "council mongers".' The system might be preferable but many electors showed Unionist inspired reluctance in preferring the operators of the party to the older style candidates. When Crookall stood for St. Anne's in 1889 against Henry Simpson, a Liberal draper, who had been a Councillor for sixteen years, 'persistently holding his tongue and persistently doing nothing', it was he and not Crookall who was swept back to the Council with over twice as many votes as his nearest rival.¹⁸⁸

Similarly, John Turney (Liberal fellmonger) was unable to defeat Thomas Gladstone (Conservative baker and confectioner) in 1894 in a straight fight between the Skerton Ward Liberal Association and the ~~Pr~~imrose League.¹⁸⁹ Gladstone was defeated in the next contest in 1897, thanks partly to the break up of the Church Party in Skerton and to Lord Ashton's ^{med. published} decision to vote for Turney.¹⁹⁰

Direct appeal to party loyalty was very rare in local elections, even after 1888. Candidates were expected to state their aims in addresses to the electors which were published in the local press. Further elaboration took place at public meetings and during the canvass. The subjects of such addresses were invariably local. Specific proposals were rare; appeals for 'a progressive policy' or for 'strict economy' were far more frequent. Temperance and local option were the issues most likely to arouse party feeling and needed to be handled with care. Most candidates consequently avoided all but the vaguest statements on such matters. Safer ground was for Councillors already in the saddle to concentrate on the excellence of their record of attendance at the meetings of the Council and its committees, and their assiduous attention to their constituents' interests.

Revival of party politics after 1885 was stronger outside the Corporation than inside it. While the local ward associations and committees fought out their electoral battles with great enthusiasm, party spirit was usually put on one side in the Corporation. The Liberal ascendancy was so well assured, even after the Home Rule split, that Mayoral elections were never, and Aldermanic elections were seldom dictated by purely party interests. The political balance could not be taken for granted. In the Aldermanic elections of 1889 a disciplined party loyalty was exerted. In the following year, however, at the Aldermanic by election to replace Alderman Storey, the contest was between the Conservatives, Clark and Fenton, and only one Councillor voted for a Liberal. It was agreed that seniority must play a part in replenishing the Aldermanic Bench, although the Liberals maintained a majority there too. Nevertheless, the action of the Liberal Councillors in voting

for Clark in 1890 provoked a strong reaction from the ward associations, notably Skerton, where it was felt that the party had been betrayed.¹⁹¹ In 1893, ward association pressure was, according to the Observer, crucial in securing the succession of Gilchrist to Alderman Kitchen, when the other Liberal Aldermen would have preferred Bell.¹⁹² Similarly, strong popular support was demonstrated for Bowness when ostracised by the Council for rudeness to the Mayor on the question of Corporation contracts and preferential dealing, in December 1893.¹⁹³

Certain wards exhibited stronger party feelings than others. Castle and Queen's Wards had been noted for political apathy long before 1888. Party machines were developed there, but more slowly and with less enthusiasm than in other wards. Some surprise was occasioned as late as 1912 when Queen's was fought on straight party lines resulting in a resounding Liberal victory, thanks, it was reported, to the vigour of the party machine and the popularising effect of ward extensions in Willow Lane (near ^{Williamson's} Lune Mills).¹⁹⁴ Nevertheless, it was in St. Anne's and the new wards established after borough extension (Skerton, Park and John o'Gaunt in 1888, and Scotforth and Bulk in 1900) where the political associations flourished particularly on the Liberal side. Municipal elections were seen as rehearsals for the general elections, which in the Lancaster constituency after 1885 were always run very close. In addition it was the new wards which were growing fastest and whose problems had to be put to the Corporation. Thirdly the new wards provided opportunity for local distinction to new men who were part of the booming town of the 1890's not the nostalgic backward looking borough of the 1850's.

Municipal contests were avoided by settlement wherever possible. Ward associations in new wards from time to time took on the functions of the electorate at large though often they merely ratified the decisions of the Aldermen and notables. There were no municipal contests in 1891 and 1892 after the exhausting contests of the two previous years and on either side of a General Election. The Guardian called the announcement that there would be no contest in the municipal elections

of 1892 'a result most people will be heartily glad of'.¹⁹⁵ The Observer too disliked contested elections and 'strong party feeling'.¹⁹⁶ Both leading local newspapers felt that political argument for its own sake merely detracted talent from the common goal, which all the local press spelled out loud and clear – the good of the town.

The Liberal hegemony had always given the Conservatives a difficult task in acquiring seats on the Town Council. With the more political atmosphere in the town after 're enfranchisement' in 1885, Conservatives had tended to stand more frequently as Independents. This benefited them temporarily in the reaction to Liberal corruption, as revealed by the Molyneux Building Society scandal of 1894. In that year, three Independents were elected. Although they were disguised Unionists, Bottomley, the new Unionist agent, denied helping them. The Observer and Standard welcomed Independent successes, the former because it disliked 'party feeling' the latter because it recognised them as blows to the Liberals.

In the national pro-Unionist climate of the Boer War, party feeling probably militated against the Liberals. As early as 1897, in the aftermath of the unsuccessful Election Petition of 1895, the Guardian commented that it was more dangerous for Liberals than for Unionists to fight elections 'politically'.¹⁹⁷ Certainly a cautious compromise between muted Liberalism and Imperialism won back the parliamentary seat for the Liberals in 1900.

The closure of the Wagon Works in 1903 and the consequent laying off of hundreds of skilled workmen made the general trade depression in Lancashire of that year much worse for Lancaster. Property owners, many of whose houses had only been built in the 1890's were hit by the loss of rents and the fall in property values. Heavy corporate expenditure on an ambitious tramways scheme (opened in 1903)^{had been incurred,} and rates stood at a record 4s 0d in the pound. Renewed proposals for the construction of a large covered vegetable market behind the Kings Arms Hotel early in 1904 provoked an outburst of protest from the small tradesmen. A new Lancaster Ratepayers' Association was formed on 30 March. It was not

a revival of the 1881 organisation. This time the bias was Unionist. It condemned the heavy national and municipal debt, high taxation and rates and, in particular, the municipal tramways and the vegetable market proposals.¹⁹⁸ The association demanded a reduction in municipal spending on schools and 'undesirable projects', while advocating the 'generous municipal financing of private building rather than rehousing by Corporation works'. The Ratepayers' Association put forward two candidates in the elections of 1904, both Unionist professional men (Dr. Wingate Saul, Storey's son in law; and Dr. Baldwin, surgeons), but only the latter was successful.¹⁹⁹ The Association saw the town's rates rise by 1s od in the pound in the next two years and the tramways were not sold to private enterprise, but the vegetable market scheme was abandoned. When Baldwin resigned in 1907 he was happy to hand over to T.J. Wilkinson, tailor, the temperance and anti Labour candidate, on the grounds that the 'infusion of new blood' would 'reinvigorate the Council and keep it from getting stale'.²⁰⁰ Nothing more was heard of the Ratepayers' Association, although a non political property owners' association was formed in 1913.

Political feeling revived with the arrival of organised labour on the political scene. The Lancaster Trades Council, founded in 1891, in its campaign to advance the interests of labour sought representation on the Town Council. Hopes of influencing the Town Council indirectly soon faded, and, although its candidate, Edward Underhill (mechanic), was successful in the first school board elections of 1893, experience of its first municipal contest in the following autumn was not encouraging. The President of the Trades Council, George Jones (tailor) stood against Herbert Storey, eldest son of Sir Thomas, in the old family ward of St. Anne's. Not surprisingly, even with Liberal and Fabian support, Jones won little more than one third of the vote. In 1894, a branch of the I.L.P. was founded in Lancaster, but standing independently under the I.L.P. banner,²⁰¹ Jones did even worse than as a Lib Lab in the previous year. Defeat led to bitter recriminations between the I.L.P. and the Trades Council, and the latter quietly disintegrated in 1895.²⁰²

Labour contested no more municipal elections until after the second Trades Council had been set up in 1900, at the instigation of national leaders such as Tom Mann and J.R. Clynes.²⁰³ New attempts were made at Lib Lab co operation in the autumn elections of 1900 and 1902, and in the latter year, the Trades Council candidate - a Liberal rail clerk and co operator (Robert Parker)-was only narrowly defeated by a Conservative builder in St. Anne's Ward.²⁰⁴ Independence of the Liberals was finally decided upon when the Trades Council affiliated with the Labour Representation Committee in February 1905.²⁰⁵ Although the Trades Council President, Henry Jemmison, (a teetotal Congregationalist printer) was elected onto the Board of Guardians in the spring, Labour was unsuccessful in a municipal contest in 1905, ~~and~~ It was only after a nationally directed campaign for labour representation and union recognition in 1906 and the by election successes at Jarrow and Colne Valley in 1907, that Labour finally improved its vote sufficiently to get two Councillors elected in November 1907: Jemmison and J.S. Harford, a railway guard turned publican.²⁰⁶ The two seats captured were for John o'Gaunt and Bulk Wards respectively. Labour held on to these two seats uncontested until the First World War, but all efforts to make further gains in 1908, 1909 and 1911 were to no avail. Further Labour expansion could only be at the expense of Liberals. In Skerton a confrontation between Liberals and Labour developed at the elections of 1909 and 1911, when Liberal forces were reinforced by Lord Ashton's denunciation of the Labour candidate, a railway servant called William Wall. Wall came within a casting vote in 1911 when he won as many votes as the sitting Liberal fellmonger, and member of 200, J. Turney.²⁰⁷ The Liberals made accusations of 'an immoral Tory Labour coalition', *but* ~~and~~ though Skerton Conservatives may have voted for Wall, there is no evidence of any official co operation between the Conservatives and Labour. The result led to an anti I.L.P. backlash at Williamson's and a split between the Trades Council and the I.L.P.²⁰⁸ Thus weakened, the Labour bandwagon ground to a halt.

Nevertheless, the Liberals too were in difficulties in Lancaster on the eve of the Great War. The Liberals were divided on their attitudes to Labour and confused by Lord Ashton's inconsistent leadership.²⁰⁹ The party's association with the building trade brought in unpopularity when labour relations worsened in that industry in 1912.

By 1912-13, a new pattern at municipal elections was beginning to emerge. Only one ward was contested at each election, Park 1912 and Scotforth 1913, although each was followed by a by election, Queen's 1912 and Bulk 1913. These four elections saw the revival of party machinery of the old style, with traditional Conservative Liberal contests replacing the less political more parochial contests of Edwardian years. In these contests, I.L.P. Unionists supported Conservative candidates in defiance of the instructions of the Trades Council to take no part. For example, in Scotforth in 1913 William Wall spoke against J.C. Haydock, draper, the Liberal candidate, and was accused of spending money in support of R. Thompson, builder, the Conservative candidate.²¹⁰ In Bulk a straight Liberal Independent fight took place without any reference to Labour. The Journeymen Painters' Society offered the Independent candidate its support, but it was rejected.²¹¹ The victory of the three Independent or Conservative candidates at the local elections of 1913 represented a blow to Lancaster Liberalism on the eve of the Great War.

CHAPTER III The Town Council 1871-1915Footnotes.

1. Towns used for comparison with Lancaster i.e. Preston, Carlisle and Chester had similar degree of municipal activity, although its scope varied. Preston had municipal docks, while Chester had a municipal race course, but privately owned gas and water supplies. (see B.P.P. 1908, CVII, Cost of Living of the Working Classes, Cd. 514, 530 & 755).
2. For various efforts to include Lancaster among county boroughs see Lancaster Observer, 15 June 1888, 28 July 1905.
3. K.B. Smellie, A History of Local Government, (4th Edn. 1968), p. 84.
4. Lancaster Guardian, 24 August 1878.
5. Lancaster City Library, PT 8536.
6. Lancaster Guardian, 31 October 1885;
Lancaster Observer, 25 March 1892.
7. Lancaster Observer, 27 March 1896.
8. Ibid., 6 May 1904.
9. Lancaster City Library, Borough Minutes, MOH's Annual Reports.
10. Lancaster Observer, 4 August 1893.
11. Ibid., 20 March 1903.
12. Ibid., 11 October 1912.
13. Ed. J.L. Spencer, The Royal Grammar School Lancaster 1469 1969,
(Edinburgh, 1969).
14. Lancaster Guardian, 1 February 1879.
15. Ibid., 3 May 1879.
16. Ibid., 10 May 1879.
17. Lancaster City Library, Corporation Accounts.
18. Lancaster Observer, 16 January 1903.
19. Lancaster City Library, Borough Minutes.
20. Lancaster Observer, 30 March 1906.
21. Ibid., 21 June 1889.
22. Ibid., 3 May 1889.
23. Ibid., 2 March 1894.
24. Ibid., 1 May 1896.

25. B.P.P. 1872, LXVI Pt. II, Population (England and Wales) Cd. 435, p 409.
 B.P.P. 1883, LXXIX, Population Census of England and Wales, Cd. 471.
 B.P.P. 1893-4, CIV, Population (Census of England and Wales), Cd. 207, p. 171.
 B.P.P. 1902, CXIX, Population (England and Wales), Cd. 433, p. 27.
 B.P.P. 1912-13, CXIII, Population (England and Wales), Cd. 135, p. 121.
26. Lancaster Borough Minutes.
27. Ibid., 26 March 1891.
28. Ibid., 29 May 1891.
29. Ibid., 1 & 15 December 1893.
30. Lancaster Observer, 26 March 1897.
31. Ibid., 29 March and 4 April 1901.
32. Ibid., 24 March 1905.
33. Ibid., 7 April 1905.
34. Ibid., 1 July 1910.
35. Chester Council had erected twelve 4 roomed workmen's cottages by 1906. Exeter completed its first council housing scheme in 1907 with cottages leased at 4s 9d a week (see R. Newton p. 308). Carlisle Council had built two storeyed cottage flats, but in the 1906 Report they were found to be rarely fully occupied. See B.P.P. 1908, CVIII, Cost of Living of the Working Classes, Cd. 514, 530. Both Chester and Carlisle had higher death rates than Lancaster in 1906 (18.0 and 15.4 compared to 12.6), while the birth rate was also higher (27.2 and 25.2 compared to 23.4). Infantile mortality was 154 per thousand births in Chester, 138 in Lancaster and 130 in Carlisle. Lancaster had the same relation as to other smaller towns as it had with Chester and Carlisle both a lower birth rate and death rate in 1906.
36. Lancaster Observer, 27 April 1894; Huntington, chairman of the Water Committee, described his committee as 'by far the most valuable milking cow the Corporation had'.
37. E. Phillips, 'New Ideas from an Old City', The Municipal Journal, VIII, 357, 1 December 1899. (Lancaster City Reference Library, PT 8496).
38. Lancaster Corporation Accounts: By 1913-14 they stood at 5s 6d c.f. lowest in Lancs. & England: Blackpool and Bournemouth 5s. Highest in Lancs.: Wigan 9s $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Highest in England: West Ham 11s 3d. See Lancaster Observer, 5 December 1913.
39. Ibid., 28 February 1912.
40. Ibid., 28 June 1913.
41. Lancaster Guardian, 5 August 1899.
42. Lancaster Observer, 31 March 1904.
43. c.f. The contemporary expert on Lancaster housing of this period describes it as 'sturdy'; see J.B. Cullingworth, Housing in Transition (1963), p. 13.
44. Lancaster Guardian, 28 January 1911.

45. Lancaster Observer, 2 April 1896.
46. Ibid., 26 November 1897.
47. Conclusions based on 10% sample of householders in four (Queen's, Park, John O' Gaunt and Scotforth) out of the eight wards in Lancaster Borough Ratebooks for 1901.
48. Conclusions based on study of all eight wards for 1911: Skerton, Bulk, Castle, St. Anne's, John O'Gaunt, Park, Queen's and Scotforth.
49. Lancaster Observer, 28 March 1913.
50. Ibid., 27 June 1913.
51. Ibid., 18 July 1913.
52. Ibid., 18 September 1908.
53. Labour News, 11 November 1911.
54. Lancaster City Library, Borough Minutes.
55. Lancaster City Library, PT 8536.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., BM 18.
58. E.P. Hennock, in Ed. H. J. Dyos, The Study of Urban History, op. cit., p 314.
59. Lancaster City Library, N.C.O.
60. Ibid., 1908.
61. E. Cann Hughes, The Rolls of the Freemen of the Borough of Lancaster, op. cit.
62. B. Keith Lucas, op. cit., pp. 73 5.
63. G.W. Jones, Borough Politics (1969), p. 363.
E.P. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons (1973), p. 12.
64. Including its most famous sons; for Owen's remonstrations see Lancaster Gazette, 27 October 1866.
65. Lancaster Guardian, 26 August 1871.
66. Ibid., 9 October 1875.
67. Ibid., 1 February 1879.
68. Ibid., 18 October 1884.
69. Ibid., 25 January 1873.
70. See satirical poem by 'Crocodile' in: Lancaster Observer, 1 October 1886.
71. Lancaster Observer, 26 October 1900.
72. Ibid., 26 January 1894.
73. Lancaster Guardian, 4 November 1871.
74. Lancaster Observer, 26 October 1900.

75. Ibid., 31 October 1890; see also Robert Thompson's claim in 1907 elections, ibid. 18 October 1907.

76. Ibid., 14 September 1894.

77. Those councillors with 15 years (or more) experience.

	% Birmingham	% Leeds	% Lancaster
1872	14	6	25 (1870)
1892	27	17	38 (1889)
1912	18	13	31 (1910)

see E.P. Hennock, op. cit., p. 55.

78. G.I. Jones, op. cit., p. 159.

79. R. Newton, op. cit., Appendix I, pp. 331-4;
P. Barrett & Co., General and Commercial Directory of Preston 1882

also for 1901; Gover's Liverpool Directory (Liverpool, 1881)

79b Compare Birmingham 6% in 1902, Leeds 5% in 1902; see E.P. Hennock, op. cit.

80. The spread of estates seems not dissimilar from that indicated by pp 51, 271.
R. Newton for Exeter; op. cit., p. 279.

81. Compare similar success of newcomers in Exeter; ibid., p. 189.

82. Lancaster National Schools included: Green Ayre (1817 moved to St. Leonardgate 1851), High St., St. Anne's (1853), St. Thomas' (1843), St. Luke's (1833), Christchurch (1873), St. Mary's and St. Paul's Scotforth (1879), also British School, Skerton. Wesleyan Schhols: Sulyard St. (opened 1905), Friends' School (1690). Roman Catholic Schools included St. Peter's (1806), R.J. Charity (1820), St. Joseph's Skerton (1896), Council Schools: Skerton (1891), Marsh (1896), Greaves (1907), Bowerham and Dallas Road.

83. A.L. Murray, The Royal Grammar School, Lancaster: A History (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 136-142.

84. Ed. J.L. Spencer, The Royal Grammar School, Lancaster 1469-1969, (Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 12-13.

85. Lancaster City Library, N.C.O., J.C. Moon. 1887.

86. Ed. J.L. Spencer, op. cit., p. 18.

87. 1st 'Washy' reunion, 1893, thereafter held periodically e.g. 1908 visit to Bailrigg, see Lancaster Observer, 7 August 1908.

88. A free library was successfully resisted until 1895; a School Board until 1896.

89. A minority which combined with the notables outside the Council in sending their children to schools such as Rugby, Shrewsbury and Uppingham. Ackworth, the Quaker boarding school had had strong links with Lancaster in the early nineteenth century, but later on proved less attractive than the Lancaster Friends' School, see:
Ed. J.H. Barker, The Centenary of Ackworth School (1879), p. 140-1.

90. Morecambe (U.D.): 1881, 3,931; 1891, 6500; 1901, 11,798.

91. For careers see entries in D.N.B.

92. The Athenaeum lasted from 1859 to 1894; its penny readings were its most successful venture. The Philosophical Society founded in 188 was wound up in 1893. Occasional lectures on scientific or pseudo scientific subjects attracted the most attention (see Lancaster Guardian 31 January 1880). Cambridge University Extension Lectures were begun in 190. The N.S.A. set up a branch in 1910.
93. They described their early trials in public speeches on their occasional visits to their native town. Others reiterated them in their absence.
94. The leading antiquarians were the Town Clerks, W.O. Roper and T. Cann Hughes, both authorities on local mediaeval history.
95. Lancaster Guardian, 1 November 1873.
96. Lavish mayors received high praise from the local press viz. Lancaster Gazette, 7 November 1868.
- 97.
98. Ibid., 12 November 1870 & 11 November 1871.
99. Ibid., 12 November 1881.
100. Ibid., 27 October 1883.
101. Ibid., 4 November 1893.
102. Ibid., 6 October 1894.
103. Similarly in Leeds the 1890's and 1900's saw a succession of mayors chosen for background and wealth see E.P. Hennock, op. cit., pp. 262-5.
104. Ibid., 30 September 1899.
105. Ibid., 13 October 1900.
106. Lancaster Observer, 2 November 1900.
107. Lancaster Guardian, 30 September & 7 October 1899.
108. C.F.G. Masterman, How England is Governed, (1921), pp. 71-3.
109. Lancaster Standard, 11 October 1907.
110. Lancaster Guardian, 3 October 1908.
111. Lancaster City Library, N.C.O., 1917.
112. Lancaster Guardian, 5 November 1910.
113. 16.4% of the town's adult males were employed in construction and decoration in 1871. By 1901 the proportion was 14%.
114. c.f. Exeter where the Town Council was dominated by a builder in the 1840's and 1850's see: R. Newton, op. cit., pp. 49-50.
115. In 1911 the building interest on Lancaster Town Council stood at eight (25%) c.f. 6% at Exeter, 2.5% at Birmingham, see: R. Newton, op. cit., p. 331, E.P. Hennock, op. cit., p. 50.

116. Over the whole period 1871-1915 the 'drink interest' only amounted 4.5% of entrants to Lancaster Town Council. In 1901 the drink interest amounted to two, or 6.3% of the Council; c.f. 1.4% in Birmingham (1902), 16.9% in Leeds (1902), 13.3% in Exeter (1899). See, E.P. Hennock, pp. 34 5 and R. Newton, p. 333.
117. Annual Reports of Lancaster Railway Carriage and Wagon Company., Lancaster Guardian, 11 June 1897 and 10 June 1899 (Shakleford elected director in 1897), (Roper elected director in 1899).
118. Lancaster Observer, 4 March 1904.
119. Ibid., 16 July 1897: formation of new company.
120. E.P. Hennock, op. cit., p. 268.
121. Lancaster City Library, N.C.O., May 1926.
122. Ibid., April 1913.
123. Ibid., February 1906.
124. Ibid., May 1925.
125. Ibid., September 1908.
121. Numbers of professional men derived from occupations of males aged 20 (upwards in Censuses 1841-71 and Directories for 1886 (P. Barrett), 1896 (W.J. Cook), 1901 (W.J. Cook) and 1912 (T. Bulmer), Population figures derived from Censuses 1841-71, 1901 & 1911, and MOH's corrected estimates for 1886 and 1896 (see Lancaster Observer, 21 April 1899).
122. R. Newton, op. cit., pp. 328-35 and E.P. Hennock, op. cit., pp. 45, 206.
123. Ibid., pp. 267-70; E.S. Griffith, Modern Development of City Environments, II, App. 13; G.W. Jones, op. cit., p. 106.
124. E.P. Hennock, ⁱⁿ The Study of Urban History; also K. Richardson, Twentieth Century Coventry (1972), p. 182 et seq. In 1901 there were no less than 5 doctors and 2 solicitors on Coventry's Town Council.
125. Unlike in Leeds, Hennock p. 267-8. In Lancaster the Liberals employed professional party agents from 1886, the Unionists from 1895.
126. W.J. Reader, Professional Men (1966), see also H.J. Perkin, Origins of Modern English Society (1969), p. 429.
127. e.g. families of Clark, Sharp, Roper, Swainson, Hall (medical and legal), Oglethorpe, Gibson. See:
A. Pearson, The Doings of A Country Solicitor (Kendal, 1947), *passim*.
128. See R. Newton, Victorian Exeter (Lancaster, 1968) and C. Fenby, The Other Oxford (1970) p. 20 et seq.
129. Lancaster City Library, loc. cit. Scrap book of obituaries.
130. Partly the result of the growing institutionalisation of social life and the Victorian love of societies and committees.

131. e.g. Lawrence Holden (1826-1910), 1851: agent for Fitzgerald estates at Thurnham and Bulk, co-founder of the Wagon Works. Coroner for Hundred of Lonsdale, Registrar of the County Court (1895-1908), Conservative Party agent at General Elections 1868, 1880, 1885 & 1886. Secretary of Gas Consumers' Association, Governor of L.R.G.S.
- William Swainson (1841-1928), first clerk to the School Attendance Committee, Clerk to the Burial Board, Hon. Sec. to the Lancaster Royal Infirmary, Sec. to the Lancaster Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Churchwarden of St. Thomas'.
- W.O. Roper (1856-1908), Deputy Town Clerk 1883-92, Town Clerk 1892-96, Secretary of Storey Bros., 1896-1908. Member of committees of Infirmary and Royal Albert Asylum, Clerk to Governors of L.R.G.S., Member of Committee of Mechanics' Institute, co founder of the Lancaster Philosophical Society, F.S.A., and author of 'Materials for a History of the Church of Lancaster.
132. See H.J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb (Leicester, 1961).
G. & W. Grossmith, The Diary of a Nobody, (Bristol, 1892).
133. A. Pearson, op. cit , pp. 26, 61, 65.
134. Wards fought by professional men 1870-1914:
Castle: J.E. Oglethorpe 1899
Park: Dr. F. Hall 1893-5 (defeated)
Queens: W.T. Sharp 1879-95 (contests 1879 & 90)
 E.G. Clark 1895-1907 & 1910 13
John O'Gaunt: R.I. Hall 1889-1906
Bulk: Dr. Baldwin 1904-06
St. Anne's: Dr. W. Hall 1873-9 (refused to canvass and lost)
 Dr. W.C. Hamilton 1897-1909 (unopposed).
- J. Williamson I died in 1879, Ald. John Greg in 1882 and Ald. Sir. Thomas Storey retired in 1890.
135. Contest elections often became arguments centred round the number of attendances scored by the retiring councillor.
136. R.V. Clements, Local Notables and the City Council (1969).
Clements found that in contemporary Bristol many notables view the Town Council as a step on the ladder of social status, and, for them, a step not up but down.
137. For religious censuses of 1851 and 1903 see Appendix C6, p. 645.
138. In Preston five new Anglican churches were built between 1870 and 1900; in Lancaster two (St. Paul's, Scotforth 1874 and St. George's, Marsh (1898).
See N. Pewsner, The Buildings of England: North Lancashire (1969), pp. 199-203.
139. Lancaster Observer, 25 May 1906.
140. Lancaster City Library, N.C.O., 1913.
141. Lancaster Guardian, 24 July 1875; J.C. Moon's Obituary, N.C.O., 1887.
142. Lancaster City Library, N.C.O., 1907.
143. Lancaster Observer, 22 April 1887 et seq.

144. Thanks to Rev. John Bone (Vicar 1873-1906) a 'broad Churchman', who sought harmonious relations with Free Church ministers, *J.C.C.* June 1906.
145. Lancaster Observer, 8 October 1909.
146. Thomas Whiteside, son of a Lancaster corn dealer became Roman Catholic Bishop of Liverpool in 1894.
147. William Smith joined the Unionists at the election and urged his co religionists to vote with him on the education issue. He had already resigned as Alderman.
148. The growth of methodism in the period 1871-1914 may be evidenced by its building programme: Wesleyan, Sulyard St. Chapel 1874, (schools rebuilt 1893 and 1877), Greaves (1909), Owen Road, Skerton (1910) also March Mission Chapel 1887, Westham St. Mission (1888); see E.H. Lowe, Methodism in Lancaster (Lancaster City Library MS 1956).
149. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, CXXX, 1907, pp. 892-4 also Methodist Times, 18 March 1909.
150. Untrue of Liverpool where sectarian politics was subordinate to ethnic differences, and Nonconformity was weak; see I. Sellars, 'Nonconformist Attitudes in Later Nineteenth Century Liverpool', Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. & Chesh., 114, 1962, 215-39.
151. P.R.O., BT 31/14612/12645; also Lancaster Guardian, 29 June 1878.
152. A. Bailey, Rev. H.W. Smith of Lancaster (Manchester, 1908) pp. 83-4.
153. R.J. Dale, The Laws of Christ for Common Life (1884), p. 201.
154. Lancaster Observer, 16 April 1886.
155. Lancaster Guardian, 1 December 1889 and Lancaster Observer, 16 January 1891.
156. Ibid., 8 June 1894.
157. Ibid., 17 November 1893.
158. Ibid., 8 & 15 December 1893.
159. Ibid., 27 April 1894.
160. Ibid., 10 August 1894.
161. Ibid., 21 & 28 July 1893.
162. Ibid., 3 December 1897.
163. Ibid., 26 October 1900.
164. A. Bailey, op. cit.
165. Lancaster Observer, 18 October 1907.
- 166.A. Ibid., 29 March 1901.
- 166.B. In Blackburn tradesmen made up a constant 30% of local freemasons through the nineteenth century, see

- J. Rostron, History of the Lodge of Fidelity No. 269 (Blackburn, 1914).
167. Ibid., 4 November 1881 and Lancaster Guardian, 5 November 1881.
168. Ibid., 8 November 1879.
169. D.P. Hennock, op. cit.
170. Ibid., p. 217. Conservative councillors benefitted both in Lancaster and Leeds from the inadequacies of Gladstone's first ministry, but in both places the revival was short lived.
171. Lancaster Guardian, 4 November 1871.
172. Ibid., 7 November 1874.
173. Ibid., 18 October 1879.
174. Ibid., 8 November 1879.
175. Lancaster Observer, 6 May 1881.
176. Lancaster Guardian, 24 September 1881.
177. Lancaster City Library, N.C.O., John Kitchen.
178. Lancaster Guardian, 30 September 1882.
179. Lancaster City Library, Lancaster Corporation Accounts.
180. Lancaster Observer, 9 November 1888.
181. Ibid., 31 October & 7 November 1890.
182. Ibid., 25 October 1889.
183. Ibid., 8 November 1889.
184. Ibid., 19 October 1894.
185. Ibid., 6 November 1897.
186. Ibid., 3 October 1890.
- 187.A. In larger towns, liberal ward clubs dated back as far as the 1860's, although their most vigorous growth took place from the late 1880's; see: J.R. Vincent, The Formation of the Liberal Party 1857-68 (1966) p. 87.
- 187.B. Ibid., 10 November 1893.
188. Ibid., 15 December 1893.
189. Ibid., 22 November 1912.
190. Lancaster Guardian, 29 October 1892.
191. Lancaster Observer, 26 October 1894.
192. Lancaster Guardian, 6 November 1897.
193. Lancaster Observer, 31 March 1904.
194. Ibid., 4 November 1904.

- 195. Ibid., 1 November 1907.
- 196. Ibid., 25 February 1894.
- 197. Lancaster Standard, 16 August 1895.
- 198. Lancaster Observer, 14 September 1900.
- 199. Ibid., 7 November 1902.
- 200. Ibid., 24 March 1905.
- 201. Ibid., 8 November 1907.
- 202. Ibid., 3 November 1911.
- 203. Manchester Guardian, 14 & 15 November 1911. Lancaster Observer, 12 January 1912.
- 204. Lancs. C.R.O., DDX 909, Peel MSS. I. 168-9.
- 205. Lancaster Observer, 7 November 1913.
- 206. Ibid., 14 November 1913.

CHAPTER IVSOCIAL DEFECTS OF THE LANCASTRIAN 1870 to 1914i. Trades Unions

The trade union movement in Lancaster received great encouragement from the national events of the late 1860's and early 1870's. The foundation of the T.U.C. in 1868, the favourable findings of the Royal Commission and the Trade Union Act of 1871 heralded a new attitude towards unionism by the more progressive members of the upper and middle classes, although the debate about the Criminal Law Amendment Act showed the limits of union acceptance.¹ Unionism was however weaker in Lancaster than elsewhere in Lancashire. The lack of cotton or coal deprived the town of two elements which were of the first importance regionally. There were no large union branches in the town, and the great bulk of workers were unorganised.² Lancaster's small craft unionism continued in fits and starts according to the success of the union and the prosperity of the times. In general the mid 1870's saw an increase in membership. By 1877 there were 63 members of the Cabinet and Chairmakers, 58 of the Cotton Spinners, 225 'in' members of the Stonemasons, 116 of the General Union of Carpenters and Joiners.³ In 1877 a branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors was formed in Lancaster.⁴ Most of these groups had received wage increases or reduction of hours or both in the boom of 1871-3, although most were paid less than the norm for South Lancashire.

The first effect of depression on wages was felt in 1878. It was the last year in which there was an attempt at a wage increase.⁵ The cabinetmakers wages were reduced from 30s to 27s and their hours lengthened from 54 to 56½. Lancaster employers were particularly prompt in this action.⁶ Elsewhere wage concessions were still being gained by cabinetmakers in 1878. Lancaster rates were now lower than those of the region, comparable with other northern provincial centres, ~~but~~ still better than many towns of the south and east such as Ipswich (23s). With the first sign of depressed conditions, Lancaster cabinetmakers were back in the second division as far as wages were concerned. No strike action was reported.

1878 was a year of major defeat for cotton workers throughout the weaving belt of north east Lancashire. An employers' decision in March to reduce wages by ten per cent was met by a nine week strike by 300,000 workers and serious riots broke out at Blackburn.⁷ Lancaster was at first unaffected, and it was not until after sixty five rioters had been sentenced to between twelve and fifteen months' imprisonment with hard labour, that wages were also reduced in cotton mills in Lancaster, and that Lancaster cotton workers came out on strike.⁸ The weavers at Storey's led the way on 17 July, followed by the piecers at Williamson's on the next day.⁹ The Lancaster strike was short lived and of equally little effect. In September 1879 Williamson's and Storey's reduced wages by a further 5%.¹⁰

The economic situation worsened in the latter half of the year. By the end of August 1878 the Preston cotton mills were on half time and by November this was the rule in Lancaster as well.¹¹ The building trades and Waring and Gillow's also reduced their wages. Vagrancy became a problem in the town, and a soup kitchen was opened in the New Year.¹²

The Wagon Works management decided to increase hours from 54 to 59½ from 1 January 1879. The decision was a tactical mistake, as it was at once recognised as a reversal of the engineers' hard won nine hour day.¹³ The strike committee pointed out that the Lancaster Wagon Company had been one of the last firms in the Kingdom to accept the nine hours' system and was now the first to try 'to throw them into slavery again'. Carriage makers' solidarity was proclaimed. This was significant in that for the first time a major Lancaster strike was putting workers' solidarity before communal loyalty. Those four or five hundred who struck were much criticised on those grounds:

They profess much regret to absent themselves and yet practically show that they think much more of their clubs and unions than those who have done so much for them. 14

Many of the strikers were men from other towns with little interest in a concept of 'united Lancaster'. Critics in the press also pointed out that their strike funds were biased in favour of the skilled workers, and that single engineers could expect bigger hand-outs from the strike fund than married labourers who were unable to work as a result of the

strike, but who were ineligible for union membership because they were unskilled. In this way a major weakness in craft unionism was exploited by its opponents.

The strike at the Wagon Works and Pheonix Foundry ended after three weeks and the loss of £2,000 in wages, in a compromise. The directors offered 56½ hours rather than the original 59. The Guardian which had already shown its hostility to strikes now appealed to the employers for a conciliatory offer. The editor urged that a decrease in wages be substituted for an increase in hours as the Society men 'could not be allowed to continue as members of their societies if they accepted an increase in hours'. Not only were they 'the pick of the workmen' but they had proved themselves 'as a fine a body of skilled workmen and a body as loyal to the interests of their employers, as can be found in all England'. In spite of this surprising support for the labour aristocrats by the Guardian, the compromise first advocated by the directors was adhered to, and was accepted as general policy by the master coach builders in Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and other large centres of the industry. In Lancaster, this increase in hours for all workmen was accompanied by a scale of wage reductions from 1s to 2s per week.¹⁵

Just as the strike at the Wagon Works was drawing to a close, the newly formed Lancaster Tailors went on strike against a new 'log' which the men claimed would reduce their wages by 30 to 40% from about 30s to about 20s.

The effect of the depression of 1879 can be also seen on union membership. The Lancaster Cotton Spinners fell from 58 in 1877 to 34 in 1879.¹⁶ Figures for other societies are lacking, but it is evident from figures available for the mid 80's that many Lancaster societies had lost all the gains made in membership in the 1870's. The Stonemasons fell from the massive 225 in 1877 to 89 in 1885. The Lancaster branch of the General Union of Carpenters and Joiners fell from 116 to 30 by 1886 (in 1885 to 1886 ~~the~~ local society paid £16 18s 4d in unemployment benefit)¹⁷ and the branch of the Amalgamated Society and the new model union formed

in London in 1860 fared little better.

The second trough of the Great Depression hit Lancaster in 1885 and 1886 and was marked, like the first, by wage reductions. As in 1879, the most vigorous response was at the Wagon Works. Reductions of wages for unskilled workers had already been made when further all round reductions were rumoured in March 1886. A nine day token strike was made by 114 smiths and their apprentices.¹⁸ When the exact proposals were announced in June, they amounted to 4 and 5% reductions in the wages of all workers earning 20s and over. A strike committee was instantly formed, but when the manager assured the men that piecework departments were not affected¹⁹ men began to return to work. By the first week in July, many had returned, and, on the 10th, the strike was formally called off and its failure admitted.²⁰ By playing off society against society and skilled against unskilled, the Wagon Works maintained a wages policy very favourable to the firm.

Refusal to recognise society representatives in wage bargaining and avoidance of union rules on piecework and sub-contracting were important means by which Lancaster firms such as the Wagon Works and Gillow's made themselves profitable. The case of Gillow's was raised by the Secretary of the West End Cabinetmakers' Association, before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweated Industries in 1888.²¹ Gillow's was accused of sub-contracting to avoid paying full rates. The firm denied the truth of the accusation in a letter to the Daily Telegraph, except in the cases of highly specialised work or cheap deal furniture 'for the use of servants'.

The battle for the recognition of union membership in the skilled trades had, however, been largely won by the 1880's. Even in the semi-skilled ranks of the building trade much progress had been made. By 1887, for example, eleven out of twelve master house painters were reported as allowing their employees to be members of the Operative House Painters' Society, and a campaign was launched in April of that year to obtain recognition for the rest.²²

With the trade revival of 1887 to 1889 union membership picked up again and preparations for industrial action in favour of wage increases were made. Some societies' membership revived before 1889 (e.g. Carpenters and Joiners: 1888, 31; 1889, 51).²³ By 1890 the Tailors had grown from 53 in 1886 to 72.²⁴ But many societies did not revive till 1891 or 1892 (e.g. Stonemasons and Ironfounders), and some societies' membership hardly grew at all (e.g. Painters and Decorators, Plumbers and Cotton Spinners).²⁵

Some new societies were formed, like the Lancaster branch of the Cabinet Makers' Association in 1890 with 21 members, but this merely attracted support from the Amalgamated Union of Cabinetmakers in the town, in the short run.²⁶ Among the woodworkers, the Amalgamated Society overtook the remnants of the General Union in 1890. Between them in 1892 they had 119 members.

Wages in the building trade were among the first to revive in Lancaster in the recovery of 1887-90. As a result of the most intense building activity in the town since the years 1872-77, in 1889, the Lancaster Stonemasons put in a demand for an increase in wages and a decrease in hours. The resulting compromise gave them an extra $\frac{1}{2}$ d an hour (8d), but the same number of hours ($49\frac{1}{2}$), while masons' labourers and quarrymen received advances of 1s a week.²⁷ The hours were those of the larger centres in the North West, but although the 8d rate put Lancaster Stonemasons on a level with those of Chester, and subsequently Carlisle as well, they still lagged behind Liverpool, Manchester and Preston where stonemasons were earning 9d by 1892.²⁸

The carpenters and joiners followed the success of the stonemasons, in January 1890, by demanding $7\frac{1}{2}$ d per hour - an increase of $\frac{1}{2}$ d and $1\frac{1}{2}$ d respectively.²⁹ They were anxious not to lose ground to the masons as they explained in the correspondence columns of the local press. The joiners demanded a complete code of working rules, some of which, in the form of special arrangements for out work and wet weather work, were granted. On the basic rate, however, the employers only conceded 1d, putting Lancaster joiners up to $6\frac{1}{2}$ d per hour. In 1892, however, a further

had was conceded, putting Lancaster on a level with Carlisle but well below the larger north western towns (8d to 8½d). Not only were Lancaster rates less, but hours were longer too, still 55½ a week.³⁰

The lead given by the building yards was followed first by the cotton mills, then by the Wagon Works and Gillow's. The strike at White Cross Mill on 9 March 1890 by eighty boys was a disaster.³¹ Storey's made no attempt to negotiate and, although most of the strikers had returned to work the following day, nearly half were discharged. North Lancashire cotton wage rates remained well below those of South Lancashire.³²

On 11 May the labourers at the Wagon Works who had suffered so much from wage reductions in 1884-86, brought work to a standstill. The men demanded a 2s increase with overtime at time and a quarter. After eight days they accepted the manager's original offer of 1s (or 18s to 20s per week), without any overtime increase.³³

In June 1890 the cabinetmakers and upholsterers at Gillow's also put in a demand for a wage increase. Their demands for a 5% increase for the cabinetmakers and 1s a week for the upholsterers and a general reduction in hours from 56½ to 55½, were accepted by the chairman, S.J. Harris, on his return from holiday at the end of the month.³⁴ Like the joiners, the cabinetmakers improved their position only in comparison with smaller provincial centres and not with the larger towns of the North West such as Preston or Barrow. Hours at 55½ a week remained among the longest in the North of England.³⁵

Even the borough police felt the ^{dis}advantage of Lancaster's low wage position with respect to other north western towns. In August 1890, they too filed a petition for increased wages, arguing that such different towns as Barrow, Blackpool and Clitheroe all paid higher rates to their constables and sergeants than Lancaster Corporation.³⁶

Meanwhile the success of the London Dock Strike of 1889 and the upsurge of the 'new' unionism of the unskilled did not go unnoticed in Lancaster.³⁷ 1890 saw an attempt in the town to organise the workers at a coconut matting mill. About seventy workers joined the Hat Weavers' Union, but when this news reached the ears of the owner, S.J. Sly, the

men were required to renounce their membership in the form of a written guarantee.³⁸ The dozen or so who refused were dismissed, and the rest were rewarded by an increase of piece rates by 5 to 7½%. The union organiser, J.E. Williams, fought back. He accused Sly both of paying the lowest wages in the county, and of employing children under age. Williams maintained that Sly was informed by telephone from the County Hotel, whenever a factory inspector arrived in the town. Williams published those allegations in a pamphlet entitled Coercion and Eviction, while Sly replied with handbills from 'The Workpeople of Albion Mills'.³⁹ The handbills quoted hostility of local workers to 'foreigners' in other areas and rejected the principle of union organisation:

We believe in combinations, but only when a master becomes a tyrant or wishes to do any injustice.

Williams was forced to abandon his campaign. Sly received a black marble presentation clock from his workers and reaffirmed his hostility to unions:

There is no doubt of this that the interests of the master and men are bound together by the very closest ties and that their interests are inseparable and what affects one must of necessity affect the other for good or the reverse.

He further promised to keep his mill running full time, in spite of competition from 'foreign goods and prison labour'.⁴⁰ The failure of the Mat Weavers in Lancaster in 1890 was matched by failures of the dockers and other 'new' unions elsewhere in the country.⁴¹ The difference was that the counter attack had come in Lancaster even before the general unions had made a major impact on the town.

Whereas 1887 to 1890 had been years of trade revival and prosperity, a 'backward movement' set in at the end of 1890 and became increasingly intense in the years 1891-3. Unemployment in the trade societies which submitted their reports to the Board of Trade climbed from 1.75% in January 1890 to 3.05% in January 1891 and 4.337% in January 1892. By January 1893 it had reached a high figure, considering that the returns were based on the employment of skilled workmen, but still lower than the peak of 13.3% in January 1886. The number of strikes fell from 1,028 in 1890, to 893 in 1891 and 692 in 1892. The success of the strikers did not

markedly decline. In 1890 about 60% recorded strikes were partially or completely successful, while in 1891 and 1892 the figures were respectively 61.5% and 59.5% (of strikes), and 62.5% and 68.5% (of persons on strike).⁴²

In north Lancashire, cotton workers were not so successful as other craft unions. In 1890, five strikes were recorded for Preston, three of which were successful or partially successful, In 1891, however, only two out of six strikes achieved their ends. Only one strike was recorded for Lancaster in 1891, that of the iron moulders who struck for an advance of 2s per week on 5th December. The strike lasted two weeks, and the men returned to work when they were offered an advance of 1s and the reduction of an hour. In the following July, 139 carpenters and joiners of fourteen establishments were involved in a ten week strike for an increase of $\frac{3}{4}$ d an hour, shorter hours and extra overtime pay. The strike was well supported and costly. In the end, the employers conceded $\frac{1}{2}$ d an hour and an improved code of working rules. The Trades Council blamed the failure to achieve a complete victory on a large number of non-unionists. Only 53 of the 139 were members of a union, but the vast bulk of the financial support for the strike also came from non-union sources.⁴³

Total United Kingdom trade union membership rose to $1\frac{1}{2}$ million in 1892.⁴⁴ The new unions lost support as quickly as they had gained it, in the wake of the successful strikes of 1889, but the older unions retained much of their 200,000 increase. What the Webbs called the 'spiritual rebirth' of the older craft unions affected the localities in the form of trades councils, formed to provide stronger links between different societies in the same town or district. Liverpool's Trades Council dated back to 1848, Manchester and Salford's to 1866, Preston's to 1867, Barrow's to 1874. In the case of the less important industrial centres, many did not have Trades Councils until the growth of the new unionism at the end of the 1880's and the demand for representation on school boards and town councils in the 1890's. York's was formed in

1890, Carlisle's in 1891, Chester's in 1894. Preston's was recognised in 1893.⁴⁵

The first Lancaster Trades Council was formed in July 1891. Its main aim was political, 'to protect the interests of labour in and out of Parliament'. Eight societies were represented on the provisional committee: Painters and Decorators, Tailors, Coachmakers, Joiners (General Union and Amalgamated Union), Stonemasons, Plumbers and Railway Servants. A fee of 2d per member was to be levied on each society to pay the running costs of the council.⁴⁶ Concerned to establish shorter working hours and union rates in all Lancaster workshops and factories and supported by the local Co-operative Society,⁴⁷ the council at first set its sights on securing union rates and hours in corporation contracts. The questionnaires sent out to municipal candidates were, however, largely ignored. Only six elected councillors replied and none gave unequivocal support.⁴⁸ The Trades Council's main problem was the smallness of its membership. Its eight original member societies had only an aggregate of about five hundred trade unionists or about 1.6% of the population (c.f. Lancashire 8.6% or U.K. 4.0%).⁴⁹

In its first year the Lancaster Trades Council showed considerable energy in various directions. It had some success in its promotion of new unionism in Lancaster, in the setting up of a branch of the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' in May 1892,⁵⁰ and in support of local measures for early morning street lighting and a public library for Lancaster.⁵² Its intervention in local politics was very timid. The Trades Council's support for James Williamson, the Liberal candidate, at the General Election of 1892 was secured with only the minimum of promises.⁵³

The problem remained one of membership. Although by July 1892, 16 trade societies and their 900 members were affiliated to the Lancaster Trades Council, this still only amounted to 3% of the population. The membership of each union branch was still pitifully small, and in every craft, union membership and union rates only applied to the elite of the local workforce. Fort, the Lancaster Secretary reported to the Nees

that the main problem in Lancaster was the underpayment of 'many doing skilled labour who have developed from ordinary labourers and are gradually being pushed on to higher work'. Fort admitted that there was not much love lost between the traditional skilled workers and the newcomers: 'We ourselves look upon them with suspicion and jealousy'. In spite of the efforts of J.R. Clynes and the G. & G. L.U., 'the great mass of unskilled labour is still unorganised, as this union (G. & G.L.U.) has little over a score of members.'⁵⁴ The report from Preston was better. There the Trades Council, bolstered by the organisation of the cotton trade, could boast a membership of 8,600.⁵⁵ Reports from Carlisle and Chester were similar in spirit to those of Lancaster. Carlisle had 'no local unions worth mentioning', and its Trades Council, founded by socialists of the Land and Labour League, soon broke up under the strain of local disputes.⁵⁶ At Chester, sixteen of the twenty six local unions had joined by 1894, but the ^{Secretary} described the conditions of the working men of Chester as 'miserable'.⁵⁷

A better understanding of the low level of wages in Lancaster may be had by reference to society rates of 1892.⁵⁸ If we compare Lancaster with six other north western towns (Preston, Barrrow, Carlisle, Manchester, Liverpool and Chester), we shall note that in thirteen jobs for which comparable data is available, Lancaster wages were unfavourable (fifth, sixth or seventh in rank) in nine. In three others, Lancaster wages were more favourable, but hours were longer for the basic rate than in any of the other towns. Ten of these thirteen occupations were in the building trade, and the three others were cabinet making, iron founding and tailoring. Cabinet making, a traditional skill in the town was well below in basic pay, any of the other six towns (see Appendix C7). The textile workers in the town, judging from regional figures for 1886 for districts XIV (Preston) and XV (Carlisle, Lancaster and North Lancashire), suggest that adult male textile workers were paid as much or more in Lancaster than in Preston, but the vast majority of lads and boys, women and girls were paid up to two or three shillings less.⁵⁹

As for Lancaster's vast majority of unskilled workers, wages are hard to estimate, let alone compare with other towns. 20s was a top wage for a labourer - the amount paid by Williamson to the majority of his oilcloth workers. Storeys paid about 18s. (c.f. The typical wage of a Lunesdale agricultural labourer in the mid 1890's was 18s).⁶⁰ At Williamson's unions for skilled mechanics were recognised, as were the cotton spinners at Storey's. Neither recognised nor allowed any unions to organise the ^{large semi-}unskilled workforce.

Depressed economic conditions returned to Lancaster in the winter of 1892-3. By January 1893 two hundred men had given their names to the Labour Bureau set up by the Trades Council. The soup kitchen was re-opened.⁶¹ Even the President of the Trades Council, George Ross, a painter, was out of work. An appeal was made to the Corporation by the Trades Council and several Nonconformist ministers to provide work, and some road improvements were undertaken, using the unemployed as casual labourers at the reduced rate of 3½d per hour.⁶² Meanwhile the cotton spinners had to accept a reduction in wages amounting to 7d in the pound, and ominous noises came from the Wagon Works where it was announced that turnover was now half that of 1890.⁶³ In September 1893 Williamson's went on short time (a five day week).⁶⁴ As for Trades Council progress, union membership had reached a peak of 1,000 in 1893, represented in twenty societies, but efforts to increase carpenters' and joiners' wages and to unionise female and unskilled male labour had failed. No working men had been elected to the town council.⁶⁵ Further, the labour movement in Lancaster was split, like that in Carlisle, on ideological grounds. The societies supported the formation of a local branch of the I.L.P. in February 1894, but the Trades Council was dominated by Liberals and support for the I.L.P. was rejected.⁶⁶ The division grew wider in 1894. Although the council leadership eventually swung over to support the local I.L.P., many of the member societies still remained hostile to the 'new' unionist domination of it and its apparent attempt to steal the leadership of labour from the Trades Council which was dominated by the older unions. The depression, meanwhile, continued to weaken union membership and Trades

Council funds, and in August 1895 the Trades Council disbanded itself.⁶⁷

Lancaster union membership which had built itself up in the years 1889-91 saw a stabilisation rather than a great diminution in the early and middle 1890's. The carpenters and joiners, in spite of their minor victory in 1892, saw joint union membership stable at over 100 in the early 1890's, with a revival taking place from 1897. The plasterers too remained stable with again a marked increase in 1897. The cabinetmakers ^{into two societies} divided _A in 1890, but the Alliance Society collapsed in 1894, and total membership was still below the 1890 level in 1900. The tailors too expanded very little between 1890 and 1900 while the cotton spinners remained stationary. The ironfounders remained remarkably stable, even in the boom years of 1897 to 1900, increased a little up to 1906 and then fell away. One exception to the general pattern was the stonemasons who had doubled in membership between 1890 and 1891, had halved again by 1894 and did not recover until after 1897. Gains in wages had been made ($\frac{1}{2}$ d per hour), but the building boom was interrupted in 1894-5. In the next boom of 1896-1900, membership moved temporarily up to 252 (c.f. 203 in 1891), but promptly fell away again as that boom ended in its turn.

The return of depressed trade conditions affected wages in ~~as much~~ as, very often, men on piece work did receive much less when trade was poor. When reviewing the situation in 1894, a union organiser blamed the weakness of the Lancaster societies in general and the spread of piecework. Many Lancaster cabinetmakers, it was argued, were only earning 15s to 20s a week as a result of the shortage of trade.⁶⁸ Nevertheless the continued building boom up to 1894 gave the stonemasons an extra $\frac{1}{2}$ d an hour to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Meanwhile the hours of jobbing carpenters were adjusted from 55 to 54 a week.⁶⁹

Strikes were almost unknown in Lancaster in 1893-95.⁷⁰ The number of strikes in the north west generally increased with the revival of trade in 1896. Preston, for example, had four labour disputes involving four establishments returned for 1895, but fifteen disputes involving twenty five establishments in 1896, and ten disputes involving over forty-one

establishments in 1897.⁷¹ Lancaster workers began agitation for better rates in 1897.⁷² The stonemasons won an increase of 3d to 9d an hour in April, putting Lancaster masons well ahead of most other north western towns. Such an unusual occurrence for Lancaster workers must be explained by the exceptional circumstances of the revival of building in the county town where stone was still a cheap material in common use.

In October 1897, nineteen Lancaster plumbers went on strike to reach parity with the average hours of masons and plasterers.⁷³ Two masters granted their demands, but the Master Plumbers' Association refused, on the grounds that Lancaster rates were already higher than Preston's. The Lancaster plumbers resented the comparisons made with the rates of Morecambe and other 'smaller towns'. By the end of November, fifteen of the original nineteen strikers were still out, receiving 15s per week from their society.⁷⁴ Finally, in December, the masters' secretary, R.P. Wilson, agreed to meet the strikers half way.⁷⁵ The men accepted the offer of 8d per hour ($\frac{1}{2}$ d increase), but demanded in future that no man should in future be allowed to work for any but a recognised master plumber - an attempt to put a stop to the practice of small contractors employing unemployed plumbers in house building.

More important were the renewed attempts to organise unskilled labour in Lancaster in 1897, and the strike at Williamson's. In May, a strike took place in the warehouses at Lune Mills, when 39 workmen demanded a 10% increase in wages and improved overtime rates.⁷⁶ The strike quickly spread to other warehouses, but the men were back at work in three days, after Lord Ashton had told a deputation of four men that the matter would only be considered if there was an immediate return to work. Those who stayed out longer would be sacked. The outcome of the strike was not reported in the press, but there was no further trouble. Certainly the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union did not benefit. When J.R. Clynes found himself addressing a sparsely attended meeting of the Lancaster branch in December 1897, the President explained apologetically that:

unfortunately something had retarded its progress (in the past twelve months), and had brought down the membership considerably. Probably things had been quiet in Lancaster. 77

If the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union had a discouraging start in Lancaster, another attempt to reach the non-unionised was far more successful. In 1891 the National Union of Shop Assistants had been formed with its chief office in Manchester. By 1898 it had 86 branches and over 3,000 members.⁷⁸ The Lancaster branch was formed in March 1897 out of the remains of a defunct Shop Assistants' Football Club.⁷⁹ The branch levied a shilling subscription from its members, aimed at shorter hours (68 in Lancaster 1892 c.f. N.U.S.A. maximum of 54 hours a week) and acquired immediate acceptance by persuading the Mayor, Alderman Helme, to become its first president. By May it had 105 members and ranked amongst Lancaster's largest unions.⁸⁰ The union immediately faced the fact that the typical Lancaster shop was still a small business where close personal relations existed between master and employees. At its first annual meeting its chairman, Hodkinson, admitted that shop assistants in Lancaster had little to grumble at compared with those of other towns. The aim was to make the half holiday universal. The outside speakers however, warned that the 'great firms' were coming to Lancaster and that 'a great economic change' was forcing the status of the shop assistants down everywhere.⁸¹

There were more strikes in the Lancaster building trades in 1898 and also a strike at the Wagon Works by fitters. The masons' strike which lasted from May to August was a regional strike and led to 1½d per hour increase immediately in Manchester, Preston and Bury, with Lancaster, Oldham and Rochdale benefiting in 1899. Two one day strikes followed in Lancaster in September in protest against the employment of non union foremen at two yards. In one case the foreman was dismissed; in the second, as the employer's brother, he was taken into partnership. The carriage fitters' strike of ten days in March was a dispute with the piece masters, not with the firm. The outcome was a return to work on the old conditions and some of the strikers were replaced.⁸²

No strikes were recorded by the official labour correspondent for the years 1899-1910.⁸³ The craft workers in Lancaster found that they

were increasingly faced with federations of masters who were usually only too willing to negotiate working conditions and showed no great opposition to putting up Lancaster rates when other towns did the same.⁸⁴ The unions became equally concerned with the securing of 'fair' contracts from the Corporation, which elsewhere in Lancashire had been granted by 1894.⁸⁵ 'Fair' and 'local' contracts were a particularly pressing issue, as municipal employment seemed one of the few areas of expansion in Lancaster after the end of the boom of 1896-1900. The painters were pleased when the Corporation let the painting of the market in 1898 to employers who employed 'competent workmen at a standard rate of wages'.⁸⁶ Less happy were the tailors who protested strongly in 1902 when the contract for the uniforms of the drivers and conductors on the new Corporation tramways was sent to London.⁸⁷ The tailors had equally little success in preventing the firemen's clothing contracts from going to a Bristol firm in 1908.⁸⁸ Altogether, unions in Lancaster, 'old' or 'new', could not afford to display the militant and coercive tactics used by such unions as dockers and gasworkers in larger centres.

Far fewer wages^{rates} are available for Lancaster and other towns at the height of the boom of 1900 than for 1892 or 1906. It is evident, however, from those available, that Lancaster had made rapid strides both in absolute terms and in relation to other north western towns between 1892 and 1900. Lancaster was economically at its peak in 1900. Its ironfounders, shortly to be put out of work by the closure of the Wagon Works, were earning 39s, 5s 6d more than in 1892 and only 1s less than in Manchester. Its cabinetmakers too were flourishing. They now earned 35s 8d in a full week in summer, 5s more than in 1892, no longer at the bottom of the north western 'league' of towns, and now on roughly equal terms with Chester and Preston. In the building trades, since 1892 Lancaster stonemasons' wages had increased over 5s to 38s 5d, and painters, carpenters and joiners had received increases of 2s to 35s. Bricklayers, although few in number, were commanding the high wage of 41s 3d, an

increase of over 2s on that of 1892.⁸⁹

The success of the shop assistants and the general advance in wages in 1897 to 1900 encouraged Lancaster trade unionists to reform the Trades Council which had broken up in 1895. The new Council was launched by nine societies, five of which had been involved in the formation of the first Trades Council in 1891. The four new societies were the Farriers (founded 1896), Braziers, Gasworkers and Shop Assistants.⁹⁰ The importance of the Shop Assistants as Lancaster's fastest growing union may be seen in the fact that its Secretary, James Hodgkinson, became the new Trades Council's first Secretary. Total union membership did not greatly expand as a result of the Council. It represented fourteen societies in 1901, with 685 members. This meant that Lancaster was still a 'black' town. Nevertheless it underestimated the number of unions in the town.

TABLE 1

Trade Unionists Represented On North West Trades Councils 1901.⁹¹

	Year Trades Cncl. formed	T.U.S	T. Unionists	1901 Popn.	% Represented
Lancaster	1900	14	685	40,329	1.7
Preston	1867	32	6,882	112,989	6.1
Carlisle	1897	13	1,230	45,480	2.7
Chester	1894	15	1,500	38,309	3.9
Barrow	1874	18	2,820	57,586	4.9
Manchester	1866	92	21,061	543,872	3.9
Liverpool	1848	53	38,562	684,958	5.6
U.K.			2,025,000	41,538,000	

The new Lancaster Trades Council, like its predecessor, was primarily political in its purpose. It pledged itself to independence of 'either political party', and aimed to secure for labour 'direct representation on all public governing bodies'.⁹² In practice, however, the new Trades Council operated in similar fashion to its predecessor, supporting the Liberals at the General Election of 1900⁹³ and backing Lib-Lab candidates at municipal elections.⁹⁴ The latter had no success against Conservative

opposition, and the policy of Lib-Lab co-operation at a local level was officially abandoned in 1905 when the Trades Council became affiliated to the Labour Representation Committee. This development was not surprising. From the outset, unlike its predecessor, the new Trades Council was intimately concerned with the fate of the unskilled. Its leadership came partly from the new semi-skilled shop assistants and partly from the old craft union, the typographers.⁹⁵ The formation of the second Trades Council represented locally the changing national pattern of relations between 'old' and 'new' unions.⁹⁶ The former had accepted the latter in Lancaster as allies rather than rivals and together they hoped eventually to enforce union rules and rates in every workshop in the town. In practice, this was only possible to achieve for the craft unions, because employers, from Lord Ashton downwards were willing to accept craft unionism but not general labour unionism. The employers' attitude made union advance very uneven. The A.S.F. grew to 150 by 1913, but the general labour unions which tried to organise branches found themselves obstructed at every turn. A certain amount of rivalry and discord still survived between different local unions and these were exploited by the employers. On the whole, the Trades Council found itself on the defensive rather than on the attack, owing to worsening economic conditions at least until 1911.

The change in the economic climate after 1901 made an important contribution to the development of independent labour consciousness in Lancaster. Unemployment, which had been at a minimum in the boom years of 1896-1901, re-emerged as a pressing problem in 1903. Lancaster was affected less by the depression in the Lancashire cotton industry than by the partial closure of the town's second largest employer, the Lancaster Wagon Works, following its amalgamation with a Midlands based consortium.⁹⁷

The effect of the closure of the Wagon Works was only gradually felt and was not fully realised until the depression deepened in 1904. The Town Council, in consultation with the Board of Guardians, set up a

Labour Bureau in November.⁹⁸ Within five days, 371 men had registered including 83 building workers and 193 labourers. The Unemployment Committee recommended the Council 'to press forward any useful work which they may have in view'. But any suggestion that extraordinary measures should be taken was quashed by Alderman Bell, who argued that a scheme for providing work would cost £2,000 or a 3d rate at a time when few ratepayers could shoulder an additional burden. Corporate action was rejected; individuals subscribed to the Mayor's free breakfast fund.⁹⁹ Meanwhile Lord Ashton made his own personal contribution by promising new buildings for Williamson Park.

The Taff Vale judgment of 1901 drove the national union executives one by one into affiliation with the Labour Representation Committee.¹⁰⁰ The unemployment problem of 1904 proved to be the local issue which provoked the Lancaster Trades Council to finally abandon Lib-Labbery. Not only had the Town Council taken its lead from the Ratepayers' Association rather than from the Trades Council on the unemployment issue, the Mayor had also refused the Trades Council use of a room from which to run its own relief fund. The Trades Council's involvement in the unemployment issue had given a new unity to labour in the town. In 1904-5 the number of societies affiliated rose from fourteen to eighteen, bringing in the Engineers, Wagon Makers, Carters and Cabinetmakers, giving a total affiliated union membership of 960.¹⁰¹ At the annual meeting of 1905, the Trades Council was in an angry mood. Annoyed by both the Chinese labour issue and by the Town Council's attitude towards unemployment and cheap housing, and urged on by its Secretary, Harrison* (Secretary 1904-10 in succession to Hodkinson), the Council voted in favour of affiliation to the Labour Representation Committee. This was then a reversal of the policy of the first Trades Council which had set its face against the I.L.P. in 1894.¹⁰²

The election of the Trades Council's President, Henry Jemison, printer, to the Board of Guardians in February 1905 was regarded as a great triumph for the new policy of independent labour. In fact it was more

a personal recognition of his work as President of the local branch of the printers and the Trades Council over the previous five years. It did not represent a Labour breakthrough and was only viewed as such by the Trades Council itself. There was talk of a minimum local wage of 30s, the Trades Council petitioned the Town Council for the adoption of the Unemployment Act and put up a candidate in Bulk Ward at the municipal elections of 1905, but all without any success.¹⁰³ The Labour vote in Bulk was small, and the temperance vote, which might have benefited it, abstained. Nevertheless Lancaster Labour leaders had obtained some regional recognition and, in view of this, the Independent Labour onslaught in 1906 included Lancaster as well as larger centres. As a result, the first trade unionist and I.L.P. councillors were elected onto Lancaster Town Council in 1907, long after places like Manchester or Bradford, but only one year after Leeds.¹⁰⁴

National wages rose again in 1906 and 1907 after five years in which they were stationary or falling. Lancaster wages in 1906 were much the same as those of 1900, with some gains made by the ironfounders, printers and police, but nothing for the building workers.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless the Lancaster building workers were paid above the national average of 33s.¹⁰⁶ As far as one can tell, other Lancaster craft workers were also paid well above the national average.

In comparison with the six north-western towns studied in 1892, Lancaster had somewhat improved its wage position. In fourteen sets of wage figures (of which nine were in the building trade), Manchester came first followed by Liverpool and Barrow, Chester, Preston, Lancaster and Carlisle. This was roughly the same order except that Chester had overtaken Preston, Liverpool and Carlisle had fallen lower overall, and Lancaster had climbed.¹⁰⁷ Between 1892 and 1906 Lancaster's ironfounders and cabinetmakers had both improved their position, as had some of the building workers. Lancaster's setback after 1901 in the closure of the Wagon Works probably explains why the town did not make greater progress in north western comparisons. Nor was the relative position

of the seven towns much changed by 1912, although the gap between Manchester and Liverpool and the smaller towns was narrower than either in 1906 or in 1892.¹⁰⁸

As for labourers in Lancaster in 1906, they do not seem to have benefited nearly as much as the skilled workers over the period 1892-1906. In 1905, Lancaster Corporation labourers were still receiving only 17s to 18s while at Williamson's a shilling bonus system in 1906 brought the workers up to 21s, still below the national average of all workpeople in 'linoleum, oilcloth etc' of 22s 7d.¹⁰⁹ Builders' labourers were doing better: 24s 9d in 1906, compared to 22s 8½d in 1892 and better than the national average of 23s 9d to 26s 4d in 1906. Again their position was little altered by 1912.

More progress had perhaps been made in hours of labour. Although Lancaster hours were still longer than those of Liverpool, Manchester and Preston in 1906, they were more on a par with the other towns than in 1892 when Lancaster workers had often had to work longer hours for the same basic rate. Progress continued to be made in the building trades between 1906 and 1912. The labourers, however, still worked long hours. Corporation carters were still working 62 hours a week in 1911.¹¹⁰ 55½ hours remained the norm at Williamson's until 1919.¹¹¹ Hours among attendants at the Royal Albert Asylum were even longer: Men and women worked fourteen hours a day with one day off (½ day for women) and one Sunday off in three.¹¹²

The problem of the gulf between the skilled and the unskilled remained. Not only was there an economic gulf. In 1867 Dudley Baxter found ^{that} wages of skilled engineers in large provincial centres were 30s while labourers in the same locomotive building works were only receiving about half: 15s to 16s.¹¹³ In London and Lancaster the gap was much the same. By 1906 there were many skilled workers who earned 40s or more in large provincial centres, and in Lancaster too, while the unskilled earned under 25s.¹¹⁴ Some narrowing of the gap had occurred in the meantime, but only from say 100% to 75%. Nationally the semi-skilled lost ground to the labour aristocracy in the period 1886 to

1913.¹¹⁵ In Lancaster the new semi-skilled oilcloth worker continued to be treated as a labourer minding a machine - hence the antagonism towards the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union which defined a higher status for this new type of factory worker.

While wages stood stationary, the cost of living went up. Between 1905 and 1912 the cost of living rose by over 10%. The rise was felt in Lancaster too. As the editor of the Guardian pointed out in January 1911:

There is no question that while the great industrial concerns to which Lancaster owes so much have been kept fairly busy, the purchasing power of the community as a whole is not what it was some years ago. 116

Lancaster was not one of the towns included in the list of regional centres whose prices were examined to ascertain the increase in the cost of living in the Edwardian years. Between 1905 and 1912 retail prices and rents in Lancashire and Cheshire towns increased 13.3%. There was some variation, however, with Barrow increasing only 10% while Preston increased 15%. The national mean for towns under 50,000 was an increase of 11.3%. Lancaster had a housing glut in the Edwardian period which had a deflating effect on rents, but even in places like Gloucester, Carlisle and York, where rents all fell between 1905 and 1912, retail prices more than made up for this, and the overall increase was in the range of 11 to 13%.¹¹⁷ Lancaster still had cheaper gas and water than many places in 1912, but rates had increased 10% since 1905.¹¹⁸ There is then no reason to suppose that Lancaster was exempt from the general increase in the cost of living.¹¹⁹

Further progress in Lancaster wage rates, as in the rest of the country, was not made until the improvement in general economic conditions in 1910 to 1913. National unemployment fell from 7.7% of trade union members in 1909 to 3.0% in 1911.¹²⁰ Revival came slowly in Lancaster. A steady flow of emigrants was still observed in January 1911, and demands for new industry in the town were reiterated by the local press.¹²¹ There were still about 700 registered unemployed in the town. Conditions improved slowly in 1912, but were delayed by the Coal Strike.

Wages were put up at Gillow's in May 1912: ½d per hour more for cabinetmakers and polishers and 1s more per week for packers and labourers.¹²² Lord Ashton put up wages to 21s 9d at Williamson's in September.¹²³ A Labour move to raise Corporation lamplighters' wages above their level of 23s failed, but scavengers' wages were raised from 19s to 20s (c.f. Manchester 26s) a week, and general labourers' rates were raised to 6d an hour.¹²⁴ Sir Norval Helme told the Chamber of Commerce at its annual meeting in March 1913 that unemployment was no longer a problem in the town, mainly thanks to the success of the oilcloth and linoleum trades.¹²⁵ In 1913 the hours of joiners and plumbers were improved, and they were granted an additional ½d per hour to 9d and 8½d respectively.¹²⁶ Meanwhile the local agricultural labourers were put up from 18s to 20s a week.¹²⁷

These wage increases did not give Lancaster workers a big improvement over their position in 1900. A rough estimate of the increases suggest a nine or ten per cent improvement for the unskilled and a five per cent improvement for the skilled workers in 1912 and 1913, which, in neither case, made up for the increase in prices between 1900 and 1913. Thus it is difficult to conclude from the available evidence that Lancaster workers had even caught up with the increase in the cost of living, let alone improved their position by the outbreak of the First World War. Some improvement, however, had been made in conditions and hours.

Trade union membership under conditions of rising prices and stagnant wages tended to wilt. When such conditions were combined with the intense unpopularity of unions in Lancaster in 1911-13, for apparently arousing the antagonism of Lord Ashton towards the town, the unions did even worse. The stonemasons who had stood at 252 in 1900 and 170 in 1906, dropped to 53 in 1912. The bricklayers, whose membership had never been high (38 in 1900), sank to 20 in 1913. The ironfounders had stood at 73 in 1900 and 89 in 1906, but, as a result of the final closure of the Wagon Works in 1911, only had 62 members in 1913. Meanwhile the general labour unions such as the Gasworkers' and the F.O.G... had hardly

made any progress at all in the face of bitter opposition of Lord Ashton to any interference with conditions at his mills.¹²⁸ Nationally, trade union membership grew by almost a third between 1911 and 1913; even the craft unions which had been in the doldrums between 1900 and 1910, grew in membership.¹²⁹ The painters and decorators doubled between 1911 and 1913, the carpenters and joiners (Amalgamated) and the ironfounders grew by over half.¹³⁰ In Lancaster, however, atrophy rather than growth seemed to be the order of the day.

The achievements of trade unions in Lancaster between 1870 and 1913 were very mixed. Union membership experienced no astounding growth and only about four per cent of the population could be said to be unionised by 1913. Union rates and rules had been largely established in the building industry, even if the building worker did feel that his real wages had been eroded between 1900 and 1913. The textile workers continued to enjoy benefits won for them elsewhere in Lancashire. The same was true for the ironfounders. Lancaster craft workers remained to some degree a series of exclusive little groups within their own trades and with ^{out} relation to the unskilled. Yet through the Trades Council, better relations between these groups and between 'old' and 'new' unions had been made. The railway workers and shop assistants were two 'new' unions which had made considerable progress in the town. The fact that the bulk of the unskilled were unorganised was true as much of the rest of the country as of Lancaster. Lancaster only seemed backward in the sense that its major industry, oilcloth, was not prepared to accept the unionisation of its workers, thus keeping Lancaster on a par with county towns, rather than allowing it to take its rightful place among the industrial centres.

ii. The Friendly Society

The friendly society remained the first line of defence for the Lancastrian throughout the nineteenth century. In 1800, approximately one in three of the population of the county town were members of a friendly society.¹ In 1900 the proportion was about one in four. In the days before National Insurance the burial club or friendly society provided a minimal insurance against disaster. For most Lancaster members, even in 1900, the only payments made were at death to their relatives. Sick clubs at places of work may also have provided further insurance, but these were probably confined to the minority of millworkers and craftworkers. Evidence of them is only patchy. Whereas one in five were members of a burial society in 1900, a further one in twelve were members of one of the national or regional orders which provided a variety of other benefits apart from a mere burial grant.²

The most fundamental of all forms of social insurance in the nineteenth century was the burial club. The Lancaster Benevolent Burial Society was founded in January 1841 at the Black Cat Inn, St. Leonardgate. The membership fee was 1d per week, and this entitled the relatives of a member to claim a lump sum on his death. This scheme was originally intended for adolescents and young adults, the standard rate of insurance being that for children of twelve years of age and over (i.e. working at a mill or engaged in apprenticeship). This rate stood originally in 1841 at a lump sum of £5. In 1856 it was raised to £5.6.4, in 1875 to £8 and in 1878 to £11. Up to 1875 this sum did not include an allowance of 4s for liquor to be consumed by the member's relatives after his funeral. By 1875 there were four rates of insurance (for children under 12, 12 to 15, 15 to 20 and for those over 20).

The Lancaster Benevolent Burial Society survived and prospered. Founded in January 1841 with a membership of 54, by 1897 the Society had 8,354 members. In the period 1875 to 1896 the number of members increased as did the amount of funds per member.³ At the same time the average disbursement increased from £4.4.5 in the previous 35 years to £6.15.5 in the 20 years after 1875. It was significant that the death rate per 1,000 members

had fallen from 20.81 to 10.99 in the same time. By 1905 membership stood at just over 8,000 with a healthy reserve of nearly £28,000.⁴

In addition to the benefit clubs and the branches of the orders, there were also one or two societies attached to the mills. Williamson's mills had a sick club attached to each mill. In 1881 the Lune Mills benefit society numbered about eighty members, while the St. George's Works society had nearly 150. The societies allowed 6s or 7s to members during sickness (cf. Oddfellows 9s).⁵ Other mills probably had similar societies, but the precise extent of the practice is unknown.

The elite of the friendly society membership was composed of local branches or lodges of the national or regional orders. The Manchester Unity of Oddfellows was by far the strongest of these in Victorian Lancaster, with over half the local membership. Oddfellowship was the preserve of the labour aristocracy, but also included a fair number of small tradesmen too as the century advanced. In this way, apart from its purely financial function, membership of a friendly society was one means of bridging class barriers in late nineteenth century Lancaster. Different societies had different social composition. Some were dominated by tradesmen. The view that the latter should increase their representation among the friendly society membership was expressed by Alderman Welch, when he spoke at the annual dinner of the Annual Moveable Committee of the Lancaster District of Oddfellows. He hoped to see more of the 'higher and middle class joining their society, and taking an interest in its affairs, believing that it would derive advantage therefrom and that it would conduce to a greater independence among the members.'⁶ The friendly society was one of the foremost champions of the self-help ethic. When Thomas Storey addressed the Annual Tea Party of the Lancaster Oddfellows the following year he too spoke of the independence of the Oddfellows.⁷ If he were an Oddfellow, he declared, he would not go cap in hand and ask for anybody's patronage. Such advice was a little inappropriate when seven out of the eleven lodges in the Lancaster District were in debt to the tune of nearly £5,000 owing to insufficient contributions. Storey's advice to the young was typical of the age.

They were to be sober and enjoy themselves quietly, but not to loiter about the streets, use bad language or annoy other people. The Druids too helped to maintain the class system when Brother Simms declared at their anniversary in 1882:

It was sometimes said that the masters had all the money, but it was forgotten that they had also all the risk, and it would be well for working men to remember that capital would always rule Labour. 8

The deference was continued when a new Druid lodge was named after James Williamson in 1891.⁹

Oddfellowship continued to grow in Lancaster and district. In 1841 there were 809 members. By 1871 there were 1,722 and by 1896 there were 2,500 members of the different lodges.¹⁰ Nevertheless membership did not grow as fast between 1871 and 1901 as it had done between 1841 and 1871. Also, while the population had grown little in the earlier period, it doubled in the later years of the century. Competition increased from other societies in the later part of the century, but the proportion of the population involved in the affiliated orders had slightly fallen (8.4% in 1872, 7.6% in 1905).

One prominent feature of the friendly society movement in the late nineteenth century was the ~~progress~~ of societies associated with temperance. In 1870 the Lancaster Hope division of the order of the Sons of Temperance was established with its headquarters at the Palatine Hall, and this was followed in 1879 by the opening of the first Lancaster 'tent' of the Independent Order of Rechabites.¹¹ In 1885 a Skerton division of the Sons of Temperance was started and by 1886 there were 273 members of the Lancaster temperance friendly societies. By 1894 the Rechabites had 104 members - all teetotallers - with 71 attached to their Juvenile Temple (opened in 1888).¹² By 1912 the Rechabites stood at 295.¹³ Their lack of success reflects the weakness of organised temperance in Lancaster.

Any suggestion of political involvement was always rejected by the Friendly Societies. When the Trades Council suggested that the Lancaster friendly societies should send delegates to a meeting to select candidates for the Parish Council elections in 1894 the response was small.¹⁴ Only one lodge of Oddfellows replied, informing the Trades Council that political

involvement was banned by its rules. Nevertheless the Sons of Temperance and the Druids both joined the I.L.P. and several of the unions in the experiment. The Trades Council, however, did not support the move, so it was a failure.

The National Insurance Act of 1911 meant the end of some friendly societies. The Scotforth Friendly United Order of Mechanics was one society that ceased to function after the Act. In 1912 the club held its last meeting at the Boot and Shoe Inn and distributed the £2,410 worth of assets among the 84 members.¹⁵ George Jackson, one time Scotforth publican, now brewer and Alderman, had been President for twenty-six years. The society had built cottages for its members as well as providing them with sick pay and burial grants. The Oddfellows were not wound up, but they dissolved the benevolent fund which provided for their 1,750 members in the Lancaster district.¹⁶

iii Building Societies

Building societies continued to flourish encouraged both by the rise in real wages after 1870. John Kitchen, a Town Councillor and a builder, told the Druids in 1882 that he hoped to see:

every working man become as he might become, with the exercise of proper thrift and by the agency of building societies, the possessor of his own house. 17

In 1887 the first 'Economic' Building Society was formed. Payments of up to 8d a week could be made and children were eligible to hold shares.¹⁸ By October it had 216 members and at the end of its first year it had 303 members holding 708 shares with subscriptions of £1,136.¹⁹ Its secretary was George Petty, a Bradford man, who had served his apprenticeship as auctioneer and valuer in Lancaster and had set up on his own first at Morecambe in 1878 and then in Lancaster.

The societies were a great success, enabling 'many people to acquire their own houses, and tradespeople to acquire their business premises'. Later when the second and third Economic Building Societies were formed, Petty acted as surveyor and valuer to them too.²⁰

In 1886 the first Lancaster Starr-Bowkett Building Society was set up. Subscriptions to this society averaged £1,700 in its first two years. In 1887 a second was formed.²¹

Some building societies were not as safe as they looked. Such was the Lancaster and County Permanent Building Society founded in 1873. The society did very well in the building boom of the mid 1870's and in the late 1880's. Paying 5%, and later 4½% interest on deposits it was used as a 'poor man's bank' as well as a building society. By 1892 it had an income of over £6,000 a year with total cumulative receipts of nearly a third of a million pounds with over four hundred depositors and shareholders.²² Its secretary, from 1878 to 1893, was Nathan Molyneux who was also secretary of the local tramways and a leading Liberal on the Town Council after the borough extension in 1888. Molyneux and his auditor were arrested in November 1893, when the directors discovered that the society was insolvent to the tune of £20,000. Molyneux admitted that the balance sheet had been 'wrong for some years' even before he took over in 1878.²³

He had not told anyone but had hoped to make it up in better times. When the solicitor examined the accounts he found complete chaos: 'it would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer'. The hearings showed that the society had provided mortgages for a wide variety of people including tripe dressers, pattern makers, tailors and stonemasons.²⁴ Not all of its business had been done in Lancaster and its vicinity. One mortgagee was a lodging house keeper in Grange Over Sands, and there was a good deal of property associated with the society at Millom and Arnside.²⁵ Plenty of evidence of malpractice and fraud was discovered during the proceedings. Money had been deposited with the society without the depositor being properly accredited in the accounts. Money had also been drawn out by Molyneux in the name of depositors, but they had never received the 'advances on mortgage' recorded in the accounts.²⁶ Meanwhile, Molyneux's bankruptcy proceedings discovered gross liabilities of £15,416 with gross assets of £4,226.²⁷ His personal account, however, gave no indication of the sum owed to the Lancaster Permanent. Molyneux blamed his clerk, Waters, and also the jerry builders:

There was too much advanced to these men; they pay nothing back unless the property is sold. 28

There was little doubt that Molyneux had been caught out by the glut in houses at the end of the building boom of 1888-1892. He was found guilty of falsification, not of embezzlement, when he was tried at Manchester Assizes, but the question of the lost money still incriminated him in many Lancaster eyes. Many small shopkeepers lost their savings and the society was wound up in 1896.²⁹

iv The Co-operative Society

The Co-operative Society was another important form of working class defence. It provided not only cheap coal and pure bread, but also an outlet for working men's savings and experience in running a large business without middle class interference or guidance. The 1870's, however, was a decade of consolidation rather than growth. The Lancaster society had reached a peak in the boom of 1871-3 which it did not regain until the mid 80's. Share capital and sales did not surpass the 1873 figures until 1886, although membership increased by about a half between 1873 and 1886.

Between 1886 and 1892 business rocketed. Sales rose from £52,725 to £92,724 and membership increased from over 3,000 to over 5,000. In 1887 the society obtained a farm at Dolphinlee. By 1891 one element in the society, under the leadership of James Crookall, was considering the possibility of a £5,000 scheme for the purchase of land and the building of cottages. The time was too late, however, for the building boom was nearly over, and the Co-operative Society drew back from such a heavy investment in property.³⁰ A few houses were built in 1896, but, as one of the members told the Co-operative Union Conference held in Lancaster in 1902, 'they were not the sort of houses they would like their members to live in'.³¹

The late 1880's saw the rapid expansion of the Society's educational facilities. By 1896 over 7,000 books were being issued from the society's library every quarter, while 136 members were students at the Storey Institute classes.³² Reading rooms were set up in various parts of the town. In 1894 a reading room was set up in Westham Street and two years later one was built in Main Street, Skerton. By 1913 there were seven reading rooms in the district, of which four were in the borough of Lancaster, with a library of over 8,000 volumes.³³ Winter classes and lectures were held and from 1900 these included a choral and orchestral class.

It was but a short step from an educational role to a political

one. When the Mayor attended the third annual soiree to mark the conclusion of the society's classes in 1892, he not only emphasised the society's role in inculcating 'habits of thrift', but added that:

there would be little hesitation to give increased power to the masses of the people, seeing they used it so wisely and so well.³⁴

Increased power only came by fighting for it. A working men's committee was only set up in connection with the building of a new infirmary in 1889 after the Co-operative Society had refused to contribute unless such representation of working men was granted.

The first working man candidate at a Lancaster municipal election was James Crookall, a smith and leading member of the Co-operative Society as well as Chairman of the Park Ward Liberal Association who stood for St. Annes Ward in 1889. He did not receive official Liberal support for his candidature nor did he receive support from the members of the society and he came bottom of the poll with a mere twenty-eight votes. Other Co-operative members stood at subsequent municipal elections, but labour candidates had no success until they stood under the I.L.P. label in 1907.

Most Co-operative members did not accept any political obligation to promote labour representation. When a meeting was held to discuss intervention in the School Board election of 1893, only thirty of the 6,000 members attended.³⁵ Even they decided that as the Society's purpose was 'to inculcate habits of thrift' it had no real part to play in the elections to the School Board. Later on it eschewed this with the I.L.P., and only showed solidarity with the second Trades Council in the matter of 'fair' contracts.

1896 to 1901 was a period of very rapid growth in both numbers of members and sales of goods. Membership grew from 6,000 to 9,000, while sales mounted from £92,000 to £159,000. Some of this expansion took place in Morecambe which, unlike Carnforth, did not become a separate society until after the First World War. Two shops were opened at Morecambe in 1896. By 1901 new central premises were being planned at Lancaster, and these were opened in 1905 at a cost of £25,000. They

were acclaimed by co-operators as:

with possibly one exception, the finest block of buildings devoted to commercial purposes in the district. 36

The Edwardian period saw the building of many new branch shops in Lancaster's new suburbs. By 1913 the society had twenty-one retail branches in the district, thirteen of which were in Lancaster. Although membership did not better the 1906 peak of 11,000 until 1911 and sales fell off between 1908 and 1912, membership stood at 12,000 in 1913 and sales at £218,000. The society was one of the largest businesses in the district and was undoubtedly the largest retail enterprise. In 1909 there were forty different departments both productive and distributive with 'an attractive suite of offices, a well equipped co-operative hall and a cafe'.³⁷ 240 men and women were employed in the retail and production departments by 1913, making the firm one of the town's largest employers. The society had not taken up the demands made for it to embark on large scale cottage building. Here principles and profitability clashed and the contest went to profitability. Nevertheless the society owned £9,600 worth of cottage property by 1913, and held security for over £80,000 worth of property purchased by its members with the help of loans from the society.³⁸ It also ran a successful Penny Bank for its members' children.

The fact that the society avoided local political involvements and distributed its profits are symbolic of the commercial spirit which had given it economic success. Of the £33,000 profits made by the society in 1912, £500 went to educational purposes and £124 went to charitable concerns. The rest was invested or ploughed back into the society. It did, however, fulfil some labour ideals by paying 'fair' wages and by providing high quality goods at the lowest prices. Moreover, its financial policy favoured purchasers rather than shareholders. All in all, in spite of somewhat different aims from the first co-operators, the Lancaster and Skerton Co-operative Society remained something much more than just Lancaster's first multiple store.

CHAPTER IV ;Footnotes

1. S. and B. Webb, The History of Trade Unionism (1920), pp. 325-6.
2. Probably only about two per cent of the population was organised in trade unions.
3. L.S.E. Webb Trade Union Collection; Coll. E.D. 42 pp. 68 9, Coll. E.A. XXIV, f. 339, Coll. E.D. 20, 1877. NB GUC & J's financial weakness was always a hindrance to the joiners see T.J. Connelly, The Woodworkers (1960) on the Manchester Strike of 1877.
4. L.S.E. Webb Coll. E.D. 51, 1877.
5. The first to go on strike were the plasterers who struck for five weeks for an increase of 1d per hour; see Lancaster Guardian, 18 May 1878.
6. L.S.E. Webb Coll. E.D. 42, 1878.
7. S. and B. Webb, op. cit. p. 344.
8. Lancaster Guardian, 6 & 13 July 1878.
9. Ibid. 20 July 1878.
10. Ibid. 13 September 1879.
11. Ibid. 16 November 1878.
12. Ibid. 4 January 1879.
13. S. and B. Webb, op. cit. p. 316-17.
14. Lancaster Guardian, 11 January 1879.
15. Ibid. 1 February 1879.
16. L.S.E. Webb Coll. E.D. 264, 1877, 1879.
17. L.S.E. Webb Coll. E.D. 119, 1877 and 1885; Coll. E.D. 20, 1886: Annual Report described parlous state of G.U.C. & J.
18. Lancaster Observer, 19 March and 2 April 1886.
19. Ibid. 11 June 1886.
20. Ibid. 17 July 1886.
21. BPP 1888, XX. Select Committee (HL) on Sweating System, No. 2863, p. 282.
22. Lancaster Observer, 15 April 1887.
23. L.S.E. Webb Coll. E.D. 22, 1888, 1889.
24. L.S.E. Webb Coll. E.D. 51, 1886 1890.
25. L.S.E. Webb Coll. E.D. 119, 131, 30, 142, 264.
26. L.S.E. Webb Coll. E.D. 38.
27. Lancaster Observer, 28 June 1889.

28. BPP 1894, LXXXI, Trade &c, Cd. 294.
29. Lancaster Observer, 17 & 31 January 1890.
30. BPP 1894, LXXXI, Cd. 263, 272, 355.
31. Lancaster Observer, 14 March 1890.
32. BPP 1889, LXX, Trade, &c, Cd. 928-934.
33. Lancaster Observer, 16 & 23 May 1890.
34. Ibid. 20 June & 4 July 1890.
35. BPP 1894, LXXXI, Pt. I Trade &c, Cd. 301.
36. Lancaster Observer, 8 August 1890.
37. H.A. Clegg, A. Fox and A.F. Thompson, A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889 (Oxford 1964), p. 60.
38. Ibid. 21 November 1890.
39. Lancaster City Library, T10, 29 November 1890.
40. Lancaster Observer, 30 January 1891.
41. H.A. Clegg, Fox and Thompson, op. cit. pp. 70-76.
42. BPP 1890, LXVIII, Trade &c, Cd. 445; 1890 1, LXXVIII, Trade &c, Cd. 689; 1893 4, LXXXIII, Pt.I Trade &c, Cd. 461.
43. BPP 1894, LXXXI, Cd. 42, 130-1.
44. S. & B. Webb, op. cit. pp. 420-422.
45. H.A. Clegg, Fox & Thompson, op. cit. p. 40.
46. BPP 1902, XCVII, Trade &c, Cd. 581.
46. Lancaster Observer, 26 June & 17 July 1891.
47. Ibid. 7 August 1891.
48. Ibid. 13 November 1891.
49. S. & B. Webb, op. cit. 742-3.
50. Lancaster Observer, 13 May 1892.
51. Ibid. 8 January 1892.
52. Ibid. 12 February 1892.
53. Ibid. 13 May 1892.
54. L.S.E. Webb Coll. E.A. IV, 300, f. 147.
55. Ibid. f. 279.
56. Ibid. f. 191.
57. Ibid. f. 192.
58. BPP 1894, LXXXI, passim. also Appendix C7.

59. BPP 1890, LXVIII, Cd. 736-7.
60. BPP 1898, LXXXVIII, Trade &c, Cd. 212.
61. Lancaster Observer, 6 & 13 January 1893.
62. Ibid. 17 & 24 February 1893.
63. Ibid. 9 June 1893.
64. Ibid. 15 September 1893.
65. Compare success of trade union candidates in larger towns
Clegg, Fox and Thompson, pp. 88, 286.
66. Ibid. 9 & 23 February 1894.
67. Lancaster Standard, 16 August 1895.
68. Lancaster Observer, 23 November 1894.
69. BPP 1896, LXXX, Pt. I, Trade &c, Cd. 100.
70. BPP 1895, LXXX, Pt. I, Trade &c, Cd. 311.
71. BPP 1897, LXXXIV, Trade &c, Cd. 311.
72. BPP 1898, LXXXVIII, Cd. 423.
73. Lancaster Observer, 29 October 1897.
74. Ibid. 26 November 1897.
75. Ibid. 10 December 1897.
76. Ibid. 4 June 1897.
77. Ibid. 10 December 1897.
78. W.B. Whitaker, Victorian and Edwardian Shopworkers (Newton Abbot, 1973),
pp. 21, 23-4.
79. Lancaster Observer, 19 March 1897.
80. Ibid. 29 May 1897.
81. Ibid. 29 April 1898.
82. BPP 1899, XCII, Trade &c, Cd. 373.
83. BPP 1900, LXXXIII, Trade &c, Cd. 477;
1901, LXXIII, Trade &c, Cd. 685;
1902, XCVII, Trade &c, Cd. 340;
1904, LXXXIX, Trade &c, Cd. 699;
1905, LXXVI, Trade &c, Cd. 707;
1906, CXII, Trade &c, Cd. 897;
1907, LXXX, Trade &c, Cd. 204;
1908, XCVIII, Trade &c, Cd. 884;
1910, LXXXIV, Trade &c, Cd.
84. Chamber of Commerce formed Feb. 1897; Federation of Building Trades formed
March 1897; Tradesman's Assocn. formed November 1902.

85. H.A. Clegg &c, op. cit. p. 288.
86. Lancaster Observer, 9 December, 1898.
87. Ibid. 28 November 1902.
88. Ibid. 2 October 1908.
89. L.S.E. Webb Coll. E.D. 131, 38/40, 119, 30, 20/22, 9.
90. The five older societies were the Masons, Joiners, Painters, Railwaymen and Printers.
91. BPP 1902, XCVII, Cd. 581.
92. Lancaster Observer, 14 September 1900.
93. Ibid. 5 October 1900.
94. Ibid. 2 November 1900 and 7 November 1902.
95. Both typographers and tailors who were also strong on the new Trades Council had fought a losing battle in the 1890's against encroachments in their craft positions see:
Clegg; Fox and Thompson, op. cit. pp. 136-8 & 144-9.
96. E. Bauman, Class and Elite (Manchester, 1973 edn.), p.163.
97. Ibid. 22 January 1903.
98. Lancaster City Library, Borough Minutes, 1904-5 especially 16 November and 5 December 1904.
99. Lancaster Observer, 2 December 1904.
100. H.A. Clegg, etc. op. cit. p. 375.
101. Lancaster Observer, 17 February 1905.
102. Ibid. 9 February 1894.
103. Ibid. 24 February, 29 September & 3 November 1905.
104. H.A. Clegg etc, op. cit. p. 286.
105. R. Postgate, The Builders' History (1923) p. 371.
106. H.A. Clegg etc. op. cit. p. 480.
107. L.S.E. Webb Coll.; also BPP 1906, CXII Cd. 880.
108. L.S.E. Webb Coll. also BPP 1912 13 XCII, Trade &c, Cd. 577 Standard Rates of Wages at 1 June 1912.
109. Lancaster Observer, 5 March 1909.
BPP 1914, LXXX, Commercial and General Interests, 440.
110. Lancaster Observer, 2 February 1912.
111. Ibid. 9 May 1919.
112. Lancaster Guardian, 8 April 1911.
113. G.D.H. Cole, Studies in Class Structure (1955), p. 58.

114. A.L. Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, 1900) p. 23.
115. E. Hobsbawm, 'The Labour Aristocracy in Nineteenth Century Britain'.
116. Lancaster Guardian, 14 January 1911.
117. BPP 1914, LXXX, Cd. 476-82, pp. 152-8.
118. Lancaster City Library, Borough Minutes, 1912-13.
119. Wholesale prices at Lancaster market show a varied picture. Potato prices varied from season to season and year to year according to availability. (eg. they were twice as expensive in the spring of 1891 as in that of 1890). If we take the month of October we find that the average price of potatoes in Lancaster market was $4\frac{1}{2}$ d per stone in 1887, $6\frac{1}{2}$ d in 1891 and 1897, 6d in 1900, 7d in 1901 and $6\frac{1}{2}$ d in 1911. As for butter, we see again fluctuation rather than increase viz: 1887: $1/3\frac{1}{4}$ d, 1891: $1/3\frac{1}{2}$ d, 1897: $1/2\frac{1}{4}$ d, 1901: $1/3$ d, 1911: $1/3\frac{1}{2}$ d (per lb October prices). Eggs do seem to have become more expensive. The number that could be bought for one shilling fell overall viz: 1887: $8\frac{1}{2}$, 1891: 6, 1897: 8, 1901: 7, 1911: $6\frac{1}{2}$. (NB All are averages taken from range of price given in October newspapers).
120. BPP 1914, LXXX, Cd. 693.
121. Lancaster Observer, 14 January 1911.
122. Ibid. 24 May 1912.
123. Ibid. 27 September 1912.
124. Ibid. 29 November & 20 December 1912. NB. Still far below the 28s declared by the Municipal Employees' Association as their objective as a standard wage in 1905; see Clegg etc. op. cit. 361.
125. Ibid. 7 March 1913.
126. Ibid. 4 July 1913.
127. BPP 1914, LXXX, Cd. 881.
128. In seeing the general labour unions as the outriders of the Labour Party he was correct, see:
Z. Bauman, op. cit. p. 171.
129. H.A. Clegg etc. op. cit. p. 428 et seq.
130. L.S.E. Webb Coll. E.D. 31, 22, 131.

Footnotes

1. See Part I Chapter VII.
2. BPP 1907, LXXVIII, Friendly Societies, Part A Appendix (N), Lancashire, Cd. 431-518.
3. Lancaster Observer, 7 May 1897.
4. Ibid. 1 December 1905.
5. Ibid. 25 March 1881.
6. Lancaster Guardian, 4 January 1873.
7. Ibid. 3 January 1874.
8. Ibid. 4 March 1882.
9. Lancaster Observer, 13 February, 1891.
10. Ibid. 30 October 1896.
11. BPP 1889, LXXI, Pt. II, Trade &c, Cd. 704 5, pp. 10-11.
12. Lancaster Observer, 2 March 1894.
13. Ibid. 9 February 1912.
14. Ibid. 9 November 1894.
15. Ibid. 8 March 1912.
16. Ibid. 12 April 1912.
17. Lancaster Guardian, 4 March 1882.
18. Lancaster Observer, 2 September 1887.
19. Ibid. 5 October 1888.
20. Lancaster City Library, N.C.O. G. Petty, 1920.
21. Lancaster Observer, 7 December 1888.
22. Lancaster Gazette, 17 November 1893.
23. Lancaster Observer, 24 November 1893.
24. Ibid. 1 December 1893.
25. Lancaster Standard, 1 February 1895.
26. Lancaster Observer, 5 January 1894.
27. Ibid. 19 January 1894.
28. Ibid. 23 March 1894.
29. Ibid. 12 June 1896.
30. Lancaster Observer, 29 May 1891.

31. Ibid. 14 March 1902.
32. Ibid. 21 July 1893.
33. Lancaster Co-operative Congress Souvenir (Manchester, 1916) pp. 144-45.
34. Lancaster Observer, 25 March 1892.
35. Ibid. 21 July 1893.
36. Souvenir op. cit. 137.
37. Co-operative News, 13 February 1909, pp. 178-9.
38. Lancaster Observer, 14 March 1913.

CHAPTER VPATERNALISM CHALLENGED

Paternalism had been the typical state of industrial relations in Lancaster throughout the nineteenth century. The town's major manufacturing industries - textiles and carriage manufacture - were balanced by the size of the service industries. The workshop was the typical unit of production in the town, not the factory. The factories too were dominated by textiles. These textile mills, belonging to Greg, Hinde or Jackson, were small concerns judged by regional standards, with employers living close by or taking an active interest in their running. Conditions in these mills were probably no better than elsewhere.¹ Nevertheless, great continuity was maintained in the workforce, or at least among its key members - the overlookers and foremen. Some families worked at the same mill for generations.² The attitudes of the workers were those of the workshop rather than the dockyard or mine. Loyalty was felt towards the employer and his family. Gratitude for providing employment in a small town was commonly expressed. Medals were provided for long service. Workers voted with their employers.³ Feelings of class antagonism did not receive wide circulation.

This paternalistic relationship between mill owner and employees was inherited and carried on by James Williamson II (Lord Ashton). Conditions were somewhat different. Firstly, the size of his factories grew rapidly, far beyond the traditional size of Lancaster mills. John Greg was employing about 400 in 1853; James Williamson I and Storey Brothers employed about 1,200 between them in 1860; by 1894, Lord Ashton alone employed over 3,000. The millworkers at the turn of the twentieth century no longer saw themselves as a tiny enclave in the town. The proportion of adult males in mills rose from 15% in 1871 to 28% in 1911.⁴ Secondly, whereas the majority of workers in the old cotton and silk mills had been women and children, the majority of Williamson's workers were adult males. Effective organisation among workers, which had previously been difficult in the old cotton and silk mills, became a much stronger possibility. The main obstacle was that they were in a new trade whose

branches were widely scattered all over the country.⁵ The oilcloth workers were not a strong force and they did not attempt joint industrial action. They were one of the new groups of semi skilled workers - labourers in factories. The work was dangerous, unpleasant and low paid.⁶ The processes were supposed to be secret, and snooping journalists never got the opportunity to expose the evils of the trade, as they did for the alkali workers or the nail makers.⁷

Lord Ashton adapted paternalism to the new conditions. He ensured that his skilled workers (engineers, carpenters etc.) were paid the average regional union rates, and that his labourers were paid above the rate for either a Lunesdale agricultural worker ~~and~~^{or} a Corporation labourer. He provided security of employment which had been almost unknown in the Lancaster mills in the mid-nineteenth century. Even if the works had to close for reasons of strike, he carried on paying his employees. Moreover those too old to work could still collect a full wage if they put in a day's appearance at his mills. By a system of foremen and informants, and a meticulous system of hiring and firing, Lord Ashton kept a close eye on the goings on at his mills.⁸ The fact that he never left Ryelands for long meant that he was always in personal control. There is little evidence to suggest that employer control was any weaker at James Williamson and Son in 1914 than it had been in 1880.

Paternalism affected the whole social relations of the town not just its employment structure. As in the mid-nineteenth century, a social hierarchy still operated in the town. It stretched up from the paupers and recipients of private charity through the unskilled and skilled workers to the institutions of self help such as friendly societies, scholls and churches. Respectability was achieved by membership of a committee involved in one or other of these organisations. Above these ~~was~~^{was} the Town Council and above that the social elite.

The hierarchical nature of society may be seen in church organisations. In the Anglican hierarchy, the post of churchwarden was occupied by the town's leading employers and professional men. In the 1880's and 1890's the wardens at the parish church were a builder and a solicitor, both

senior members of the Town Council. The sidesmen were much less important, including wine merchants, an ironmonger, a grocer, the proprietor of the Observer, the town postmaster and a sprinkling of professional men. Some Anglican churches in the town were less exclusive in the composition of their officials. At St. Thomas's, the sidesmen in the 1890's included one or two clerks and a bookkeeper, while at Christ church in 1892 one sidesman was a storekeeper at the Wagon Works. The majority of Anglican lay officials, however, were respectable tradesmen. In social background they differed little from their more active counterparts at the Nonconformist chapels. At High Street Congregational Chapel in 1903, the nine deacons included a tailor, draper, a grocer, a grocer's manager, a sanitary inspector and a clerk.⁹ The Methodist chapels showed the social hierarchy in microcosm. The Wesleyans were headed by the Helmes, table-baize manufacturers, and the Milners, the owners of the Lancaster Guardian, while the Class leaders were largely drawn from the ranks of tradesmen. The Primitive Methodists and the United Free Methodists were much less exclusive in membership and government. In 1871 the eight trustees of the Lancaster 'Prim' Chapel included, apart from two farmers and two tailors, a bookkeeper, cotton spinner, carpenter and shoemaker.¹⁰ The United Free Methodists only established themselves at Brock Street in 1869. By 1901 the chapel had 139 members, a large number of whom were labourers or mechanics.¹¹ Strangely enough, the religious links of the trade unions were stronger with the Congregationalists and with new heretical groups such as the Spiritualists. Neither the Prims nor the United Free Methodists, although working class in composition, were politically minded.

The mechanism of paternalism became far more complex in the late nineteenth century. Traditional forms of charity such as soup kitchens and parish relief committees survived. The town grew rapidly in the 1880's and, towards the end of the decade, had its conscience awakened by the municipal gospel and the rediscovery of urban problems. The sanitary problem was suddenly pressing once more in 1888-9, and, with it, came a new awareness of urban poverty, crime, ignorance and godlessness. A

variety of denominational missions were set up to cope with these problems.

The Jubilee Town Mission was the foremost example of interdenominational co-operation. It was founded in 1889 to gather into a Sunday School 'the more destitute children of our town', who attended no other.¹² The work was inspired by Quaker example, run by Congregationalists, and financed by such Anglican patrons as Storey and Williamson. By 1897, the Mission catered for about eight hundred. It had four branches at which Sunday Schools and Services were held. Each branch contained a small library, and lantern services were held during the winter.¹³ Lord Ashton provided an annual subsidy which was widely publicised as saving the Mission from bankruptcy.

Poverty was a serious problem in the town. It was made worse in the 1890's by overcrowding and slum clearance without provision of alternative accommodation. A local Charity Organisation Society was formed in 1897.¹⁴ Its officials included representatives of the churches and many leading figures of the town. Its president was Norval Helme, the table-baize manufacturer and its Secretary, F.W. Smith, the relieving officer at the Board of Guardians. W. Bateson, Lord Ashton's private 'almoner', was on the committee, as were the Vicar of Lancaster and Lady Storey. The aim was to co-ordinate charitable efforts. Its success was as limited as all such voluntary endeavours. A London journalist investigating 'The Shady Side of Lancaster' in 1899 found much that was disquieting.¹⁵

Lord Ashton's private committee set up in 1904 did help to alleviate some of the worst poverty, especially in Skerton.¹⁶ The exact workings of this committee are not known, but it was reported that in times of depression it spent as much as £35-40 per week. Its work was highly selective and it only helped to foster complacency among the respectable classes.¹⁷ Most relied on the good offices of the Board of Guardians and the Lancaster Union Workhouse which the President of the Trades Council described in 1907 as 'one of the worst in the north of England'.¹⁸

Paternalism was equally a feature of Lancaster's municipal and parliamentary politics. In the 1870's and 1880's the Town Council was dominated by the big employers. After 1889 the leadership was more

varied, but it retained a large element of the bigger employers. Between 1866 and 1885 Lancaster had no parliamentary representation of its own. Instead, it formed part of the North Lancashire constituency, a huge rural area in which the landed interest was totally dominant. The Members of Parliament were landowners: Colonel Wilson Patten (1868-74), T.H. Clifton (1874-1880), General Fielden (1880-1885) and the Hon. F. Stanley (1868-1885). The Tories were opposed by Lord Hartington in 1868 and Thomas Storey in 1880. This acceptance of Lancaster's leading employer and former Mayor as the Liberal candidate in 1880 was a great triumph for Lancaster. Storey did not win the election but came an honourable third, and considerable local unanimity was shown in his support. The Observer noted that:

yellow undoubtedly predominated and even the houses of some of the working classes were adorned with yellow placards and paper flags. 19

Lancaster was 're-enfranchised' in 1885 when it was created the centre of a new division of the county. The election of 1885 was won by Colonel G.B.H. Marton, a Lunesdale landowner, but from 1886 to 1914, with the exception of the years 1895 to 1900, the Member of Parliament for the Lancaster Division was a Lancaster industrialist, first James Williamson II (1886-95) and then Norval Hedme (1900-18). Throughout the period 1885 to 1914 the Liberals looked to Lancaster for their candidates. The only exception was in 1895, when a London barrister, I.S. Leadam, was found as a last minute substitute for James Williamson, newly raised to the peerage. Liberal defeat in 1895 was not unconnected with this candidature of an outsider.

Liberal hegemony in the Lancaster parliamentary division was matched by the predominance of the Liberal Party on Lancaster Town Council in the years 1888 to 1914. Liberals had traditionally dominated Lancaster Town Council, but a party hierarchy stretching from Divisional Member of Parliament at the top, through the Executive Committee, the Liberal Two Hundred, down to the Borough Ward organisations at the bottom, ensured a renewal of Lancaster Liberalism and introduced, for the first time since municipal reform, a system of popular participation in local government.

The new Liberal Party in Lancaster was a product of the Third Reform Act of 1884, the Redistribution Act of 1885 and the Lancaster Borough Extension Act of 1888. These Acts ushered in local democracy 'the Frankenstein of our fathers' as one commentator described it.²⁰ The Liberal Party became the custodian of this Frankenstein. By various means it managed to suppress the class antagonisms latent in the Lancaster of the late 1880's and early 1890's. This was done partly by effective organisation which reflected the broad social basis of late-Victorian democracy in its lower echelons. The Park Ward committee in 1891 included an oilcloth worker, an overlooker, a postman and a mechanic, as well as a builder, an assurance agent and a corn merchant. In John o'Gaunt Ward the committee included a coachman, bootmaker, schoolmaster and solicitor. In Queen's Ward the range was equally great from a warehouseman in an oilcloth factory through cashier and commercial traveller to Unitarian minister and canal manager to table baize manufacturer.²¹ By such a wide social spread, the whole community could identify itself with the Liberal Party.

How was such a motley association held together? Identification of the town's interests with the oilcloth trade and identification of that trade with Liberalism through James Williamson and Sir Thomas Storey certainly helped. The hero worship of the individuals, particularly Williamson and Gladstone, the local and national leaders, was a marked feature of Lancaster Liberalism in the Home Rule era. Newspaper editors and journalists played a large part in building up these figures in the local press. To provide employment during the Great Depression was to deserve gratitude. The Observer remarked after a Wagon Works A.G.M. that:

The people of Lancaster, and especially the owners of property, are under a deep obligation to him (Alderman Blades) for the courageous and patriotic spirit he displayed in connection with these works at a trying period in their history. 22

Robert Kitchen, a member of the liberal Two Hundred, spoke in the same terms of James Williamson at their annual meeting:

Mr. Williamson, having such a large business undertaking, we ought to feel more thankful to him for his services than we would feel to any ordinary member. 23

The local leaders worked hard to keep up their image. James Williamson II poured out money to local churches, clubs and charities, and avoided tarnishing his image by keeping out of the limelight. His performance was in marked contrast to Sir Thomas Storey's. The latter was also benevolent, but he was a member of an older generation. He took his leadership for granted and made no concessions to the new democratic spirit. His outspoken criticism of a strike of building workers in 1888, his patronising attitude towards elementary education, and his tactless handling of the Trades Council questionnaire, all guaranteed his defeat by Williamson in the General Election of 1892.²⁴ His association with Unionism was, by then, an added advantage to the Lancaster Liberals. Lancaster was a Liberal town and Storey's defection saved the Liberals a great deal of embarrassment.

The Liberal ethic played down class distinctions. Lancaster Liberalism, whether in speeches by James Williamson or in debates at the Parliamentary Debating Society was primarily concerned with Ireland and with temperance reform. Land reform, too, figured strongly, but it had little relevance to most Lancaster people except as a rallying cry. It was important in a constituency neatly balanced between urban Lancaster and rural Lunesdale. The Liberal ethic emphasised reform, but reform by individual or party effort, not by class confrontation except with the landowning class. One minister summed up the basis of Liberal ideals at the Working Men's Meeting.

Real social reform of England and reconstitution of the world is done through each separate single individual. 25

Collectivism was not taboo; it was irrelevant to the Liberal mind. Its extent was Chamberlain's 'municipal socialism': sanitary reform, municipalisation of gas and electricity, municipal transport. These were all achieved in Lancaster between 1879 and 1900. Municipal socialism stopped short when it ran up against the important private interests of Liberal brewers and Liberal builders. It was at this point, where Liberalism left off, that the Lancaster Labour movement was able to take up the torch.

Lib-Lab harmony was at first a prominent feature of the new Liberal Party. The aristocracy of labour as represented by the Trade Union branches in the town received special treatment from the Liberal leaders. Many labour aristocrats were Liberal members of officials. Williamson gave a very sympathetic hearing to the Trades Council questionnaire in 1892, and gave help to the men's families in the joiners' strike in the same year.²⁶ Michael Condon, organiser of the local gasworkers, urged voters to vote for Williamson in the 1892 election, as did the Trades Council as a whole.²⁷ The Liberals celebrated this alliance by producing a working man's paper in 1892, the Lancaster Times, complete with a 'Labour and Social Progress' column. Its first editorial proclaimed that:

The real lord and governor of this kingdom ... is not the Queen upon her throne ... nor ... a Prime Minister ... nor ... a Parliament ... but the British Working Man. 28

Lib-Lab harmony had no deep foundations. It thrived on the survival of the self-help ethic in such labour bodies as the Co-operative Society, and it took advantage of the hostility between the craft workers in the building, tailoring and iron trades and the 'semi-skilled' workers in the oilcloth factories. Grumbling dissatisfaction with Lib-Labbism showed itself in the demand for the representation of labour on the Infirmary Committee in 1889 and on the Town Council in 1893 and 1894.²⁹ Moreover, the increased number of strikes between 1889 and 1892 gave opportunities for evolving working class solidarity. National developments helped to crystallise this local unease with labour's deal under the Liberal umbrella.

Paternalism, although still typical of Lancaster industrial relations, except at the Wagon Works, was not typical of the country at large in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The size of businesses ~~was~~ ^{was} growing too large: the managers were taking over. Either the sweatshop or the big factory was becoming increasingly common. Class politics which had been common currency from the Reform Crisis to the Chartists were once more becoming typical. Disestablishment, Land Reform, Home Rule for Ireland, all were issues which had strong

class overtones. Yet the new class conflict was not measured in Liberal terms of the productive classes against the landed classes, but in those of the working class against the employing classes. This conflict showed itself in the Matchworkers' and Gasworkers' strikes of 1888 and 1889 and ⁱⁿ the spread of 'new' unionism in 1890-1, followed by the counter attack of the employers in the depression which followed.³⁰ In 1893, the Independent Labour Party was set up to promote collective ownership and social justice through parliamentary representatives.³¹ Relations between the Liberals and the working class seemed to be at an all time low, when the Liberal government of 1892-5 failed to tackle the problem of unemployment and showed little practical interest in social reform. The class bias of the Liberal Party at local level seemed established beyond doubt at the by-election in the Attercliffe division of Sheffield in 1894, when the local party organisation opted for a woollen manufacturer rather than a working man.

In Lancaster Lib-Lab unanimity did not long survive the 1892 election. Unionist propoganda in that election had compared Williamson with a 'noble of old' and the Lancaster voters as his 'serfs'.³² This language may well have played some part in breaking the psychological barrier preventing the growth of a separate labour movement. More easy to assess is the effect of the regional expansion of the Fabians and the I.L.P. in the north west. The Fabians had launched their Lancashire campaign in 1890, and by 1893 they had a branch in Lancaster with Michael Condon as its chairman. Moreover the failure of Lib-Lab co-operation at the municipal elections of 1893 led to the formation of a local branch of the I.L.P. in the following year. The Fabians provoked little comment, but the Lancaster I.L.P. was bitterly opposed from the first by the Trades Council leadership and the Lancaster Times. Condon became a regional lecturer and Leonard Hall became I.L.P. candidate for Manchester North East, but the Labour movement in Lancaster itself did not prosper. The I.L.P. candidate at the local elections of 1894 was unsuccessful, and, in 1895, the Trades Council folded up amid general recriminations over

failure to organise the unskilled and labour policy in general. Condon died in March 1896, the I.L.P. went into temporary obscurity, and the Liberals made efforts to win back the ground they had lost.³³ Yet they were hardly in a position to do this. The Molyneux scandal of 1894 had showed up one of the local pillars of Radical Liberalism to be a charlatan. James Williamson's purchase of a peerage in 1895 looked little better in the light of his previous attacks on the House of Lords. In the mid-1890's Lancaster's Radical Liberalism had lost its way. In spite of the waning of the independent labour initiative between 1895 and 1897, the Liberal Party in Lancaster did not make any major efforts at reconciliation. The Lancaster Liberals defeated the Unionists in the Khaki Election of 1900 partly because Helme was a Liberal Imperialist. Nevertheless the newly constituted Trades Council was impressed by his dedication to progressive causes, such as payment of Members, old age pensions and shop hours legislation, and supported him on these grounds. The 1900 election was the last in which there was a united Lib-Lab front.³⁴

The collapse of the first Trades Council in 1895 was a result of the divisions of the Lancaster labour movement. Tom Mann's bitter criticism of Lancaster as a 'dull, old town' was a symptom of labour frustration in the mid 1890's.³⁵ Local opportunities for class conflict were increasing all the time. The growth of the number of employers' organisations after the formation of a local federation of building trades in 1898 was one factor. The threat of the multiple store to the shop assistants was another factor. The threat did not fully materialise in Lancaster before 1914, but it prompted the formation of a branch of the Shop Assistants' Union. The confrontation between Lord Ashton and the Gasworkers' Union in 1897 also indicated the opposition of labour and capital. The continued lack of sympathy of Liberals to Lib Lab Councillors after the Trades Council revived in 1900 and the opposition of the Town Council to municipal housing and municipal employment policies seemed to justify I.L.P. claims of the irreconcilable nature of class attitudes. No one made any public references to Lord Ashton

or his workers between 1897 and 1906, but the stage was well set, and, as the need to organise the unskilled became increasingly important, the storm centre of class conflict was bound to gravitate towards Williamson's.

Yet Labour remained a fringe movement in the town even in 1906. In many respects it remained an adjunct of the Liberal Party. The temperance issue, a typical Liberal concern, was a high priority with Labour. The second Trades Council committed itself to the municipalisation of beer as soon as it was set up in 1900 and intoxicants were specifically excluded from I.L.P. meetings in 1908. Moreover, Labour looked as much to local clergy for leadership as the Liberals looked to Lord Ashton. Lancaster had a vociferous minority of pro Labour clergy - particularly Anglican - in the years 1904 to 1913. The Rector of Halton, Rev. J.H. Hastings, was a founder of the Church Socialist league, and his likeminded curates were welcome speakers at I.L.P. meetings. Later, pro Labour clergy appeared at St. John's and at the Royal Albert Asylum. A chaplain of the latter organised a union of asylum workers to try and raise pay and improve conditions. In some ways these clerical activities were a mere extension of city mission work, and the pro-Labour clergy were as unrepresentative of the Lancaster clergy as the I.L.P. of the Lancaster working class.

Similarly, the language of class conflict was not used by Lancaster Labour men - at least in their public utterances. It was, and remained, a feature of the speeches of visiting I.L.P. and trade union speakers, anxious to stir up the 'dull old town'. Local leaders regarded the language of class conflict as unwise, particularly if used in a local context. Some aspects of socialism were also regarded as too extreme by the local Labour leaders. Nevertheless Labour refused to associate itself with the Liberal campaign in Lancaster after the election of 1900. The principle of neutrality was maintained in the 1906 and 1910 elections, but there is no doubt that individually, Lancaster's Labour leaders were closer to the Liberal than the Conservative view. The attitude towards Helme, the Liberal Member, was never one of hostility. Independent

Labour candidates were not financially practicable at any election before 1922.

Unlike elsewhere in Lancashire, Lancaster Liberalism did not undergo an Edwardian revival.³⁶ The Lancaster Liberal Party became increasingly dominated by the building interest and lost interest in licensing reform. At municipal elections Liberals and Conservatives increasingly tended to stand as Independents and supported each other in opposition to Labour candidates. It was this which antagonised and united Labour most of all, and gave credence to the taunts of Labour visitors from outside, who criticised the slow progress of the Lancaster Labour movement. At parliamentary elections, the Liberal Party in Lancaster relied heavily on finance from Lord Ashton and the consensus voting which returned Helme as the Lancaster Member, rather than as the Liberal Member for Lancaster.

The years 1906 to 1911 saw the growth of Labour as an independent political force in Lancaster. Liberal refusal to adopt working men candidates at municipal elections had led to intense frustration by leading craft workers and trade unionists. The establishment of Labour as an independent political force already achieved at the national level now became accepted as inevitable in Lancaster. Encouraged from outside the town, the labour leaders at last set their faces against the traditional divisions between craft and manual workers and determined to obtain recognition for unions attempting to organise the mass of unskilled and underpaid at Williamson's and Storey's. With the break down of co operation with local Liberal and Tory politicians after their failure to implement the Unemployment Act in 1904-5 (see Chapter IV) Lancaster's Labour leaders prepared for confrontation at three levels: parliamentary politics, municipal elections and the factory floor.

Greater militancy was urged by national leaders. When Clynes of the Gasworkers and Anderson of the Shop Assistants addressed the first public Labour demonstration in the town on 29 and 30 June 1906, they warned Lancaster working men that they were falling behind other towns in the wages and conditions of its unskilled labourers. The town was

part of a nation-wide struggle for the advancement of labour. If Lancaster people did not take up the challenge this time, after the disappointments of the 1890's, then Labour energy would have to be concentrated elsewhere.³⁷

As has been seen elsewhere, local Labour leaders worked hard to meet this challenge. After little success in the municipal elections of 1906, two trade unionists (including one official Labour candidate) were elected to the Town Council in 1907, as part of the aftermath of the I.L.P.'s successes at Jarrow and Colne Valley.³⁸ By March 1908, the Lancaster branch of the I.L.P. had a record membership of 213, and branches of the Women's Labour League and S.D.F. were formed.³⁹ In 1908 Labour was confident of further successes in the Council elections. On the Council, the first Labour member raised the question of a minimum wage for Corporation labourers.⁴⁰ Meanwhile a Lancaster branch of the British Labour Amalgamation was set up to organise the oilcloth workers at Williamson's and Storey's.⁴¹

The renewed Labour initiative put Lord Ashton immediately on the defensive. The movement to organise the unskilled and to raise unskilled wages was aimed at him, as head of Williamson's, the largest oilcloth firm, employing about one in five of the male workforce by 1911. The movement to make Labour an independent political force in Lancaster threatened him as patron and financier of the local Liberal Party. The Labour initiative of 1906 did not jeopardise the re election of Helme as the Liberal Member of Parliament, but when Labour began to make an impact on municipal politics in 1907-8, Lord Ashton began to demand reports on its progress from his information service at Lune Mills offices. A scrapbook of reports of newspapers and conversations of Lancaster people was kept.⁴²

It was not, however, until 1909, when the Labour bandwagon had lost its electoral impulse that Lord Ashton became the subject of political criticism. An anonymous article in a national newspaper, the Co-operative News pointed out some of the contrasts in Lancaster.⁴³

The article praised the efforts of the Lancaster Co-operators and contrasted them with the state of the oilcloth workers. The 'special correspondent' criticised the wastefulness of the Ashton Memorial - by then virtually completed in Williamson Park - in view of the town's unemployment problem.

The local Co-operative Society, apparently unaware of the article's contents, at once repudiated it and cancelled its special order of that issue. The president complained to the News in defence of Lord Ashton, using the latter's arguments that Williamson's paid 'as good or better wages than employers of similar labour in any other town in the country', and that he employed men unnecessarily at a cost in wages of £400-£500 a week.⁴⁴ Unemployment in Lancaster was the result of the closure of the Wagon Works, and Lord Ashton alleviated the problem by distribution of £1,500 a year through a private charity committee chaired by the Mayor.

The subject might have quickly died down if the Liberal press had not treated the article as an opportunity to attack the Labour movement as a whole - especially the local I.L.P.⁴⁵ In self-defence, the Trades Council condemned the personal attack on 'one of Lancaster's most generous citizens', but reaffirmed its view that it did not consider the £1 1s 3d paid at Lune Mills a 'living wage'.⁴⁶ An I.L.P. leader, claimed that even the shilling bonus, introduced by Williamson's since 1906, was the result of Labour pressure. The secretary of the Gasworkers promised further attempts to organise the men at Williamson's.

Labour's refusal to be humiliated was one thing; Labour's determination to carry on a policy aimed primarily at his men was quite another.

Encouraged by the favourable reports of his spies, ^{Ashton} ~~he~~ struck back.⁴⁷

Through the columns of the Observer he told the Labour movement that questions affecting his workers were not to be raised anywhere except privately in his home.⁴⁸ By talking privately to different Labour leaders he hoped to break their unity.

The interview with the secretary of the I.L.P., James Hodgkinson, on 19 July 1909 proved the first success of this policy. Hodgkinson, a small shopkeeper, had been the founder of the local Shop Assistants' Union

and of the second Trades Council and was widely respected. He disliked the most vociferous of his colleagues in the I.L.P., William Wall, a railwayman. He was embarrassed by personal attacks on Lord Ashton and he disliked the socialism of some Lancaster Labour men - notably the curate of Halton.⁴⁹ These divisions were made worse when he refused to divulge the details of his interview to the I.L.P.⁵⁰, and accused the labourers of Lancaster of being 'apathetic and indifferent' to union attempts to organise them.⁵¹

Such disunity did not prevent the Trades Council and I.L.P. from acting jointly in the Skerton election in November 1909.⁵² Once again, the Labour candidate was William Wall, on his fourth attempt to get onto the Town Council. Wall was a railwayman, an A.S.R.S. official, a comparative newcomer to the town. He was outspoken and did not sidestep controversial issues. He had already claimed personal influence on the introduction of the shilling bonus. If confrontation with Lord Ashton was to be avoided he was not the ideal Labour candidate for Lord Ashton's own ward. Nevertheless on his third consecutive attempts to win a Skerton seat, he did tread more carefully than usual.

Nevertheless, Lord Ashton had decided that the Skerton election of 1909 was the moment to complete his victory over Labour and the general Labour unions by making an example of Wall. On the question of unemployment, Wall merely suggested that Lord Ashton should be approached for the use of unemployed men on overtime at Williamson's.⁵³ Lord Ashton's reply was a personal condemnation of the Skerton Labour candidate as:

one of the worst enemies of those he professes to serve, and totally unfitted to be one of the leaders of the Labour Party in Lancaster. 54

Surprisingly, Wall only lost the contest by 85 votes. Lord Ashton, however, did not leave it at that. He demanded an apology from Wall through Hodkinson. He even made veiled reference to the possibility of wage reductions at his mills in a third letter to Hodkinson:

If I had acted on the desire of some people, who were disgusted with those (Wall's) reckless and senseless methods, I should have reduced some time ago the wages of the unskilled labourers in my employ to the rate ordinarily paid for similar work elsewhere, thereby saving several thousand pounds a year. 55

Such bullying tactics inspired only fear. As J.C. reported to the Lune Mills office:

The men at Lune Mills cannot make out what the letter means - Are afraid something worse to follow. 56

When it appeared that, for the moment, nothing worse was to follow, the backlash against Labour set in. Parker at Lune Mills reported that the men now realised 'what fools they have been'. Skerton ratepayers, led by the Mayor, an alderman and their three councillors - with support from a rather sheepish Wall - held a meeting to proclaim the virtues of Lord Ashton and to pass a motion of loyalty. Affirmation of community solidarity was completed by appreciations of Lord Ashton from the Chamber of Commerce, the Tradesman's Association and the Vicar of Lancaster. In the uproar of approval, the voices of criticism went unnoticed.⁵⁷

Lancaster had capitulated. Two months later Lord Ashton handed over the new town hall in Dalton Square to the Corporation and the Ashton Memorial in Williamson Park was opened to visitors. The openings were delayed, ostensibly on the grounds of Lord Ashton's health, but more probably to allow the Wall affair to subside and to give the Liberals full advantage of these latest acts of beneficence at the forthcoming General Election. The return of Norval Helme as M.P. for Lancaster once again may only have been secondary to discipline at Williamson's and the political destruction of Wall, but it was still important both to Lord Ashton and the Liberal hierarchy. In the autumn and winter of 1909, Ashton's information service probed continually into the question of Labour's loyalty to Helme. Wall's uncertainty on this score had been one of the reasons for singling him out. As far as other Labour leaders were concerned there was much less doubt. Labour's much vaunted independence had reached an impasse in local politics. By the time of the first General Election of 1910, Labour was divided: the Trades Council promised support for the Liberal candidate, while the I.L.P. remained neutral.

A week after the formal opening of the new Town Hall (27 December 1909), Helme was re-adopted formally as the Liberal candidate in the

Ashton Hall.⁵⁸ Lady Ashton sat on the platform, along with the Mayor, who was normally supposed to preserve political neutrality at such times. Political neutrality was, however, a rare luxury in Lancaster in 1910. Following the opening of the Town Hall, 20,000 people were entertained at a series of nine receptions held by Lord and Lady Ashton at the baron's expense, in a building which had just cost him over £150,000 to erect and furnish. It was rumoured that over a hundred dozens of champagne had been drunk a night.⁵⁹ Such flamboyant beneficence marked the peak of his benevolent paternalism in Lancaster. When accused by the local Tory press of flagrant political corruption, he once again publicly protested his innocence and condemned 'the methods' of his opponents in a letter published on the very day of the election.⁶⁰ With such support, Helme could not fail to win - in spite of the neutrality of the I.L.P. and the open hostility of the Roman Catholics. Helme defeated his unionist opponent by 1,094 votes. In many Lancashire constituencies the Unionist vote rose in January 1910; in the Lancaster division it reached its lowest point of all elections between 1886 and 1914.⁶¹

Only one Lancaster Unionist had the courage to blame Lord Ashton's letter publicly as the cause of the Unionist defeat. The curate of St. John's (the church formerly attended by Lord Ashton's family), the Reverend Frank Melville, told a Conservative meeting that the Liberal victory had been gained by 'foul means'. Lord Ashton and the Liberal agent at once demanded a public statement from Melville as to whether his remarks referred to Lord Ashton.⁶² In spite of pressure from his Vicar and his congregation, Melville refused. Soon afterwards, however, he resigned with unconvincing assurances that there had been no 'wire pulling', and moved away from Lancaster.

An election petition was mooted by certain local Unionists, but was abandoned.⁶³ The Unionist agent was discreetly rewarded. Nevertheless the issue did reach the ears of the House of Commons. The usual Sessional Order declaring that no peer of the United Kingdom should concern himself with the election of Members was discussed with reference

to Lord Ashton's letter. No strong criticism of his action was voiced, and both Helme and T.M. Healy spoke in his defence. Both Liberals and Conservatives agreed with the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, that the order was 'almost a farce in modern elections', and it was amended to refer only to Lords Lieutenant. Thus Lord Ashton's interference was vindicated at the highest level.⁶⁴

Lord Ashton's position in Lancaster was now stronger than ever. In August 1910 he bailed out the Trades Council - in financial difficulties over the Trades Hall - with a gift of £100, after an interview with the President (Jemmison) at Ryelands.⁶⁵ The G.W. & G.L.U. - nationally at its lowest ebb since 1889⁶⁶ - turned its attentions from Lancaster towards the neighbouring village of Galgate. Lord Ashton described the relations between the local Labour Party and himself as 'very cordial'.⁶⁷ The municipal elections of November 1910 were a model of local unanimity. Lord Ashton was offered the Mayoralty, but as on previous occasions graciously demurred. Amongst the Councillors who were all returned without a contest were the two Labour representatives, and the Unionist registration agent who had claimed the responsibility for stopping the election petition.⁶⁸ Nor were the waters seriously ruffled by the General Election of December 1910. In spite of Trades Council and I.L.P. neutrality and in spite of support for the Unionist candidate from three senior peers (Marlborough, Devonshire and Derby), strong Williamson backing squeezed Alderman Helme back to Westminster for a fourth time with a majority of 134.⁶⁹

Lord Ashton, once more confident of his position, tempered authoritarianism with magnanimity by his action in the Rail Strike of August 1911. Although his works were closed for two days he continued to pay his workers for the days missed, and for this he earned the gratitude of the local strike committee led by his old opponent, William Wall.⁷⁰ Wall was even treated to a private interview with Lord Ashton. The latter found him 'not such a bad sort of chap'.⁷¹ Paternalism seemed safe again.

The success of the Rail Strike encouraged Wall to try once more

for the Town Council. Renewed confrontation between Labour and the Liberals was inevitable. Faced, as in 1908, by a contest with a leading member of the Liberal 200, Councillor Turney, Wall boldly claimed credit for the Labour Party for improvements in Skerton Ward and for a more sympathetic attitude of the Corporation to ~~the~~ workers.⁷² As solutions to Lancaster's current problems he advocated a minimum wage of 25s a week and a municipal motor industry. The rumour began to spread in Skerton that Lord Ashton was supporting Wall this time. Williamson's informants relayed this news back to Lord Ashton, adding that Wall was already boasting about his success. It was also reported that Wall had only received the promise of I.L.P. assistance on the strength of Williamson's supposed sympathy.⁷³ Lord Ashton's secret methods of influence were at last proving to be to his disadvantage. His pro Liberal policy was thought to have been changed in favour of Labour, and Liberals were beginning to be worried.

Lord Ashton felt that he had been outwitted and tricked. Turney, the sitting Liberal Councillor for Skerton (who had first received Ashtonian approval in 1897), with greater subtlety than Wall, wrote to enquire whether he was in fact supporting the Labour candidate and whether his workpeople's wages were to be increased 'owing to Mr. Wall's influence with your lordship'. Lord Ashton's reaction was explosive. There was not 'a word of truth' in the allegations, the idea was 'too silly', and an offer was made to sign Turney's nomination papers 'as a protest against the unfair motives' which had been adopted.

Lord Ashton's public letter of support and his appearance at the polling station early on 1 November 1911 only just served to keep Turney from defeat. Wall astonished everyone by obtaining exactly the same number of votes as his opponent (after a recount), and Turney was only elected by the casting vote of the Mayor, as returning officer, in favour of the retiring member. The Guardian described the result as a 'moral victory' for Wall.⁷⁴ Lancaster Tories vigorously denied charges of a Tory Labour Coalition for Wall, levied by Turney and the Liberal hierarchy.⁷⁵

Lord Ashton regarded the result as a personal defeat.⁷⁶ As Alderman Wilson had said, the Skerton election result was evidence of weakness in the mills - his mills. Lord Ashton took no notice of any other explanation. Nor was he impressed by the efforts of J.R. Clynes to restore Lib-Lab harmony in Lancaster by a speech on 7 November, containing studied praise of Lord Ashton and regretting the election controversy which had proved an unwelcome interruption to the smooth settlement of wage claims at Williamson's.⁷⁷ Determined to reassert his authority, Lord Ashton's answer was a display of naked capitalist power in the face of timid trade union hopes. On 9 November 1911, notices appeared at Williamson's to the effect that arrangements made in more than one department for advances in wages would not now take place, 'the reasons for which the workpeople were well aware'. Worse was to follow: Wages would not be paid in future if the works had to be closed for coal or rail strikes, and, when trade was bad, only men regarded as loyal or friendly would be kept on. 'The present state of things is so intolerable that we are determined to put an end to it'. This was the only explanation for a vital change in policy.

With characteristic ruthlessness, Lord Ashton followed this announcement by the dismissal of those workers who were also members of the I.L.P. The men concerned (one was the secretary of a brotherhood organisation in the town) were sent for and dismissed without explanation, although all of them protested their loyalty to the firm in the streets afterwards. The Manchester Guardian, reporting the dismissals, made no comment beyond repeating the lame excuse that the war between Italy and Turkey over Libya had damaged the firm's Eastern trade.⁷⁸ Lord Ashton did not mince his words so lightly. In acknowledgement of protests of loyalty which now flooded in from his workers, he pointed to the consequences of listening to 'the bad advice of their fellow workmen and one or two outsiders'. Another notice issued the same day (24 November) warned:

Any workman in our employment found (either in or out of the Works) using or attempting to use **UNDUE INFLUENCE** towards another workman in our employment in order to cause him to be dissatisfied with his

wages, or by any other means endeavouring to stir up dissension amongst our workmen, or to injure the friendly relations between ourselves and our workmen will be

INSTANTLY DISCHARGED. 79

In conjunction with his dismissals and threats of dismissals, Lord Ashton took further revenge on his 'disloyal' and 'ungrateful' workforce. By Christmas 1911 he had suspended the activities of his relief committee both in Lancaster and Morecambe, and Lady Ashton's engagement to attend the anniversary of the Jubilee Town Mission was cancelled.⁸⁰ Lord Ashton's charitable operations in Lancaster and Morecambe were now at an end.

Most of the national and local press reports were sympathetic to Lord Ashton's actions against the Labour 'agitators'. There was also a note of anxiety that he might be in danger of going too far. The Times urged him to encourage 'the moderate' elements by 'meeting their fair demands sympathetically'.⁸¹ The local press blamed Wall and his supporters but clearly warned their readers of the consequences of any change in the policy of the oilcloth industry for the town. Most of the readers took this warning as a signal for mass demonstrations of support for the owners of Williamson's. A mass meeting of ratepayers was held, and there were resolutions from many public bodies including the Town Council and the Trades Council. Someone even suggested that a party of children from the Jubilee Town Mission should go to Ryelands to sing hymns to his lordship. The wave of sentiment did not bypass workingmen. Ashton got a good deal of support from works where rates were not as good as his own, although the evidence suggests that his own employees were less appreciative.⁸²

Support for Wall was unpopular but not entirely absent. Rev. J.H. Hastings, the Socialist Rector of Halton, blamed the Observer, through its own columns, for raising a 'cloud of prejudice against him (Wall) personally', and asked what Wall had actually done wrong apart from venturing to contest the election. Wall himself denied the rumours and blamed his Liberal opponent, Turney.⁸³ Wall's own societies, the ASRS and ASLEF, both gave him loyal support in the face of 'vilification

and misrepresentation'.⁸⁴ The national Labour press also came to his aid by ridiculing Lord Ashton's action. H. Beswick in the Glanion drew from the incident the lesson that 'benevolence is frequently only skin deep and comes second to egotism and conceit'.⁸⁵ The Labour Leader described Lord Ashton as a 'philanthropist who gives largely to missions and charities, but forgets to pay his own labourers a living wage'.⁸⁶

In Lancaster, the Labour movement took little encouragement from this kind of support. The ASE, for example, at once withdrew from the Trades Council, even though Lord Ashton had publicly exonerated it from blame. The Trades Council itself abandoned further political initiatives in the town and concentrated on administration of the National Insurance Act and its own financial problems. The single Labour Town Councillor, Jemison, made no positive contribution to Council debates on housing and unemployment. No more local elections were officially contested by I.L.P. or Trades Council. Wall's independent action in the elections of 1913 was greatly resented by his colleagues. No more Labour Councillors were elected nor Labour magistrates appointed before 1914. By that year Lancaster still had only one of each.

In the short term Lord Ashton had been highly successful, in the long term his action did incalculable harm. His old and well-attested claim to be the friend of organised labour was no longer valid. In matters concerning his own labourers he had openly declared himself the opponent of organised labour. Labour relations at his own works had suffered too. He had always relied on informants, but good treatment, rather than fear, had always been his principal instrument of control. Now fear gripped both sides. Afraid of the consequences of unrestrained Labour progress, he had declared his hostility to workers who had traditionally regarded themselves as privileged and now saw themselves as brow beaten. His action had shown the naked force of capitalism and provided proof for many of the arguments of his Socialist opponents.

In the aftermath of the Skerton election of 1911 Lord Ashton only modified his policy towards his works. He carried on paying those employees who, although too old to work, could still manage to get to the mills, but he abandoned payment of his men during stoppages. One exception was made for George V's visit to Lancaster in August 1912. In the same year he raised wages (see Chapter IV) and promised substantial increments to the new state insurance scheme for his workers.⁸⁸ He continued to refuse to allow any union to negotiate with him on behalf of his employees.

Politically, Lord Ashton's action was dangerous for the Liberals. It rocked the Lib-Lab alliance which was essential to Liberal hegemony in Lancaster. Denials of Con-Lab conspiracy made his allegations look silly, and his own reiteration of the political independence of his workers seemed grimly ironical. For so long the Williamson family had embodied the spirit of Lancaster Liberalism, developing from the self help of James Williamson I, and ~~Sir Thomas Storey~~ to the principle of mutual interests of employer and worker in the furtherance of Free Trade, prosperity and Home Rule of Lord Ashton. But the interests of master and workers had so far diverged by 1911 that even a younger man could hardly have stood astride the growing gulf. Lord Ashton's preservation of a common front between capital and labour had always been something of a public relations exercise. With age and changed circumstances the fiction of ties of mutual interest could no longer be maintained. After the First World War he severed his links with the Liberal Party.

The events of 1911 led to a complete change in his policy towards Lancaster. Feeling abused, betrayed and rejected, Lord Ashton determined to dismantle the elaborate system by which he had surveyed if not controlled so much of Lancaster life. He resigned as a magistrate (borough and county) and also as a Vice President and Trustee of the Lancaster Royal Infirmary.¹⁰¹ He declined invitations to become president of golf clubs and cricket clubs in Lancaster and Morecambe. Morecambe Golf Club was informed that Lord Ashton:

... does not any longer care to be associated with the affairs of this neighbourhood and also because his lordship is endeavouring as far as he can to efface himself in the Lancaster Parliamentary Division. 102

He gave up his annual Old Folks treat in Skerton, wound up the work of his relief committee, and withdrew from the subscription lists of the Infirmary, the Royal Albert Asylum and other local charities. When asked to provide certain improvements in the town in 1914 he relied bitterly that, but for the uncharitable remarks of his political opponents, some of the improvements would have been carried out 'long ago':

Don't you think you had better seek the aid of those who are so anxious that the town should prosper - those with pure minds and disinterested motives? They would show you the way to prosperity and make things hum!!! 103

Lancaster was not altogether the poorer for the loss of Lord Ashton's charity. The town had ceased to expand and in many respects its amenities were too big for its requirements. Even Lord Ashton's private relief committee, which in times of depression had been spending as much as £35-40 per week, was wound up after its most important work was done. Emigration and improved economic conditions in the years immediately preceding the First World War had helped to ease the pressure on employment in the town. With the advent of Old Age Pensions and National Insurance, Lancaster was moving along with the rest of Britain out of the age of charity and the workhouse into the age of collective social security. Moreover the ending of mammoth charitable operations such as those described above was the price of independence. The withdrawal of Lord Ashton's private charity heralded also a time when Williamson's would accept collective bargaining, although this was only to come after Lord Ashton's death in 1930. The pity for both Ashton and Lancaster was that the transition was slow and accompanied by considerable bad feeling.

CHAPTER V

Footnotes.

1. BPP 1854, XI, Factories Inquiry. Pt. II, Cd. 665-8, pp. 183-6. Greg's mill was humanely run by regional standards.
2. e.g. Goth family: William (d. 1922) employed at Storey's Moor Lane Mills 64 years; father for 50 years; brother for 21 years; see Lancaster Observer 7 May 1920, for Gibsons who gave 231 years service to Storeys; see ibid. 20 February 1926. Also G. Christie, op. cit. 158 et seq.
3. Of the twenty or so freemen working for Williamson's in 1865, only one voted Tory at that election. The rest received £10 each from the foreman and voted Liberal; see Lancaster Election Commission (1866), 19821. One cabinetmaker voted Liberal because he 'was working for a person then as wished me to'. (Ibid. 27,403).
4. Censuses of 1871 and 1911.
5. Trades Union membership among oilcloth workers stood at only 423 in six branches. In 1901 the number fell to 280; see BPP 1902 XCVII, Trade &c, Cd. 540.
6. The Lancaster press was full of accidents at Lune Mills in the Edwardian years.
7. R.H. Sherard, The White Slaves of England (1897).
8. Lancaster C.R.C., DDX 909 Peel MSS. passim.
9. High Street Congregational Church, List of Church Members, 1903 (used in conjunction with 1901 Directory).
10. Sulyard Street Methodist Church, Minutes of Primitive Methodist Chapel Committee Meetings.
11. Ibid. United Methodist Church Register 1899.
12. Lancaster Observer, 12 September 1890.
13. Ibid. 29 October 1897.
14. Ibid. 5 November 1897.
15. Lancaster Guardian, 14 October 1899.
16. Lancaster City Library, Newscuttings. Obituary of Bateson, 7 September 1907. Bateson also helped organise Lord Ashton's annual old folk's treat.
17. The Vicar of Lancaster wrote to Lord Ashton in 1911 that it was 'a privilege to be Vicar here', see DDX 909/1/132.
18. Lancaster Observer, 5 July 1907.
19. Ibid. 16 April 1880.
20. Ibid. 24 October 1890.
21. Ibid. 6 March 1891.
22. Ibid. 6 June 1890.
23. Lancaster Guardian, 21 February 1891.
24. Lancaster Observer, 15 December 1888; 15 November 1889; 24 June 1892.

25. Ibid. 24 October 1890.
26. Lancaster Guardian, 24 September 1892.
27. Lancaster Observer, 11 September 1892.
28. Lancaster Times, 4 March 1892.
29. Lancaster Observer, 21 July 1893.
30. H.A. Clegg, Fox and Thompson, op. cit.
31. H. Pelling, Origins of the Labour Party (1954).
32. Lancaster Observer, 27 May, 17 June, 15 July 1892.
33. See speech by Rev. J.C. Pollard to I.L.P.;
Ibid. 22 May 1896.
- 34; Ibid. 5 October 1900.
35. Lancaster Standard, 13 December 1895.
36. P.F. Clarke, Lancashire and the New Liberalism (1971), *passim*.
37. Lancaster Observer, 6 July 1906.
38. H. Pelling, Popular Politics and Society in Late-Victorian Britain (1968)
pp. 130-147.
39. Lancaster Observer, 7 March 1908.
40. Lancashire Daily Post, 1 April 1908.
41. Lancaster Standard, 3 April 1908.
42. Peel MSS. loc. cit.
43. The Co-operative News, 13 February 1909.
44. Ibid. 20 & 27 February 1909.
45. Lancaster Observer, 5 March 1909.
46. Lancaster Observer, 12 March 1909.
47. Lancs. C.R.C., DDX 909/1/20, J.D. 20 February 1909, & 27, Duckett, undated,
and 32.
48. Ibid. 19 March 1909.
49. Proudfoot preached that capitalism was incompatible with Christianity, see:
Lancaster Observer, 16 April 1909.
50. Lancs. C.R.C. DDX 909/1/44-45. The Peel MSS unfortunately include no
report of the meeting either.
51. Lancaster Observer, 30 July 1909.
52. Ibid. 22 October 1909.
53. Ibid. 24 September 1909.
54. Ibid. 29 October 1909.

55. Ibid. 12 November 1909.
56. Lancs. C.R.C. DDX 909/1/64, J.C. to U.S. 13 November 1909.
57. e.g. Howson, insurance agent, believed Ashton should have ignored the F.L.P.; ibid. 70.
58. Lancaster Observer, 7 January 1910.
59. Lancs. C.R.C. DDX 909/1/79.
60. Lancaster Observer, 20 January 1910. Nevertheless Ashton issued strict instructions to his office against 'influencing' his men; see Peel MSS, I, 84.
61. P.F. Clarke, op. cit. Appendix, pp. 412-14.
62. Lancaster Observer, 28 January and 11 February 1910.
63. Lancs. C.R.C. DDX 909/1/102, 105, 118, E.G. Clark's return to the Town Council was not contested.
64. Lancaster Guardian, 26 February 1910.
65. Lancaster Observer, 2 September 1910.
66. H.A. Clegg etc., op. cit. p. 450.
67. Lancaster Observer, 7 October 1910.
68. Ibid. 5 November 1910.
69. Ibid. 16 December 1910.
70. Ibid. 25 August 1911.
71. Lancs. C.R.C. DDX 909/1/136.
72. Ibid. 140.
73. Ibid. 141-3.
74. Lancaster Guardian, 4 November 1911.
75. Lancaster Observer, 3 November 1911.
76. In spite of evidence to suggest Turney's unpopularity; see Ibid. 10 November 1911, and Lancs. C.R.C. DDX 909/1/164.
77. Lancashire Daily Post, 8 November 1911.
78. Manchester Guardian, 14 and 15 November 1911.
79. Lancs. C.R.C. DDX 909/ Peel MSS Misc.
80. Lancaster Observer, 17 November and 8 December 1911.
81. The Times, 16 November 1911, p. 9.
82. Lancs. C.R.C. DDX 909/1/164-5, 168.
83. Lancaster Observer, 17 and 24 November 1911.
84. Lancashire Daily Post, 7 November 1911.
85. Clarion, 17 November 1911.

86. Labour Leader, 17 November 1911.

87. Lancaster Observer, 21 November 1913.

88. Ibid. 26 July 1912.

89. Ibid. 16 February & 15 March 1912.

90. Ibid. 26 January 1912.

91. Ibid. 6 February 1914.

Meanwhile he moved the sphere of his benevolent activities to St. Annes where he gave a park (£25,000), a hospital (£35,000) and money to the Blackpool and Lytham Tramway (£20,000), War-time charities benefited too (£70,500): see Lytham St. Annes Standard, 30 May 1930.

CONCLUSION

The term elite has been used as a 'category of "top persons"' to understand that group which stood at the summit of the Lancaster social hierarchy by virtue of the wealth of its members.¹ Lancaster showed the typical features of English society as a whole in that its higher echelons were not closed to new members and that wealth was the major criterion.² Nevertheless, marriage and friendship associations made acceptance much easier for the second generation.

The elite had both town members and county members. The role of the former was largely working, that of the latter largely honorific. Each respected the other's role. The association of the county members with county government and the land always gave them a social superiority over the town members who were involved in town government and commerce. Barriers restricting membership of the elite were hard to impose because of this dual nature. The county members felt themselves part of a wider county society which some town members might not be acceptable to. The town members by force of necessity were part of an urban community which was mobile as well as hierarchical. Town membership of the elite has been partly defined in terms of heads of political institutions. In an age of developing democracy, there was no safety in exclusiveness, even if, in practice, the town leadership did not become appreciably more open to talent from below as the nineteenth century progressed.

The social elite was then largely a collection of individuals, united only by wealth and rank, and rarely acting effectively as a body. The actual work of running the town was left to sub-groups of the elite who headed the various administrative hierarchies of magistracy, Town Council, Board of Health, Port Commission and Charity Commission. Many of these overlapped. The Mayor and Aldermen were the most active members of the borough bench. The Town Council and Board of Health were synonymous after 1849. Most Port and Charity Commissioners were Town Councillors. So too were many Poor Law Guardians. The hierarchy of administrative power mirrored the hierarchy of social influence. Those with social influence 'above' the administrative hierarchy were very

few. Lord Ashton was exceptional; so too were the Tory notables excluded from office in the period of Whig government from 1835 to 1840. Both Lord Ashton and the Tory notables still retained places on the magistrates' bench and as patrons of voluntary institutions.

The cohesion of the elite was at a low level. Lancaster was part of a regional and national society which was unified and homogenous to a considerable degree thanks to good communications, long established unity and national institutions enabling the existence of a national upper class, long before this could be said to be true of middle and working classes.³ Its local cohesion derived from institutions based on the town, such as the magistrates' bench, the Assizes and the John o'Gaunt Club. It included men who did not belong to the nation's landed elite.⁴

The elite was its most cohesive at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the reins of power were most concentrated in its hands. Corporation and Dissenting families and even some local gentry derived their wealth from the same source, namely overseas trade. Lancaster was at its most important as an administrative and legal centre and therefore acted as a strong centripetal force. Even then great diversity or plurality is evident. Political and religious differences existed. Residence was scattered. Marriage took place within national, denominational and trade frameworks as much as within the local elite. Political power, although lying largely in the hands of the elite relied heavily on outside factors such as the intervention of the aristocracy and commercial interests from Liverpool or London. These outside interests often had more influence than the elite over the freemen voters.

The cohesion of the social elite was weakened after 1835. Increased political rivalry took the form of frequently contested municipal and parliamentary elections in the borough. Elections by ratepayers to the Town Council meant a reduction in the exclusiveness of municipal government. The aldermanship and mayoralty might remain largely the reserve of merchants, manufacturers and professional men, but the bulk of the rank and file was now made up of shopkeepers. The end of the Assize monopoly in 1835

deprived Lancaster of much of its attraction as the county's social capital. Thereafter the orientation of its entertainments was more towards the town and the shopkeepers than towards the county and the gentry. Elite institutions, however, survived, and the elite continued to play a lively economic and political role in the life of the borough.

The social elite became even less cohesive in the late nineteenth century. The influx of new families into the area increased, and many of the families prominent in the early and middle years of the century ceased to be important in its later years. Meanwhile the economic growth of the town increased the numbers of recruits from the town itself. The links between county and town weakened further, in spite of the founding of the County Club. Interests were too diverse. County enthusiasm was devoted more to the grouse moors than to traditional 'assemblies'. The new rich who bought estates in the Lancaster area took little interest in the town itself. Their sons were sent away to public school. The sons of the town leaders also tended to switch their attention from town to county. Nevertheless, there remained an upper class in the town to take the lead in voluntary associations and on the Town Council. Politically the social elite became largely Unionist, except for Lord Ashton. The Unionist Party gave it a focal point but tended to increase the alienation from the town which had become predominantly Liberal. Conversely the social notables acquired a cachet from their disassociation from the town and this helped to strengthen the growth of an impotent 'high society' on the Dahlian model.⁵

When one views the elite from the point of view of the category of persons exercising power, concentration rather than dispersal seems to be the feature of Lancaster throughout the nineteenth century. Economic and political power was concentrated in the hands of the merchants and gentry at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the middle of the century the merchants had been replaced by manufacturing and professional families, but the gentry remained an important factor. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the economic and political role of the gentry declined and economic and political power was concentrated further

in the hands of a few local manufacturers. This concentration took place in spite of the growth of population and the increase in the complexity of social organisation. It was made possible partly by a greater independence of the town from its rural setting, partly by the development of large industrial concerns in the town for the first time. Political professionalisation and the growth of a managerial class were as yet in their infancy and did not yet provide a major challenge for the leaders. The party and managerial machines were still well under control, even though one or two individuals were thrown up by them who would previously have remained obscure. Concentration went even further in the early years of the twentieth century when economic and political power focused on one man, Lord Ashton. In an economic and political sense he became 'the top person'.

In spite of the elite's grip on the major institutions of local government, and in spite of the smallness of the electorate and the fact that some offices were not elective, the elite could be challenged from below. The main source of this challenge was the shopkeeping population. This was the group through which the elite had to rule. This was the group which provided links with the bottom end of the social chain. It furnished committee members for relief organisations, special constables, church and chapel officials, party workers and Poor Law Guardians. The elite ignored this group at its peril. Municipal politics between 1835 and 1840 showed how the tradesmen could wrest power, albeit temporarily, from the hands of the elite. In the 1850's once again the tradesmen showed their unwillingness to accept heavy municipal expenditure. Leadership by the notables piloted public health reform in spite of shopkeeper opposition, but that leadership was only retained by the acceptance of the principle of economy. Ratepayer Associations in 1879-82 and 1904 and the Property Owners' Association of 1913 were reminders to the leaders that they could not govern without popular consent. Nevertheless, apathy and inability to produce a programme were the usual hallmarks of the bourgeoisie in politics. The

talents for business or leadership usually either moved out of the town or made the jump to professional or mercantile status.

Lancaster possessed other minority groups, apart from the shopkeepers. Religious minorities included Roman Catholics and Dissenters. Political minorities included, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Labour Party. Minorities were organised by churches, by temperance organisations and by trade unions. They were not, however, very powerful. Their interests had to be considered at General Elections, but at other times their influence was not very strong. The comparative smallness of the franchise was one reason for their weakness particularly as regards labour but the traditions of deference and the strength of social hierarchy were equally important. The position of a union leader in Edwardian Lancaster was not that of a respected establishment figure. He was still regarded by many as an upstart whose power base was not fully legitimate. Support or even sympathy for his resistance to Lord Ashton was only embryonic even at the height of confrontation in 1911. Friendly society and Co-operative Society leaders were far more respectable. At no time did their institutions pose any threat to the social order.

The threat from the masses to the elite's position was not great. The town was small and dominated by the Castle and, after 1855, barracks. Most businesses were small scale: no place of work exceeded five hundred employees before 1880. The families of many businessmen had lived in the town for several generations. Suburban development was limited before the 1880's. Relations between worker and employer were deferential and paternalistic. Even when firms got bigger in the late nineteenth century, the biggest, Williamson's, applied paternalistic methods of control more intensively than ever.

Lancaster workers were low-paid by comparison with larger Lancashire towns, but they were better paid than in the countryside and better off than in market centres in the south of England. Unemployment figures were not available, but they probably fluctuated as much in Lancaster as in larger centres. The cure in Lancaster was also probably the same as in

as the town stood halfway betwixt the rural north and the industrial
south of Lancashire. Locking class mobility combined with
deferential attitudes made organisation difficult.

Effectiveness of the elite in solving the town's social and economic
problems was at a moderate level throughout the period. It did not allow
Lancaster to fall markedly behind other Lancashire towns in terms of
social provision, but its lead was often reluctant. Absenteeism was a
marked feature of Council meetings up to 1889. Problems were tackled very
slowly. Restricted powers and financial resources were constant handicaps.
Effective leadership to overcome them was, however, more available than
in some towns. Lancaster's eras of civic consciousness were not as
impressive as those of the great cities, but its periods of municipal
inactivity never reached the depths plumbed by 'woodman' type caucuses
elsewhere. The traditional involvement of manufacturers, merchants and
professional men dating from the years of the unreformed Corporation was
probably significant here. Tradesman domination threatened at various
times, but was never completely victorious. The elite never allowed
itself to acquire the shopkeepers' blinkers in town government. Caution
with regard to rates, however, did prevent the town from having either
a public park until 1881, or a public library until 1895, even though mun
municipal trading was, for a time, undertaken with some enthusiasm.

In spite of the leap in importance of the West Indies trade in the
1790's and of Williamson's in Lancaster's employment structure in the
1900's, Lancaster remained fundamentally a market or service town
throughout the period. The small contribution to its economy of manufacturing
and of the port calls into question the effectiveness of the elite as
economic leaders. Comparisons with south Lancashire towns suggest a
poor performance. The inexorable rise of Liverpool and the doom of the
West Indies trade explain the hopelessness of Lancaster's position as a
port in the early nineteenth century. Lancaster probably benefited
indirectly from the fact that many of its merchants transferred their
interests and their children to Liverpool. At least the middle and the
upper classes did not forget Lancaster. Realism was forced on the town and

manifested itself in the lack of interest in further development of Glasson Dock. The salvaging of the town's banks and the development of cotton manufacturing were regarded as giving more immediate returns. When the railways came, Lancaster businessmen played an important promotional role, but got caught up in conflicting interests of different companies. Moreover, few were really convinced that the railways could be used to revive the port. The town did benefit from being a railway centre and from the development of the railway carriage industry. Manufacturing leaders, always a small circle in Lancaster, found economic circumstances more favourable in the later nineteenth century. The town's manufactured products as last achieved considerable success, thanks to a variety of factors. The success of oilcloth seems to have been largely due to the rising real incomes of the working class.⁶ Railway carriages and furniture worked in close co-operation on many ventures and took advantage of the booms in British investment in foreign railways. Cattle cake producers enjoyed the availability of cheap North American grain and the growing demand from north-western farmers. Lancaster's demographic expansion after 1870 was clearly linked to the success of these industries. Yet the continued narrowness of the town's industrial sector was exposed when the Wagon Works was taken over in 1902 and closed down. The town became increasingly reliant on one industry - that of oilcloth. Lord Ashton's business genius built up Williamson's between 1875 and 1914; it was not till after 1914 that the same tight personal control proved to be a handicap.

Lancaster throughout the nineteenth century displayed the advantages and disadvantages of smallness. Among the advantages may be numbered neighbourliness, charity⁷ and the reduced impact of class divisions; among the disadvantages, a small leadership group, fewer job opportunities and low wages. Lancaster's smallness should not be exaggerated - it was over 10,000 after 1811 - even though it never reached the county borough threshold of 50,000. This gives it a relevance to the course of events in the mass of small to medium sized English towns in the nineteenth century. Only further studies will indicate to what extent social relationships in Lancaster were unique or typical.

CONCLUSIONFootnotes.

1. G. Parry, Political Elites (Manchester, 1969), p. 32.
2. H.J. Perkin, Origins of Modern English Society (1969), pp. 61-2.
3. Ibid. p. 56
4. Ibid. p. 51
5. R.A. Dahl, op. cit.
6. Compare success of products such as soap in this period;
see C. Wilson, The History of Unilever, Ch.I
7. Charitable institutions remarked as 'notable' even by Andrew Carnegie;
Our Coaching Trip (New York, private pubn., 1882), p. 137.

APPENDIX A1Common Councillors, Capital Burgesses and Aldermen 1780-1835.

1. ADDISON, John (1740-88); merchant.
2. ADDISON, Robert (1746-1819); Gent; s. of barber; free 1772-3, Cap. B. 1785, Mayor 1794, 1803; J.P., D.L.
3. ALSTON, Thomas; Gent; LFCS; free 1819-20, C.C. 1830; Cable St. (1829).
4. ARMISTEAD, Arthur; merchant (liquor), Ship's Broker, Cotton Spinner; free 1806-7, C.C. 1824, Cap. B. 1828; New St. (1829).
5. ATKINSON, Anthony (1726-95); Attorney; born Kirkby Lonsdale, free 1757-8, Mayor 1790, Alderman 1790.
6. ATKINSON, James; Attorney; free 1808-9, C.C. 1808, Cap. B. 1813, Ald. 1819, Mayor 1820, 1830.
7. ATKINSON, Richard (1763-1821), Merchant and Gent; s. of surgeon of Garstang; free 1779-80, C.C. 1789, Cap. B. 1794, Ald. 1799, Mayor 1800, 1809; J.P.
8. ATKINSON, Richard (1793-1843); Esq, s. of esq; free 1809, Mayor 1823, Ald. 1823; J.P.
9. BALDWIN, Hugh (1801-51), Attorney, s. of Gent; free 1817-18, C.C. 1829, Cap. B. 1834; Cable St. (1829).
10. BALDWIN, John (1762-1819), Attorney, free 1790-1, C.C. 1800, Cap. B. 1804, Mayor 1811, Ald. 1811; Market St. (1799).
11. BARRON, James, Tallow Chandler, free 1736-7, Mayor 1768, 1777, Ald. 1789.
12. BARRISON, Richard, Merchant; free 1793-4 (Bookkeeper), C.C. 1802.
13. *BATEMAN, John Thomas, Surgeon; free 1828-9, F.G.S., M.R.C.S., Ce 1834, Sec. to Bd. of Health.*
13. BAXENDALE, Josiah, Surgeon, free 1783-4, C.C. 1806, Castle Hill (1814).
14. BIRKETT, Robert; Banker; free 1806-7, C.C. 1819, Cap. B. 1821.
15. BLACKBURN, Richard; Merchant and Controller of Customs; free 1823-4, C.C. 1825.
16. BOND, John (d. 1856), Merchant; free 1806-7, C.C. 1807, Cap. B. 1809, Mayor 1819, 1829, Ald. 1819; J.P., D.L., D.L.B; Dalton Square (1829).
17. BOND, Thomas (1759-1817), Merchant, free 1794-5, C.C. 1795.
18. BOWER, John; Brass Founder & Esq; C.C. pre-1780; son lived at the Parks, Bare (1835).
19. BOWES, John (1728-98), Merchant, free 1749-50, Mayor 1783, Ald. 1783.
20. BOWES, Thomas; Merchant, free 1755-6, Cap. B. 1780, Ald.
21. BOWES, Thomas (1777-1833), Merchant, Gent; free 1795-6, C.C. 1800, Cap. B. 1810, Mayor 1821, Ald. 1821; J.P., D.L. Queen Sq. (1829).
22. BRADSHAW, Bartholomew; Woollen Draper; free 1829-30, C.C. 1832, Cap. B. 1835, Market (1834).

23. BRADBISH, James; Merchant and Tallow Chandler; free 1780-1, C.C. 1818; J.P. Briarage (1809).
24. BROCKBANK, John (1750-1822), Shipwright, free 1764-5, C.C. 1794, Cap. B. 1818, Churchwarden (St. John's); Cable Street.
25. BROCKBANK, John; (1781-1847), Shipbuilders and Attorney; C.C. 1822, Cap. B. 1824, Mayor 1834, Ald; J.P.; Cable St.
26. BURROW, Edward (1784-1820), Merchant, free 1798-9, C.C. 1812, Cap. B. 1815.
27. BURROW, George (1790-1861), W.I. Merchant and Cotton Spinner, free 1805-6, C.C. 1816, Cap. B. 1820, Mayor 1828, 1833, Ald; J.P.
28. BURROW, Thomas (1754-1821), Grocer, Linen Draper, W.I. Merchant; free 1783-4, C.C. 1795, Cap. B. 1797, Mayor 1806, 1815, Ald. 1806.
29. BUTTERFIELD, William (d. 1787), Gent; free 1729-30; Mayor 1756, 1770, 1779, Ald.
30. CAMPBELL, David (1749-1832), Physician, free 1782-3, C.C. 1782, Cap. B. 1787, Mayor 1796, Ald; FRCP; Castle St. (1799), Dalton Sq. (1829).
31. CARLISLE, William (1785-1846), Merchant and Liquer Merchant, free 1800-1, C.C. 1826, Cap. B. 1832, Ald; Churchwarden (St. John's); Fleet Square (1829).
32. CARTER, Francis (d. 1826); Surgeon and Wine Merchant, free 1821-2, ^{C.C. 1820}Cap. B. 1823; Market St. (1815).
33. CHARNLEY, John (1774-1834); Ship's Captain and Merchant; free 1805-6, C.C. 1816, Ald. 1832; Castle Pk. (1829).
34. CHARNLEY, Thomas Armistead; Merchant and Gent; F.G.S; free 1826, C.C. 1834.
35. CLARKSON, Thomas; Gent. and Controller of Customs; free 1785 6, C.C. 1786.
36. COUPLAND, Henry; Master Mariner and Gent; free 1784-5, C.C. 1833.
37. COX, Edward T.J.; Merchant (Wine); free 1806-7, C.C. 1813.
38. DEARDEN, James; Gent; free 1763-4, Cap. B. 1782.
39. DENNISON, John; Merchant and Calico Printer; free 1793-4, C.C. 1801, Cap. B. 1818; Back Lane (1799) to Liverpool.
40. DOUKRAY, John (1775-1838), ^{Merchant &}Worsted Spinner, free 1792-3, C.C. 1833; Dalton Square.
41. DODSON, John (1771-1849), Merchant and Attorney; free 1782-3, C.C. 1791 and 1810; J.P; St. Leonardsgate (1829).
42. DOWBIGGIN, John (1765-1825), Attorney, free 1788-9, C.C. 1824; Castle Hill (1815).
43. EDMONDSON, Christopher; Merchant and Gent; free 1783-4; C.C. 1783; to London.
44. EWARENSIDE, John; Soap Boiler and Gent; free 1822-3, Cap. B. 1832, DLB; Cable St. (1829).
45. FULTONER, Christopher; Merchant, free 1792-3, C.C. 1825, Cap. B. 1832.
46. FOXUROFF, Robert; Merchant; free 1731-2, Mayor 1771, 1780, Ald. 1789.

- 47. GILLS, Thomas (d. 1843); Merchant (Baltic); free 1801-2, C.C. 1801, Cap. B. 1805; Mayor 1812, 1823, 1831, Ald. 1811, Churchwarden (St. Mary's); Queen's Sq. (1809), St. G's Quay (1829), Church St. (1834), Bare (1843).
- 48. GREGGSON, Henry; Attorney; free 1818-19, C.C. 1833.
- 49. GREGGSON, Samuel (1763-1846), Merchant, Coach Proprietor, Sec. to Lancaster Canal Co; free 1783 4, C.C. 1802, Cap. B. 1810, Ald. 1817, Mayor 1817, 1825; Market St. (1819).
- 50. GREY, Bryan; Gent; free 1767 8, C.C. 1790.
- 51. HALL, William; Land Agent; free 1804 5, Cap. B. 1830; Friarage (1829), Sulyard St. (1834).
- 52. HARGREAVES, Henry (d. 1786); Merchant; Sugar Baker; free 1745 6, Mayor 1776, 1784, Ald.
 HARGREAVES, John (1780-185), Gardner, free 1822-3, C.C. , Churchwarden 1826-39.
- 53. HARRIS, Thomas (1726-1801), Surgeon, free 1772-3, C.C. 1784, Cap. B. 1788, Mayor 1797, Ald.
- 54. HARRISON, James Stockdale (1778-1879), Surgeon; free 1827-8, C.C. 1828; Church St. (1829).
- 55. HEATON, John (d. 1829); Ironmonger; free 1803-4, C.C. 1818; Market St. (1815).
- 56. HIGGIN, John (1762-1847), Gaol keeper and Gent; free 1801-2, C.C. 1804, Cap. B. 1807, Ald. 1813; Captain in Volunteers.
- 57. HIGGIN, John junior (1785-1847), Attorney, Gaol keeper and Gent; free 1803 4, C.C. 1815, Cap. B. 1820; Town Clerk; Church St. (1829).
- 58. HIGGIN, Thomas Housman (1789-1861), Cotton Spinner, Deputy Gaol Kepper; free 1804 5, C.C. 1820, Cap. B. 1830; Captain in Militia.
- 59. HINDE, James (1721-1802); Mercer; free 1744-5, Mayor 1782, 1792, Ald.
- 60. HINDE, Richard (1803-1879), Wine Merchant, free 1830-1, C.C. 1831.
- 61. HINDE, Samuel; Merchant and Manufacturer; free 1794-5, C.C. 1829, DLB.
- 62. HINDE, Thomas (d. 1788); Master Mariner; free 1749-50, Mayor 1769, 1778, Ald.
- 63. HINDE, William (1773-1834), Merchant and Manufacturer; free 1794-5, C.C. 1806, Cap. B. 1824; J.P., D.L.; Park House (1829).
- 64. HOUSMAN, John (1726-1793); W.I. Merchant, free 1749-50, Mayor 1787, Ald. 1787.
- 65. HOUSMAN, John (1766-1802), Merchant, free 1788-9, C.C. 1798.
- 66. HOUSMAN, Miles; Mercer; free 1749-50, Cap. B. 1785, Churchwarden (St. Mary's).
- 67. HOUSMAN, William (1768-1839); W.I. Merchant; free 1799-1800, C.C. 1800, Cap. B. 1802, Ald. 1809; Colonel in Militia; Lune Bank (1829).
- 68. INMAN, Robert (1756-1823); Merchant (Timber); free 1772-3, C.C. 1790.
- 69. INMAN, Thomas (1780-1858); Merchant (Timber); free 1799-1800, C.C. 1808, Cap. B. 1811, DLB; Fenton St (1829) and Green Ayre.

70. JACOBSON, Robert; Solicitor; free 1804-5, J.C. 1835; Gt. John St. (1829).
71. JACOBSON, William (1795-1871); Cotton Spinner; FGS; free 1825-6, J.C. 1834; St. Leo's Gate (1829).
72. JOHNSON, Christopher (1733-1866); Surgeon; free 1817-18, C.C. 1827, Cap. B. 1829, Mayor 1832, Ald. 1832; Nicholas St. (1829).
73. JOHNSON, James (1752-1794); Surgeon; free 1775-6, C.C. 1789.
74. JOHNSON, Richard (1743-1818); Ironmonger and Grocer; free 1764-5 (linen draper), Cap. B. 1786, Mayor 1795, 1805, 1823, Ald., County Treasurer, Churchwarden (St. Mary's); Cable St (1834).
75. KNOWLES, William (1773-1834); Grocer and Wine Merchant; free 1798-9, C.C. 1824, Churchwarden (St. Mary's), Cable St. (1834).
76. LANGSHAW (John (1763-1832); Organist; FGS: free 1816-17, C.C. 1821, Cap. B. 1830.
77. LEWTHWAITE, John (d. 1828); Attorney; free 1796-7, C.C. 1799; New Rd (1815).
78. LODGE, James (1753-1822); Esquire; free 1779-80, C.C. 1817, Cap. B. 1820.
79. LODGE, John (d. 1803); Attorney; free ; C.C. 1830; Penny St. (1829).
80. MANBY, Rev. John (1763-1844); Clerk in H.O., free 1806-7, C.C. 1810, Cap. B. 1816; Vicarage (1829).
81. MARR, John; Merchant; free 1815-16, C.C. 1829.
82. MASHITER, Gardner (1783-1861); Merchant; free 1799-1800, C.C. 1818, Cap. B. 1826; Gt. John St. (1809), Castle Hill (1829 & 61).
83. MASHITER, William; Merchant; free 1788-9, C.C. 1800.
84. MASON, Jackson (1754-1810); Attorney; free 1768-9, C.C. 1792, Cap. B. 1796, Ald. 1803, Mayor 1804; Church St. (1809).
85. MASON, Miles (d. 1790); Mercer; free 1741-2, Mayor 1785, Ald. 1785.
86. MASON, Thomas (1778-1827); Merchant and Cotton Spinner; free 1801-2, C.C. 1801, Cap. B. 1806, Ald. (refused) 1813.
87. MASON, Thomas (1804-1849); Attorney and Silk Spinner; free 1820-1, C.C. 1828, Cap. B. 1832.
88. MASON, William (1723-1794); Gent; free 1744-5 (Mariner), Ald.
89. MILLERS, Thomas; W.I. Merchant; free 1795-6, C.C. 1797, Cap. B. 1799.
90. MOORE, James; Tallow Chandler and Attorney; free 1769-70, C.C. 1786, Cap. B. 1790, Mayor 1798, 1808, Ald, Churchwarden (St. John's, St. Mar 's); Friarage 1799, Church St. (1815).
91. MUCKE, Thomas (1756-1817); Merchant; free 1786-7, C.C. 1798, Cap. B. 1800, Mayor 1808, 1810, Ald. 1809; Gage St. (1815).
92. NOBLE, James Barton; Merchant; free 1806-7, C.C. 1814, Cap. B. 1818, Ald. 1821, Mayor 1822; Market St. (1815).
93. OBEY, Richard (1756-1809); Woollen Draper, J.I. Merchant; free 1781-2, J.C. 1793; Cable St. (1799), Dalton Sq. (1809).

94. PARLI, John (1762-1819); Attorney; free 1794-5, J.J. 1804, Cap. B. 1808, Ald. 1813; Mayor 1814; Church St. (1815).
95. PARLINSON, James (1752-1803); Attorney; free 1778-9, Cap. B. 1794, Mayor 1801, Ald. 1801; New St. (1799).
96. POSTLETHWAITE, George (d. 1794); Gent; free 1761-2, Cap. B. 1788.
97. POSTLETHWAITE, Richard (1733-1807); Gent; free 1784-5, C.C. 1788, Cap. B. 1793, Mayor 1799, Ald; Queen St. (1799).
98. RAMSTHORNE, Thomas; Attorney; free 1817-18, C.C. 1830; Sun St. (1829).
99. REDMAYNE, Leonard (1781-1869); Victualler, Merchant, Cabinetmaker; free 1799-1800, C.C. 1816, Cap. B. 1819, Mayor 1824, Ald. 1824, DLB; Madrix Hall nr. London.
100. REDMAYNE, William Treasure (1807-1849); Cabinetmaker; free 1822-3, C.C. 1833; J.P., D.L; Church St. (1834).
101. RIDLEY, Jacob (1763); W.I. Merchant; free 1800-01, C.C. 1800, Cap. B. 1803; Bankrupt 1811.
102. ROBINSON, Thomas (1752-1823); Merchant and Cotton Spinner; free 1809-10, C.C. 1815; St. George's Quay and Halton (1815).
103. ROBINSON, William; Attorney; free 1812-13, C.C. 1820, Cap. B. 1824, Ald. 1835; Church St. (1834).
104. ROPER, Oliver Toulmin (1789-1843); Tobacco and Snuff Manufacturer and Spirit Merchant; free 1803-4, C.C. 1822; Market Pl (1829).
105. ROSSALL, Richard (1793-1837); Ironmonger; free 1832, C.C. 1832; Market St. (1834).
106. SALISBURY, Thomas Walling (1795-1859); Merchant and Insurance Agent; F.G.S; free 1795-6, Port Commissioner 1800, C.C. 1806, Cap. B. 1810, Ald. 1818, Mayor 1818, 1827, Borough Treasurer 1826; Church St. (1829).
107. SANDERSON, William; Merchant and Broker; free 1795-6, C.C. 1796; Meeting House Lane (1799).
108. SATERTHWAITE, Benjamin (1763-1850); Wine Merchant; free 1795-6, C.C. 1805; Castle Park 1829.
109. SAUL, George; Gent; free 1767-8, Cap. B. 1794; Back Lane (1799).
110. SAUL, Rev. Thomas; Clerk in H.O; free 1786-7, C.C. 1812.
111. SCOTT, John; Gent; free 1800-01, C.C. 1817, Cap. B. 1821; Church St. (1829).
112. SEWARD, Abraham (1757-1823); Brazier; Gent; free 1787-8, C.C. 1814, Cap. B. 1818; Churchwarden (St. Mary's), Market St. (1809).
113. SEWARD, Charles (1787-1825); Brazier, Gent; free 1804-5, C.C. 1819, Cap. B. 1821; Churchwarden.
114. SHEPHERD, Thomas (1744-1806); Attorney; free 1769-70, C.C. 1793, Cap. B. 1795, Ald. 1802; Church St. (1799).
115. SHERSON, John Hardman (1802-1864); Attorney; free 1817-8, C.C. 1832, Secretary of Lancaster National School; Dalton Sq. (1829).

- 116. BILSON, John (1772-1844); Merchant; free 1786-7, C.C. 1794; Cable St. (1799); Queen Sq. (1829).
- 117. BIRCHSON, Samuel (1728-1793); Merchant; free 1753-4, Mayor 1788, Ald. 1788.
- 118. STOUT, John (1763-1846); Merchant; free 1785-6, C.C. 1792, Cap. B. 1818, J.P.; Queen Sq. (1829).
- 119. STOUT, William; Mercer and Woollen Draper; free 1761-2, C.C. 1781, Cap. B. 1791, Ald; Market St. (1799).
- 120. SUART, Edward (1714-1806); Saddler; free 1736-7, Mayor 1781, 1791, Ald.
- 121. SUART, Edward Jnr. (d. 1800); Merchant, free 1763-4, C.C. 1790, Ald.
- 122. TALLON, John (d. 1799); Master Mariner; free 1759-60, Cap. B. 1781, Mayor 1793, Ald. 1793.
- 123. TAYLOR, John (1735-1817); Merchant; free 1759-60 (flaxdresser), C.C. 1787, Cap. B. 1791; Back Lane (1799).
- 124. THOMPSON, William Senior; Merchant; free 1782-3; Castle Hill (1799).
- 125. THOMPSON, William Junior; Silk Spinner; free 1813-14, C.C. 1820; Dalton Square (1829).
- 126. THRELKILL, Lazarus (1764-1854); Currier, W.I. Merchant, Gent; free 1786-7, C.C. 1821; Friarage (1809), Brock St. (1829).
- 127. WALKER, John; Copper Merchant, Broker, Harbour Master; free 1807-8, C.C. 1824, Cap. B. 1825; Back Lane (1799).
- 128. WARBRICK, John; Linen Draper; free 1774-5, C.C. 1784, Cap. B. 1789.
- 129. WATSON, James; Merchant; free 1779-80, C.C. 1791, Cap. B. 1801, Ald. 1809.
- 130. WATSON, John (d. 1794); Liquor Merchant; free 1759-60, Mayor 1789, Ald. 1789.
- 131. WATSON, William (d. 1793); Merchant; free 1755-6, Mayor 1786, Ald. 1786.
- 132. WELCH, John; Merchant (Spirit); free 1794-5, C.C. 1820.
- 133. WILLAN, Leonard (1793-1854); Attorney, Clerk to Visiting Magistrates at Lunatic Asylum; free 1817 8, C.C. 1827, Cap. B. 1833; Church St. (1829).
- 134. WILLIS, Richard; Attorney; free 1801 2, C.C. 1826, Cap. B. 1828; Church St. (1829).
- 135. WILLOCK, Richard; Merchant (Porter); free 1795-6, C.C. 1816, Cap. B. 1818, Bankrupt 1825.
- 136. WILLOCK, Thomas; Merchant; free 1777-8, Cap. B. 1783.
- 137. WILSON, John Taylor (1763); Attorney; F.G.S; free 1779-80, C.C. 1796, Cap. B. 1798, Mayor 1807, 1816, 1826 Church St. (1829).
- 138. WILSON, Richard; Gent; free 1829-30, C.C. 1830.
- 139. WILSON, Thomas; Attorney; free 1817-18, F.G.S; C.C. 1832.

N.B. 115 of these were recruited between 1781 and 1835.

APPENDIX A2

Ships Registered at Liverpool, a) Originally registered at Lancaster.
 b) Re-registered at Lancaster.

	a)		b)	
	No.	Tons	No.	Tons
1787	1	25		
1788	3	335		
1789	1	152	2	300
1790				
1791	2	476		
1792	3	473		
1793	1	227	2	227
1794	1	144	4	513
1795	4	846		
1796	3	565		
1797	3	566	2	285
1798	3	887	5	1,202
1799	5	1,157	4	721
1800	6	1,049	1	146
1801	9	1,527	2	419
1802	9	1,789	1	262
1803	8	1,620		
1804	2	421		
1805	2	488		

Source: R. Craig and R. Jarvis, Liverpool Registry of Merchant Ships
 (Chetham Society XV, Manchester 1967), Table 8, pp. 152-163.

APPENDIX A3

Depositors with the Lancaster Banking Co. by size of turnover July to December 1827.

Turn over	Gent.	Mercht./ Mfr.	Trade/Craft	Attorney	Other Professional	TOTAL
over £10,000	0	2	0	0	0	2
over £5,000	1(1)	2(1)	1	2	0	6(2)
over £2,500	2	1	6	3	1	13
over £1,000	6(5)	15	6	3	0	30(5)
over £500	6(6)	5(1)	10	1	2	24(7)
over £100	9(8)	1	19	1	6	36(8)
under £100	4(3)	1	0	0	0	5(3)
TOTAL	28(23)	27(2)	42	10	9	116(25)

The above table shows the turnover of 116 of the 141 depositors with the Lancaster Banking Company for the last half of 1827. The other 25 depositors have been excluded on the grounds that they were unidentifiable or that they were impersonal (usually public) accounts, or that the entry is incomparable with the others on a time basis. The table can only be regarded as a rough guide to wealth as some depositors probably held accounts with other banks as well. As it measures turnover the table is bound to minimise the wealth of those with private incomes and thus the gentleman category (especially the rural element) is deceptively bottom heavy. The table draws a basic distinction between the merchant and manufacturing group with turnovers mainly over £1,000 and the trade/craft group with turnovers mainly below £1,000. This division is repeated in the difference between the size of turnovers of the pre 1835 Common Councilmen and the post 1835 Town Councillors (see Part II). Professional men by contrast, are evenly spread throughout the middle categories.

Source: Lancaster University Library, Lancaster Banking Company, Account Book 1826-29.

SOME INFORMATION ON WAGES 1780-1835.1. CABINET-MAKERS

Cabinet-making, like shoemaking, was a skilled trade, but unlike the shoemakers, the Lancaster cabinet-makers were organised on capitalist lines by 1800. Much of the wood had to be imported from the West Indies and the centre of the market was London. As a result Richard and Robert Gillow had succeeded in concentrating a large proportion of local production in their own hands. The first piece-work list that survives among the Gillow records was instituted in September 1785 by the Gillow brothers, with the support of 32 'subscribers' or customers. Each standard item in the order books (such as chests, desks, commodes, dressing tables, dining tables, clock cases etc.) was given a price, and extra money was to be paid for fancy additions or for work in special woods such as satin wood, manganill or tamarind. Advances on this list were obtained in April 1792 ranging from 10 to 17% on certain items. In 1792 the first mention of weekly wage payments was made: all journeymen working by the week were to be paid 16/- and were to receive free candles. Further advances of 10 and 20% in piece rates were secured in July 1805 which were announced as an advance of '5/- in the pound more than the General Book of prices'. By 1810 the journeymen were once more petitioning for increased wages and were once again successful. The advance was conceded reluctantly. The employers admitted that 'the necessaries of life are somewhat advanced in price of late', but reasoned that if more 'moderate attention and industry' had been observed, there could not have been much difficulty 'in maintaining their families in a comfortable and respectable way'. The journeymen were fortunate in not having to pay taxes, nor having to bear the burdens of increased prices of wood and transportation of finished goods. Prices of piece-work were increased 2/6 in the pound, while weekly wages advanced from 22/- to 24/-.

Information on wage rates after this is even more sketchy. A loose sheet of receipts for 1841 (in a depression year) suggests that the usual wage rate was by then still only 24/-. At this time Manchester Cabinetmakers

were receiving 26/-. The picture presented by John Child for the journeymen bookbinders, printers and compositors of London of rising wage rates during the Napoleonic Wars followed by stability from 1815 to 1843, frequently vitiated by slumps in trade and employment, apparently also holds good for the cabinet-makers of Lancaster.

2. LABOURERS.

The labourers are the only group for which there is information on wages and general conditions for several comparable areas. The Select Committee on Labourers Wages of 1824 painted a particularly gloomy picture of the labourer's condition in Lancaster. Lancashire had become a high wage area compared to the rest of England, but the parish of Lancaster was depicted as one of the least favoured parts of the county. It was reported as being the only one of the seventeen Lancashire districts to admit to paying part of the wages of its farm labourers out of the poor rates, while the parish rates also supplied marriage allowances. Lancaster was the only parish where the 'Roundsman system' operated for unemployed labourers and it was one of two of the Lancashire districts where unemployment was thought to be increasing rather than diminishing. As to the wage rates paid, the wide range of 6/- to 15/- was given for Lancaster, in marked contrast with the precise 15/6 for Preston, 12/- for Manchester and 18/- for Liverpool. Agricultural labourers were earning 9/- a week at Bolton, and it is probable that the wide discrepancy showed for Lancaster represented the range between minimum rates in the countryside and maximum rates in the town. If this is so it may be that the differential between the rates of different Lancashire towns was small, even if it had increased since Eden's survey of 1796, when labourers in Lancaster, Preston and Liverpool were all described as earning wages between 2/- and 2/6 per day.

The boost given to family incomes by the employment provided in the mills is discernible from the replies of the Assistant Overseer to the Poor Law Commissioners in 1832. Edward Pye estimated the average daily wage of a Lancaster labourer at 'about 2/3d', which, given full employment, would provide an average of 15/6 a week. In this general average he did not differ from Eden or the 1824 Committee. Employment of the rest of the

family, however, would increase this sum. Pye thought that a couple of children of 14 and 10 might earn 5/- a week in the factories, bringing the total family income to about 13/-. As optimistic as many nineteenth century commentators on the ability of a labourer to make a little go a very long way if he tried, the overseer considered that 16/- would be sufficient for the subsistence of a family of six with a surplus of 2/- a week for savings. Overseers elsewhere in Lancashire were unwilling to be so specific or so optimistic. For example, the Preston overseer who expected that the labourer's wife would be able to work (as a weaver or winder) as well as two children, only thought that such a family would be able to save 1/- a week. The overseers were certainly right in emphasising the need to save. Once a labourer's children became too old for small jobs in the mills and in most cases left home the family income once more dropped to subsistence level or below.

DAILY RATES FOR HIGHWAY LABOURERS IN LANCASTER REGION.

	Yealand Redmayne <i>Rate per rood</i>	Yealand Conyers	Yealand Conyers	Newton- With-Docker
1780	2s 6d		1804	
1781	2s 4d & 2s 6d		1805	
1782	1s 6d & 3s 6d		1806	1s 6d & 3s
1783			1807	2s 6d & 3s
1784	2s 3d		1808	
1785	2s 3d		1809	1s 6d & 2s 6d
1786			1810	3s 2s 6d
1787	1s 6d & 1s 8d		1811	2s, 3s winter 2s 6d 2s 6d
1788	1s 6d & 1s 8d		1812	3s winter 2s 6d 2s 6d
1789	1s 10d & 2s 4d		1813	3s winter 2s 6d 2s 6d
1790	1s 6d (per day) 3s 6d (walling)		1814	3s 3s
1791	1s 6d (per day)		1815	3s winter 2s 6d 2s 6d
1792	1s 10d & 3s 4d		1816	3s winter 2s 6d 3s
1793	1s 4d		1817	3s winter 2s 6d 2s & 2s 6d
1794	3s 10d 5s 6d (walling)		1818	2s 6d & 3s 2s 6d winter 2s 6d
1795	1s		1819	3s winter 2s 6d 2s 6d
1796			1820	3s winter 2s 6d 2s 3d
1797	5s 0d (walling)		1821	3s winter 2s 6d 2s
1798	2s 6d & 3s 3d		1822	2s 6d winter 2s 6d 2s
1799	2s to 2s 5d 4s 2d (walling)		1823	2s 6d winter 2s & 2s 3d 2s
1800		1s 6d to 2s 9d	1824	2s 6d winter 2s 3d 2s
1801		2s 6d to 3s	1825	2s 6d winter 2s 3d 2s
1802		2s 6d	1826	2s 6d winter 2s 3d & 2s 4d 2s
1803			1827	2s 4d 1s
			1828	2s 2s
			1829	2s & 2s 6d 2s
			1830	2s
			1831	2s 3d 1s 6d
			1832	
			1833	
			1834	
			1835	

Sources: Lancaster City Lib., MS 75, Highway Accounts, Yealand Redmayne
MS 57-58, Highway Accounts, Yealand Conyers
Lancs. C.R.O., PR 875, Highway Accounts, Newton-with-Docker.

1. **BERBROOK, John** (1786-1858); Merchant and Manufacturer; b. Lancr.; s. of tallow chandler; free 1803, T.C. 1837, Mayor 1838, Ald. 1838-41; Lib; Parliamentary Candid. for Lancr. 1841 and 1848; Unit; trustee; m.d. Ab. **CROMPTON** (ret'd banker); DLB; 2 servants (1851); J.P.; D.L.; Charity Trustee; Thornton Street, later Acrelands, Skerton ('51).
2. **ATKINSON, Thomas**; Tobacconist; s. of warehouseman; h'holder; T.C. 1837-40; Lib; Quaker; m. d. of bookkeeper.
3. **BALDERSTON, John** (1794-1854); Soap Boiler, first Borough Surveyor (& to 3d of Health); b. Thornton, Y., h'holder, T.C. 1836, 1840-6, Lib., B of Gs., DLB, Nil Servants (1851), Cable St ('51), left under £800.
4. **BLACKBURN, John**, Woollen Draper, h'holder, T.C. 1835, Con-Lib, bankrupt 1848, Gage St ('51')
5. **BLADES, Charles** (1818-1893), Joiner, (empl. 45 men - 1851), b. Aysgarth, Y., s. of sheriff's officer, Nat. Schl., T.C. 1861-82, Mayor 1871, 1887, 1888, 1890, Ald. 1882-93, J.P., 1863 Director Wagon Works, Port Commissioner, Charity Trustee, DLB, Lib (Uist), C of E (St. Annes), 1 servt. (1851), gross £23,040 net p. £14,365, m. d. of **ELLIS** (painter), Dalton Sq ('51) Moor Platt, Caton ('86), Parkfield ('93).
6. **BOLDEN, William Bolden** (1804), Esq., b. Childwall, s. of Esq., free 1835, T.C. 1838-41, Lib., J.P., 3 servts (1851), 246 acres (1873), High St. ('51), Hynning Hall.
7. **BOND, John** (1779 1856), Merchant, b. Preston, free 1806, see Old Corpn., Ald. 1841, Con., C of E (Sidesman, St. M's), B of G's, DLB, J.P. 4 servts. (1851), Dalton Sq. ('51).
8. **BOOTH, John**, Surveyor, later Wine Merchant, from W. Bromwich, h'holder, T.C. 1861-2, Con., m.d. of Wine Merchant, Penny St. ('51).
9. **BRADSHAW, Bartholomew** (b. 1813), Woollen Draper, s. of Draper, F.G.S., free 1829, T.C. 1837, Whig, C of E (C'wdn., St. J's), DLB.
10. **BRADSHAW, John Leeming** (1828-1883), Draper, F.G.S., h'holder, T.C. 1859-1875, Con., C of E.
11. **BRADSHAW, William** (1812-1890), Draper, b. Lancr., s. of Draper, F.G.S., free 1826, T.C. 1862-83, Mayor 1870, Port Commissioner 1860, J.P., Con., C of E, 25 acres (1873), Queen's Sq., Sister's net p. £33, 404.
12. **BROCKBANK, John** (1780-1847), Shipbuilder, b. Lancr., s. of shipwright, see Old Corpn., Ald. 1841-7, Con., C of E, (s'man, St. M's), m. d. of **MOORE**, (Ald. & Mercht.), Cable St.
13. **BROCKBANK, John** (1814-1873), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of shipbuilder, free 1829, T.C. 1851-56, Mayor 1854, Ald. 1856 73, Con., C of E (c'warden, St J's), B of G's, DLB, Bachelor, Port Commissioner, Charity Trustee, 223 acres (1873), Cable St ('51), Highfield ('73).
14. **BURRELL, John Stamp** (1817-1901), Timber Mercht., b. S. Shields, h'holder, T.C. 1851-6, Mayor 1853, Con., C of E (St A's), J.P., Port Commissioner, Charity Trustee, Director of Athenaeum to Parkfield, Greaves 1856 retired to Liverpool c. 1872, gross £45,975, net p. £43,645.

15. HERRICK, George (1791-1861), J. Mercht., Cotton Grinder, b. Lancr., s. of Grocer and linen draper, free 1805, Old Corpn., T.C. 1835, Mayor 1836, Ald., C of E, DLB, J.P., Charity Trustee, 1 servt. (1851), St. Mary St (1835), Denton St ('51).
16. CARRUTHERS, George (1798-1854), Veterinary Surgeon & Chemist, b. Lancr., s. of Chemist, F.G.S., h'holder, T.C. 1835, Lib., R.C., New St ('51).
17. CARRUTHERS, George Jnr. (1829-1912), Vet & Chemist, b. Lancr., s. of Chemist, F.G.S., h'holder, T.C. 1850-54, Lib., R.C., later Bone Grinder and Cattle Food Manufacturer, New St ('51), 44 Regent ('86).
18. CLARK, Christopher, Thornton (1808-1894), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of solr., free 1823, T.C. 1841-50, Con., Election agent, m.d. of solr., C of E, 466 acres (1873), gross £32,945, net p. £29,587, to Cross Hill, Torrisholme in 1837.
19. CLEMINSON, Charles, Joiner, (empl. 10 men, 1851), h'holder, T.C. 1856-71, Lib., R.C., Nil Servts. (1851), Plumb Ct. ('51), to Ullswater Rd ('86).
20. CLEMINSON, George (1821-1898), Plumber & Glazier, b. Lancr., s. of Plumber & Glazier, Nat. Schl., free 1843, T.C. 1856-86, Mayor 1879, Lib. (U'ist), B of G's, J.P., C of E, Oddfellow, Freemason, m. d. of Master Mariner, left £2,392, East Villa, East Rd. ('86).
21. COULSTON, Gabriel (1780-1854), Currier, s. of currier, free 1834, T.C. 1835-45, Lib., R.C., left under £20,000, Gt. John St ('51).
22. COUPLAND, Henry (1768-1858), Ship's Captain (ret'd), b. Lancr., s. of butcher, see Old Corpn., T.C. 1843-57, Con., B of G's, C of E, (s'man, St. M's), DLB, 1 servt., (1851), Cable St ('51).
23. COUPLAND, Richard (1814-1884), Upholsterer & Cabinet Maker (empl. of 26 men, 13 women in 1851), b. Milnthorpe, s. of M. Mariner, F.G.S., free 1829, T.C. 1856-73, P.L.G. 1857 60, Port Commissioner 1863, Mayor 1868, Ald. 1873 84, Con., B of G., C of E, 2 servts. (1851), Leo'gate, Moor Lane, Belle Vue, Scotforth ('81).
24. DALE, Francis (1806-1849), Silk Mercer, Linen and Woollen Draper, h'holder, T.C. 1837, 1847, Lib-Con, B of G's, DLB, m. d. of Gent., Cheapside ('35).
25. DOCKRAY, Benjamin (1787-1862), Railway and Landed Proprietor, b. Lancr., s. of Mercht., free 1806 (of Manchester), T.C. 1839-48, Lib., Qkr., 2 servts. (1851), Dalton Sq. ('51).
26. DOCKRAY, Joseph (1782-1855), Rope Mkr., Merchant, b. Lancr., s. of Merchant, free 1801, Ald. 1835, 1844-55, Mayor 1839, 1849, Lib-Con., Qkr., (disowned), J.P., 2 servts. (1851), Castle Hill ('51).
27. DODSON, Thomas Gudgeon (1811-1846), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of Attorney, F.G.S., free 1834, T.C. 1846, Con., C of E, m. d. of Captain R. N.
28. DUNN, Jonathan (1783-1843), Gent., b. Kendal, h'holder (Skerton), T.C. 1835, Mayor 1841, 1842, Ald. 1843, Lib Con., C of E (S'man, St M's), DLB, Charity Trustee, 3 Servts. (1851), Ryelands, Skerton ('51).
29. DUNN, Richard (1789-1876), Coachmaker, h'holder, T.C. 1838-44, Lib., Indep., Gave up business in 1856.
30. DUNN, Thomas Rowlandson (b. 1811), Railway Carriage Mfr., b. Skerton, s. of Carriage Mfr., h'holder, T.C. 1849 52, Lib Con, B of G's, DLB, m. d. of solr., Penny St ('38), Cable St ('51), 3 servts. (1851), 894 acres (1873), ret'd to Cheltenham.

31. BASTFORD, Thomas (1792-1864), Cabinetmaker, T.C. 1837-8, Ald. 1839-43, Lib., R.G., Charity Trustee, Greenfield ('41), retired to Silverdale.
32. BLEDDE, George (1795-1860), Boot and Shoe Maker later Manufacturer, b. Lancr., s. of house carpenter, free 1811 (of Westhouse), T.C. 1858-60, Lib., B of G's, Market St ('51).
33. FARRER, Richard (1781-1861), Cotton Spinner, b. Skerton, free 1828 (gift of Geo. Burrow, Mayor), T.C. 1836-39, Lib., Nil Servts. (1851), Leo'gate ('51), Ullswater Rd ('61).
34. FANCETT, Richard (1810-1878), Marble Mason later Mfr., from Nottingham to Lancaster 1837, h'holder, T.C. 1854-71, Mayor 1865, Lib., B of Gs (Skerton), Indep.
35. FEARENSIDE, John Senior (1774-1850), Soap Boiler and Solicitor, free 1822, (gift of Mr Charnley, Bailiff), T.C. 1835-49, Con Lib., Cable St.
36. FEARENSIDE, John Junior (1823-1852), Barrister, b. Lancr., s. of soap boiler, free 1838, T.C. 1851-52, Con Lib., B of Gs, DLB.
37. FERGUSON, Robert (b. 1780), Wine and Spirit Merchant, b. Scotland, Warehouse Holder, T.C. 1844-48, Con., DLB, Bachelor, 1 servt. (1851), Cable St ('51).
38. FOXGROFT, Henry (1795-1841), Surgeon, b. Caton, s. of yeoman, free 1830, T.C. 1836-38, Con., Freemason, New St.
39. GILES, James (1812-1860), W.I. Merchant, b. Lancr., s. of merchant, Sedburgh G.S., St. John's Coll., Camb., free 1827, T.C. 1842-5, Mayor 1845, Con., C of E, DLB, m. d. of gent.
40. GILES, Thomas (1768-1843), Merchant, free 1801, see Old Corpn., Ald. 1841-43, Con., C of E, (C'warden, St. M's), the Elms, Bare.
41. GREG, John (1801-1882), Cotton Spinner, b. Manchester, s. of Manufacturer, and Factory Owner, Ald. 1836-44, 1855 82, Mayor 1837, 1860, 1862, J.P., Lib., (until about 1870), Unit., DLB, m. d. of cotton Mfr., Escowbeck, Caton ('51).
42. GREGSON, Henry (1802-1885), Solicitor and Silk Mfr., b. Lancr., s. of merchant, F.G.S., free 1818, Town Clerk 1837-40, T.C. 1849-53, Mayor 1850, 1861, Ald. 1853-65, J.P., Lib., Port Commissioner, Charity Trustee, C of E (C'warden), 5 servts. (1851), 11 acres (1873), m. d. of Captain R.W., Moorlands, L. ('51).
43. HALL, John (1805-1871), Solicitor and Land Agent, b. Lancr., s. of Land Agent, free 1819, T.C. 1835-49 & 1850 56, Mayor 1852, Ald. 1856, Con., C of E (s'man, St. M's), DLB, m. d. of Gent., 2 servts, (1851), Dalton Sq ('51).
44. HALL, William (1770-1848), Land Agent, free 1804, see Old Corpn., T.C. 1835-7, Con-Lib., C of E (m. d. of Chemist), left under £600, Friar St later Dalton Sq.
45. HARGREAVES, John (1780-1851), Gardener, b. Halton, free 1822, see Old Corpn., T.C. 1841-50, Con., C of E (C'warden, St. M's), B of Gs, DLB, 1 servt. (1851), High St.
46. HARRISON, James Stockdale (1798-1879), Surgeon, b. Ulverston, s. of surgeon, free 1827, see Old Corpn., T.C. 1835, Lib Con., C of E, m. d. of silk merchant, 3 servts. (1851), 13 acres (1873), Church St. (1835), Dallas Place ('51).

47. HATCH, James (1813-1895), Joiner, Builder (empl. 12 men 1851), b. Lancr., s. of millwright and joiner, Nat. Schl., T.C. 1867-84, Mayor 1869, Ald. 1864-92, Con., C of E, (C'warden, St T), m. d. of tallow chandler, B of Gs, Freemason, 1 servt. (1851), Queen's Place ('51), Thornycroft, L. ('86).
48. HEALD, John, Maltster and Grocer, T.C. 1836-39, Lib., B of Gs, DLB.
49. HIGGIN, John (1785-1847), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of gaolkeeper, free 1803, see Old Corpn., T.C. 1839-43, Con., C of E (S'man, St M's), m. d. of silk mfr., left under £3,000.
50. HIGGIN, Thomas Housman (1788-1861), Cotton Spinner, Railway Manager, b. Lancr., s. of gaolkeeper, free 1804, see Old Corp., Ald. 1835, Mayor 1836, Lib., C of E, m. d. of rev., Capt. in Militia, Greenfield, L.
51. HINDE, Richard (1803-1879), Wine Mrcht., b. Liverpool, s. of wine mercht., free 1830, see Old Corpn., T.C. 1855-64, Mayor 1856, Con., C of E (C'warden, St. M's), B of Gs, Freemason, DLB, m. d. of MASON, solr., 4 servts., (1851), Market St.
52. HINDE, Samuel (1778-1840), Mercht. & Mfr, b. Dolphinholme, s. of mercht., free 1794, see Old Corpn., Ald. 1835-38, Con Lib., C of E, DLB, South Place.
53. HORNBY, Edmund George (1773-1857), Gent., s. of barrister, free 1825, M.P. for Warrington 1832-35, Ald. 1838 44, Con-Lib., m. d. of Cotton Mfr., Dalton Hall.
54. HOWITT, Thomas (1809-1881), Surgeon, b. Lancr., s. of surgeon, F.G.S., Middx. Hospl., London Univ., h'holder, T.C. 1845-54, Mayor 1847, Con., C of E, (C'warden, St T's), B of Gs, 1st Sec. of Athenaeum, Co founder of Lit. and Sci. Soc., Promoter of Royal Albert Asylum, Director of Wagon Works and L & C Railway, Freemason, DLB, 3 servts. (1851), Queen's Sq., Castle Park.
55. JACKSON, Edmund (1806-1896), Chemist, b. Lancr., s. of cooper, F.G.S., apprentice in Preston, free 1821, T.C. 1861-7, Con., C of E (C'warden, St. T's), Freemason's Protn. Assn., m. 1) d. of Master Mariner, 2) d. of Gent., 39 Castle Pk., ('81).
56. JACKSON, George (1801-1892), Spirit Mercht., b. Lancr., s. of wine merchant, F.G.S., free 1816, T.C. 1844-50 & 1853 56, Ald. 1856-68, Mayor 1863, Lib., Indep., Freemason, DLB, m. d. of cotton mfr., 5 New St ('51), 8 Bellevue Terrace ('86).
57. JACKSON, William (1796-1871), Cotton Spinner, b. Lancr., s. of wine mercht., F.G.S., free 1825, see Old Corpn., T.C. 1837-40, 1849-53, Ald. 1853-71, Mayor 1858, Lib., Indep., DLB, 1 servt. (1851), Church St ('51).
58. JOHNSON, Christopher Senior (1783-1865), General Practitioner, b. Lancr., s. of surgeon, apprentice Preston, free 1817, see Old Corpn., Ald. 1835-38, Lib., J.P., 3 servts. (1851), Nicholas St. ('51), m. d. of landed proprietor.
59. JOHNSON, Christopher Junior (1816-1894), G.P., b. Lancr., s. of surgeon, F.G.S., Dublin and Guy's Hospl., free 1832, Ald. 1855-59, Mayor 1857, Lib., J.P., C of E, (C'warden, St J's), Charity Trustee, Burial Board, Lit. & Sci. Soc., Philosoph. Soc., 68 acres (1873), net. p. 1866, m. d. of landed proprietor, 36 & 37 Castle Pk ('86).
60. BLACK, Richard (1815-1861), Surgeon, b. Lancr., s. of innkeeper, m. d. of surgeon, h'holder, T.C. 1852-3, Con., 2 servts. (1851), King St., left for Blackburn.

61. **DAVIES, Richard** (1817-1888), Corn Mercht., b. Linc., s. of farmer, h'holder, T.C. 1853-65, Lib., R.C., Ald., Port Commissioner, Durdal Board, Cross 245, 719, Greaves Rise ('86), Lyonscough Rise ('88).
62. **LODGE, John** (1803-1854), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of upholsterer, free 1817, see Old Corpn., T.C. 1846-47, Con., 3 servts. (1851), Church St.
63. **MANSERGH, John Burkit** (1805-1873), Linen & Woollen Draper, b. Lancr., h'holder, T.C. 1859-67, Lib., Indep., (SS. Super), B of Gs, DLB, 2 servts. (1851), Middle St, retired to Slyne, later Grange.
64. **MILNER, James** (1829-1887), Printer, Proprietor and Editor of the Lancaster Guardian 1853-87, b. Lancr., s. of printer, Friends' Schl., F.G.S., Owen's Coll., T.C. 1865-82, J.P., Lib., Wes. Meth., Charity Trustee, Port Commissioner, Promoter of Royal Albert Asylum, 3 Leo'gate ('51), Spring Bank ('86).
65. **MOORE, William** (1815-1865), Ironmonger & Grocer, b. Lancr., s. of ironmonger and grocer, F.G.S., free 1834, T.C. 1852-61, Con., C of E, DLB.
66. **MOSS, William Evans** (1816-1886), G.P., b. Lancr., s. of innkeeper & canal boat captain, m. d. of **BALDERSTON**, soap boiler and T.C., h'holder, T.C. 1850-56 & 1856-57., Lib., C of E (C'warden, St L's), 1 servt. ('51), Leo'gate ('51), 16 acres (1873), The Vale, Skerton ('86).
67. **PALBY, Edward Graham** (1823-1895), Architect, b. Easingwold, Y., s. of clerk in H.O., Christ's Hopl, pupil of E. Sharpe, h'holder, T.C. 1858-61, Con., C of E, m. d. of **SHARPE**, Prof. of Music, Director of Athenaeum, Charity Trustee, Prep. Schl. of Art, net. p. £71, 939, The Greaves ('86).
68. **PARKINSON, William B.** (1807-1854), Linen Draper, T.C. 1838, Lib., Cheapside.
69. **PRESTON, Samuel** (b. 1781), Wine Mercht., b. Liverpool, h'holder, T.C. 1838 1841, 1848-51, Lib., C of E (C'warden, St. J's), 1 servt. (1851), Leo'gate.
70. **PRESTON, Thomas** (1821-1894), Grocer, b. Caton, h'holder, T.C. 1856-68, Ald. 1868-94, Mayor 1875, 1889, Lib., R.C., J.P., DLB, Schl. Attend. Cttee., Port Commissioner, Ch'man of L & M Tramways Co., net. p. £27,250, Dalton Sq ('86), m.d. of corn mercht.
71. **PRITT, John** (1799-1856), Innkeeper (King's Arms) & Farmer, b. Lancr., s. of saddler & innkeeper, F.G.S., free 1815, T.C. 1838-41, 1847-53, 1854-56, Lib., C of E, 8 servts. (1851), left under £7,000, Market St., died Buxton.
72. **RAWSTHORNE, Thomas** (1797-1854), Solicitor, s. of tallow chandler, free 1817, T.C. 1843-49, Lib., DLB, Heysham Hall.
73. **RICHARDSON, John** (1796-1858), Cabinetmaker, b. Lancr., h'holder, T.C. 1845-51, Lib., B of Gs, 10 Friar St.
74. **RICHARDSON, William** (b. 1787), Gent. (ret'd farmer), b. Lancr., h'holder, T.C. 1853-58, Lib., 1 servt. (1851), Middle St.
75. **ROBINSON, William** (d. 1862), Solicitor, s. of watchmaker, free 1812, T.C. 1839-43, Mayor 1840, Ald. 1843, Con., C of E (C'warden, St. J's), B of Gs, Port Commissioner, Charity Trustee.

76. ROPER, Oliver Boulton (1788-1843), Tobacco & Snuff Mfr., b. Dartmell, s. of mercht., free 1803, see Old Corpn., T.C. 1840-43, Con., 3 of Gs, m. d. of merchant and solr., 1877 widow left under £7,000, Gt. John St. ('43).
77. ROPER, William (1826-1888), Solicitor, Wine Merchant, b. Lancr., s. of tobacco mfr., m. d. of gent., free, T.C. 1864-79, Mayor 1869, Ald. 1879-88, Con., C of E (C'warden, St. J's), Southfield ('86).
78. ROSSALL, Richard (1793-1837), Ironmonger, free 1832, (by gift of J. Johnson, Mayor), T.C. 1835, Con., m. d. of ironmonger, Gt. John St.
79. SALISBURY, Edward Dodson (1800-1875), Esq., b. Lancr, s. of mercht., free 1834, T.C. 1844 47, Mayor 1844, Ald. 1847-53, Con., 1847 Parliamentary Cand. for Lancr., C of E (S'man, St. M's), Freemason, Middleton Tower, Under Sheriff 1860-61 left area.
80. SATTERTHWAITHE, James Cornelius (1799-1857), Gent., b. Lancr., s. of Mercht., free 1838, Ald. 1835-38, T.C. 1847, Lib., DLB, 4 servts. (1851), Church St. (1835), Castle Park (1851).
81. SEED, Joseph, Surgeon & Apothecary, h'holder, T.C. 1837, Lib., R.C.
82. SHARP, John (1811-1879), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of attorney, F.G.S., free 1826, T.C. 1843-52, Mayor 1846, Ald. 1853-54, Con., C of E, Registrar County Ct., Ch'man Lancr. Wagon Co., m. d. of gent., 3 servt (1851), Dalton Sq. ('51), retired to Crook o'lune.
83. SHARPE, Edmund (1810-1877), Engineer, Architect, Ironfounder, b. Knutsford, s. of Prof. of music, educ. Greenwich, Sedburgh G.S. & St. John's Coll., Cambridge, h'holder, T.C. 1841-53, Mayor 1848, Con., C of E, 4 servts. (1851), J.P., m. d. of COL, FLETCHER of Bolton, Pres. of Athenaeum; main pubns. Architectural Parallels (1845-8), The Seven Periods of English Architecture (1851), The Architecture of the Cistercians (1874). Fenton St ('51); 1857-67 left Lancr.; 1867-77 Quarry Hill, Scotforth.
84. SHERSON, John Herdman (1802-1864), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of ironmonger, free 1817, see Old Corpn., m. d. of landowner, T.C. 1848-56, Mayor 1851, Con., Unit., later C of E, DLB, 3 servts. (1851), Queen St., Dalton Sq. ('51).
85. SIMPSON, Henry (1824-1904), Draper, b. Cockerham, free 1840, T.C. 1865-73, Lib., 1882-92 (Ratepayers' Assn.), C of E, left £6,642 gross, Thetis Hse, West Rd ('86 & 1901).
86. SMITH, Joseph (1822-1889), Farmer, Butcher & Corn Merchant, b. Lancr., h'holder, T.C. 1867-73 & 1874-80, Lib., R.C., 166 acres (1873), Port Commissioner, gross £77,380, net £60,000, 1 Cable St ('86).
87. STOREY, Thomas (1825-1898), Cotton & Table Baize Manufacturer, Coal Propr., Iron Mfr., b. Bardsea, s. of schoolmaster, St. Anne's S.S., h'holder, T.C. 1862-71, Ald. 1871-90, Mayor 1867, 1873, 1874, 1886, K.B. (1886), Lib. Uist., C of E, J.P., DLB, Parliamentary Cand. (N. Lancs. 1880 (Lib), Lancr. 1892 (L.U.)); m. d. of Captain and 2) d. of Gent., Westfield, West Rd ('86) & Downing, N. Wales, net. p. £204,939.
88. STOREY, William (1823-1879), Table Baize Mfr., b. Bardsea, s. of schoolmaster, h'holder, T.C. 1857-79, Mayor 1872, Con., C of E (C'warden, St. E's), 3 of Gs, Freemason, Volunteer, Nil Servts. (1851), St. George's Quay ('51), Fairfield ('79).

- 89 SMITH, Thomas (1804-1893), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of wine merchant, Rev. in Langport's Schl., F.G.S., h'holder, T.C. 1846-49, Con., C of E, DLB, Town Clerk, 1858-92, 2 servts. (1851), West Rd ('86), net p. £6,608.
- 90 THOMPSON, Thomas (d. 1842), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of merchant, free 1821, T.C. 1839-41, Con., Ellel.
- 91 THOMPSON, Thomas (1814-1889), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of solicitor, free 1830, T.C. 1853-56, Lib., Freemason, 2 servts. (1851), 46 King St. ('51 & '86).
- 92 TILLY, William (1839-1916), Solicitor, b. Manchester, s. of inland revenue officer, L.R.G.S., m. d. of Captain R.N., T.C. 1869-71, Lib., Registration Agent, C of E, moved to Poulton Hall, Morecambe 1889, left £6,752 gross.
- 93 DE VITRE, Edward Denis (1806-1878), Physician, b. Irthington, Cumberland, s. of Lieut. R.N., Edinburgh Univ., h'holder, m. d. of headmaster, T.C. 1841-44, Mayor 1843 and 1855, Ald. 1844 56, Con., C of E, Freemason, B of Gs, Port Commissioner, Charity Trustee, L. Canal Co. Cttee., DLB, Director of W. Hartlepool Harbour and Railway Co., C'man L. Gas Co., 3 servts. (1851). 2 St. Leonardgate.
- 94 WALKER, John, (b. 1793), Harbour Master, Treasurer of Lunatic Asylum, b. Lancr., T.C. 1843-45, Clerk to Port Commissioner, DLB, 1 servt. (1851), Leonardgate.
- 95 WALMSLEY, John (d. 1839), Baker, Flour Dealer, Salt Merchant, b. Lancr., s. of ironmonger, free 1787, T.C. 1837-39, Lib., R.C., DLB.
- 96 WANE, Jeremiah (1791-1852), Dyer, Cheese Factor, Brushmaker, (empl. 3 men), b. Keswick, s. of dyer, F.G.S., h'holder, T.C. 1835-38, Ald. 1838-40, T.C. 1843-46, Con Lib., C of E (S.S. Super, St. A's), B of Gs, DLB, 2 servts. (1851), Leonardgate, left under £4,000.
- 97 WANE, William John (1814-1873), Cheese Factor, Brushmaker (empl. 6 men 1851), b. Lancr., s. of cheesefactor, h'holder, T.C. 1857-73, Mayor 1866, Lib., C of E, B of Gs, 2 servts (1851), Dalton Sq, m. d. of W.I. Merchant.
- 98 WEARING, Stephen Wright (1826-1889), Shoemaker, later Manager at Williamson's, b. Lancr., s. of shoemaker, free 1842, T.C. 1860-79, J.P., Con., (later Lib.), C of E, B of Gs, P.L. overseer, Freemason, m. d. of table baize mfr., 1 Fleet Sq. ('86).
99. WELCH, Henry (1819-1891), Grocer, b. Cabus, s. of farmer, grocer & tallow chandler, free, T.C. 1856-71, Ald. 1871 89, Mayor 1876, Lib., C of E, Freemason, Port Commissioner, Charity Trustee, Queen St., Halton ('86).
- 100 WHALLEY, Lawson (1782-1841), Surgeon, b. Lancr., s. of merchant, Edinburgh Univ., free 1806, T.C. 1835-37, Lib., Quaker, J.P., Queen St., died Stodday Lodge.
- 101 WHILTON, William (1822-1865), Merchant, m. d. of Solicitor, h'holder, T.C. 1856-65, Mayor 1859, Con., C of E, (C'warden, St. M's), Port Commissioner, Sec to N.W.R., Sec. to Wagon Works, Dalton Sq.
- 102 WHEWELL, William (1806-1862), Iron and Brass Founder, b. Lancr., s. of ironmonger, F.G.S. & Sedburgh G.S., free, m. d. of ironmonger, T.C. 1836-37, Con., assigned 1837, emigrated to Australia.
- 103 WHITESIDE, John (1794-1856), Miller and Corn Merchant, s. of miller, warehouse holder, T.C. 1835-38, Lib., R.C., DLB, High St.
- 104 WILLIAMS, James (1814-1879), Table Baize Mfr., b. Keswick, s. of woollen mfr., free 1837, m. d. of in keeper, T.C. 1854-64, Mayor 1864, Ald. 1864-79, Lib., C of E, Freemason, B of Gs, 80 acres (1873); left under £20,000, St. George's Quay ('38), Market St., ('47), Fleet St., Parkfield, L.

105. WILSON, Jonathan (b. 1818), C.P., b. Jaton, free, E.J. 1851-53, Lib., R.J., B of Gs, 3 servts. (1851), Church St. ('51).
106. WILSON, Joseph; Tailor and Draper, free, E.J. 1858-62, Lib., An op., to Bolton.
107. WILSON, Thomas; Solicitor, s. of solicitor, F.G.S., free 1817, see Old Corpn., T.C. 1843-46, Lib., C of E (C'warden, St. J's), m. d. of gent.
108. WISE, Thomas (b. 1801), Railway Carriage Builder, b. Lancr., h'holder, T.C. 1841-58, Lib., B of Gs, Nil Servts. (1851), Brock St. ('51).
109. WOODS, William (1806-1861), Ironmonger and Grocer, s. of coal merchant, F.G.S., m. d. of merchant, h'holder, T.C. 1846-61, Con., C of E (C'warden, St. J's), DLB, Nominated Mayor but died; Nicholas St., later Scotforth.

1 N.B. This list includes two more Councillors who were discovered after the tables were compiled: W.B. Parkinson & Joseph Wilson.

APPENDIX B2

Place of Origin of Lancaster and Preston Inhabitants at 1851, 1861 and 1871 Censuses, by Age-Group.

Under 20

	Lancaster			Preston		
	1851	1861	1871	1851	1861	1871
I London	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.3
II Home Counties	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2
III Mid-Anglia	0.1	0.1	0.3		0.4	0.1
IV E. Anglia		0.1	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1
V South-West	0.1	0.1	0.3		0.1	0.1
VI W. Midlands	0.4	0.5	1.1	0.2	0.3	0.4
VII E. Midlands	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
TOTAL	1.4	1.7	3.1	0.7	1.5	1.3
VIII Cheshire	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5
Lancs.	38.2*	37.9	38.4	90.2**	90.8	94.7
IX Yorks	3.6	3.5	2.7	1.0	0.9	0.7
X Northumberland						
& Durham	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2
Cumberland	0.6	0.9	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.3
Westmorland	3.1	2.7	2.3	0.7	0.6	0.3
TOTAL	96.2	95.7	95.1	92.8	93.3	96.7
XI Wales	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Scotland	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
Ireland	1.4	1.6	1.1	6.0	4.5	1.3
TOTAL	2.0	2.2	1.6	6.4	4.9	1.8
Abroad	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.3
GRAND TOTAL	100.0	99.9	100.3	100.1	100.1	100.1

* including Lancaster 66.5

** including Preston 68.0

20 and upwards

I London	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.5
II Home Counties	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3
III Mid-Anglia	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.6
IV E. Anglia	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4
V South-West	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3
VI W. Midlands	0.9	1.0	1.4	0.8	0.7	1.0
VII E. Midlands	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.5	0.5
TOTAL	3.8	4.2	5.1	2.8	3.4	3.6
VIII Cheshire	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.8
Lancs	70.0*	70.0	68.7	73.7**	76.4	79.2
IX Yorks	8.3	7.7	7.1	3.0	2.7	2.5
X Northumberland						
& Durham	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.3
Cumberland	2.3	1.8	2.1	1.6	1.3	1.2
Westmorland	6.9	7.2	6.5	2.4	1.9	1.6
TOTAL	89.3	88.4	85.9	86.8	83.3	85.6
XI Wales	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3
Scotland	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.2	1.3	1.1
Ireland	3.7	4.8	6.0	8.6	11.7	9.0
TOTAL	6.2	6.9	8.3	10.1	13.3	10.4
Abroad	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.4
GRAND TOTAL	99.8	100.1	100.0	100.2	100.4	100.0

* including Lancaster 29.6

** including Preston 29.6

Source: Censuses of 1851, 1861 and 1871.

1851 and 1861 CENSUS SAMPLES

A ten per cent sample was taken of the 1851 and 1861 censuses for Lancaster Parliamentary Borough (including Skerton). Every tenth household was included (10, 20, 30 etc.)* This did not amount to taking every tenth number in the schedules as the schedule numbers included the houses of absent households. No type of household was excluded from the sample e.g. included were lodginghouses, almshouses, inns and households where occupation of householder was not given. Where the tenth household was unusable it was left out of the analysis. So too were institutions such as the prison and the workhouse. The 1851 sample consisted of 285 households (1486 individuals) from a total population of 14,378. The 1861 sample consisted of 298 households (1500 individuals) from a total population of 14,324. The discrepancy is explained by the building which had gone on between the two censuses, particularly off St. Leonardgate, off Penny Street, at Pointer and on the Freehold

A punched card was used for each household. The operating system used was ALGOL.

* Following advice in ed. E.A. Wrigley, An Introduction to Historical Demography (1966), ed. H.J. Dyos, The Study of Urban History (196), and ed. E.A. Wrigley, Nineteenth Century Society (196); see also Appendices B3 and B4.

APPENDIX B3ANALYSIS OF CENSUS ENUMERATORS' SHEETS 1851-1861.

Categories used by Michael Anderson in 'Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire' (Ph. D. Dissertation, Cambridge University, Feb. 1969).

The social structure of Preston in 1851 was divided into ten socio economic groups (SEGs); c.f. Alan Armstrong's six classes (ASC) used in his study of York (see An Introduction to Historical Demography ed. E.A. Wrigley, 1966, pp. 209-235). See Appendix B4.

I Professional and Managerial

Persons who would fall into the Registrar General's SEGs I, III & IV, including owners or managers of firms employing more than 25 persons, urban gentry, landed proprietors and tradesmen & merchants of all kinds if they had more than one domestic servant.

II Clerical or Lower Non Manual

Including clerks, office boys, teachers, commercial travellers, book keepers, station master, workhouse master, governess, poor-rate collectors etc.

N.B. Excluding: waiter, bar maid, shop assistant, inn servant, etc., who go into the miscellaneous SEGs IX.

III Trade

Tradesmen and master artisans not falling into SEG I:

i Tradesmen: including yarn dealer, plaster dealer, miller, pawnbroker, hotel keeper, lodging house keeper, ironmonger (if obviously with a shop), linen draper, postmistress, innkeeper, licensed victualler, shopkeeper, tobacconist, provision dealer, grocer, greengrocer, furrier, furniture dealer, fruiterer, fellmonger, fishmonger, draper, confectioner, chemist, cement dealer, carrier, bookseller, beerseller, etc.

N.B. Excluding 'dealers' in items of working class consumption which should be placed in SEG IX (or VII, if obviously itinerant) e.g. dealer in fish, oranges, small wares, rags, etc.

ii Master artisans employing at least one child.

IV & VI

Higher and Lower Factory Occupations

A Factory occupation is defined as any occupation in a trade where employment was typically geographically separate from home, where some form of manufacture was undertaken, and in which at least 50% employers in this county making returns to the census authorities in 1851 claimed to employ 10 or more men e.g. textiles, and some engineering, metal making and paper making trades.

N.B. Within this group, the division is on the basis of income, with the dividing line fixed, arbitrarily, at 20s per week. The wages figures are averages derived from Chadwick.

Basically, however, the divisions are:

- IV Mule spinner, dresser, warper, printer, moulder, machine maker, machine fitter, hand carder, steam engine tender, boiler maker, seamer, timplater worker, driller, cotton warehouseman.
- VI Factory labourer, rover, carter, cotton frame tender, power loom weaver, drawing frame tender, throstle spinner, piecer, scutcher, stripper, loomer, twister, reeler, packer, bobbin putter in, winder, doffer, factory boy, grinder, jobber, warehouse boy, moulders, labourers and all women and boys under 15 even if in SEG IV occupations.
- V Artisans &c not falling into SEG III
e.g. bobbin turner, joiner, slater, tailor, blacksmith, shoemaker, cabinet maker, painter, watchmaker, bricklayer, sawyer, brickmaker, glazier, coachmaker, coach trimmer, wheelwright, brewer, boot closer, plasterer, upholsterer, saddler, cooper, millwright, stonemason, plumber.
- VII Labourers &c
Including hawker, gardener, carter, rag gatherer, charwoman, etc.
- VIII Hand loom weavers
- IX Unclassified
All those occupations which for any reason cannot easily be allocated to one of the other SEGs. Particularly one needs such a category for 'weaver' (not further specified), 'mechanic' (can mean anything), and then for a whole range of messengers, railway workers, grooms and servants, policemen, 'engineer' and 'stoker', soldier, errand boy etc., and also for unknown or illegible occupations.
- X Not employed
All those retired or with no source of income. Unsatisfactory but difficult to handle.

N.B. Servants coded separately - divided into domestic, farm and shop.
For certain purposes additional coding is provided for the following (not found in Anderson):

- XI Servant
- XII Apprentice or Assistant to Head
- XIII Pauper

APPENDIX B4A. ARMSTRONG'S CLASSIFICATION OF CENSUS OCCUPATIONS (ASC = ARMSTRONG SOCIAL CLASS).Class I (ASC I)

Share Broker	Surgeon	Attorney
Army Officer	Museum Curator	Dentist
Rector	Magistrate	Naval Officer
Shipowner	Independent Minister	Surveyor
Architect	Solicitor	Archbishop's Secretary
Vicar	Accountant	Ordnance Surveyor
Proprietor		

Those entrepreneurs employing 25 or more were added to this class, in the 1851 sample.

Class II (ASC II)

Auctioneer	Police Chief Constable	Stationmaster
Railway Inspector	Bookkeeper	Schoolmaster
Coal Agent	Factor	Music Teacher
Inland Revenue Collector	Vetinary Surgeon	Land Agent
Sculptor	Professor of Music	Commercial Teacher
Reporter	Schoolmistress	Annuitant
Railway Audit Clerk	Relieving Officer	Language Professor
Proprietor of Ladies' Seminary		

Also added were all those otherwise in Class III, (see below), who employed one or more persons, not including members of their own family. Innkeepers, tavern keepers and lodging house keepers were included in this class if they employed one or more domestic servants.

Class III (ASC III)

This class consisted mainly of skilled workmen. Small shopkeepers, innkeepers and dealers in a small way, who did not employ anyone were also included.

Saddler	Police Constable	Joiner
House Painter	Upholsterer	Cabinet Maker
Wheelwright	Car Painter	Gas Fitter
Ship's Carpenter	Cordwainer	Comb Maker
Plasterer	Butcher	Tailor
Coach Trimmer	Slater	Woodcarver
Railway Fitter	Blacksmith	Hairdresser
Leather Dresser	Quiltress	Girth Weaver
Law Stationer	Writer	Plane Maker
Wood Turner	Farrier	Brushmaker
Linen Spinner	Optician	Weaver
Picture Dealer	Pot Dealer	Cattle Dealer
Gutta Percha Merchant	Coal Dealer	Eating House Keeper
Hay & Straw Dealer	Damask Weaver	Manure Dealer
Printer/Compositor	Seamstress	Engine Fitter
Engine Springmaker	Whitesmith	Cooper
Engine Driver	Stonemason	Bricklayer
Nurseryman	Baker	Engineer
Master Mariner	Shipbuilder	Boilermaker
Dentist's Assistant	Currier	Gilder
Hosier	Glover	Bookbinder
Confectioner	Musician	Dressmaker
Wire Worker	Engraver	Silver Turner
Glass Stainer	Nailmaker	Fishmonger
Poulterer	Greengrocer	Pipe Maker
Fringe weaver	Basket Maker	Hatter
Picture frame maker	Plumber	Cutler
French Kid Stainer	Fruiterer	Pot Maker
Clockmaker	Coppersmith	Boot closer
Shoemaker	Silversmith	Iron Turner
Coach wheel maker	Miller	Glass Blower
Coachsmith	Sailor	Marble Mason

Coach Lace weaver	Gun Maker	Glass Maker
Saddle Tree Maker	Soldier	Muffin Maker
File Cutter	Chair Maker	Seedsman
Brass Fitter	Bonnet Maker	Millwright
Watchmaker	Builder	Calico Weaver
Iron Moulder	Railway Clerk	Clerk (all industries)
Telegraph Clerk	Traveller	Tea Dealer
Master Grinder	Nurse	Translator
Assistant (Ordnance Office)	Railway Guard	Cabman
Railway Pointsman	Coachman	Warehouseman
Sawyer	Cook	Fireman
Omnibus Driver	Stone Sawyer	Assistant (to Linen Draper)
Shopman	Woodsman	Draper
Corn & Flour Dealer	Waiter	Bookseller
Beer Retailer	Stationer	Tobacco ^c / on ist
Railway Policeman	Florist	Pawnbroker
Music Seller	Victualler	Ironmonger
Coach Builder	Grocer	Chemist
Staymaker	Perfumer	
<u>Class IV (ASC IV)</u>		
Horsebreaker	Groom	Horsekeeper
Railway Ticket Collector	Waterman	Stoker
Rail Stoker	Ostler	Carter/Carrier
Goods Deliverer	Rope Maker	Brick Maker
Office Keeper	Housekeeper	Brewer
Cork Cutter	Pavior	Gardeber
Brazier/Tinman	Agricultural Labourer	Laundress
Washerwoman	Housemaid	General Servant
Hotel Porter	Cowkeeper	Herdsman
Engine Cleaner	Drover	Messenger
Gentlemen's Servant	Steward	Cloth Dresser

Flax Dresser

Class V (ASC V)

Rail Porter

Labourer
(all types)Porter
(all types)

Charwoman

Hawker

Road Labourer

Errand Boy

News Vendor

Rag and Paper
Collector

Scavenger

Seaman

Pauper

Stonegetter

Class 'X' (ASC VI)

Housewife

Spinster

Gentlewoman

Almswoman

"Husband away"
(one case)

How far was the sanitary problem in Lancaster one of class? Dr. De Vitre's report of April 1840 certainly treated the problems of disease, lack of ventilation and cleanliness, as closely linked with intemperance and poverty as well as neglect of vaccination. When he wrote his report he still regarded the problem as limited to the poor. James Smith of Deanston, however, in analysing the inadequacy of house drainage, saw it as one affecting the whole population, although the poor in particular:

'... the whole atmosphere of the town is at all times more or less contaminated, causing a low state of health in the population generally, and especially in children, the most of whom look pale and sickly. This state of atmosphere predisposes those of weakly constitutions at all ages, to receive the poison of epidemic and contagious disease, and even the most robust are diminished in vigour, and are often carried prematurely off by epidemic diseases.'

Like Owen he found that the poorest houses were in the worst sanitary condition, but noted that even the few water closets in Lancaster 'generally discharge into cess pools'. All classes too were affected by the contamination of wells even though there were far more instances of this in the poorer parts of the town. The local sanitary reformers passed from a concern largely for the working class to one for the community at large, especially once cholera and scarlatina had shown themselves to be no respecter of persons.

The compactness of Lancaster, or in other words its overcrowded state, tended to integrate the population. The town of course had its slums and its 'respectable' quarters, but these tended to be in pockets often very close to one another. The overcrowded district of St. Thomas, which grew fast in the 1840's was only a stone's throw from Dalton Square, while the notorious Bridge and Back China Lanes were equally close to the palatial residences of St. Mary's Gate and Castle Park. Town Councillors often lived close to the notorious areas, but never actually in them. Only a minority of the Councillors in 1851 lived outside the town, including Edmund Sharpe, then Gregson and T.R. Dunn. Residence was not an important

distinguishing feature between the 'blacks' and the 'whites'. Notice, however, was taken when C.T. Clarke, who up to 1848 was a 'white', became increasingly 'black' after moving to Cross Hill from Penny Street, near which some of the new slums were being erected by property developers such as Thomas Wise.

Taking 26 of the streets and courts denounced by Owen or Smith (excluding St. Leonardgate and Moor Lane on grounds of sheer size and variations in conditions), the opinions of the investigators were confirmed in that no householders in those streets were found to be in SEG I, only eleven in SEG II, and by far the highest percentages in SEGs V (29.2%), and VII (26.1%). The fact that 62 out of 497 householders in these streets were of the tradesmen and master artisan class of SEG III does, however, suggest that an element of the middle class was directly affected. 10.4% householders in the sample were factory workers (10.7% population in the Lancaster sample). When compared with the statistics from the 10% sample of all householders in 1851, this area sample is found to be much more heavily weighted in favour of the lower classes, particularly V and VII. The exclusion from the sample of Moor Lane (see above), where many of the factory workers lived, probably accounts for the comparative under-representation of that group in these findings.

Public health originated as a class question, but owing to the epidemics of cholera and scarlatina and the miasmatic theory of infection, became a problem of the whole community.

APPENDIX B6

DAILY RATES FOR HIGHWAY LABOURERS IN LANCASTER REGION.

	Yealand Conyers	Arkholme -with- Cawood	Newton -with- Docker		
1836			1s 6d		
1837		1s 3d	1s 6d		
1838	2s	1s 3d			
1839		1s 3d			
1840		1s 3d			
1841		1s 3d			
1842	2s	1s 3d			
1843	2s	1s 3d			
1844	1s 9d & 2s	1s 3d			
1845	1s 9d & 2s	1s 3d			
1846	2s	2s & 1s 6d			
1847	2s	2s & 1s 6d		Out Rawcliffe	
1848	2s	1s 3d to 2s		2s	
1849	2s	1s 9d to 2s 3d			
1850	2s	1s 6d to 2s		1s 3d & 1s 8d	
1851	2s	1s 6d to 2s		1s & 1s 8d	Quernmore
1852	2s	2s		1s & 1s 8d	1s 6d
1853	2s	2s		1s & 1s 8d	1s 9d
1854	2s	2s		1s & 1s 9d	1s 10d
1855	2s	2s		2s	1s 8d
1856	2s	2s		1s & 2s	1s 8d
1857	2s	2s		2s	1s 8d & 2s 6d
1858	2s	2s		2s	1s 8d
1859	2s			1s 3d & 2s	1s 8d & 1s 9d
1860	2s			1s & 2s	1s 6d & 1s 9d
1861	2s			1s & 2s	
1862	1s 8d & 2s			2s	
1863					
1864					
1865					
1866			3s		
1867			2s 9d & 3s		
1868			2s 9d & 3s		
1869			2s, 2s 6d & 2s 10d		
1870			2s, 2s 6d		

Sources:

Lancaster C.L., MSS 58-62 , Highway Accounts, Yealand Conyers
 Lancs. C.R.O., PR 875, Highway Accounts, Newton-with-Docker;
 PR 167, Highway Accounts, Arkholme-with-Cawood;
 PR 983, Highway Accounts, Out Rawcliffe;
 DDQ, Highway Accounts, Quernmore;
 PR 376, Highway Accounts, Newton-with-Docker.

APPENDIX C1Town Councillors 1871-1914

1. ALLEN, John (1853-1908), Wine Merchant b. Forton, s. of railway engineer, LRGS, appr. chemist, T.C. 1882-88, 1894-1908, Mayor 1903, Con, C of E, Colonel in Volunteers, m. d. of Ab. AEWARD (brazier & T.C.), Hillside Hse ('86), 42 Cable St (1901), 1 Cawthorne St (1908).
2. ATKINSON, Thomas, Tea Dealer, T.C. 1889-94, Lib, West Greaves ('86), 5 Meadowside (1901 & 1911).
3. ATKINSON, William (1850-1911), Gunsmith, later Motor & Cycle Mfr., b. Kendal, s. of gunsmith, LRGS, T.C. 1894-97, Con/Indep, Founder of Lancr. Amateur Athletic Assn., gross £10,601, net p. £6,334, 18-20 Market St ('86 & 1901), Catsfield Villa, West Rd (1911).
4. BALDWIN, Thomas Arthur (b. 1858), Surgeon, b. Ireland, s. of J.P., priv. schl., Dublin Univ., T.C. 1904-07, Ratepayer, 5 Cable St (1901), 8 Dalton Sq (1911).
5. BARROW, George W. (1864-1910), Tailor & Woollen Mercht., b. Lancr., s. of woollen draper & cotton mfr., Friends' Schl., Owens Coll., Manchester, S.Sc London; T.C. 1907-10, Lib., Pres. of Lancr. Divisional Lib. Assn., (Overseer and Treasurer for Quakers), Pres. of YMCA, gross £17,732, net p. £15,742, 43-45 Market St (1901), High Bank, Haverbreaks (1910).
6. BAYLEY, Thomas (1808-1901), Railway Clerk & President of Lancr. Co op. Soc. (1883-91), b. Eccles, T.C. 1886-89, Con, Treas. of Con Club, B of Gs, Freemason, 20 Derwent Rd ('86 & 1901).
7. BERSLEY, James (1835-1915), Watchmaker & Jeweller, b. Prescott, s. of watchmaker & jeweller, T.C. 1883-91, Lib., Pres. of Reform Club, C of E, Oddf., Freemason, Director of 1st Econ. Building Soc., estate £13,429, m. PHILLIPS (agric. nr. Whitehaven), 29 Market St ('86), Lindow Hse, Queen St (1901) (& 1911).
8. BELL, Anthony, Snr. (1826-1883), Ironmonger & Marble Mfr., came to Lancr., took over from FANCETT, T.C. 1879-82, Lib, B of Gs, 5 Cable St ('81).
9. BELL, Anthony Jnr. (1857-1921), Marble Mfr., b. Lancr., s. of Marble Mfr & Ironmonger, Friends' Schl., T.C. 1900, Lib., J.P., B of Gs, C of E (C'warden, Xtch.), Chairman of Lancr. & District Tramways Co. (1900-21), estate £1,016, 5 Cable St ('86) 14 Derwent Rd (1901 & 11).
10. BELL, William (1852-1909), Marble Mfr., b. Richmond, s. of ironmonger & marble mfr., LRGS, T.C. 1883-94, Ald. 1894-1908, Mayor 1898, Con, C of E (C'warden, St J's), J.P. (1892), Port Commissioner, Charity Trustee, m. d. of Gent., 48 Regent St ('86 & 1901) to Morecambe.
11. BENNETT, James Johnson (1841-1913), Gent., b. Liverpool, s. of ironfounder (adderman), Liverpool College, ret'd to Lancaster 1903, T.C. 1907-10, Con, J.P., C of E, County Club, V Pres. Lancr. Astron. & Sci. Assn., 68 Dalla Rd (1911), £6,661 gross.
12. BLAND, James (1866-1913), Butcher, b. Lancr., s. of butcher (est. 1829), Friends Schl., T.C. 1902-13, Lib., Pres. of Reform Club, Unit., Freemason, Pres. Lancr. Chamber of Trade, V Pres. of Nat Fedn Meat Traders, 41 Penny St (1901 & 1911).
13. BOWNESS, George (1836-1923), Watchmaker & Jeweller, b. Lancr., British Schl. & 'self cluture', set up own 1857, T.C. 1884-1900, Ald. 1900, Lib., Cong. (Trustee of Centenary), 1893 School Board, Bachelor, 61 North Rd ('86, 1901 & '11).

14. BRASH, Robert (d. 1921), Hatter, T.C. 1888-90, Lib., Indep (founder of Cent Cong), Swiss Cottage, Quenmore ('86) to South Shields (1897), then New Zealand.
15. BRIGGS, William (1858-1928), Chemist, b. Skerton, s. of master mariner, Friends Schl., T.C. 1905-23, Mayor 1913-18, Lib, C of E, J.P., Charity Trustee, Pres. of L. Golf Club, County Club, m. d. of STANTON (hosier), gross £60,088, net p. £46,959, Leonardgate ('86), 25 South Rd (1901), The Vale, Skerton (1911).
16. CARDWELL, Edward (1844-1929), Chemist & Surgeon Dentist, b. Lancr., s. of Grocer, Schl. of Art, T.C. 1890-1907 & 1909-21, Mayor 1911, Lib, Wes. Meth. Trustee, Freemason, J.P., V-Pres Total Abstinence Soc., Chairman Coffee Tavern Co., m. d. of BOND (ins, agent), Meeting Hse Lane ('86), Laurel Bk, Westbourne Rd (1901 & 11), gross £24,880, net p. £17,027.
17. CHIPPINDALL, Thomas (1816-1878), Gent, b. Lancr., s. of J.P., m. d. of HIGGIN (Town Clerk), T.C. 1873-78, Con, C of E, B of Gs, King St.
18. CLARK, Edward (1819-1900), Chemist, b. Lancr., s. of stationer, LRGS, free 1835, T.C. 1873-90, Mayor 1880, 1884, Ald. 1890-93, J.P., Con, Freemason, Volunteer, B of Gs, J.P., Port Commissioner, Charity Trustee, Queen St ('86).
19. CLARK, Edward George (1866-1922), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of printer & stationer, LRGS, T.C. 1895-1907 & 1910 13, Con/Indep, C of E, Volunteer, Port Commissioner, 23 Thornfield, Ashton Rd (1901), The Laurels (1911), gross £27,846, net p. £23,557.
20. CLARK, George Christopher (1817-1873), Printer & Proprietor of Lancaster Gazette, b. Lancr., s. of printer & stationer, LRGS, T.C. 1871-73, Con, C of E, Freemason, m. d. of accountant.
21. CURWEN, Isaac J. (b. 1864), Mineral Water Mfr., b. Lancr., s. of mineral water mfr., St. Thomas' Schl, T.C. 1908, Con, 85 Penny St ('86, 1901 & '11).
22. DAVIS, David (1821-1897), Unitarian Minister & Schoolmaster, b. Evesham, s. of Unit. minister, Manchester Coll, T.C. 1879-82, Lib/Ratepayer, m. d. of Justice Actuary of Prussia), Castle Howell Schl, Queen St ('86) to Evesham.
23. DIXON, William, R.D.C. Surveyor & Bookmaker, T.C. 1900-13, Con, Hastings Rd' (1901), 55 Leonardgate (1911).
24. EINTON, Joseph (1833-1909), Ironmonger & Wine Mercht., b. Kendal, s. of farmer, appr. A & C Seward (1848-55), took over 1855, T.C. 1873-91, Mayor 1882, Con, C of E (C'warden St M's, ECU), J.P., Freemason, Capt. in Volunteers, B of Gs, Port Commissioner, Charity Trustee, Chairman of L & District Tramways Co., m. d. of SANDERSON (schoolmaster), Fair Elms, Cannon Hill, ('86 & 1901), net p. £11,707.
25. GILCHRIST, William (1822-1912), Coach builder (on own account from 1856), b. Kirkcaldy, Scots Academy, Manager of Carriage Building Works Preston, T.C. 1886-93, Mayor 1893, Ald. 1893-1900, Lib, Cong, (Deacon, High St), Freemason, free 1907, Charity Trustee, V Pres of Ch. of Commerce, Castle Hill ('86 & 1901) to Bolton-le-Sands, net p. £3,961.
26. GLADSTONE, Thompson (1853-1909), Wholesale Baker & Confectioner, b. Keighley, to Lancr. 1881, T.C. 1894-97, Con, Primrose League, C of E (C'warden, St L's), Freemason, Pinfold Lane, Sk ('86), Lune Bk, Aldren's Lane (1901) bankrupt 1908.

27. GLASBY, Walter (b. 1876), Baker & Confectioner, (on own account from 1899), b. Retford, Notts, appr. to Grange & Colne Co op Socs., T.C. 1913, Lib, Unit, Ch of Trade, m. d. of HOLMES of Grange (builder), Brock St (1911).
28. GOOCH, Henry (1848-1927), Headmaster, Leonardgate Nat. Schl 1884-1913, b. Woolwich, St. Mark's Coll., Chelsea, HM of St. Titus, Liverpool; T.C. 1914-27, C of E (St'man, Xtch), Freemason, m. d. of LEES (brewer), 29 Regent St ('86), 39 Derwent Rd (1901 & 11).
29. GREENE, Thomas Pattison (1840-1929), Landscape Gardener, Gent., m. d. of SALTHOUSE, T.C. 1884-1900, Ald. 1900-16, Con, J.P., Summerfield, Aldcliffe Rd ('81, 1901 & 11) to Forton.
30. HALL, Richard Inglis (1851-1920), Land Agent, b. Lancr., s. of G.P., LRGS, T.C. 1889-1906, Mayor 1901, Ald. 1906-09, Con/Indep, C of E, Lt Col in Volunteers, B of Gs, Haverbreaks ('86 & 1901), gross £5,355, net p. £3,318.
31. HALL, William (1817-1891), G.P., b. Lancr., s. of land surveyor, LRGS, St. Bart's, free 1833, T.C. 1873-79, Mayor 1878, Ald. 1879, Con, C of E, Freemason, J.P., m. d. of INGLIS of Caton (gent.), Stonewell ('86), Thornbreaks ('91).
32. HALL, William (1850-1910), G.P., b. Lancr., s. of G.P., LRGS, Edin. Univ., T.C. 1893-95, Con/Indep, C of E, J.P., Charity Trustee, Direcotr of Tramways Co., County Club, m. d. of COTTON of Milnthorpe (Colonel), Haverbreaks (1901), gross £5,775, net p. £4,723.
33. HAMILTON, William Cowan (1859-1928), G.P., Glasgow Univ., T.C. 1897-1909, Mayor 1906, Con/Indep, health broke down, 3 Dalton Sq. (1901 & 11).
34. HARFORD, James Saunders (1861-1920), Railway Guard, Publican (Brown Cow, Penny St), b. Devon, s. of railway servant, T.C. 1907 18, Lab, Amalg. Soc. of R'way Servts., 42 Derby Rd (1901), 44 Penny St (1911) to Morecambe.
35. HARRIS, Samuel James (1832-1906), Furniture Mfr., b. Birmingham, partner in Gillow's 1863, T.C. 1878-89, Mayor 1881 & 1883, Lib. Uist, C of E, J.P., DLB, County Club, Halton Pk ('86 & 1901), net p. £132,164.
36. HARTLEY, Christopher (1830-1882), Grocer & Tea Dealer, s. of grocer & tobacco mfr., T.C. 1871-82, Lib, Freemason, m. d. of THEXTON of Hornby (innkeeper), 118 Penny St ('81).
37. HARTLEY, Henry (d. 1894), Shopkeeper, Plasterer and Chairman of Claughton Brick & Tile Co., T.C. 1880-86, Con/Indep, C of E (C'warden, St J's), Freemason, Portland Place, L ('81).
38. HAYDOCK, John, Charles, Draper, b. Worksop, Notts., to Lancr. 1893, T.C. 1905-8, Lib, Wes, Meth. Steward, Templar, Gent. Sec. of Jubilee Town Mission, 10 Dallas Rd (1901), 72 Aldcliffe Rd (1911).
39. HEALD, James (1850-1919), Electrical Engineer & Plumber (empl. 60), b. Heapey, nr. Chorley, s. of farmer, Nat, Schl., to Lancr. 1870, 1893 Schl. Bd., T.C. 1894-1916, Mayor 1904, Lib, Pres. of Reform Club, free 1907, C of E (C'warden, St. J's), B of Gs, J.P., Freemason, Port Commissioner, Cncl. Ch. of Commerce, m. d. of WILCOCK (ironmonger), 8 Castle Pk (1901 & 11), estate £45, 451.
40. HELME, James (1851-1900), Pawnbroker, Publican (White Horse), Shipowner, b. Lancr., Nat. Schl., T.C. 1892-95, Lib, C of E, Church St ('86).

41. HELME, Norval (1849-1932), Table Baize Mfr., b. Lancr., s. of table baize mfr., LRGS, T.C. 1889-1900, Mayor 1896, Ald. 1900-19, Lib, Pres. of Lib. Assn., City Cncl., M.P. for Lancr. Div. 1900-18, Wes. Meth. (S.S. Super), Freemason, B of Gs, Ch. of Commerce, K.B. 1912, free 1922, J.P., Member of Meth. Conf., 11 West Rd ('86), Springfield Hall, Ashton Rd (1901 & 11), gross £23,739, net p. £21,259.
42. HUNTER, Thomas, Innkeeper, Farmer, Land Agent, T.C. 1906-13, Indep., Fox & Goose, 33 Queen St (1901), Dolphinlea, Bulk (1911) to Reading as stock adviser.
43. HUNTINGTON, Thomas, Timber Mercht., T.C. 1895, Lib later Con, Sec. of Reform Club, 19 Granmere Rd (1901 & 11).
44. HUNTINGTON, William (1843-1917), Joiner & Timber Mercht., b. Wyresdale, s. of yeoman farmer, Abbeystead Schl., appr. in Lancr., T.C. 1882-95, Mayor 1895, Ald. 1895, Con, C of E, J.P., Port Commissioner, Peace Soc, Lancr. Agric. Soc., Ashford Hse, Scotforth (1901 & 11).
45. IRELAND, Thomas, 'b. 1863), Coach & Cab Proprietor, sl of coach & cab prop., T.C. 1909, m. d. of nightwatchman, Damside St ('86), Chapel St (1901 & 11).
46. JACKSON, George (1849-1932), Brewer, b. Sedburgh, Y., s. of publican, Nat. Schl., appr. b'smith, T.C. 1890, Mayor 1902, Ald. 1903, Indep, Oddf, Freemason, Volunteer, Charity Trustee, 26 Portland St ('86), Jesmond Dene, Westbourne Rd (1901), Westwood (1911).
47. JACKSON, Richard (1823-1899), Cotton Spinner (Queens Mill), Upholsterer, b. Calder Vale, s. of cotton mfr., to Lancr. c. 1869, T.C. 1872-79, Lib, B of Gs, died Bournemouth.
48. JEMMISON, Henry (1858-1920), Journeyman Printer, b. Lancr., s. of plumber, Nat. Schl., T.C. 1907, Lab, Pres. of Trades Cncl., Cong. (Centenary, Deacon), m. d. of carpenter, 64 Balmoral Rd (1901), 81 Dale St (1911).
49. KERSHAW, Arnold Wright, Architect & Surveyor ('86), Ventilating Engineer (1901), T.C. 1892-94, Lib, Freemason, 2 Gt. John St ('86), St. George's Quay (1901).
50. KIRKBY, Henry Garnett, Boot Factor, b. Cockerham, Abbeystead Schl., appr. ironmonger, T.C. 1900-06, Lib, Cong (Centenary, Deacon), 5 Springfield St ('86), 5 Market St (1901 & 11).
51. KITCHEN, John (1842-1916), Mason & Builder & Quarry Owner, b. Lancr., s. of stonemason, Nat. Schl, free 1866, T.C. 1881-92, Mayor 1892, Ald. 1892, Lib/Ratepayer, Chairman of Ratepayers Assn. (1881), Unit, B of Gs, City Council., m. d. of road contractor, 14 DaltonSq ('86, 1901 & 11), £11,550 gross, net nil.
52. LANGSTREET, Edmund (1836-1908), Ret'd New Zealand farmer, b. Torrisholme, s. of farmer, to N.Z., T.C. 1900-07, Lib, C of E (C'warden, St. P's, Sc.), B of Gs, J.P., Director of L & D Tramways Co., Temple Villa, Scotforth, net p. £12,854.
53. LEMMING, John (b. 1865), landowner, b, Lancr., s. of corn merchant, Ushaw Coll., Dublin Univ., T.C. 1894-98, R.C., J.P., m. d. of baron of lucerne, Greaves Hse ('86).
54. LITTLE, Henry (1847-1901), Watchmaker & Jeweller, b. Penrith, to Lancr. 1866, T.C. 1895-1900, Lib, Pres. of Reform Club, C of E, Oddf., Freemason, B of Gs, Church St ('86), 33 Church St (1901).

55. MANSERGH, Robert (1833-1914), Draper & Oilcloth Mercht., b. Lancr., s. of draper, Jas. Willacy's Schl., Tulketh Hall, T.C. 1878-81, Lib, Cong., (High St then S.S. Super), J.P., Port Commissioner, Chairman of LRDC 1903 07, Damside St ('86 & 1901), Sunderland Pt (1911), gross £11,914, net p. £2,774.
56. MARSHALL, Thomas, Wine & Spirit Mercht., T.C. 1871-74, Con, Wheatfield Hse, Dallas Pl ('86).
57. MOLYNEUX, Nathan (1848-1926), Accountant & Agent, Sec. to L. & County Permanent Benefit Building Soc., Chairman of Educ. Cttee of Co op, T.C. 1887 94, Lib, Hon. Sec. to Lib. Assn., Unit., b'rupt 1894, West Place ('86), died at Darwen buried in Lancaster cenetery.
58. MOSER, Richard P. (1824-1898), Timber Mercht., b. Ulverston, s. of ironfounder, appr. stationer, free, T.C. 1880-86, Lib, Cong, Lune Fishery Bd., 47 Borrowdale Rd ('86).
59. NUTTALL, John Robert, Draper, B. Bury, Holly Mount Coll., T.C. 1905, Freemason, m. d. of HILL (Mayor of Bradford), Market Sq ('86), 13 Thornfield, Ashton Rd (1901 & 11).
60. OGILTHORPE, James Edward (1854-1934), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of solicitor, LRGS, T.C. 1898, Ald. 1917, Con, Wes. Meth., Trustee, Freemason, m. 2. d. of dentist, 1 Parkfield Terr, Greaves ('86), Westbourne Rd (1901), Haverbreaks (1911).
61. PARKINSON, Jpseph J. (1850-1909), Surveyor & Architect, b. Cockerham, s. of yeoman farmer, LRGS, T.C. 1908-09, C of E (S'man, St M's), V Pres Cricket Club, Ch. of Commerce, 41 Portland St ('86), 36 Regent St (1901).
62. PARR, Edward Gaffrey (b. 1870), Painter (on own 1900), b. Douglas, I of M, Lancr. Nat. Schl., appr., T.C. 1913, Indep, C of E (C'warden, St. J's), Sec. Ch. of Trade, 6 Rydal Rd (1901), 7 Gage St (1911).
63. PATTERSON, James (1823-1897), Wine & Spirit Mercht. & Brewer, b. Ayr, blacksmith, innkeeper (at Glasson Dock, then Lancaster the Wheatsheaf), T.C. 1882-90, Lib/Ratepayer, Cong., Oddf., Freemason, 1 Marton St. ('86), 62 Parkfield Terr ('97).
64. PICKARD, Joseph William (1863-1916), Gent., Commissioner for Income Tax, b. Bare, s. of draper, Friends Schl., Flounders Inst, York; T.C. 1911, Indep, Quaker, .P., Cty Club, Pres. of LRI, B of Gs, Oatlands, Haverbreaks, (1901 & 11), gross £58,545, net p. £28,633.
65. PRESTON, Robert (1855-1923), Grocer (w'sale), b. Lancr., s. of grocer & mfr., St. Peters Schl., Ushaw Coll., Dublin Univ., T.C. 1888-1900, Mayor 1894, 1899, 1900 & 1910, Ald. 1900, Lib, Pres. of Lib 200, Treas. of Reform Club, Cty Cncl., R.C. B of Gs, J.P., m. 2. d. of Supt. of Works at Mersey D & H Bd., 35 South Rd (1901).
66. RILEY, John Stackhouse (1864-1926), Grocer, b. Lancr., s. of grocer, T.C. 1909-24, Idep., Indep. Meth., (Pres.), Pres. of Grocers' & M. Bakers' Assns., 30 32 Moor Lane (1901 & 11), gross £5,974.
67. ROBERTS, Robert, Col iery Agent, T.C. 1913, Indep., Netherdene, Haverbreaks (1901 & 11).
68. SAITERTHWAITTE, Alexander (1851-1912), Grocer, b. Lancr., s. of grocer, Friends' Schl., Ackworth, Kendal, T.C. 1895, 1912, Mayor 1905, Lib, C of E (C'warden, St. T's), J.P., Schl. Bd. 1893, Treas. LRI, Pres. of Grocers' Assn., Antiquarian, m. d. WILCOCKSON of Preston (carrier), 32 King St ('86), Edenbreck, Westbourne Rd (1901), Brettargh Hse (1911), gross £17,284, net p. £14,436.

69. SEWARD, Abraham (1815-1904), Ironmonger, b. Lancr., s. of tinplater & brazier, LRGS, appr. in L'dn, free 1830, T.C. 1873-83, Mayor 1877, Con, C of E (C'warden, St. M's), B of Gs, J.P., Port Commissioner, 12 West Rd ('86), 38 West Rd (1901).
70. SEWARD, Charles Frederick (1846-1930), Ironmonger, b. Liverpool, s. of customs officer, educ. in L'dn, free, T.C. 1900, Mayor 1912, Con/Indep, C of E (S'man, St. M's), Freemason, Volunteers, Ch. of Commerce, J.P., Port Commissioner, on Cttees of Royal Albert & LRI, 4 Castle Park (1901 & 11), gross £10,627, net p. £9,592.
71. SEWELL, W., Grocer & Confectioner, b. Patterdale, T.C. 1909, Lib/Indep, Wes. Meth., Local Preacher, 2 Norfolk St (1911).
72. SHARP, William T. (1841-1895), Solicitor, b. Lancr., s. of solr., LRGS, Mercht. Tailor's, Trin. Coll. Dublin, T.C. 1879-95, Con, C of E (C'warden, St. M's), Lune Fishery Bd., m. d. of PRESTON of Whalley (Rev.), 9 High St. ('86), net. p. £13,158
73. SHARPLES, William (1844-1926), Gent., b. Cardiff, T.C. 1884-88, Con, Sec. to Primrose League, J.P., P.L. overseer, m. d. of SIMPSON (draper & T.C.), 11 East Rd ('81), Glenholme, Westbourne Rd (1901 & 11).
74. SHAW, George Lawson (1825-1891), Builder, b. Lancr., sl of joiner, T.C., Lib, Baptist, 40 Regent St ('86).
75. SMITH, William (1849-1913), Corn Mercht. (Walmsley & Smith of Barrow & Lancr.), b. Lancr., s. of grain importer, T.C. 1890-93, Mayor 1891, Ald. 1893-1906, Lib, Pres. of Reform Club, M.P. for N. Lonsdale 1892-95, R.C., B of Gs, Ch. of Commerce, DLB, Port Commissioner, Charity Trustee, Cttee of LRI, m. 1. d. of VERITY (tobacconist), 21 East Rd ('86), Newsham Hse, Broughton (1901), gross £86, 149, net p. £43,500.
76. STOREY, Edward (1829-1913), Table Baize Mfr., b. Lancr., s. of schoolmaster, T.C. 1879-84, Con, C of E (C'warden, Xtch), Freemason, Volunteers, B of Gs, J.P., Port Commissioner, Crosslands, Quarry Rd. ('86, 1901, 11), gross £117,468, net p. £115,354.
77. STOREY, Herbert Lushington (1853-1933), Table Baize Mfr., b. Lancr., sl of table baize mfr., LRGS, Derby G.S., Owen's Coll., Manchester, Leipzig Univ., T.C. 1893-1901, Lib. Uist, Free Trader, C of E, J.P., D.L., High Sherrif 1904, m. 1. d. of J.P., 2. d. of judicial commissioner, Underfell ('86), Bailrigg (1911) & Bowston Hill Hse, Malmesbury, Wilts.
78. THOMPSON, Robert (1860), Builder (empl. 125 men), b. Cartmel, s. of foreman mason, T.C. 1900-05 & 1907-19, Con, 13 Dalton Sq. (1901 & 11).
79. THRELFALL, Robert (1849-1925), Cheese Factor & Wholesale Provision Dealer, b. Lancr., s. of publican, started in Morecambe then Lancr., T.C. 1900-05, C of E, m. 1. d. of WILLACY (Morecambe publican), 69 Penny St ('86), 17 Thornfield, Ashton Rd (1901), 5 St. Chad's Terr., Blackpool (1911).
80. TILL, Thomas (1857), Slater & Plasterer, b. Newton in Bowland, s. of farmer (Wyresdale), T.C. 1900-04, Lib, Wes. Meth., Poor Steward & Trustee, Pres. of Lancr., Property Owners Assn., 8 George St ('86), 11 Thornfield, Ashton Rd (1901 & 11).
81. TOWERS, Richard G., Grocer, b. Halton, s. of farmer, Halton Nat. Schl., T.C. 1900-06, Cong., 9 shops in Lancaster & Skerton in 1901, 7 Aldren's Lane, Sk. (1901).

82. TOWERS, William (1831-1908), Grocer & Confectioner, b. Wray, s. of farmer, to Lancr. 1853, T.C. 1871-88, Ald. 1888-1900, Lib, Pres. of Reform Club, Cong., (High St). Oddfellows, m. d. of Arkholme farmer, 70-72 Penny St. ('86 & 1901).
83. TURNBY, John, Fellmonger, T.C. 1889, Lib, Manor Hse, Sk. ('86), 91 The Ramparts, Sk (1901 & 11).
84. WALKER, Thomas (d. 1929), Grocer & Tea Mercht., b. Lancr., s. of butcher & cattle dlr., Friends Schl., Blind Schl, Brighton, High St Mutual Imp. Soc., T.C. 1912-26, Lib, Cong., m. d. of Perth cattle dealer, Thurnham St ('86 & 1901), Cannon Hill (1911), net p. £57,803.
85. WARBRICK, W. (1832-1897), Builder, b. Lancr., s. of mstr builder, T.C. 1891-94, Lib, C of E (S'sman, Xtch), Oddfellow, Freemason, 71 Willswater Rd ('89).
86. WARRINER, R.C., Auctioneer & Valuer, T.C. 1894-99, b'rupt 1899, Con/Indep, Treasurer of Con. Club, Carr Hse Rd ('99).
87. WATSON, John (1820-1891), Draper later Matting Mfr., b. Galgate, T.C. 1879-89, Ald. 1889-91, Lib, Treasurer of Lib. Assn., B of Gs, 26 Cable St ('86).
88. WILKINSON, Thomas (1862-1924), Baker & Confectioner, b. Lancr., Nat. Schl. & U.S.A., T.C. 1901-22, Prim Meth (S.S. Super), V Pres. PSA Brotherhood, Sec. of Total Abstinence Soc., Free Church Cncl., 9 Church St (1901 & 11), gross £6,201, net p. £5,541.
89. WILLIAMSON, James (1844-1930), Table Baize later Linoleum Mfr., b. Lancr., s. of table baize mfr., LEGS, priv. schl. in Cheshire, T.C. 1871-80, Lib, C of E, (C'warden, St Lk's & Trustee), J.P., D.L., High Sheriff 1885, M.P. for Lancr. Div 1886 95, Baron Ashton 1895, m. d. of 1. draper, 2. gent. 3. rev. Ryelands, Sk (1901 & 11), Alford Hse, L'dn, Ashton Hall nr. L., The Bungalow, St. Annes, intestate £9 $\frac{1}{2}$ m.
90. WILSON, Robert (1845-1917), Builder, b. Skerton, s. of joiner & builder, Nat. Schl., St. Thos' Night Schl., Mechs' Instit., T.C. 1894-1909, Mayor 1907, 1908, 1909, Ald. 1909, Lib, Pres. of Lib. Div. Assn., C of E (C'warden, St. L's), J.P., Captain's Row, Sk. ('86, 1901 & 11).
91. WRIGHT, George (1850-1927), Builder, b. Lancr., s. of joiner & builder, Nat. Schl., T.C. 1900-19, Lib, Pres. of Lib. Div. Assn., Cong. (High St. Cong. SS Super), free 1907, Ch. of Commerce, m. d. of wine mercht., 15 Queen St ('86), 17 Bellevue Terr (1911).

N.B. As in the period 1835 70, two were found after the tables had been compiled: Robert Threlfall and G. Shaw.

APPENDIX C2

Rateable Value and Amount of Rates in £ Since Lancaster Corporation Act 1880

CORPORATION PURPOSES

POOR RATE

Year	Rateable Value	Boro Boro		Free Libry	High Educ	Total for Corpn	School Board Purposes	Guardians & Overseers	County Rate	TOTAL RATES
		Rate B Urban Sanit	Rate A Municipal							
1880	1 72,029.15	2/4				2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$				
	2 75,570	"	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d			"		4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	2d	3/0
	3 78,392	"	"			"		8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	"	3/4
	4 84,011	"	"			"		4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	"	3/0
	5 85,553	"	"			"		2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	"	2/10
	6 84,949	"	"			"		6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	4d	3/4
	7 92,090	"	"			"		4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	"	3/2
	8 93,138.10	2/2	"			2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		"	"	3/0
	9 93,739.10	"	2d			2/4		4d	"	"
	90 109,200.10	"	"			"		"	"	"
1890	1 115,269.10	2/2	2d			2/4		5d	3d	3/0
	2 119,447.10	2/4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d			2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	"
	3 129,344.10	1/4	1d			1/5		3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	2/0
	4 130,497.10	2/6	2d			2/8		4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	"	3/4
	5 132,087.10	"		1d		2/7	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	"	4d	3/6
	6 137,782.10	2/2	1d	"		2/4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	"	"	3/4
	7 139,368	2/6		"		2/7		5d	6d	3/6
	8 147,804	"		"		"		"	4d	3/4
	9 149,199.10	2/2		"		2/3	5d	7d	5d	3/8
	00 152,016	2/8		"		2/9		"	4d	"
1900	1 155,601	2/8		1d		2/9		7d	4d	3/8
	2 186,395	"		"		"	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d	3d	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d	3/10
	3 197,226	"				2/8	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	4d	4/0
	4 201,222.10	2/4	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ d	1d	1d	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{3}{8}$ d	8 $\frac{5}{8}$ d	4 $\frac{1}{8}$ d	"
	5 204,932	2/6	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	"	"	6d	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d	4/6
	6 206,686.10	2/10	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ d	"	"	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	3/10	6d	8d	5/0
	7 207,694	2/8	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d	"	"	10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d	3/8	5 $\frac{5}{8}$ d	8 $\frac{5}{8}$ d	4/10
	8 208,614	2/6	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	1d	"	11d	"	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d	"
	9 211,032	"	1d	"	"	12 $\frac{1}{4}$ d	3/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{7}{8}$ d	7 $\frac{7}{8}$ d	"
	10 213,067.10	2/8	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	"	"	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	3/10	7d	7d	5/0
1910	1 211,700	2/8	3 $\frac{5}{8}$ d	1d	"	12 $\frac{1}{4}$ d	4/2	6 $\frac{5}{4}$ d	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d	5/4
	2 208,406	2/7		"	"	12	3/8	10d	8d	5/2
	3 208,747	2/6		"	"	12 $\frac{3}{4}$ d	3/7 $\frac{5}{4}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	8 $\frac{5}{4}$ d	"
	4 207,879.10	2/8		"	"	14 $\frac{3}{2}$ d	3/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d	9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d	5/6

Source: Lancaster City Library, Borough Accounts.

APPENDIX C3

Borough of Lancaster. Statements showing disposal of nett profits of gas and water departments since passing of Lancaster Corporation Act 1880; and of electricity department since commencement.

	GAS*			WATER			ELECTRICITY		
	To Reserve & Renewal Funds.	To Rates	Total Nett Profit	To Reserve & Renewal Funds	To Rates	Total Nett Profits	To Reserve & Renewal Funds	To Rates	Total Nett Profit
1879 80	£2,335.10.6								
1880 1	£1,775.13.1			1,812		1,812			
1881 2	362		362	1,050	500	1,550			
1882 3	2,864		2,864	248		248			
1883 4	2,883		2,883	798		798			
1884 5	1,302		1,302	764		764			
1885 6	1,529		1,529	461		461			
1886 7	1,351		1,351	791	500	1,291			
1887 8	1,744		1,744	678	500	1,178			
1888 9	1,744		1,744	906	200	1,106			
1889 90	2,351		2,351	996		996			
1890 91	2,937		2,937	549	600	1,149			
1891 2	1,538		1,538	2,500	610	3,110			
3 mths 1892 3	1,837	500	2,337	1,994	1,500	3,494			<u>Nett Loss</u>
1893 4	930		930	2,383	2,000	4,383			309
1894 5	3,050	1,500	4,550	777	3,652	4,429			65
1895 6	1,099		1,099		3,290	3,290			<u>539</u>
1896 7	73	1,478	1,551		5,658	5,658		88	<u>913</u>
1897 8		1,081	1,081		3,218	3,218		598	88
1898 9		2,148	2,148		5,335	5,335	200	1,191	598
1899 00	1,360	1,250	2,610		3,289	3,289	250	421	1,391
1900 01	1,091	1,000	2,091		3,142	3,142	750	427	671
1901 2	425	1,250	1,675		5,153	5,153	931		1,177
1902 3	3,305	1,500	4,805		4,740	4,740	1,353		931
1903 4	1,835	1,250	3,085		4,117	4,117	757	750	1,353
1904 5	257	2,500	2,757		4,918	4,918	585		1,507
1905 6	2,261	1,000	3,261		5,764	5,764	1,018		585
1906 7	2,080	2,000	4,079		5,197	5,197	370		1,018
1907 8	1,449	2,500	3,949		5,992	5,992	579	500	370
1909 90	1,034	2,000	3,034		5,914	5,914	11	700	1,079
1909 10	1,614	3,000	4,614		6,062	6,062	84		711
1910 11	1,226	3,600	4,826		6,534	6,534	488		84
1911 12	2,189	3,800	5,989		6,898	6,898	548	800	488
1912 13	2,322	6,000	8,322		5,442	5,442	339		1,348

* Managed by the Gas Company for the benefit of the Corporation.

Source: Lancaster City Library, Borough Accounts.

APPENDIX G4 Lancaster Estates at PeakLANCASTER & DISTRICT MANUFACTURERS

	Will Proved	Gross Estate	Net Personalty
E.W. Maxsted, Solicitor (Lancaster), Silk Spinner (Galgate).	1898		151,294
S.M. Satterthwaite, Silk Manufacturer, (Galgate).	1904		11,282
W.H. Foster, Worsted Manufacturer (Bradford), Landowner (Hornby).	1908		171,125
Albert Greg, Cotton Manufacturer (Manchester), Landowner (Caton).	1910		174,166
N.W. Helme, Table Baize Manufacturer (Halton)	1932	25,789	21,259
Sir Thomas Storey, Table Baize Manufacturer (Lancaster).	1898	288,178	204,939

LANCASTER MEN OF EQUIVALENT WEALTH

(£100,000 gross plus).

Richard Leeming, Corn Merchant	1888		245,719
Rev. C.T. Royds, Rector of Heysham, Landowner	1900	117,227	
Rev. J. Allen, Vicar of Lancaster	1907		134,996
E.B. Dawson, Landowner (Aldcliffe)	1916	239,515	157,758
W. Mitchell, Brewer	1919	218,000	

It is noticeable that none of these men could be described as millionaires, but all came comfortably in the second rank. Locally their wealth was unrivalled. Even the most substantial Lancaster tradesmen left a great deal less. The following are given for comparison with Lancaster fortunes. Notice that of the three earls, only Derby was in the millionaire class.

H.W. Schneider, Iron Manufacturer (Barrow)	1887	159,000	
Earl of Sefton, Landowner (Liverpool)	1897		273,937
Earl of Derby, Landowner (Knowsley)	1894		1,802,200
Earl Bective, Landowner (Underley)	1894		594,319
John Gillow, Landowner (Essex)	1894		125,737
Thomas Brancker, Wine Merchant (Heysham, ex-Liverpool)	1894		20,552

Sources: Lancaster City Library, N.C.C. and Lancaster Observer, 25
January 1895.

APPENDIX C5

The Economic Status of Professional Men in Lancaster in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century.

W.J. Reader has argued that, although most professions were not very lucrative, the average income of both the solicitor and the general practitioner was higher than that of most tradesmen. The margin was not, however, very broad and its very narrowness enhanced the importance of private (ideally public school) education and of both professional organisation and professional ethics, all as guardians of status. In aspiring to the pattern of gentry life professional men perhaps sought to escape identification with trade.

Although some of Lancaster's professional men were very wealthy, the majority were not much better off financially than the more prosperous tradesmen. From a sample of Lancaster estate values from the period 1886-1931, it is evident that Lancaster professional men were not leaving a great deal more in their wills than Lancaster tradesmen. A few professional men, however, did indeed leave a great deal more. Of the sample, an architect (E.G. Paley) and a stockbroker (W.G. Welch) left over £50,000 net, and two clergymen (Rev. C.T. Royds and Rev. John Allen) and a solicitor (G.W. Maxsted) left over £100,000.

ESTATE VALUES (SAMPLE OF 79) 1886-1931.

Group	Over £ 200,000	Over £ 100,000	Over £ 50,000	Over £ 25,000	Over £ 10,000	Over £ 1,000	Over £ 100	TOTAL
Mfr./ Merchants.	3	4	4	3	5	5		24
Craft/Trade			1	5	12	10		28
Professional		3	2	4	7	10	1	27

The narrowness of the period from which most of the estate values are taken makes it difficult to judge by this means alone whether Lancaster professional men were gaining or losing financially at the turn of the twentieth century. The table below suggests that there is not much indication of change in either direction.

ESTATE VALUES BY DECADES FOR SELECT GROUPS 1886-1931.

Group	Over £ 200,000	Over £ 100,000	Over £ 50,000	Over £ 25,000	Over £ 10,000	Over £ 1,000	Over £ 100	TOTAL
<u>Professional</u>								
1888-1900		2(1)	1	2(1)	1(1)	2(1)	1	9(4)
1901-1910		1		1	1	4(1)		7(1)
1911-1920					1	2(1)		3(1)
1921-1931			1(1)	1(1)	4(3)	2(2)		8(6)
		3(1)	2(1)	4(1)	7(4)	10(5)	1	17(12)
<u>Craft/Trade</u>								
1888-1900				1				1
1901-1910					6	3		9
1911-1920				3	4	2		9
1921-1931			1	1	2	5		9
			1	5	12	10		28

The pattern of professionals' wills appears to be remarkably steady. On the other hand there is a definite increase in the amount that tradesmen were leaving. It may well be that either the economic gap between professional men and tradesmen was narrowing, or at least a larger number of Lancaster tradesmen were grasping the increased opportunities provided by the growth in population between 1871 and 1901.

Source: Lancaster City Library, Newscuttings, Obituaries.

APPENDIX C6COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN LANCASTER.1851 & 1903.

	Lancaster District (No. 485)		Lancaster Borough	
	1851 (In brackets % of Population).	1851	1851	1903
<u>Group A</u>				
C. of England	60.3 (21.5)	52.1 (23.6)	39.9 (5.4)	
R. Catholic	9.5 (3.4)	10.6 (4.8)	28.2 (3.8)	
Wesleyan	12.1 (4.3)	10.0 (4.5)	10.3 (1.4)	
Total	81.9 (29.2)	72.7 (32.9)	78.4 (10.6)	
<u>Group B</u>				
Orthodox Dissent				
Other Meths.	1.8 (0.7)	5.2 (2.4)	5.8 (0.8)	
Congregational	13.8 (4.9)	18.6 (8.4)	7.3 (1.0)	
Baptist	0.5 (0.2)	0.8 (0.4)	1.7 (0.2)	
Presbyterian	-	-	1.3 (0.2)	
Total	16.1 (5.8)	24.6 (11.2)	16.1 (2.2)	
<u>Group C</u>				
Heterodox Dissent.				
Unitarian	0.8 (0.3)	1.3 (0.6)	1.3 (0.2)	
Quaker	1.2 (0.4)	1.5 (0.7)	1.7 (0.2)	
Total	2.0 (0.7)	2.8 (1.3)	3.0 (0.4)	
Isolated Congregational.	0.1	-	2.3 (0.3)	
Total Protestant Dissent	30.2 (11.5)	37.3 (17.0)	31.7 (4.3)	
Total Worshippers	100 (35.7)	100 (45.4)	100 (13.5)	

Sources: P.R.O. HO 129/485/3
 Census of England and Wales, 1851, Religious Worship.
Lancaster Standard, 27 February 1903.

APPENDIX 57

COMPARATIVE WAGE RATES 1892-1912.

Note: Wages are for summer hours. Maximum weekly totals are shown.

Asterix denotes shorter hours than Lancaster. 'a' denotes average.

1892	Lancaster	Carlisle	Barrow	Chester	Preston	L'pool	Manchester
Ironfounders	33/6	31/-	34/-	35/-	36/-	36/-	38/-
Engineers			32/6	32/-			35/-
Mill Sawyers	28/-		33/-			36/- ^a	
Carpenters & Joiners	32/11	32/7 $\frac{1}{2}$ * ^a	33/9	34/-	33/-*	36/8*	36/10*
Bricklayers	38/7 $\frac{1}{4}$	29/9*	38/7 $\frac{1}{4}$	34/0 $\frac{3}{4}$ * ^a	37/1 $\frac{1}{2}$ * ^a	38/11 $\frac{1}{2}$ * ^a	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$ * ^a
Stonemasons	33/-	33/4	37/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/-	37/1 $\frac{1}{2}$ * ^a	37/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Plasterers	35/10	31/6*		35/2 $\frac{1}{4}$ * ^a	33/8*	39/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	36/10*
Plumbers	30/11	36/-	33/9	34/0 $\frac{3}{4}$	34/-*	38/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	36/10*
Slaters	31/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/3	33/9	35/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	33/-	38/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Hse Painters/Decorators	32/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/3*	36/ *	29/6 $\frac{1}{4}$ * ^a	30/11 $\frac{1}{4}$ * ^a	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$ * ^a	31/9 $\frac{1}{2}$ * ^a
Bricklayers' Labourers	22/8 $\frac{1}{4}$	19/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3	23/10	24/9	22/11	27/3
Masons' Labourers	21/8	19/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-	23/10	26/-	20/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/9
Plasterers' Labourers	22/8 $\frac{1}{4}$	19/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-	23/10	21/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	26/4 $\frac{1}{4}$	26/-
Cabinetmakers	30/7	31/6	32/6 ^a	32/7 $\frac{1}{8}$	32/-	35/-	35/
Tailors (per hr)	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	6	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
<u>1906</u>							
Ironfounders	40/-	34/-	39/-	37/- ^a	40/-	41/- ^a	41/-
Turners/Fitters	35/-	32/-	36/6 ^a	33/-	36/-	36/-	36/-
Carpenters & Joiners	35/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/4	39/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/7 $\frac{1}{4}$	37/1 $\frac{1}{2}$ * ^a	39/2	39/2 $\frac{1}{2}$ * ^a
Stonemasons (ave)	38/-	33/7	37/11	36/-	37/7		38/-
Plasterers	39/9	36/-	40/6	37/1	39/-	39/2	43/4
Plumbers	35/4	35/-*	38/3	38/7	35/-*	39/2*	39/2*
Slaters	37/2	36/2	40/6	40/11	39/2	39/2	40/11
Hse Painters/Decorators	35/1	36/-	37/1	40/11	35/1	35/1	37/11
Bricklayers' Labourers	24/9	22/11	29/3	26/1	24/9	22/8	27/3
Plasterers' Labourers	24/9	22/6	29/3	25/-	22/6	24/9	30/4
Cabinetmakers	35/7	32/4	34/11	38/3	35/9		
Jobbing Compositors	32/-	30/-*	33/-	30/-	32/6*	36/6*	35/ *
Police Const. max	32/2	34/-	33/10	32/-	34/-	36/-	34/6
Gas Stokers (per shift)	5/-		5/-			5/4	5/3

1912	Lancaster	Carlisle	Barrow	Chester	Preston	L'pool	Manchester
Ironfounders	40/-	37/-	41/-	38/6 ^a	40/-	43/- ^a	42/-
Engineers	37/-	33/-	37/-	35/-	37/-*	37/-	37/-
Farriers	30/-	32/-				35/-	35/-
Carpenters & Joiners	35/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/4	40/6	38/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/2	38/9*	39/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bricklayers	41/3	35/5	39/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	41/3	38/9*	45/5
Stonemasons	39/2	35/5	40/6	37/1	39/2	37/10	39/2
Plasterers	37/2	36/-	40/6	40/11	37/2	39/2	43/4
Plumbers	35/4	35/-	38/3	38/7	37/2	40/2	39/2
Slaters	37/2	36/2	40/6	40/11	35/1	39/2	41/3
Hse Painters/ Decorators	35/1	36/-	37/1	40/11	35/1	36/1	39/-
Bricklayers' Labourers	24/9	21/10	29/3	26/1	24/9	22/2	27/3
Masons' Labourers	22/8	21/10	26/10	22/8	25/	20/2	22/8
Plasterers' Labourers	24/9	23/8	29/3	24/11	22/8	24/9	28/1
Cabinetmakers	36/2		36/-	38/3	33/3	38/9*	38/-*
French Polishers	31/10		33/1	34/10	38/3 34/8	34/10	34/-
Jobbing Compositors	32/-	30/-*	33/-*	31/6*	33/-*	38/-*	36/6*
Police Constables max	32/2	34/-	34/5	32/-	33/-	36/-	34/-
Gas Stokers (per shift)	5/-		5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a	5/9 ^a		5/4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a	5/3

Sources: Principally, BPP 1894, LXXXI; 1906, CXII; 1912 13, XCII; supplemented by Webb T.U. Collection (L.S.E.)

DAILY RATES FOR HIGHWAY LABOURERS IN LANCASTER REGION.

	Newton-with-Docker	Yealand Redmayne	Yealand Conyers
1871	2s 6d then 3s		
1872	2s, 3s, 3s 6d		
1873	2s, 3s 6d		
1874	2s, 3s 6d	3s 6d	
1875	2s, 3s 6d, 3s 8d	3s 6d	
1876	3s 6d	3s 6d	
1877	3s 6d, 4s	3s 6d	
1878	3s 6d	3s, 3s 6d	
1879			
1880	3s 6d		
1881		3s 6d	
1882		3s 6d	
1883		3s 6d	
1884		3s 6d	3s 6d
1885		3s 6d	3s 6d
1886		3s 6d	3s (Dec), 3s 6d
1887		3s 6d	3s 6d
1888		3s 6d	3s (Dec), 3s 6d
1889		3s 6d	
1890		3s 6d	3s 6d

Sources: Lancs. C.R.O., PR 876 Highway Accounts, Newton-with-Docker
PR 2373 Highway Accounts, Yealand Conyers
PR 2374-5 Highway Accounts, Yealand Redmayne

APPENDIX C8PAUPERISM IN THE LANCASTER UNION 1851-1911

	<u>Popn.</u>	<u>Paupers</u>	<u>Rates per 1,000 Population.</u>			
			<u>LANCASTER</u>	<u>PRESTON</u>	<u>LONDON</u>	<u>ENGLAND AND</u>
	<u>LANCASTER UNION</u>		<u>UNION</u>	<u>UNION</u>	<u>UNIONS</u>	<u>WALES</u>
1851	23,544	1,719 (1 Jan)	73.0			51.8 (1852)
1856		1,292 (1 Jan)	54.9			
1861	24,019	1,277 (1 Jan)	53.2			44.8
		910 (1 Jul)	37.9	27.2	28.8	42.9
1866		953 (1 Jan)	39.7			43.7
		886 (1 Jul)	36.9	23.4	35.2	42.0
1871	32,450	954 (1 Jan)	29.4	20.1		48.2
		844 (1 Jul)	26.0	16.2		
1876		591 (1 Jan)	18.2	12.2		31.3
		510 (1 Jul)	15.7	11.4	25.7	29.0
1881	40,338	460 (1 Jan)	11.3	13.3		31.5
		482 (1 Jul)	11.8	11.8	25.1	29.7
1886		525 (1 Jan)	12.9	16.1		29.9
		501 (1 Jul)	12.3	11.1	24.4	28.0
1891	52,024	549 (1 Jan)	10.6	10.8		27.1
		492 (1 Jul)	9.5	10.0	23.4	25.0
1896		606 (1 Jan)	11.6	11.6		27.7
		598 (1 Jul)	11.5	10.2	25.9	25.6
1901	67,335	716 (1 Jan)	10.6	11.0	26.9	25.0
		671 (1 Jul)	10.0	10.8	26.0	23.8
1906		834 (1 Jan)	12.4	15.1	29.6	25.0
		783 (1 Jul)	11.6	14.9		25.1
1911	69,124	1,031 (1 Jan)	14.9	17.5	31.4	24.9
		921 (1 Jul)	13.3	13.2	27.6	21.0

Sources: BPP & Lancaster Guardian, 7 May 1870.

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 1887, LXXXIX, Labour Statistics.
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 1889, LXX, Trade &c.
 1889, LXXI, Pts. I & II, Trade &c.
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 1890, LXVIII, Trade & c.
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 1893-4, LXXXIII, Pt. I, Trade &c. CIV, Population (England & Wales).
 1894, LXXXI, Trade &c.
 1895, XCII, Trade &c.
 1896, LXXX, Pt. I, Trade &c.
 1897, LXXXIV, Trade &c.
 1898, LXXXVIII, Trade &c.
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 1899, XCII, Trade &c.
 1900, LXXXI, Trade &c.
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 1902, CXVIII, Population (England & Wales).
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 1903, LXVI, Trade &c.
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 1906, CXII, Trade &c.
 1907, LXXX, Trade &c.
 1907, LXXVIII, Friendly Societies.
 1908, XCVIII, Trade &c.
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 1913, LXXVIII, Population (England and Wales).
 1914, LXXI, Metropolis; Miscellaneous.
 1914, LXXX, Commercial and General Interests.
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5. Newspapers

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Clarion
Co Operative News
Cross Fleury's Journal (Preston)
Cumberland Pacquet
Gore's Liverpool Advertiser
Household Words
Kendal Mercury and Westmorland Advertiser
Labour Leader
Lancashire Daily Post
Lancaster Circuit Wesleyan Methodist Record
Lancaster Gazette
Lancaster Guardian
Lancaster Herald
Lancaster Mail
Lancaster Magazine 1824

- Lancaster Observer and Morecambe Chronicle
- Lancaster Standard
- Lancaster Times
- Liverpool Post and Mercury
- Lytham St. Anne's Standard
- Manchester Guardian
- Methodist Recorder
- Methodist Times
- Southport Visiter
- The Times

6. Journals

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- American Journal of Sociology
- Annales de Demographie Historique
- British Medical Journal
- Daedalus
- Economic History Review (abb. Ec. H.R.)
- English Historical Review (abb. E.H.R.)
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- New Society
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- Sociological Review
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- Transaction of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (abb. Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. Chesh.)
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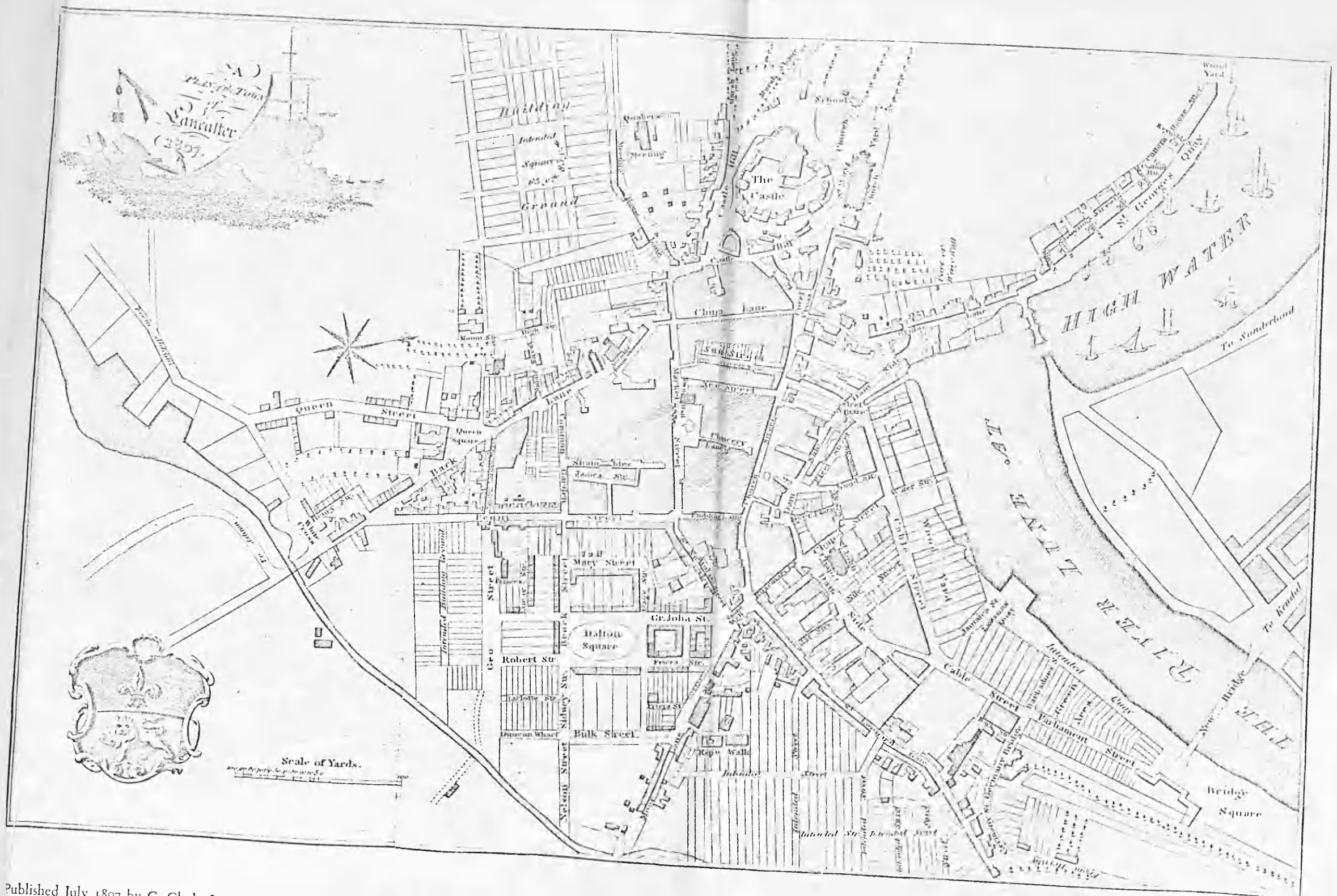
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Published July 1807 by C. Clark, Lancaster.

Lancaster Museum Reprint.

70s

60s

50s

40s

30s

20s

20d

12d

Wheat

Oatmeal

Potatoes

Jan 1859

Jan 1860

Jan 1861

Jan 1862

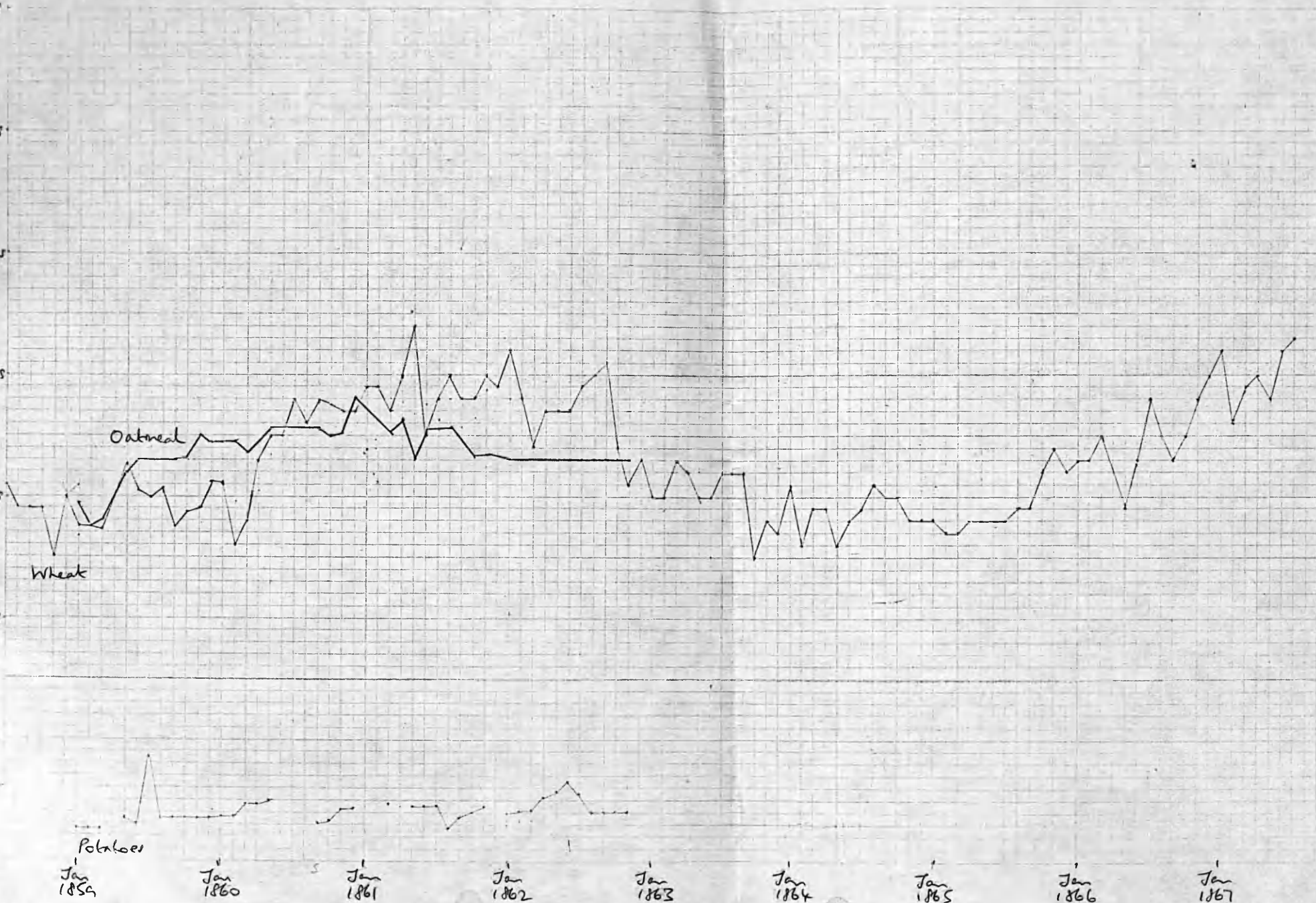
Jan 1863

Jan 1864

Jan 1865

Jan 1866

Jan 1867





A

R.M. 417

L

A

N

C

S

S

Skerton

Higher Moor
1800 ft. Field

Lane Villa

Slate Barn

Shant

Lake's Ch.

Green Station

Lane Br.

White Lane Mill
with Lanes

C

A

S

T

L

E

LANCASTER

R

D

West Place

LANCASTER CASTLE

Castle Station

Wendal Field

Bath Cottages

Bath House

Bath Place

S

T

A

Sunny Side

Nursery

St. Thomas Church
(Unitarian)

Nursery

Greenfield

Moorlands

Lancaster Union
Workhouse

1491

24

Carr House

Queens Mill
Lancaster

Lancaster
Station

Waterloo
College

Princess Hill

Sandstone
Quarry

Moor Place

Q

U

E

N

S

W

A

R

D

Springfield Hall

Lowerham

The Grange

Gogolth

Haverthwaite House

Money Valley

Greaves Bridge

West Bank

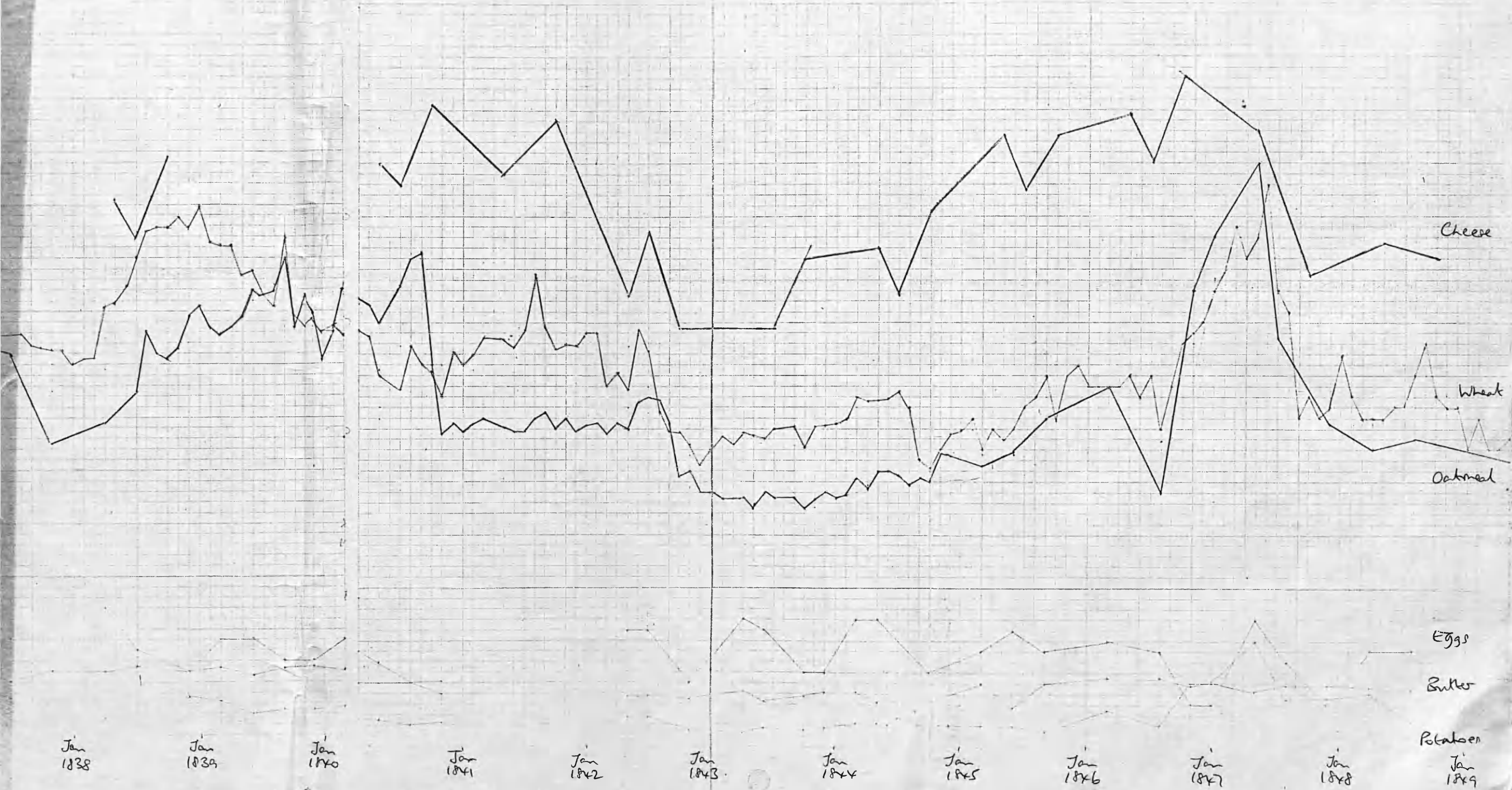
Nursery

Lime
Kiln

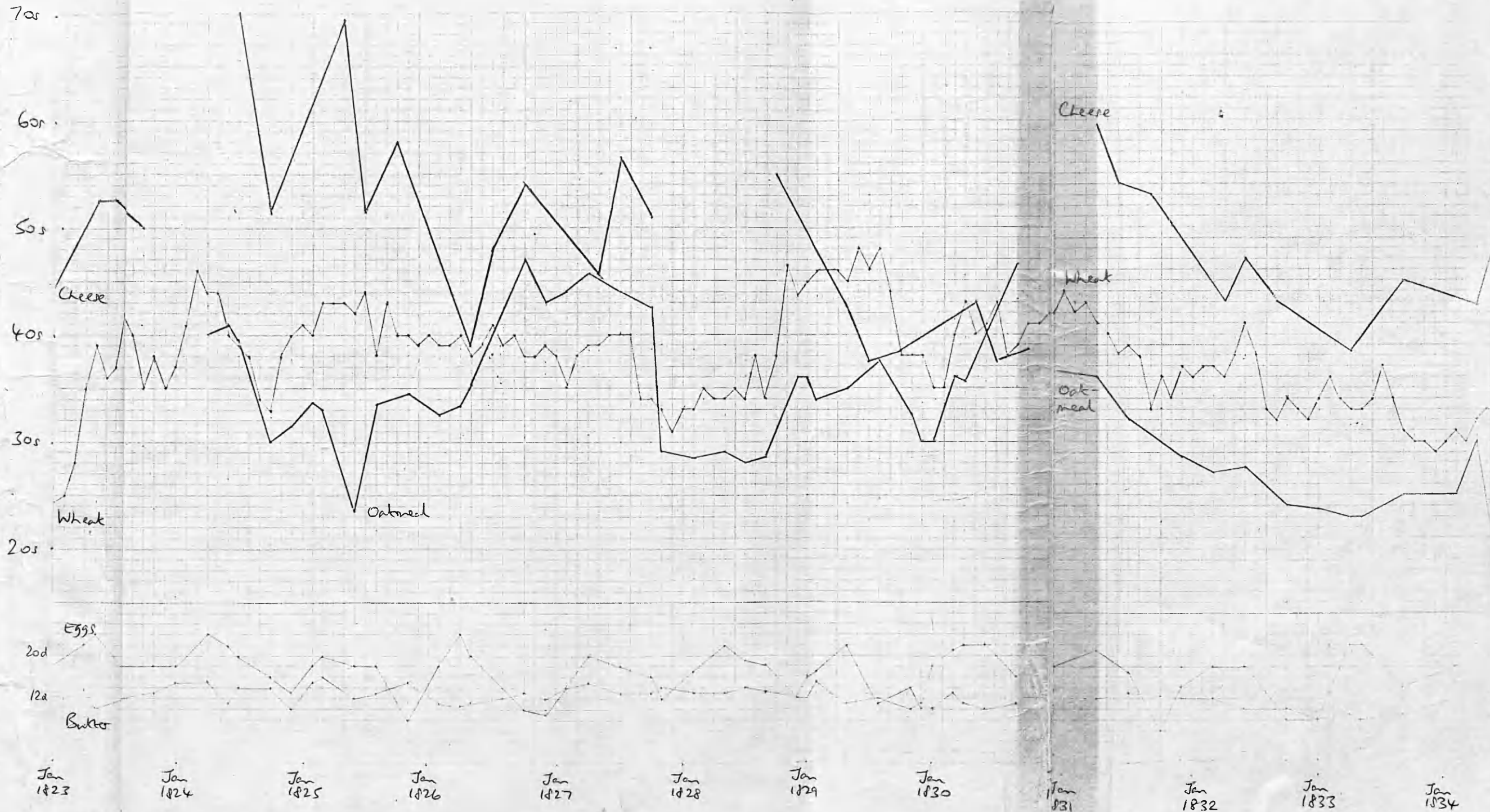
Hatfield Hall

Abelcliffe

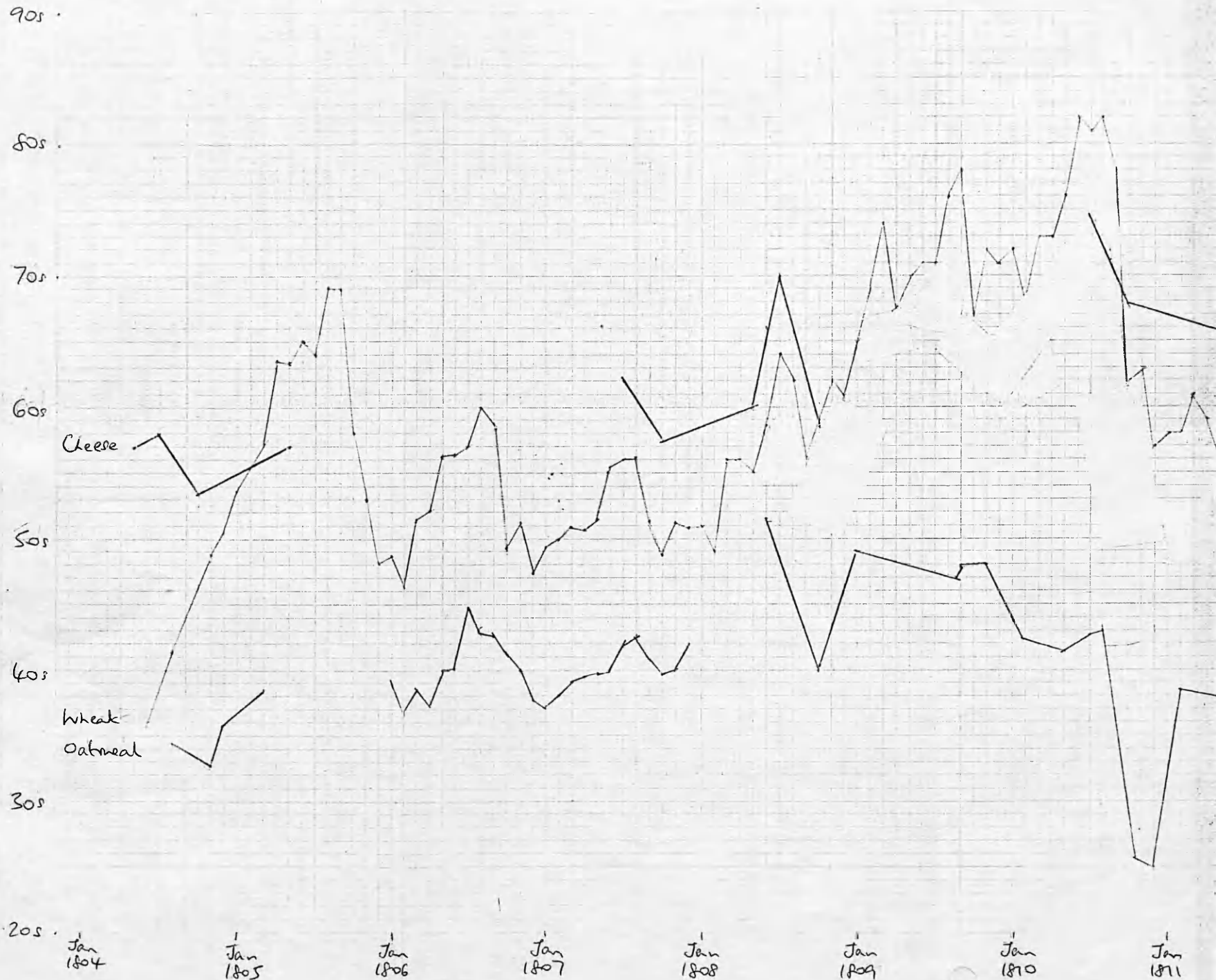
NB. Potato Graph gives price per stone



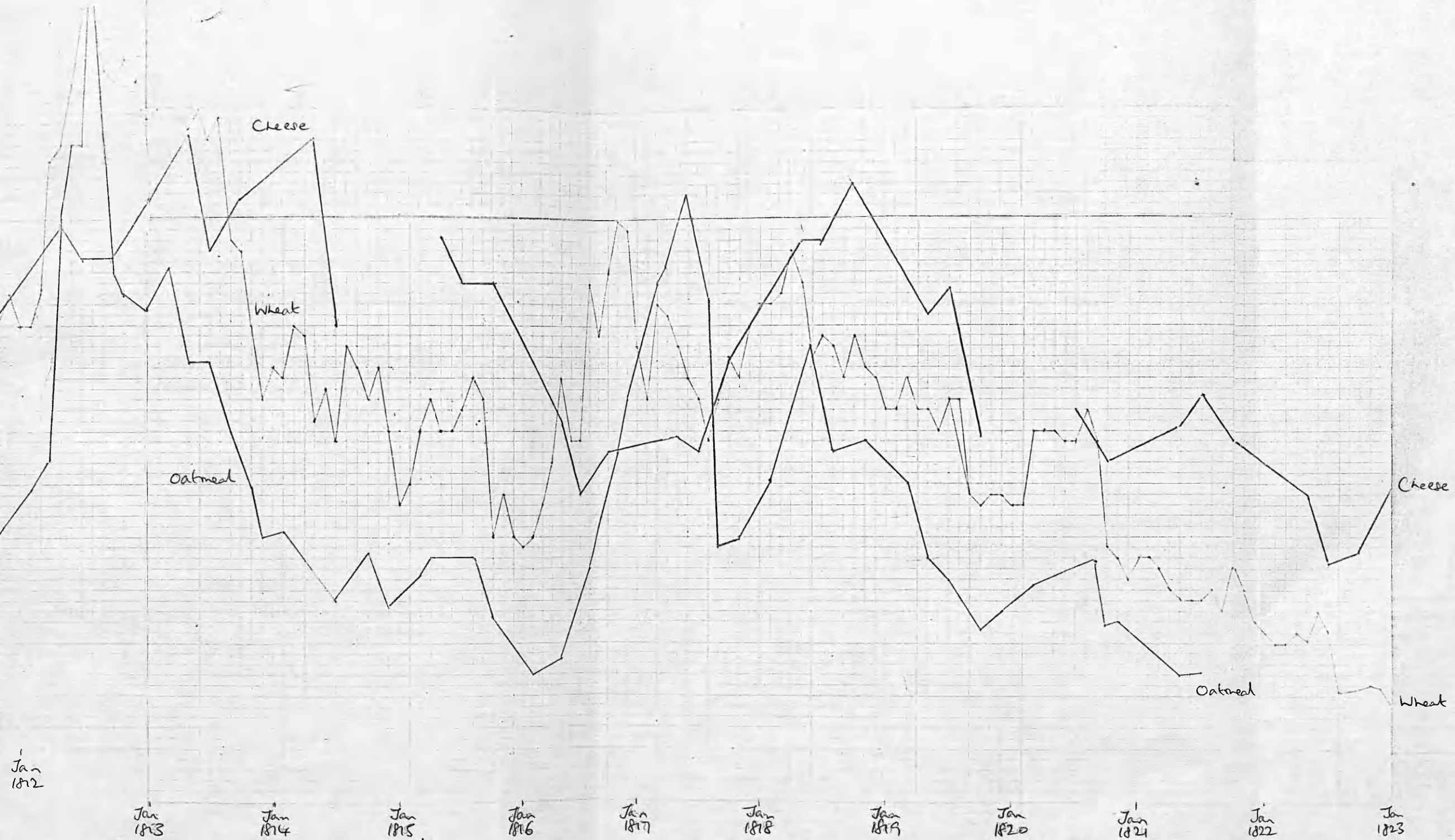
N.B. Egg graph gives number per 1 shilling, Butter price per lb.



GRAPH II MONTHLY WHEAT & OATMEAL PRICES (Per Lancaster Load - about 5 Winchester bushels) -
 WITH TRIANNUAL AVERAGE CHEESE PRICES (Per CWT) Sources: LCRO PR 468 and Lancaster Gazette
 at LANCASTER MARKET



market of the month.



Jan 1812

Jan 1813

Jan 1814

Jan 1815

Jan 1816

Jan 1817

Jan 1818

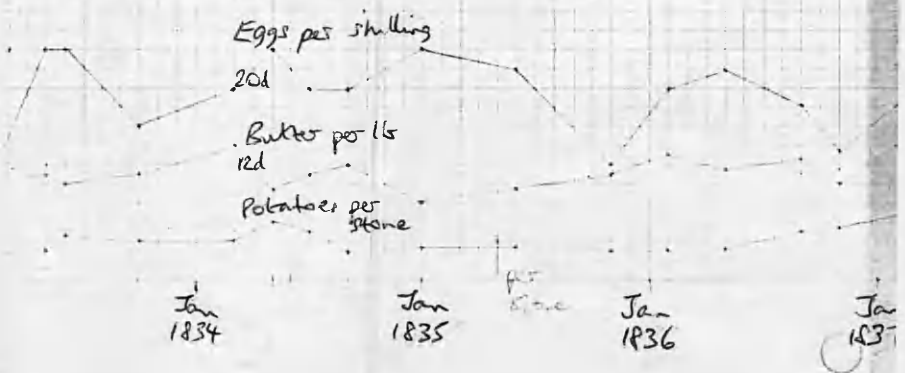
Jan 1819

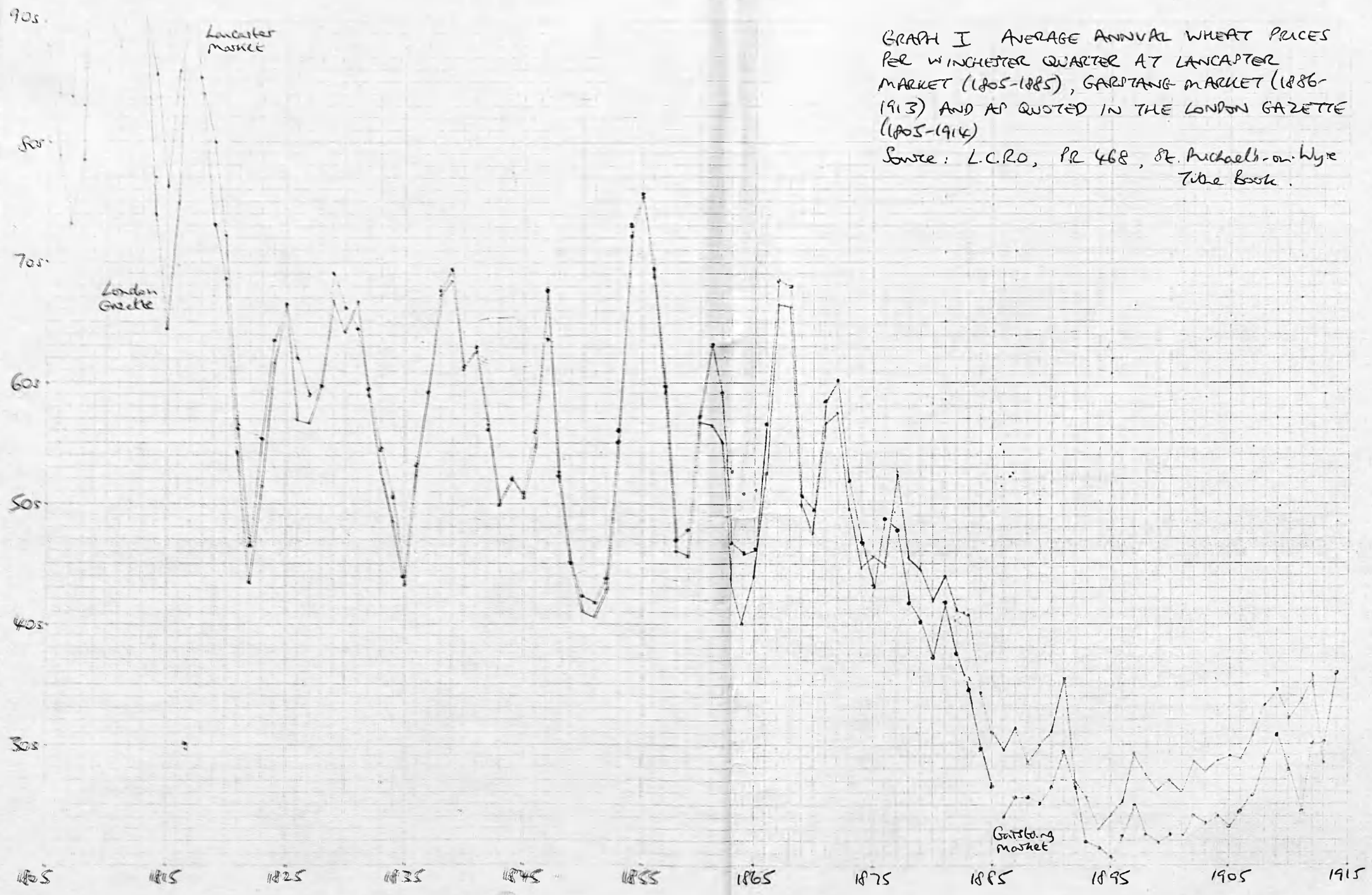
Jan 1820

Jan 1821

Jan 1822

Jan 1823





GRAPH I AVERAGE ANNUAL WHEAT PRICES PER WINCHESTER QUARTER AT LANCASTER MARKET (1805-1885), GARTANG MARKET (1886-1913) AND AS QUOTED IN THE LONDON GAZETTE (1805-1914)

Source: L.C.R.O., PR 468, St. Michael's-on-Wyre Tide Book.

70s

60s

50s

40s

30s

20s

20d

12d

Cheese

Wheat

Oatmeal

Potatoes

Jan 1850

Jan 1851

Jan 1852

Jan 1853

Jan 1854

Jan 1855

Jan 1856

Jan 1857

Jan 1858

