

Farms and Farming in a North Lancashire Parish before 1914

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Introduction

John Lucas, writing in the eighteenth century described Silverdale and Lindeth as ‘a Kind of *Peninsula*, almost environ’d by the Sea and Mosses’.¹

This study will look at the owners, occupiers and their families; farms and farming in a small rural part of Lancashire. The area being considered is the village of Silverdale and the hamlet of Lindeth. Silverdale’s area is about 1,1678 acres, Lindeth’s about 576 acres.² The time chosen is the early part of the twentieth century, before the First World War brought so many changes in its wake. The area cannot be said to be representative of any larger area, but can be compared with work that has been undertaken in nearby areas of Lancashire, Westmorland and Yorkshire. In this way it can add to the detail of farming and agricultural and rural life at a time of social and political change.

The use of fairly recently released material, the Valuation Office survey carried out between 1910 and 1915 and the household schedules of the 1911 census, enable more detailed studies of the people, their work, property and land holdings, to be undertaken than has been possible before. Studies have been undertaken on retail property and on dairy farming using the Inland Revenue valuation records, but before the census material was available.³ One study using the 1911 census material concentrated on the concern that was felt by the questions on marital fertility and the census boycott by some suffragettes.⁴

The area

Silverdale is within a twelve-mile radius of the market towns of Lancaster and Kendal but removed from the industrial area of Lancashire or the mines of Furness. It is on the coast of Morecambe Bay, on the borders of Lancashire and the old county Westmorland. The road across the Bay to Furness provided a route north-westwards, although its importance diminished with the opening of the Ulverstone and Lancaster Railway in 1857.⁵ The journey across Morecambe Bay was thus made easier, quicker and safer than the ancient cross sands route.⁶

The area was described as a small subdivision of Lancashire, the elevated craggy limestone division which extended from Warton and Yealand to Silverdale. The soil was ‘principally of the dry friable and limestone kind’ The higher ground provided pasture for sheep, with grazing for sheep and cattle in the valleys. The mossy and peaty areas could produce good

¹ J. Rawlinson Ford & J.A. Fuller-Maitland eds. *John Lucas’s History of Warton Parish (compiled 1710-1740)* (Kendal: Titus Wilson & Son, 1931), p.50.

² W. Farrer & J. Brownbill eds. *A History of the County of Lancaster. Volume 8* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd, 1914), pp.180-182; 161-165. 86 acres of tidal water and 1,629 acres of foreshore are also noted for Silverdale.

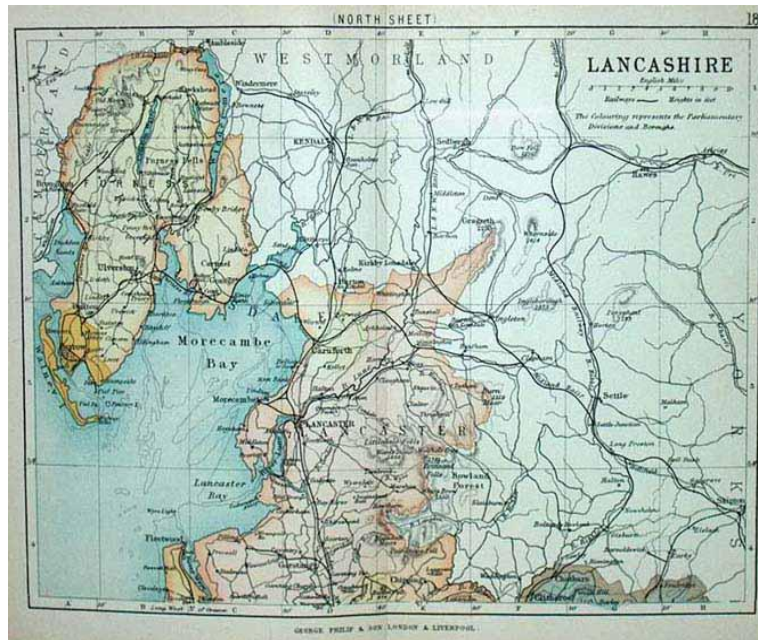
³ M. Winstanley, ‘Retail Property Ownership in Edwardian England’ in J. Benson & K. Ugolini eds. *A Nation of Shopkeepers: Five Centuries of British Retailing* (I. B. Tauris, London, 2003), pp.180-205; P. Anderton, ‘Milking the Sources: Cheshire Dairy Farming and the Field Notebooks’, *The Local Historian*, 34.1, (2004), pp.2-16.

⁴ J. Liddington & E. Crawford, “‘Women do not Count, Neither shall they be Counted’: Suffrage, Citizenship and the Battle for the 1911 Census’, *History Workshop Journal*, 71 (2011), pp.98-127.

⁵ Mourholme Local History Society Book Group, *Warton Parish 1850-1900* (Kendal: Mourholme Local History Society, 2009), pp.26-27.

⁶ D. Peter, *Warton with Lindeth, a History, Part One: Communications and Industry* (Warton History Group, 1985), pp.31-32.

crops of potatoes, grain and grass if properly drained, but elsewhere the soil was thin, with limestone near the surface.⁷



Map 1. North Lancashire 1892, Ian Phillips

In 1821, 64% of the families in Warton parish, were ‘employed chiefly in agriculture’.⁸ Improvements in farming, both in types of crops and use of machinery, particularly use of steam-powered threshers, enabled agricultural output per worker to grow by over 70 per cent between 1840 and 1900. However, most power continued to be provided by horses and in many places farming practices did not change very much.⁹ The North and West was one area said to be slow to change.¹⁰

The nature of the area did change as industrialists and wealthy town dwellers bought land for holiday houses or country estates from early in the nineteenth century.¹¹ Farmers also diversified by providing accommodation and refreshments to the creasing number of visitors attracted to the area by its scenic beauty and coastal situation.¹² Travel was facilitated by the coming of the railway with a station at Silverdale.¹³

⁷ E. Baines, *Baines's Lancashire: History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster, Vol. 1* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1968, first published 1824), pp.82-85.

⁸ E. Baines, *Baines's Lancashire: History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster, Vol. 2* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1968, first published 1824), p.665, 666.

⁹ M. Overton, ‘Agriculture’, in J. Langton & R. J. Morris eds. *Atlas of Industrializing Britain, 1780-1914* (London: Methuen, 1986), p.36.

¹⁰ Overton, ‘Agriculture’, p.36, quoting A. Jewell, ed. *Victorian Farming: A Sourcebook*, (Winchester: Barry Shurlock, 1975).

¹¹ M. Wright, ‘Saving Silverdale's Shoreline: Conservation in the Nineteenth Century’ *The Mourholme Magazine of Local History* (2001-2002, 2.42), pp.5-15.

¹² Mannex, *History, Topography, and Directory, of Westmorland; and of the Hundreds of Lonsdale and Amounderness in Lancashire* (Beckermest, Cumbria: Michael Moon, 1978, first published 1851), p.542; Kelly, *The Post Office Directory of Lancaster and its Vicinity* (1864), p.71; Mannex, *Topography and Directory of North and South Lonsdale* (Preston: P. Mannex & Co. 1866), p.566; Mannex, *Topography and Directory of Lancaster and Sixteen Miles Round* (Preston: P. Mannex & Co. 1881), p.249; J. Bulmer ed. *History, Topography, and Directory of Lancaster & District* (Preston: T. Bulmer & Co. 1912), p.383.

¹³ Mourholme Book Group, *Warton Parish*, pp.26-27.

Sources

The main sources used for this study are the household schedules for the 1911 census, and the valuation records produced for the Finance Act of 1910.¹⁴ The valuation records were made available from about 1979. Valuation books for parishes list details of owners, occupiers and their holdings and are mostly in local record offices, as are working maps. Final maps outline and number each holding and are at the National Archives as are field books each containing details of up to one hundred holdings.¹⁵ Forms and various other records are available for certain areas.¹⁶ The 1911 census data was released to the public in 2009 and was the first census where the schedules filled in by householders are available rather than enumerators' copies.¹⁷

The Finance Act was an attempt by the Liberal government to raise money for social reforms and for the navy, included in the Act was a scheme for taxing land.¹⁸ To calculate incremental value duty a valuation of all the land in the United Kingdom was carried out. The land valuation duties were repealed in 1920, although the records continued to be used.¹⁹ The survey covered urban and rural areas in England and Wales, about 13 million hereditaments, and produced a huge amount of material. Short concludes that '[t]here is no other comparable *national* survey of landownership and occupation in our history'.²⁰

Agriculture in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

James Caird drew a picture of the landlord, the farmer and the labourer, 'the different classes employed in its agriculture', the landowners, 'the capitalists to whom the land belongs', 'the tenant-farmers...their business is the cultivation of the land' and 'the agricultural labourers ... [with] their well-acquired experience in all the details of husbandry, and the bodily strength to use it'.²¹

This view has been challenged as too simplistic and relating more to the arable areas in the South and East of England. Small family farms, relying largely on family labour, could thrive, particularly by marketing farm products, such as meat and dairy products to the populous industrial towns of Lancashire. In North Yorkshire, there was mix of land ownership and occupancy. Large landowners, tenant farmers and labourers in the classic tripartite system were to be found. Also owners of small estates, yeoman owner-occupiers of

¹⁴ *The Finance (1909-1910) Act* (10 Edw. VII, c.8 section 26(10)).

¹⁵ Silverdale and Lindeth Valuation Office records are held at Lancashire Record Office, working maps, DVLA/2; Valuation book, DVLA/1/6/9. The National Archives hold the final maps, IR 133/3/1; IR 133/3/2; IR 133/3/3; IR 133/3/4; IR 133/3/6; IR 133/3/7; IR 133/3/9; IR 133/3/10, the Silverdale field books IR 58/46608; IR 58/46609; IR 58/46610 and the Lindeth field books IR 58/46649 and IR 58/46650.

¹⁶ Short, *Land and Society*, p.89.

¹⁷ Census records were downloaded from <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> and <http://findmypast.co.uk>. Silverdale 1911 census records are RG14.125562, registration district Lancaster, sub district Warton, civil and ecclesiastical parishes, Silverdale, enumeration district 6. Lindeth 1911 census records are RG14.25565, registration district Lancaster, sub district Warton, enumeration district 9, civil parish Warton with Lindeth, ecclesiastical parish Silverdale.

¹⁸ BPP LXXII, 1874, *Return on the Owners of Land, England and Wales (1872-1873)*, in B. Short, *Land and Society in Edwardian Britain* (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), p.11.

¹⁹ Short, *Land and Society*, pp.81-84; B. Short & M. Reed 'An Edwardian Land Survey: the Finance (1909-10) Act 1910 Records', *Journal of the Royal Society of Archivists*, 8.2, (1986), pp.95,96.

²⁰ Short, *Land and Society*, pp.1-5; Short & Reed, 'Edwardian Land Survey', p.103. Short compares the 1910 valuation with the Domesday Book of 1086, Tithe Surveys of the 1840s, the 'New Domesday' survey of land ownership in 1873 and the National Farm Survey of 1941-43.

²¹ J. Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51* (Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, 1852, 2nd edit.); J. Caird, 'General View of British Agriculture', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, Second Series*, 14.XXVIII, part II, (1878), pp.227/11, 299/33-301/35.

small farms and owners of very small amounts of land, with dual occupations were all to be found. Small owner-occupiers were also a feature of Westmorland, until the end of the nineteenth century.²² The methods of measuring farms has changed over the years, but broadly the pattern of large farms in the East and South of the country and smaller farms to the West and North has persisted since mid to late Victorian times.²³ Howkins considers the agricultural work force and suggests 'a more complex and differentiated society', from the classic tripartite pattern. He describes three other groups of agricultural workers, peasants working family farms and doing work as migrants; farm servants and wage labourers, he finds that the first two groups together were numerically larger than landless farm labourers.²⁴

In North-West England, the practice of farm service persisted into the twentieth century. Farm servants were hired for periods of six months and lived on the farm; they were paid at the end of that time. It was suggested that this enabled farm workers to save money so that they could buy a small farm for themselves, possibly moving up a ladder to larger holdings.²⁵

Howkins questions the role of women and children, the 'residual army' employed at busy times of the farming year.²⁶ Some studies of women working in the rural economy have shown that their participation reduced as the nineteenth century progressed, but other writers have stressed the regional variations and the importance of life cycle, marriage status and age of children.²⁷

Higgs proposes that census data on occupations, particularly for women should be viewed as biased towards a masculine viewpoint that work that was not paid in money was not part of the economy. Work by women in agricultural or on family farms did not enter the category of occupation, he also suggests that agricultural workers were underestimated in the censuses of 1851-1871. Instructions about the coding of farming occupations was changed in 1881 and again in 1911.²⁸

²² M. Winstanley, 'Industrialization and the Small Farm: Family and Household Economy in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire', *Past and Present*, 152.1 (1996), pp.158-162; C. S. Hallas, 'Yeoman and Peasants? Landownership Patterns in the North Yorkshire Pennines c. 1170-1900', *Rural History*, 9.2 (1998), I. Whyte, 'Parliamentary Enclosure and Changes in Landownership in an Upland Environment: Westmorland, c. 1770-1860', *Agricultural History Review*, 54.2, (2006), pp.255-256.

²³ D. Grigg, 'Farm Size in England and Wales, from Early Victorian Times to the Present', *The Agricultural History Review*, 35, part II (1987), p.187.

²⁴ A. Howkins, 'Peasants, Servants and Labourers: The Marginal Workforce in British Agriculture, c. 1870-1914', *The Agricultural History Review*, 42.I, (1994), p.62.

²⁵ A. Mutch, 'The 'Farming Ladder' in North Lancashire, 1840-1914: Myth or Reality?', *Northern History*, 27, (1991), pp.162, 182-183.

²⁶ Howkins, 'Peasants', p.60.

²⁷ I. Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution 1750-1850*, (Frank Cass, London, 1969, reprint, first published 1930); P. Sharpe, 'The female labour market in English Agriculture During the Industrial Revolution: Expansion or Contraction?', *The Agricultural History Review*, 47.II (1999), pp.161-181; N. Verdon, 'The Rural Labour Market in the Early Nineteenth Century: Women's and Children's Employment, Family Income, and the 1834 Poor Law Report' *Economic History Review*, 55.2 (2002), pp.299-323; N. Verdon, '...Subjects Deserving of the Highest Praise': Farmers' Wives and the Farm Economy in England, c. 1700-1850', *The Agricultural History Review*, 51.I (2003), pp.23-39.

²⁸ E. Higgs, 'Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses', *History Workshop*, 23 (1987); E. Higgs, 'Occupational Census and the Agricultural Workforce in Victorian England and Wales', *Economic History Review*, 48.4 (1995); ²⁸ BPP 1914-16, LXXXI Cd. 7660, *Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. X. Appendix. Classified and Alphabetical Lists of Occupations and the Rules Adopted for Classification*, p.vii.

By 1911, only 22% of the population of England and Wales were living in rural areas.²⁹ The number of people working in agriculture in England and Wales increased between 1901 and 1911, having shown declines previously. In 1911 the proportions of workers in agriculture aged over ten, were 9.2% males and 0.3% females.³⁰

Agricultural workers in the parish

In 1911 Silverdale's population was 713, Lindeth's population was 169. There were 302 men and 425 women aged over 10 years. Fifty two per cent of the females aged over ten had no occupation listed. About 19% of the men aged over ten were working at the Northern Quarry's Limestone Works and about 17% were involved in agriculture, these were the largest occupational groups. Nine females were listed as having involvement in agriculture, they were, a farmer, a farmer's wife, a poultry dealer and six farmers' daughters, two of them doing dairy work.

Nineteen people gave their occupation as farmer, but two of these were sons living on the same farm as their fathers. Ann Hodgson was the only woman farmer, she was an employer. Nine other farmer's sons were working on family farms and one son was an agricultural student. Eleven males were agricultural workers, listed variously as farm servants, farm labourers a farmer's man and a cowman. The term farm servant did not necessarily relate to a worker living on the farm as suggested by Howkins.³¹ Only four out of the eleven lived in, one farm servant lived with his uncle, one was described as a farm servant or labourer, one was a farm labourer on his grandfather's farm and one a cowman. Those not living in were described as farm servants or labourers. Two people who may or may not have been categorized as agricultural workers, were a horticultural hot water fitter and a horticultural painter, both these men were from Darlington and were lodging in the same house in Lindeth. This may have reflected a new development in the parish. The agricultural returns of 1912 and 1913 asked for the number of growers of crops under glass, in Silverdale there was one in 1913.³²

Owners and occupiers of the land

The Silverdale valuation book was used to identify the owners of more than one acre of land. The sizes were chosen to be consistent with the agricultural statistics collected at the time. The divisions were over one acre to five acres, over five to under fifty acres, over fifty acres to under three hundred acres and over three hundred acres. From 1913, the two middle categories were further divided.³³

There were 36 land owners holding land over one acre, this was in 257 hereditaments a total of 1,594.48 acres, this included houses, gardens, woodlands and estates as well as agricultural

²⁹ BPP 1911, LXX1, Cd.5705, *Census of England and Wales, 1911, Preliminary Report with Tables of the Population Enumerated in England and Wales* p.viii; *Census, 1911, Preliminary Report*, 'Table V. Rural Districts,' pp.30, 35.

³⁰ BPP 1913 LXXVIII, Cd.7018, *Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol.X. Occupations and Industries, Part I*, pp.xlv-xlvi. There is discussion about the difference of methods of enumeration, but an actual increase is acknowledged in all agriculturalists, although there was a small decline in farmers.

³¹ Howkins, 'Peasants' pp.57-59.

³² *Agricultural Statistics for England and Wales, 1866-1917, Parish Summaries*, MAF 68/2527/6; MAF 68/2584/31.

³³ J.T. Coppock 'The Statistical Assessment of British Agriculture', *The Agricultural History Review*, 4.1 (1956), p.19; *Agricultural Statistics*, statistics which include Silverdale are: MAF 68/ 2356/14, (1909); MAF 68/ 2413/5 (1910); MAF 68/ 2470/15 (1911); MAF 68/ 2527/6 (1912); MAF 68/2584/31 (1913); MAF 68/2641/31 (1914). Statistics for Lindeth were included with those for Warton and cannot be differentiated.

land. Twenty-six owners lived in the village, two also had properties out of the village, one in Manchester, the other in Liverpool. The other owners all lived within about 12 miles of the village. Just using the records of one parish means that land ownership and occupation takes no account of holdings in other parishes. Charles Gillow owned land in Yealand Conyers, Yealand Redmayne and Warton and in Silverdale.³⁴

There were no holdings in the parish over 300 acres. None of the largest landowners lived far away, 63% lived in the parish. Those living outside the parish were the gentry of Leighton Hall and Dallam Towers and a builder and contractor from Lancaster. Some large landowners had substantial houses and estates, and were living, or had lived in Silverdale and Lindeth; Hazelwood, owned by the executors of Sarah Dunn, and Woodlands owned by Henry Pratt. These seem to have made money in trade, coach building and soap and blue manufacturing. The other large estates in the parish, Challon Hall and The Cove were owned by a retired army officer and, the son of a landed proprietor. They had all come from nearby, Lancaster, Preston and the Lune Valley. The only person who was described as a farmer had come from Beetham, the next parish.

The middle category of landowners included two farmers, one with a farm in Silverdale the other from the next parish of Yealand, the rest were professionals, retired or involved in various jobs, 73% of these owners lived in the parish.

The only farmer in the group holding the smallest amount of land, lived in Kirkby Lonsdale. Eighty eight percent lived in the parish and were listed in the census as following various occupations. There were seven women out of the group of sixteen, three widows, Ann Holmes living on her own means, Mary Bolton described as a widow and Alice Jackson, a stone merchant, presumably carrying on her late husband's business. one single woman was working as a laundress; the other three were living on their own means. The three tables give details.

³⁴ Bulmer, *Directory of Lancaster*, pp.375, 382, 384-386.

Owners of hereditaments <300acres ->50 acres in Silverdale and Lindeth

Name	Occupation/Status	Estate/address	Number of hereditaments	% of acreage >1 acre	Acres
Sarah Dunn executors (died 1905)	Annuitant, widow of Thomas Rowlinson Dunn, landowner	Hazelwood, Lindeth/ Toxteth Park, Liverpool	25	22.8	364.32
Charles Richard Gillow	Esquire, descendent of Robert Gillow (1704-1772) furniture maker	Leighton Hall, Yealand Conyers/ Holmere Bank, Yealand Conyers	16	18.8	299.29
William Henry Hatch	Builder & contractor	Rowan Brae, Haverbreaks, Lancaster/ Queen Street, Lancaster	38	10.2	163.38
Henry Pratt	Soap & blue manufacturer	Woodlands, Silverdale	9	9.6	153.71
Frederick Smalley	Private means	Challon Hall, Silverdale	14	9.2	146.54
Thomas Bolton executors (died 1908)	Farmer & highway surveyor	The Grove, Lindeth, previously of Knowhill Farm, Lindeth	12	4.4	69.63
George Morley Saunders	Retired army officer	Cove House, Silverdale	11	4.3	67.95
Sir Maurice Bromley Wilson	Baronet, magistrate	Dallam Towers, Beetham, Westmorland	1	4.1	65.67
Totals 8			126	83.40%	1330.49 acres

Table 1.

Owners of hereditaments 50 acres ->5 acres in Silverdale and Lindeth

Name	Occupation/ Status	Estate/address	Number of hereditaments	% of acreage >1 acre	Acres
Mrs (?Elizabeth) Phillips	? Wife of John Phillips, licensed victualler	?Slip Inn, Lancaster	4	3.0	48.55
William Walker	Farmer	Yealand Hall, Yealand Redmayne	5	2.2	35.78
Robert Holmes	Machinery oiler	Waterslack, Silverdale	2	1.8	29.09
Edward Bousfield Dawson (died 1916)	Barrister	Aldcliffe Hall, Lancaster	5	1.5	24.23
James Burrow	Farmer	Clarence House, Silverdale	11	1.4	21.90
Charles Edward Smith	Retired saddler	Highfield, Silverdale	10	0.93	14.86
William Sharp	Private means, son of wine and spirit merchant	Bleasdale House, Silverdale	5	0.74	11.84
Henry Thornton	Private means, retired cab proprietor	Yew Tree House, Silverdale	10	0.69	11.04
Hulton, James Cross	Solicitor insurance company	West Lindeth, Lindeth	3	0.66	10.77
John Walker	Signalman Furness Railway	4 Church Hill, Arnside, Westmorland	3	0.53	8.50
Mary Ann McCarthy	Poultry dealer, widow	Bradshaw House, Silverdale	2	0.32	5.08
Totals 11			60	13.77%	221.64 acres

Table 2. (Note: There were not enough details for Mrs Phillips to be sure of her identity)

Owners of hereditaments 5 acres ->1 acres in Silverdale and Lindeth

Name	Occupation/Status	Estate/address	Number of hereditaments	% of acreage >1 acre	Acres
Joseph Walker	Farmer	Keerholme, Arkholme, Kirkby Lonsdale	2	<1	4.99
William Mitchell	Private means, wine & spirit merchant	Mount Lindeth, Lindeth	3	<1	4.74
Margaret Bolton	Laundress, single	School House, Silverdale	5	<1	4.73
Margaret Emily Gaskell	Private means, single, daughter of Elizabeth Gaskell, author	The Shielling, Silverdale/ 84 Plymouth Grove, Manchester	1	<1	4.13
Alice Jackson	Stone merchant, widow of Joseph Jackson, limestone quarry master	Sunnyside, Silverdale	2	<1	3.69
Mary Bolton	Widow of Thomas Bolton, farmer, (died 1908)	The Grove, Silverdale	3	<1	2.67
John Jenkinson executors (died 1891)	Gentleman, landed proprietor	Ivy House, Yealand Conyers	1	<1	2.53
Elizabeth Fisher	Private means, single	Hawthorn House, Silverdale	1	<1	2.52
Lawrence Richmond	Boot dealer, stationer & newsagent	Richmond Hill, Silverdale	1	<1	2.19
Ann Redfern (died 1911)	Living on own means, single	Wood Well, Silverdale	1	<1	1.89
William Sleigh	Clergyman, established church	Vicarage, Silverdale	2	<1	1.83
Richard James Bolton	Builder stonemason	1 Meadow Bank, Silverdale	4	<1	1.66
John Edward Willan	Colonel, retired engineer	Lindeth	6	<1	1.39
Ann Holmes	Private means, widow	The Row, Silverdale	2	<1	1.18
James Bolton	Stone mason	The Green, Silverdale	2	<1	1.13
William Deason	Retired book-keeper	Oak Cottage, Silverdale	5	<1	1.08
Totals 16			41	2.83%	42.35 acres

Table 3.

The Valuation book for Silverdale has also been used to calculate the number of occupiers of land of over one acre. Only those occupying agricultural land, which includes a dwelling house, have been included to try to identify farms or small holdings in the parish. The list of occupiers does not therefore include some owners of land who just had gardens or who lived in another parish.

There were 32 such occupiers of land; none held more than 300 acres, the largest holding was 187.62 acres. Nine of the twelve people in the largest category of holdings described themselves as farmers, in the 1911 census, although James Wilson of Myers Farm also described himself as a coal merchant and indicated that his coal business was most valuable. The other three in this group were owners of estates, they all rented some land to tenants, but also held some agricultural land themselves. Whether they farmed this themselves or through an agent is not clear. Two farming households contained two generations of farmers, with both fathers and sons describing themselves as farmers. All nine farmers rented their land, but one, James Burrow, also owned some of his land and rented the rest from five different land owners. The executors of Sarah Dunn, the widow of a landowner, was the only female interest in this group. The tables only indicate the address of the land occupier's house rather than all the land holdings. Details of a selection of land occupiers will be discussed later.

There were 13 people occupying land in the middle category, seven described themselves as farmers. There was one landowner with an estate, occupying some of his own land. Robert Biggins the woodcutter may have been included in the census agricultural statistics, as woodmen were one category of agricultural workers.³⁵ There were no women. The details can be seen in table 4.

The group of occupiers in the smallest land holding category only included one farmer. There were seven people, four were owner-occupiers, and four were women. There were three widows and one single woman, plus Ann Hodgson who was a widow by the time of the 1911 census, but whose husband was listed as the occupier of the land in the valuation book. In the field book entry the occupiers were indicated as the Rep[resentative]s of John Hodgson. This does indicate one difficulty of using the material.³⁶ The census data represents one moment in time whereas the valuation documentation was compiled over some years and could be changed and have additions made. The details of this group can be seen in table 6.

³⁵ BPP 1913, LXXVIII, Cd.7018, *Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol.X. Occupations and Industries, Part I*, p.xiv.

³⁶ Valuation Office Field Book IR 58/46609, no. 135.

Occupiers of property with agricultural land of 300 - >50 acres in Silverdale and Lindeth

Owners	Occupier	Occupation	Property	Acres
Edward Bousfield Dawson, Lancaster	James Wilson	Farmer and coal merchant	Myers Farm, Silverdale	187.62
Frederick Smalley, Silverdale	Frederick Smalley*	Private means	Challon Hall, Silverdale	175.04
William Henry Hatch, Lancaster	Michael Bennett	Farmer	Gibraltar Farm, Lindeth	127.03
Henry Pratt, Silverdale	Henry Pratt*	Soap & blue manufacturer	The Woodlands, Silverdale	120.74
Sarah Dunn, executors, Lindeth and Liverpool	Sarah Dunn, (died 1905) executors	Widow of Thomas Rowlinson Dunn, (died 1879) landowner	Hazelwood, Lindeth	101.73
Sarah Dunn, executors, Lindeth and Liverpool	Abram Robinson	Farmer	Hazelwood Farm, Lindeth	93.23
James Burrow, Silverdale, Margaret Bolton, executors, Silverdale; T. Bolton, Silverdale; Charles Richard Gillow, Yealand; Frederick Smalley, Silverdale; John Walker, Arnside,	James Burrow*	Farmer	Clarence House, Silverdale	88.73
Charles Richard Gillow, Yealand	John Longmire & John J. Longmire	Farmers	Slackwood Farm, Lindeth	77.88
Frederick Smalley, Silverdale	Richard Lambert	Farmer	Bottom's Farm, Silverdale	62.23
George Morley Saunders, Silverdale	Frederick Bethell	Farmer	Bank House Farm, Silverdale	60.69
Mrs ? Elizabeth Phillips, Lancaster	Richard Edmondson & John E. Edmondson	Farmers	Red Bridge Farm, Silverdale	60.54
Sarah Dunn, executors, Lindeth and Liverpool	Richard Rowlinson	Farmer	Waterslack Farm, Silverdale	52.71
Totals	12			1208.17 acres

Table 4. (Note, * indicates owner/occupier)

Occupiers of property with agricultural land of 50 - >5 acres in Silverdale and Lindeth

Owners	Occupier	Occupation	Property	Acres
William Walker, Yealand	John Carr	Livery stable keeper	The Green, Silverdale	37.45
Sarah Dunn, executors, Lindeth and Liverpool	Jonathan Robinson	Farmer	Knowhill Farm, Lindeth	35.27
Henry Pratt, Silverdale	John Bouskill	Farmer and lodging house keeper	Gillion Farm, Silverdale	32.97
Charles Richard Gillow, Yealand	Thomas Shaw Hall	Farmer	Lindeth Point Farm, Lindeth	29.66
Robert Holmes, Silverdale	James Holmes	Farmer	Waterslack Farm, Silverdale	29.09
Edward Bousfield Dawson, Lancaster	James Wilson	Farmer	Brown's Houses, Lindeth	18.66
James Bolton, Silverdale; T. Bolton, executors, Silverdale; Frederick Smalley, Silverdale; John Walker, Arnside	Robert Biggins	Woodcutter	Haweswater Moss, Silverdale	16.06
Frederick Smalley, Silverdale	William J. Lambert	Blacksmith & cab proprietor	Emesgate, Silverdale	13.07
William James Sharp, Silverdale	John Edward Knight	Butcher	Holborn, Silverdale	11.31
William James Sharp, Silverdale	Robert Shaw	Farmer	Stoneleigh Cottage, Silverdale	10.33
Mary Ann McCarthy, Silverdale; Charles Edward Smith, Silverdale	Henry Hodgson	Postman	Townsfild, Silverdale	8.69
George Morley Saunders, Silverdale	George Morley Saunders*	Retired army officer	The Cove, Silverdale	7.19
Sarah Dunn, executors, Lindeth and Liverpool	Robert Carr	Farmer	Cray Green, Silverdale	5.45
Totals	13			255.20 acres

Table 5. (Note, * indicates owner/occupier)

Occupiers of property with agricultural land of 5 - >1 acres in Silverdale and Lindeth

Owners	Occupier	Occupation/ Status	Property	Acres
Alice Jackson, Silverdale; Frances Preston, Blackpool	Alice Jackson*	Stone merchant	Sunnyside, Silverdale	3.69
Manchester & Liverpool Banking Co. Charles Edward Smith, Silverdale	Joseph Cooke	Grocer	Laburnham House, Silverdale	2.61
School trustees, Margaret Bolton, executors	Margaret Bolton* (?died 1912)	Laundress	School House, Silverdale	2.33
Henry Thornton, Silverdale	John Hodgson (died 1910) & Ann Hodgson	Farmers	Bradshawgate, Silverdale	2.19
Rev. William Sleigh, Silverdale	William Sleigh*	Clergyman	The Vicarage, Silverdale	1.83
William Henry Hatch, Lancaster	Martha Ann Bethell	Farmer's Widow	Waithman House, Lindeth	1.28
Ann Holmes, Silverdale	Ann Holmes*	Private means	The Row, Silverdale	1.18
Totals	7			15.11

Table 6. (Note * indicates owner/occupier)

Silverdale farmers, between 1909 and 1914 returned between 28 and 30 schedules for the agricultural statistics. The number of those in rented holdings and the number of owner-occupiers in the different years were indicated, there were no holding over 300 acres. See table 7. The majority of holdings were rented. The majority of land holdings identified in the valuation book were also rented, seven out of twenty-four holdings, but in the group holding the smallest acreage, four out of six land holders owned some of their land. From the valuation book 24 occupiers of land were identified for Silverdale in the years between 1910 and 1915, when the valuation was carried out. The discrepancy in the numbers does demonstrate that different resources, collected for different reasons are not strictly comparable. The agricultural returns were not compulsory until 1917, but Coppock does say that the majority of farmers did return them.³⁷

Parish summaries of agricultural statistics for Silverdale, owner occupiers

		Owner occupiers >1-5acres	Owner occupiers >5-50 acres	Owner occupiers >50-<300 acres
Year	Schedules returned			
1909	28	1	1	0
1910	28	1	1	0
1911	29	0	1	1
1912	29	3	1	0
1913	30	3	1	0
1914	28	2	4	0

Table 7.

³⁷ Coppock, 'The Statistical Assessment of British Agriculture', p.19.

Farming

Caird divided England into corn and grazing counties, with the corn districts in the East and South and the 'principal Grazing, Green Crop, and Dairy districts' to the West and North. Lancashire, Westmorland and the West Riding of Yorkshire are all in the grazing districts.³⁸ Overton confirms that this was still the case at the beginning of the twentieth century, with oats as the principal grain grown.³⁹ Silverdale grew more oats than other grains, between 1909 and 1913 an average of 19 acres were grown, in 1914 this reduced to 8.5 acres. Potatoes and root crops were also grown. In 1911, 32 acres of wheat compared with 20.5 acres of oats were shown in the parish returns, in 1909 and 1910 there were only 4 acres of wheat, in 1912, 0.5 acres and none in 1913 or 1914. The Gillow family had installed a pumping station in the mid 1800s and a large amount of moss land was drained, it provided rich agricultural land, known as 'the Golden Acres'. The wheat crop could have been grown on that land. A more powerful pump was installed around the beginning of the twentieth century but in 1917 the pumping stopped as coal became scarce and the land reverted to moss land.⁴⁰ About 36% of the total acreage of Silverdale was permanent grass, there were also about 192 acres of mountain and heath land which could be used for grazing. Livestock numbers were also collected. There was an average of 55 horses, 229 cattle and 18 pigs, but no sows were kept for breeding. This probably indicates that the meat was used for home consumption rather than pigs being bred to supply the market. Numbers of sheep diminished from 1909 to 1914, from 514 to 210.



Ploughing, Bottoms Farm



Harvesting, Bottoms Farm

Farms and farmers

Family members on the whole worked the farms in Silverdale and Lindeth in 1911 with some farm labourers and servants, only a few lived on the farm. To try and follow the career pathways of farmers a 20% sample of holdings from each size group was taken, this resulted in two farms from the largest and the smallest groups and three from the middle group, a total of seven. The smallest land area group has one farmer and one other person who held agricultural land but earned her living as a laundress.

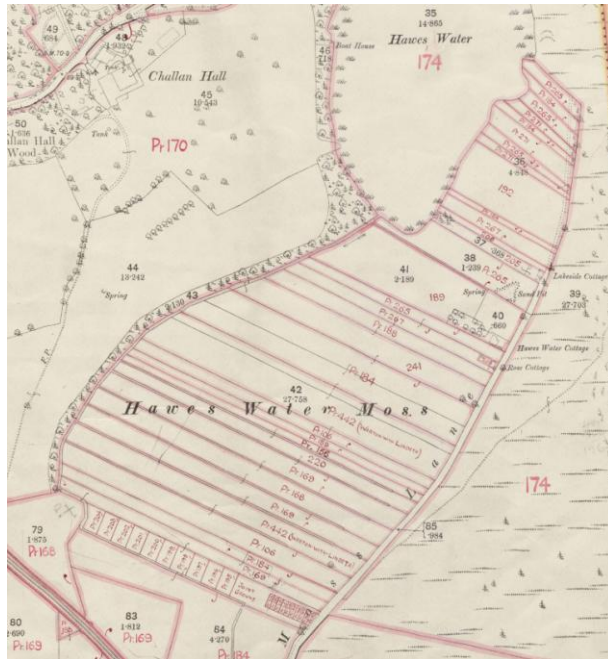
³⁸ Caird, *English Agriculture*, 'Outline map of England', p.iv.

³⁹ Overton, 'Agriculture', in Langton & Morris *Atlas of Industrializing Britain*, pp.34-53.

⁴⁰ T.E. Bolton & I.J. Fogg, *Silverdale, its History, People and Places* (Brampton, Howe, 1978), p.20; D. Peter, *In and Around Silverdale* (B. Ayre, Silverdale, 1984), pp.71-73.

The farms chosen were Hazelwood Farm; Bottoms Farm; Knowhill Farm; Gillian Farm; Cray Green Farm; Bradshawgate Farm, and Margaret Bolton, living in the School House in Silverdale. Details of these can be seen in tables 4-6, in maps 2-5 and the photographs from page 20.

All the farms were tenanted although Margaret Bolton in School House owned and occupied land including agricultural moss land and rented land to other people.



Map 2. Hawes Water Moss.
From TNA IR/133/4

Details of houses and agricultural buildings from the field books can be seen in table 8. All the houses were in good condition except Bradshawgate whose interior was poor and roof only moderate. All the farms, excluding school house, had dairies listed as part of the house rather than part of the farm buildings, there was also at least one pig hull and buildings for cows. Five had buildings for horses. In his analysis of Cheshire farms Anderton concluded that farms of up to 200 acres could be worked with two to four horses and one horse was needed for farms of over 10 acres, he also says that no conclusions could be drawn about the size of herds from the number of places indicated for cows in shippons and byres.⁴¹ Silverdale had no mains water supply until 1938.⁴² The Silverdale field book notes 'Silverdale and Lindeth. No water supply in 1909 except soft water tanks & wells', Hazelwood Farm is said to be 'badly off for water'.⁴³ Poor water supply must have been a great difficulty for a grazing area as cows and horses would need about ten gallons per day. The valuers commented that two properties had high rents, Know Hill at £70 and Cray Green at £50 per year. A fair price per acre would be difficult to calculate as the land varied so much, some rocky and almost worthless as agricultural land, some quite good. Fruit from the orchards provided an important food source for the family as well as a source of income when surplus was sold.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Anderton, 'Milking the sources', pp.8-9.

⁴² M. Wright, 'Water-Supplies in Rural Areas: the Case of Silverdale, Lancashire', *The Local Historian*, 26.3, (1996) p.164. The village's water consumption trebled between 1938 and 1958.

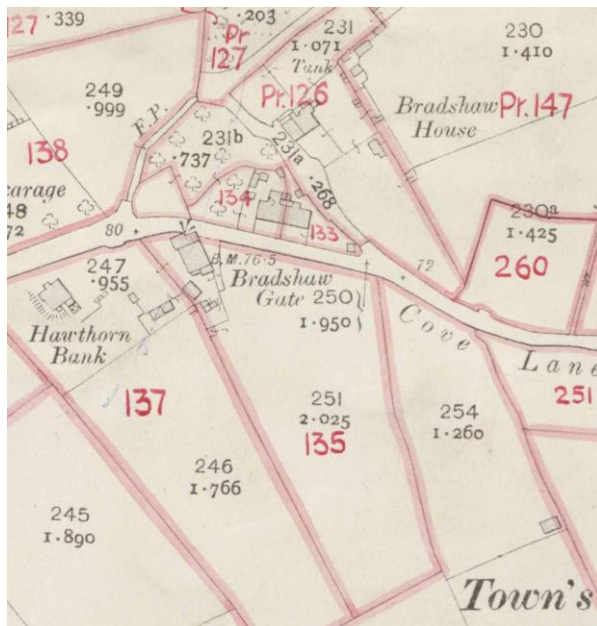
⁴³ Valuer's field book IR 58.46608; IR 58/46649, no.406.

⁴⁴ M. Lambert, *Farming at Bottoms Farm pre the World Wars: the Role of the Farmer's Wife* (personal communication, 2012).

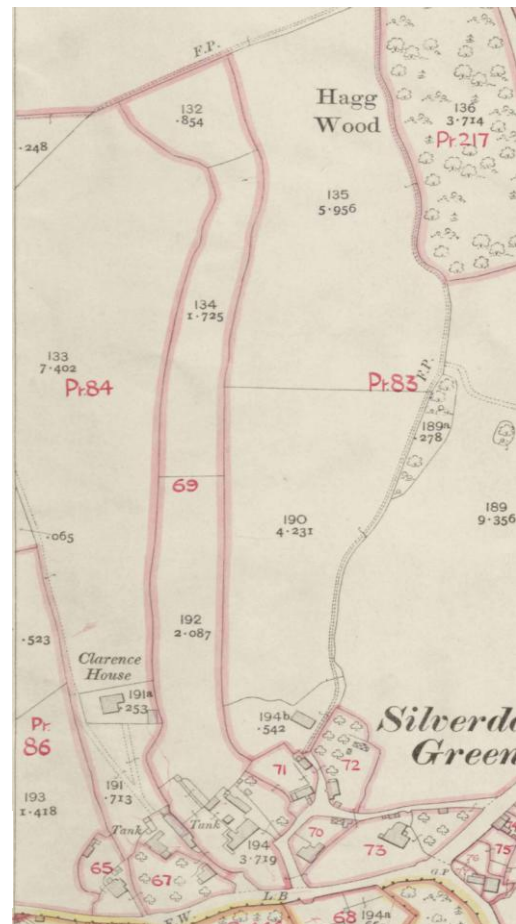
Information from Valuation Office Field Books for selected properties

	Hazelwood (101.73A)	Bottoms (62.23A)	Know Hill (35.27A)	Gillians (32.97A)	Cray Green (5.45A)	School House and associated land (2.33A)	Bradshawgate (2.19A)
House	Commodious, good repair, stone built, slated	Very fair, stone built, slated	Good	Very fair, stone built, slated, built 1780	Good, stone built, good, slated roof	Old, stone built, slated	Old, mortar dashed, lime washed, poor interior, roof moderate
Water	Badly off for water, water cistern	Water cistern	Good kitchen with slop stone & pump fed from soft water tank	2 cisterns, no well	Large rainwater tank, slop stone sink with tap	Kitchen, back kitchen	Underground water cistern, pump at front
Dairy	Dairy	Good dairy	Dairy	Dairy	Dairy	No	Dairy
Pig hulls	2	2	2	1	3	No	1
Buildings for cows	Byre for 8, byre for 6 & box, shippon, 4 calf pens	Shippons for 15, 7, 2 (with box)	Good new byre for 8, byre for 6	Byre for 8, modern	Shippon for 2	-	2 byres for 2 each
Buildings for horses	3 stall stable & box, loose box	3 loose boxes, 2 stall stable & box	2 stall stable	Stable	2 stall stable	-	-
Land	Mostly pasture, fair quality, part arable	All permanent grass except 3 fields, part very thin soil on limestone rock	All grass of fair quality but thin soil, mossdales faire quality	Rocky allotment of small agricultural value, field good pasture, good meadow	2 good permanent grass fields, orchard	Part grass, part orchard, also used as builder's store yard. Silverdale Moss, meadowland liable to flood	Good grass field
Fruit trees	-	£10	£20	-	£5	£10	£6
Rent	£70 yearly	£80 yearly	£70 yearly (high)	£28 yearly	£50 yearly (high)	£7 monthly	£25 yearly

Table 8.



Map 3. Bradshawgate Farm.
From TNA IR/133/6



Map 4. Cray Green Farm (no.69).
From TNA IR/133/7

The farms were traced back through census returns. The farm with the longest family tenancy was Gillians Farm with Bouskill's farming the land since at least 1851. In 1861 there was another name, John Bouskill the tenant in 1911, was then aged 18 and working as a farm servant. Bradshawgate Farm was farmed by Hodgsons since 1861. The occupier in 1911 was a widow employing labour but living with her 10-year-old grandson, who was at school. The acreage of the farm land had reduced over the years presumably as the tenants became older. Various people including the vicar of Silverdale owned some of the land.

All the other farms had been occupied by four, five or six tenants, so there seemed to have been a tendency for farmers to move about.⁴⁵ Mutch's picture of people working their way up the ladder from farm servant to small farm tenant does seem to be borne out when considering the Silverdale and Lindeth farming community. Before they became farm tenants in their own right, three of the farmers in the sample had worked as farm servants and two had worked with family members. In 1908 William Walker recalls his family farm in Yealand having two youths, hired for six months, to work the farm with family members, but the two were replaced with one from the hiring fair at Martinmas in Ulverston, because by then, there were more family members to work the farm.⁴⁶

The only farmer who seems to have branched out into a different calling was Richard Lambert from Bottoms Farm; in 1891, he was a platelayer on the railway and living in

⁴⁵ W. Walker, *Sixty Years of Farming* (Silverdale, privately published, 1971), William Walker describes how his family moved around the district taking different farms depending on their stage in life, age and family size.

⁴⁶ Walker, *Sixty Years*, pp.2, 6. He also recalls hiring fairs in Lancaster they were held at Whitsuntide and Martinmas.

Ulverston. The men had all lived and worked within a radius of about 25 miles from Silverdale, John Bouskill of Gillian's Farm was the only one to have been born in the village. Of the women, only Margaret Bolton's progress has been followed over the years. She was born in Arnside, her father was a farmer, was a single woman, and had worked as a servant, a dressmaker and a cook she had worked about 60 miles away in Cheshire. The person who had made the greatest journey to Silverdale was Sarah Robinson, farmer's wife at Knowhill Farm, she was born in the Orkney Islands. Her husband was born about five and a half miles from Silverdale and had worked within about ten miles of the village. It is interesting to speculate about how they met.

The place and role of women, in the private sphere of the home, in the wider economy, in paid employment, undertaking unpaid caring and domestic tasks, are all matters of discussion and dispute in the twenty first century. In the early years of the twentieth century these concerns were also being debated. The census boycott by some people reflects part of the struggle for women's suffrage, perhaps the way women's occupational categories were recorded and altered also reflects debates on the role of women. Most farmer's wives had no occupational category. Reminiscences from relatives of the farmer's wife from Bottoms Farm can illustrate what a key role she played. Feeding a large household of family and farm men was a major task, as was doing the washing. She used herbs to keep the family healthy and sold surplus fruit from the farm to supplement her income and would go to Ulverston market on the train to sell eggs and butter and seasonal flowers. She was also in charge of the dairy, butter making, the garden, poultry, calf rearing and the domestic pig. When the pig was killed there were black puddings, sausage and potted meat to make, lard and pork scratching, hams and flitches of bacon to cure, some of this bounty would be shared with friends who would do the same in their turn. The work was hard, but there was satisfaction in a job well done.⁴⁷



Woman feeding hens, Silverdale

From this account it is obvious that the farmer's wife was contributing in a significant way to the running of the farm and to the family income. She was involved in the market economy in a small way, but intermittently, her work was presumably taken for granted and not given the status of an occupational category and so did not feature in statistical calculations of people working in agriculture although the work she did was essential.

⁴⁷ Lambert, *Farming at Bottoms Farm*.

Conclusion

Places and events in the wider world influenced people in Silverdale. Individuals and families, some farm workers, emigrated to Australia, New Zealand and Canada; some of them are remembered on the village War Memorial.⁴⁸

This study has used recently available resources to give detail to one aspect of a small area of England at a time of transition between the so-called farming depression of the late nineteenth century and the changes following the First World War. Other studies could use these comprehensive and detailed records in different ways. It is hoped that by throwing light on this tiny detail, the whole picture can be clarified and better understood.

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⁴⁸ *Lancaster Guardian*, 27 Oct. 1906; *Lancaster Guardian*, 31 Aug. 1912; *Lancaster Guardian*, 14 Sep. 1912; *Lancaster Guardian*, 4 Jun. 1921.

Historic and Modern Photographs of Selected Farms in Silverdale and Lindeth



Hazelwood Farm



Bottoms Farm



Know Hill Farm

Historic and Modern Photographs of Selected Farms in Silverdale and Lindeth



Gillians Farm



Cray Green Farm



School House

Historic and Modern Photographs of Selected Farms in Silverdale and Lindeth



Bradshawgate Farm

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Evaluation

I would not have been able to undertake this study without the use of modern technology. I used my digital camera at the Lancashire Record Office in Preston, taking photographs of the Valuation Book and the working maps. At the National Archives in Kew I filled up the card in the camera many times over photographing the Valuation Field Books and the Agricultural Statistics Parish Returns. Back at home in front of my computer I needed to translate the information on the photographs into databases on spreadsheets. Any spelling mistakes, inadvertent spaces or inconsistencies would mean that the records could not be interrogated properly, as the saying goes 'garbage in, garbage out'. Then I had to work out how to turn perches and roods into decimals of acres.

The next task was to obtain the 1911 census data. This was the first census to use the household schedules, rather than the enumerators' transcriptions. This is fascinating and useful, but meant that instead of having five or six households on a page, each household had its own page. This used a great deal of paper and ink, but I decided that the only way to use the records was to print them and then to make that information into a database. I wanted to trace the history of both the farmers and the farms in the village, which meant following them back through earlier censuses. This is only possible through using internet resources <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/> and <http://www.ancestry.co.uk/>. There were the usual problems of inconsistency of names, places and dates of birth and the added difficulty of identifying country addresses. I did find other resources on the websites which helped pinpoint dates of death, which was useful as land holding changed in the Valuation Records and the information did not always coincide with the 1911 census record.

Then there was the kindness of friends, who were prepared to share their skill, information, resources and memories.

Sorting through and deciding which material to use was difficult. There are all sorts of things which I found out which I did not have the chance to use, the six monthly rent audit with the dinner for tenants, the man who was evicted from his house because he applied for a small holding, the report in the paper of the hiring fairs and market prices. Then there were things that could have been further explored. Why were people emigrating? Where did the farmers sell their produce? Who was farming for the gentlemen land occupiers? What is the difference between a byre and a shippin? I did deduce that the Valuation officers used acres, perches and roods, when measuring land area, but they used linear yards, when measuring the frontage of a garden or plot of land.

How much this study contributes to the wider picture of farming at the beginning of the twentieth century I do not know, but using the Valuation records and the 1911 census does demonstrate the huge potential of this extensive material.