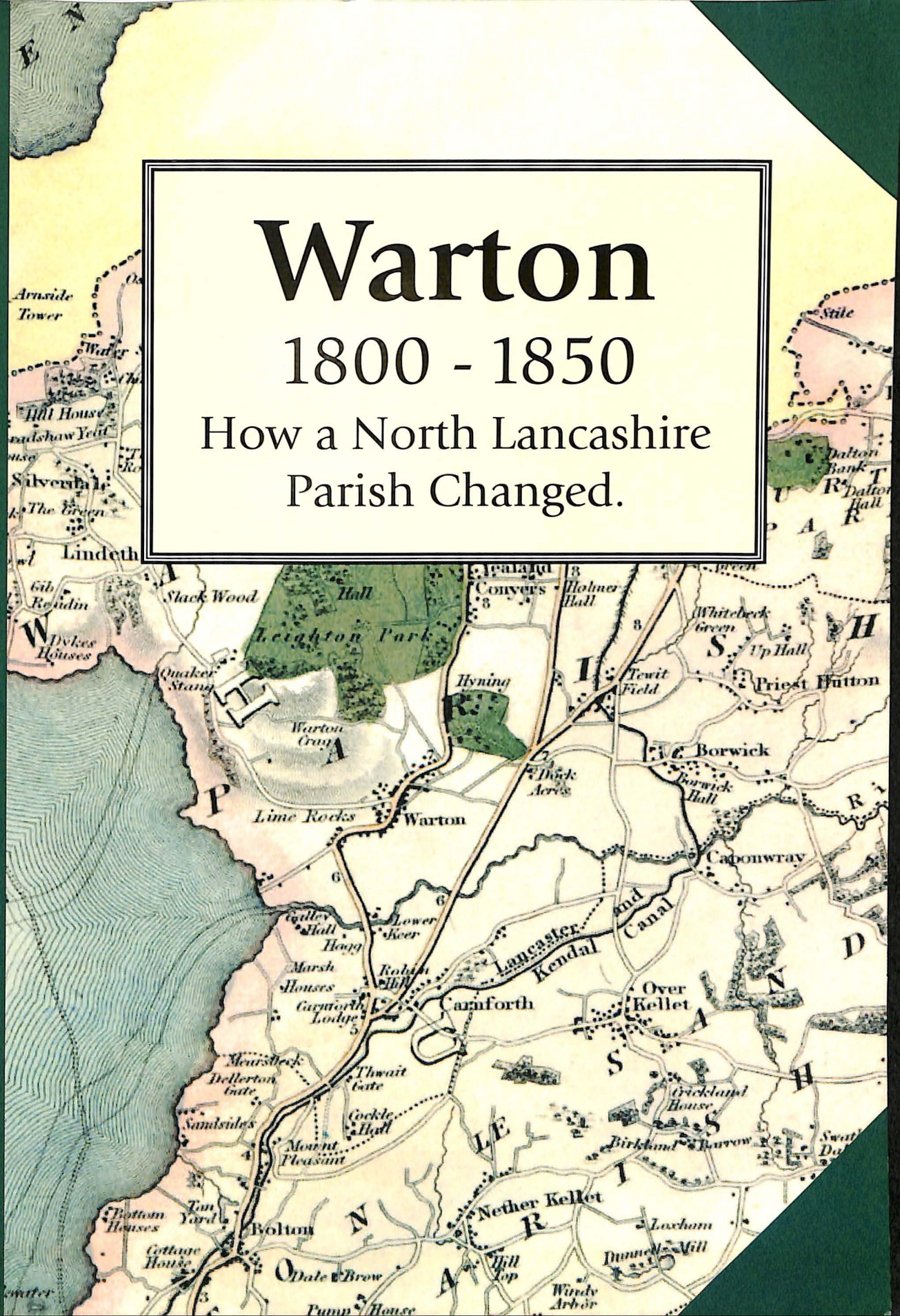
Warton

1800 - 1850

How a North Lancashire Parish Changed.



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Mourholme Local History Society Book Group

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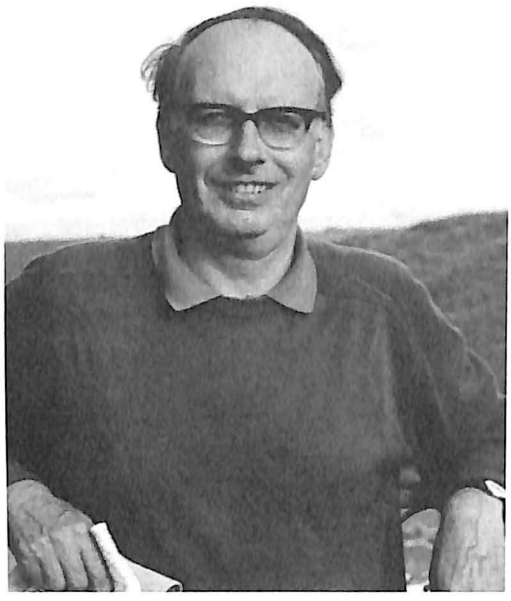

To
MICHAEL WRIGHT

without whose tireless work
this book might never have reached completion.

The sudden death of Michael Wright, while serving as Chairman of the Society, has deprived us all of a much valued friend. He had been a member of the Mourholme Local History Society for ten years or more, and it is hard at times to realise we can no longer turn to him for support. Whether as contributor to the publications of the Society, as guide on historic walks or as Secretary and then Chairman of the Society he was prepared to offer his knowledge and his capacity for hard work wherever they were needed. He also had himself to offer: his dignity, his kindness and his sudden shafts of humour.

Others will try to do his work, but he himself is irreplaceable.

Dr. J. D. Marshall
President of the Mourholme Local History Society
2005

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PREFACE

This book is the work of a volunteer group of members of the Mourholme Local History Society. Many of us had worked together on the earlier publication How It Was: a North Lancashire Parish in the Seventeenth Century. Others joined the group and it was decided to attempt a further history dealing with events occurring in the nineteenth century in the same area (that is the seven townships of Borwick, Carnforth, Priest Hutton, Silverdale, Yealand Conyers, Yealand Redmayne and Warton-with-Lindeth and the countryside around them). It might have been more logical to move one century ahead and write of the eighteenth century, but we were a volunteer group and our interest lay in the nineteenth century. We chose better than we knew, for we found so much information to be available that the work began to grow monstrous in length. That is why we have only tried to cover the first fifty years of the century.

Over the time we worked together there has been so much discussion and revision that it is now impossible to say who wrote which bit of the book: it was written by all of us. However one member of the group did stand out. We found we were thankfully accepting that the late Michael Wright was doing more and more of the hard work of an editor. His sad death before the work was completed has meant that there are gaps and roughnesses in the work, which he might have removed. In particular are missing references to quoted works and to illustrations that we have been unable to fill in.

We had already suffered a loss in the death of L.S. Rockey whose illustrations so enlivened How It Was. We had hoped he would help us again, but he had only had time to produce a few preliminary sketches when illness prevented further work.

The Members of
the Mourholme Local History Society Book Group.

Jenny Agar, Jean Chatterley, Joan Clarke,

John Findlater, Geoffrey Gregory, Clive Holden,

John Jenkinson, Jane Parsons, Arthur Penn, Neil Stobbs.

Illustrations.

The sudden death of Michael Wright, so close to the finalization of the contents of the book, has given the Society a difficult task of trying to trace the sources of some of the illustrations used as he had undertaken the onerous task of doing so. A lot of the information has not been found amongst the papers we have been able to trace.

If any one feels that we have misused the copyright to their illustrations in any way, the Society is willing to make restitution as required by law.
They can be contacted through the publishers as indicated.

Brackenthwaite Farm	Donald Dakeyne
Chart of age distribution	M Wright
Chapter 4	
Photograph Sower Museum of Rural Life	Reading
Photograph Scythe in use	Reading
Plough1801	Reading
Scottish Plough Victorian Farming a Source book.	Ed. C A Jewell
Wilson's Turnwrest Plough	ibid
Garrett's Portable Threshing Machine	ibid
Modern Longhorn Breed	Internet
Improved Lancashire Longhorn	Reading
Shorthorn heifer 1811	Reading
Shorthorn mid 19thC	Reading
Warton Crag Ram	Source NK
4 shear Leicester Ram	Reading
Leicester Ram 1859	Reading
Charcoal Burning. Photo in The Forgotten Arts.	J Seymour
Hoop Maker and easel.	ibid.
Mean Summer temperature England 800 – 1900	M Wright
Chapter 5	
Country Fair Rustic Vignettes for Artists and Craftsmen	W H Pyne
Chapter 6	
At the Farrier	Pyne
Position of the Coke Ovens and Quarries	
Wheelwright	Reading
Furnace with Bellows	Pyne
Sand and Gravel Pits at Carnforth	M Wright
Charcoal Burners	New Naturalist Series. The Lake District
Clog Sole	J Seymore op sit.
Leighton Hall	Gillow Family Archives
Chapter 7	
Yates Map	Rod. Ireland
Turnpikes	M Wright
Post Chase paying toll	Pyne
Buckstone House	Donald Dakeyne
New Turnpike	M Wright

Chapter 14

Woman Child & Cat	Pyne
Woman & Child	Pyne

Chapter 15

To be done before the day off	J Calder
Horse racing	Pyne
Cricket	Pyne
Hunter & Hounds	Pyne
Hunt in Progress	Pyne
I hope I do not Look Ridiculous	Punch

NOTE. No attempt has been made in this book to give estimates of the modern equivalents of the nineteenth century prices quoted. It was felt that the changes in price and wages had been too great, and simple change into modern currency would be misleading.

Wherever a sum of money is mentioned there is an indication if the sum is high or low relative to nineteenth century wages.

The coinage was changed in 1974, and for those too young to remember the old values the table below can be used for reference.

12 pence (d) = 1 shilling (s)
20 Shillings (s) = 1 Pound (£)
1 Guinea = £1-1s

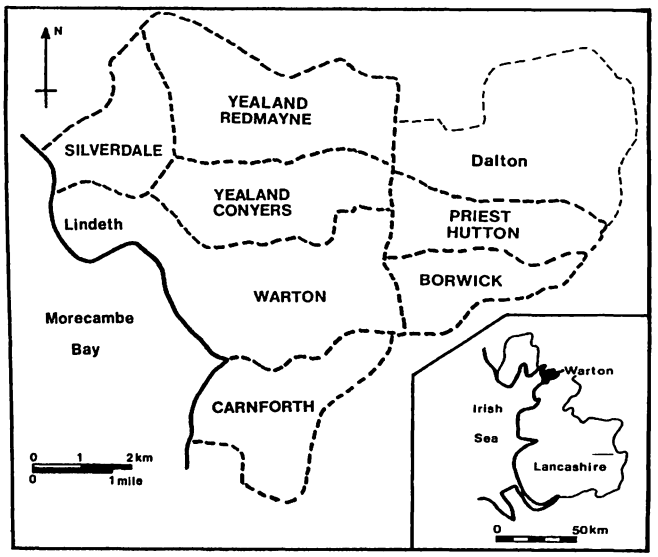
The table below gives modern equivalents of nineteenth century measurements of area, weight, and length.

Weight	Length	Area
1pound (lb) = 0.45 Kg.	1 mile = 1.61 Km.	1 statute acre=0.40 Hectare
14 lbs = 1 stone	1 yd = 0.91 m.	1 rood (1/4 acre) = 40 rods
1 ton = 1.02 tonnes	1 foot = 0.30 m.	1.4 statute acres = 1 customary acre

WARTON PARISH
An introduction

The nineteenth century was a time of far-reaching changes in Warton parish. These changes were all the more marked because they came after a long period of stability. In 1800 the parishioners could look back over a century of slowly but steadily increasing wealth and security. The civil disputes and the times of near starvation that had afflicted the population in the seventeenth century[1] were becoming a distant and receding memory. Later chapters of this book will show how, in the nineteenth century, the parish experienced a series of changes - in transport, occupations, life-style and wealth. The changes started slowly in the first decades of the century, and then quickened as the second half of the century approached. To put these changes into their background this introductory chapter describes the state of the parish at the beginning of the century.

Warton parish lies at the northern edge of Lancashire, bordering the old county of Westmorland, and looking west across the sands of Morecambe Bay to Furness which, in the nineteenth century, was still part of Lancashire and known as Lancashire-over-the-Sands. Here, and throughout the book, the name Warton parish refers to the *'ancient parish'* that included the seven townships of Borwick, Carnforth, Priest Hutton, Silverdale, Warton-with-Lindeth, Yealand Conyers and Yealand Redmayne.



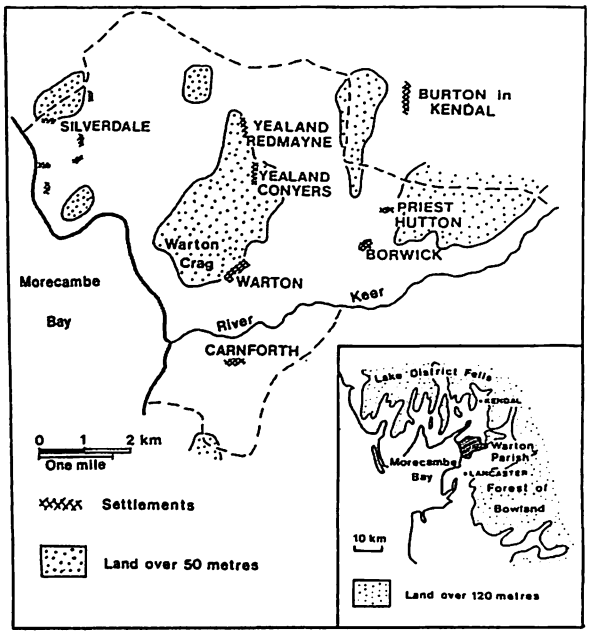
Townships in the Parish

Each of the townships in the parish was, and is, centred on its own small settlement. The largest township, Warton-with-Lindeth, was in the nineteenth century a curious entity consisting of Warton village and, quite separate and about one and a half miles to the northwest, the hamlet of Lindeth. Warton village, which hugs the southeast flank of Warton Crag, contained the parish church. The village was mentioned in Domesday Book and was a borough and market town in the middle ages[2]. At the start of the nineteenth century it had declined, but was still the largest settlement in the parish. The track connecting Warton with its other part, Lindeth, formed a rather tenuous link, climbing over the lower slopes of the Crag and crossing the marshy seaward extremity of Leighton Moss. Lindeth always seemed to be more closely linked with Silverdale, which lay just north of it so that the two formed an apparently continuous settlement. However, Lindeth was not absorbed administratively into Silverdale until the early part of the twentieth century. Yealand Conyers and Yealand Redmayne, both linear medieval villages, lie north of Warton village and are, like it, sheltered from the prevailing westerly winds by the northward extension of Warton Crag known as Cringlebarrow. Just to the north lies the hamlet of Yealand Storrs. It had long lost the independence it had had in medieval times and had become administratively part of Yealand Redmayne.

Of the other townships in the parish, Carnforth had anciently been part of Bolton-le-Sands parish, but was transferred to Warton in or about 1208. Carnforth is a mile south of Warton and lies at a locally important junction of roads. To the west are routes leading onto the sands of Morecambe Bay and so over to Furness. Ahead lies the old all-weather route over the limestone crags, while to the east runs the less hilly, but marshier road to Burton-in-Kendal. This latter route passed through the edge of the two easterly townships of Borwick and Priest Hutton. North of these lay Dalton, a township that had already lost its boundary inter-fingered with that of the Westmorland parish of Burton-in-Kendal and Dalton inhabitants seem to have felt a greater affinity with Burton parish than with Warton. When the matter was put to the vote in 1894 the inhabitants unanimously voted for transfer to Westmorland[3]. So much does Dalton seem to have been part of Burton that it has seemed more sensible to accept this and not to include it in this account of Warton parish.

Warton parish nowhere rises more than 490 feet (150 metres) above sea level and is usually warmed by the prevailing southwesterly winds that bring 40 inches (100 cm) annual rainfall. The higher ground is mainly limestone, part of the girdle of limestone that encircles the older rocks of the Lake District peaks. Large areas of limestone have been scraped bare by ice-sheets during successive glaciations. In compensation the melting ice has left thick deposits of sand, silt

and gravel on the lower ground, especially in the broad valley that runs between Carnforth and Milnthorpe.



Topography of Warton Parish

The eastern edge of this valley, still within the parish boundary, is rising ground formed by Carboniferous-age sandstones and shales with a variable covering of glacial debris. Glacial deposits have supplied the parish with its arable land, while the limestone uplands were used for pasture. In 1800 much of this upland area was still open commonland where the natural scrub and woodland cover was continuously suppressed by the onslaught of an overstocked population of grazing sheep, cattle and horses.

Bare hilltops were the norm and woodland generally was much scarcer than it is to day. What woodland there was, was grown as a commercial crop and regularly felled or coppiced. Even hedgerow timber and shrubs were cut for building material, firewood and other uses. This would have given the countryside a much barer, starker look than we are accustomed to at the present day. What we have lost today is the open view across the countryside to the sea.

Since most of the underlying rock is limestone there is little surface water except on the lowest ground. There is one larger river, the Keer, which flows east to west across the southern part of the parish and so out into Morecambe Bay

just to the north of Carnforth, eventually joining the waters of the Kent among the sands. The Keer valley was always marshy and subject to flooding, but the flow in the river sufficed to power a mill. In what seems like a broad valley running through the parish from Carnforth north to Milnthorpe there is no river, but the water that seeps from the mounds of glacial deposits collects into two small streams: the Whitbeck flowing south to the Keer, and a drain that joins Holme Beck beyond the northern edge of the parish and so flows north to the Bela near Beetham. Such was the shortage of waterpower in medieval times that even the tiny Whitbeck was called into use to power a mill. There was one other stream in the parish, with importance above its size. Leighton Beck drains the marshy ground north of Yealand Redmayne and flows west, initially through an artificial cut, to the northern edge of Silverdale and on through Arnside Moss to the Kent estuary. It was in use at the start of the nineteenth century to provide power for Leighton Iron Furnace.

In 1801 the parish population, according to the census of that year, was 1574 (Warton-with-Lindeth 464, Carnforth 219, Borwick 208, Yealand Conyers 196, Silverdale 171, Priest Hutton 168, Yealand Redmayne 148). This compares with an estimated parish population of 1,220 in the mid-seventeenth century[4]. The fact that the population had increased by only one fifth between 1650 and 1801 suggests considerable local stability in a period when the population of Lancashire as a whole increased fourfold[5].

In 1800 the main occupations, apart from farming, were in weaving, mining and quarrying, smithy work, carpentry, tailoring and building. There were a few fishermen in Silverdale, Carnforth and Warton. Weavers and workers in flax were concentrated mainly in Yealand Conyers and Priest Hutton. Limekilns and malt-kilns were dotted about. At the start of the century there was still iron making at the furnace at Leighton Beck. Some iron ore for this furnace was obtained locally from small iron and copper mines in Silverdale and on the west side of Warton Crag at Crag Foot. Mostly, however, the ore was being brought across Morecambe Bay from the extensive deposits in Furness.

It is often suggested that, at the end of the eighteenth century, people's horizons did not extend much beyond their parish boundary and so the world would have passed by this quiet backwater. Yet Warton lay on a coastline that teemed with merchant shipping, and the main overland route up the west side of England passed through the eastern part of the parish. Sea transport was, in those days, by far the cheapest method of moving goods over long distances. The coastal shipping trade centred on Liverpool, Lancaster and Whitehaven, from which ports there were also busy trade routes across to Ireland and further afield to the Baltic and across the Atlantic. Trading vessels were at work even in the shallow waters of Morecambe Bay. The small, flat-bottomed craft used did not

need harbours, but could be unloaded on the shore and floated off again at high tide. Milnthorpe, just north of Warton, was a busy port as were the villages further down the estuary: Sandside, Storth and Arnside. For moving small merchandise to and from Furness it was often easier to carry the goods over the sands at low tide in carts. Cattle drovers brought stock across the sands from Furness to Silverdale - a short crossing that could be accomplished in a few hours without exhausting the animals. The busiest cross-sands route was that used by traffic travelling from Lancaster direct to Furness. Travellers from Lancaster turned onto the coast at Hest Bank and then headed over the sands to Kents Bank. The route missed Warton parish, but coaches and carts using this crossing were clearly visible from the coast of Lindeth and Silverdale.

Moreover since the parish lies across the overland corridor up the west coast it was inevitable that it contained a section of this main route connecting Manchester, Lancaster, and Carlisle. In early days the preferred route had been along the rocky twisting spine of the parish, through Warton and the Yealands to Beetham. When it became technically possible to build a good road across flatter but less firm ground, the main route through the parish was switched east. The road north out of Carnforth, still known today as North Road, was turnpiked in 1751. This new turnpike route north crossed the Keer east of the old crossing and so on to Heron Syke in Burton-in-Kendal. The improved surface meant that by the 1750s the textile products coming south from Kendal could be carried by wagons instead of in packhorse trains.

The biggest innovation in transport in the parish before the nineteenth century was the construction of the Lancaster Canal. This had been completed as far as Tewitfield in Priest Hutton by 1797 though it did not reach Kendal until 1819. Merchants in Lancaster had hoped that it would help to keep their port competitive with Liverpool that was steadily growing to a dominant position. In this they were not successful, but in other respects the canal proved its worth. In particular it brought cheap coal to the area and allowed local industries to compete more successfully with those in the south of the county. Local domestic heating, hitherto very largely dependent on peat, was in time also transformed.

Goods for the local market were usually carried in the two-wheeled carts that had been in use locally for hundreds of years. The local market towns were the places where contact was made with the wider world. These towns were very much larger and busier than the parish villages. Kendal, with a population of about 7,000 in 1801 was an important textile centre, specialising in knitted socks. It was also a centre for tanning and had a large livestock market. Lancaster had a population of about 9,000 and a large market. By 1800 it was reaching the end of a period of enormous prosperity based on its trade with North America,

the West Indies and the Baltic. It was to Lancaster that the people of Warton seemed more closely attached, especially since some of the parishioners had become suppliers of goods to merchants trading from the port, or had even had sons join the crews sailing across the Atlantic. A few made fortunes and came back to buy land in the parish of their birth.

Local information needs, of course, to be looked at against the wider background. The British economy had been flourishing in the eighteenth century, but then had come the American War of Independence, and the wars with France. The costs of war had taken serious toll, yet despite the stresses of war the changes associated with Industrial Revolution were not basically interrupted. It is likely that the changes in agricultural practice that began in the eighteenth century, the so called Agricultural Revolution, were given a new impulse by the need for the country to feed itself during the war; changes that were a matter of particular importance to an agricultural parish like Warton. The economist, Thomas Malthus, had argued in the eighteenth century that population must inevitably grow faster than did the production of food to maintain it. In fact, England's population continued to grow and continued to be fed largely from its own agriculture (though there were war-time food crises in 1795 and 1800-01).

There was a more immediately local effect from the war. Even by the end of the eighteenth century much of Lancaster's transatlantic trade was already being lost to Liverpool, because Liverpool had better deep-water facilities and easier access to coal and manufacturies in south Lancashire. Because of the losses to marauding French ships, Lancaster's diminished shipping was expected to first make its way to Liverpool to join escorted convoys for the Atlantic crossing. There was, it is true, one little local success. A French vessel, *L'Harmonie*, laden with cotton, hides and wood, was captured *en route* from New Orleans to Marseilles by the *Paragon*, Captain Hart, and brought into Lancaster in 1803[6]. The gain was only one very small one to set against all the losses. By the first decade of the nineteenth century Lancaster's shipping trade was declining. All the same the influx of wealth that had accrued in the previous decades had already made its impact on Warton parish as will be discussed in later chapters.

In 1801, at the time of the first census, the population of England was 9 million. By 1851 this figure had doubled to 18 million. The increase was most marked in the industrialising north. Lancashire trebled its population in this period. The biggest growth was in the south of the county. Liverpool's population was already over 80,000 in 1801 and was to grow to some 376,000 by 1851 while in the same period Manchester grew from about 76,000 to about 316,000, about a fourfold increase for both towns. Even Blackburn had reached a population of 46,000 by 1851[7]. In the same period Lancaster scarcely doubled

its population. Warton parish remained completely outside this phenomenal growth, increasing its population only from 1,574 in 1801 to 2099 in 1851. Yet though the size of its population changed little, that is not to say Warton parish was not affected by the changes elsewhere. Apart from any other matters, it is obvious that a large and increasing population to be fed, no further away than south Lancashire, must have had its effect on this agricultural parish.

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1 Mourholme Local History Society, *How it Was* (Kendal, 1998), pp. 85-96; 155-160.

2 P.H.W. Booth, *Warton in the Middle Ages,* (Warton Village Society and Warton History Group (University Extension Group) 1976, revised by Mourholme Local History Society, 2004)

3 William Farrer ed., *Victoria History of the County of Lancaster* Vol.8 (Constable 1914), p.183.

4 R. Speake, *'The Historical Demography of Warton Parish before 1801'* Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 112 (1960), pp. 43-65.

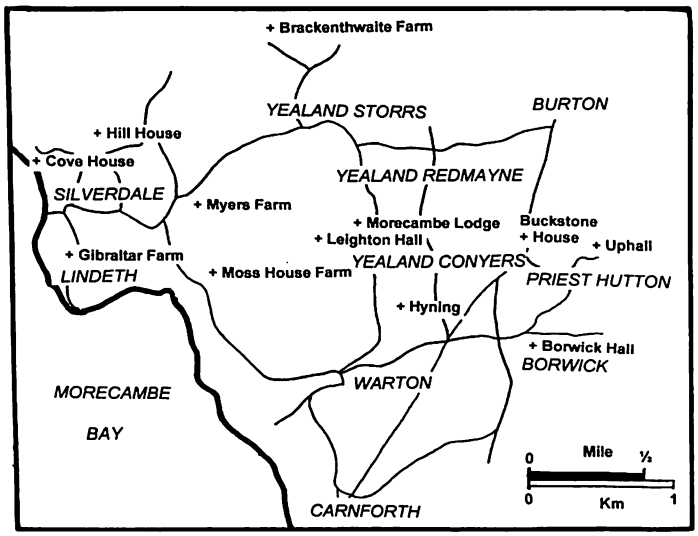
5 John K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History,* (Manchester University Press, 1987), p.76.

6 M.M. Schofield Outlines of an Economic History of Lancaster from 1680-1860 (Lancaster Branch of the Historical Association 1946) p.15.

7 C.B. Phillips and J.H. Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540* (Longmans, London & New York, 1994), p.136.

Chapter One

THE LAND
Who gained it, Who lost it.



Houses and farms mentioned in the Text

Landowners in Warton Parish

In Warton, as in the rest of England, the ownership of land was traditionally seen as conferring security and, along with that, status. It is not difficult to see the logic in this and its origin in the days when Warton's economy was largely based on subsistence farming and periods of extreme local dearth had been known. Near starvation had been known as late as the seventeenth century, a danger that particularly affected the poor and landless[1]. So long as a family held land there was a prospect of some independence and the possibility of growing sufficient crops or keeping enough animals to ward off hunger.

With so much emphasis on land ownership as a means of ensuring security, even the largest landowners felt a compulsion to enlarge their estates. If the land was not generating enough to support status, then perhaps a carefully chosen bride could bring with her some additional acres, or cash, or even some helpful family connections. For the middling men there was always the hope that an increase in acres owned would be recognised by an increasing respect from neighbours and perhaps elevated status from husbandman to yeoman, or even to the ultimate accolade of *'gentleman'*.

Burgeoning overseas trade from the port of Lancaster had opened the eyes of the people of Warton to the possibility of making money through commerce. Serious involvement with Lancashire shipping had started as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century when a few ships intended for transatlantic trade had actually been built in the parish, in Lindeth[2]. During the eighteenth century Lancaster's trade with the West Indies grew prodigiously, though there is little evidence that any Warton-produced goods, apart from harden cloth and some ironware, were traded through Lancaster to the West Indies. In fact the Lancaster area as a whole was short of raw materials and local products for export. There were, however, other ways in which local people became involved with the trade. Some of the more adventurous young men from the parish joined the ships' crews. Adventure sometimes turned to tragedy, as when James Bolton, aged 15, of Silverdale, died while sailing on the *Charlotte* from Glasson Dock to Quebec in 1845. He was one of two boys lost on the voyage: one killed by a fall from the main top and the other washed overboard and drowned[3].

There were easier ways to participate in the local shipping trade, especially if you had money to spare for investment. Ship owners were always in need of investors to equip, man and stock their ships, and the profits from a successful round voyage could be very large indeed. As the trade developed the *'round'* voyage became in fact triangular, involving a first stage to Africa, with guns, gunpowder and ironware goods (some possibly produced at Leighton Furnace in the north of Warton parish). Then a discreetly distant run with slaves from Africa to the West Indies: the infamous *'middle passage'* and, finally, a return home with rum, sugar, cotton and timber[4]. As far as the slave element was concerned, at least in early days, few questions would have been asked (though the Quakers, some of whom had been involved earlier, had corporately condemned the trade by 1727). Moreover, many who were not directly involved with moving slaves to the West Indies were still prepared to invest in plantations that depended on slave labour.

This large local influx of wealth had a distorting effect on local employment, local fortunes, and very soon on local land holdings. Some long-standing Warton families increased their land ownership but stayed in the parish. Others left to work in Lancaster, but then returned. Still others had been attracted to the Lancaster honey-pot from other parts of England and stayed to find homes in Warton parish. Examples of all these types of land ownership are exemplified in the study of some of the townships of Warton parish that follows.

Landowners in the individual townships: Priest Hutton

The dominant part played by Lancaster money in the acquisition of property in Warton parish is well exemplified in the township of Priest Hutton.

Here two families, the Burrows and the Threlfalls, both originally from outside the parish, bought large acreages of land, though only the Burrows lived on their Priest Hutton estate[5]. Christopher Burrow was born in 1761, the son of a yeoman of Westhouse in Yorkshire. Details of his early life are not known, but in 1787 he was part owner, with his brother, of a ship trading to Jamaica. By 1806 he was being described as a merchant, lived at Burrow Hall in Tunstall and was fully involved in trade with the West Indies. Later references show that he was part owner of an estate in Jamaica that was evidently a plantation. In about 1812 Christopher moved to Buckstone House in Priest Hutton, an estate within easy reach of Lancaster. He became a freeman of Lancaster in 1814 -15. In the latter year his brother, Thomas, was elected Mayor of Lancaster for the second time. Christopher died in 1827, leaving his Priest Hutton estate of 114 acres and a fortune, including over £6,300 in 3 per cent consols, to his son Thomas Christopher who was training to be a barrister.

Lazarus Threlfall was born in 1765, in Woodplumpton near Preston, the son of a yeoman. In 1780 he was in Lancaster starting a seven-year apprenticeship with William Hodgson, a currier. In 1788 he sailed as a passenger on the *Molly* to Madeira and Barbados, but there is no evidence he ever had any property in the West Indies. His brother, John, also took work in the Lancaster leather trade. In the early years of the nineteenth century Lazarus had in Lancaster a shop in Queens Square and a house in Moor Lane. In 1817 he bought the Uphall estate in Priest Hutton from the Strickland Standish family of Borwick Hall. He never lived on the Uphall estate, but rented it to a Robert Muckalt. In 1833 Lazarus's daughter, Anne, married Matthew Talbot Baines, barrister, the eldest son of Edward Baines, M.P.. Lazarus continued to live in Lancaster. He died, aged 90, in 1854.

Landowners in the townships: Warton-with-Lindeth

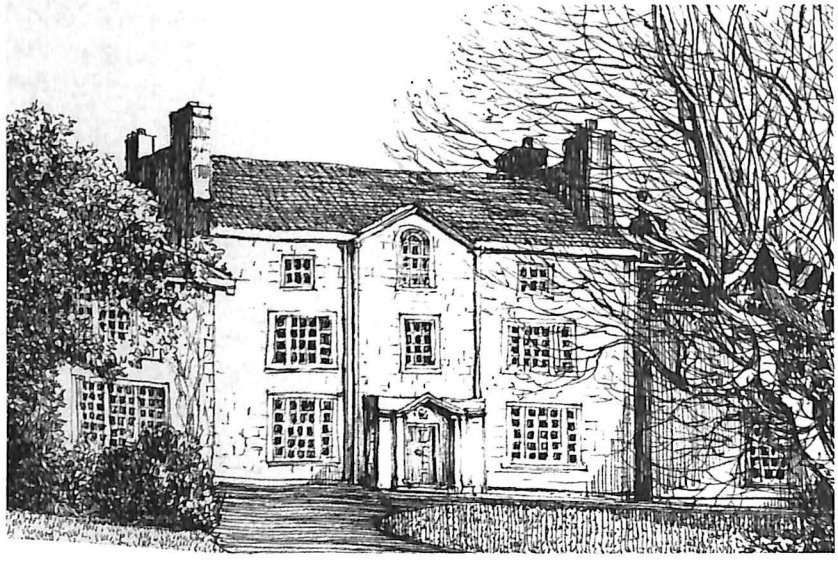
Wealth generated in Lancaster was also important in land acquisition in Warton township at the start of the nineteenth century.

The Dawsons were a long-standing family of yeoman farmers from Warton, a family that was also involved in business in Lancaster[6]. In 1742 the head of the family, Robert Dawson, moved to Aldcliffe Hall south of Lancaster when he married, but the family retained their extensive Warton property. From the proportion of the township land-tax[7] that they paid in 1800 the Dawsons evidently owned some 12 per cent of the township land. A similar amount of land was held by Anne Clowes (née Dawson). A third major landowner in the township in 1800 was Jackson Mason. His wealth also originated in part from trade in Lancaster. His father, William, owned property in Lindeth, was a freeman and merchant of Lancaster, and had earlier been a mariner sailing from

that port. Jackson himself was a solicitor in Lancaster. He was very much involved in the property market, and he himself spent what were huge sums for the period on acquiring land in his home parish of Warton. He may have supervised the farming of his land while continuing his work as a Lancaster solicitor. These three landowners each paid 10-15 per cent of the total land-tax for Warton township in 1800 and, while the tax does not necessarily relate directly to the acres owned, it gives at least a rough indication of the relative size of holdings.

In a second tier of landowners in Warton township were three who each paid 5 to 7 per cent of the total township land-tax. Among these were men from families who had much larger holdings in other townships: the Towneleys of Leighton Hall and the Standishes who owned Borwick Hall. The third landowner in this second tier was William Sanderson, another Lancaster merchant. He invested a great deal of money in the Hyning estate where he built himself a handsome and prestigious house.

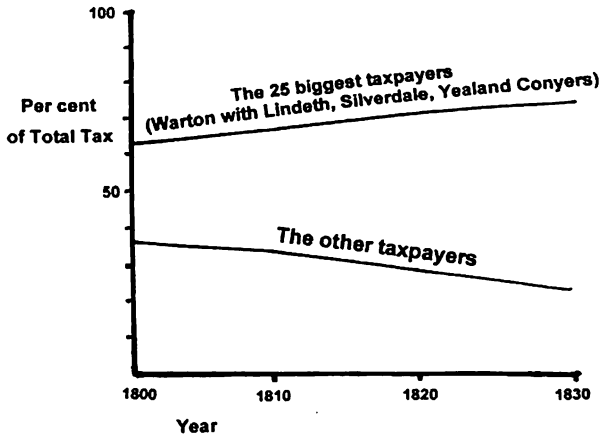
In 1809 Sanderson sold the Hyning estate to John Bolden who had inherited the fortune of his uncle, William Bolden, in 1800. The inheritance came John's way on condition that he changed his name from his birth name, Leonard, to Bolden. His uncle had no sons and was presumably anxious to see the name Bolden perpetuated.



Hyning House

The Boldens came of a farming family from Ellel, south of Lancaster, but uncle William had sold up in about 1750 and later settled in Liverpool. His wife Agnes was a descendant of the Fleming family of Rydal[8].

If the apportionment of the land-tax is taken as a guide, most of the acres in Warton township were owned by only a few wealthy individuals and the majority of these had made fortunes from their Lancaster business connections. In 1800 the top ten taxpayers in Warton township paid two-thirds of the total tax and the remaining sixty taxpayers paid the other third. Many of these smaller owners had very small plots of land, such as the burgage plots[9] in Warton village that were only half a rood (one eighth of a statute acre) in area.



Changes in Land Tax Payments

Subsequent changes in land ownership in Warton township can be traced through the land-tax records up to 1830 (when the tax was rescinded) and also by looking at the more accurate and detailed information in the Tithe Award of 1846[10].

As shown in the following tables based on the information in the 1846 Tithe Award, there were a number of other landlords in the township who did not hold as much land as those mentioned above, but they did hold quite substantial areas even though they were in some cases divided into many smaller plots.

Landlords	Acreage
DAWSON Edward	329.26
CLOWES Edmund	321.19
MASON Wm. Rev	314.59
BOLDEN John	224.22
HOWARD Thomas N	199.74
FLEETWOOD H P	162.63
GILLOW Richard	155.46
STRICKLAND Walt C	124.92
JENKINSON John	110.52

Landlords holding over 100 acres

Landlords	Acreage
WHORMBY Richard	84.12
WILLAN Leonard	81.62
INMAN Thomas	77.10
Road Rivers & Waste Places	70.93
HELM Robert	55.54
BURROW T H	45.24
GIBSON Robert Rev.	45.08
KEW Thomas	39.37
COLLYERS Dorothy	38.77
WATSON Rev.	28.66
JACKSON Matthew	25.22
COOK James	23.55
AIREY Robert	20.41

Landlords holding between 20 and 99 acres

The following landlords held between 20 and 5 acres in the township as shown in the 1846 Tithe Book. They are arranged in descending order of acreage:

JACKSON Thomas, Lancaster & Carlisle Railway Co.,DEAN Thomas Rev., MANLEY Ed Rev., WHORMBY Mary, MOUNSEY John, FAWCETT Richard,

Ulverston & Carnforth Turnpike Road Trust, BURROWS T C, WALLING Grace, TOWSON Agnes, FARRER Richard, GARNETT Tom, JACKSON James, CARRUTHERS John, HUTTON Will Rev., KENDALL John, HODGSON Thomas, ROBINSON James, BENKER Robert, Lancaster & Kendal Canal Co.
The following held less than five acres:-

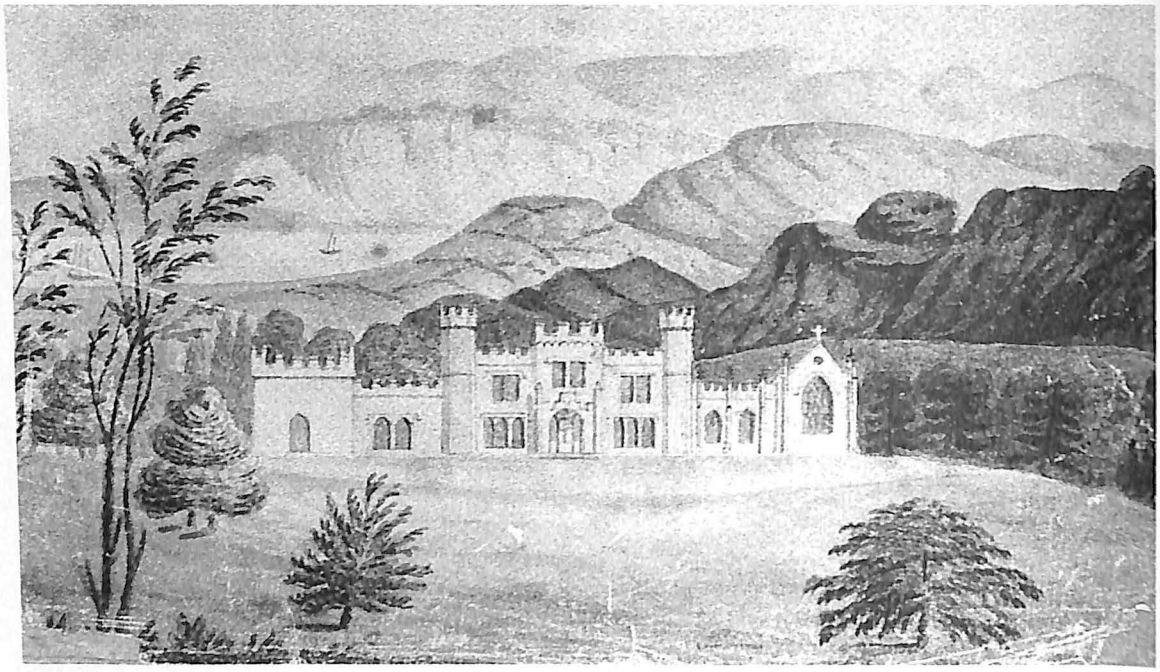
JENNINGS Elizabeth, JACKSON John, The Vicar of Warton, NUTTALL John, WHORMBY Thomas, HARRISON James S, NUTTALL Chris, Warton Grammar School Trustees, PRESTON Richard, FRANCES Anne, WHORMBY Wm, CLARIDGE John, HOLME John, WADESON Richard.

It is to be noted that seven women were landowners in this period out of the total of fifty-eight.

These sources show that in Warton township the estates of the larger landowners remained intact over the next decades and indeed grew in size at the expense of those of the more moderately wealthy. In 1810 the ten largest landowners had paid two-thirds of the total land-tax, but by 1830 additions to their land holdings meant that they paid four-fifths of the total. It was the owners from old-established farming families who were the losers. At the bottom of the land-owning scale, the large number of landowners who paid very little tax went on paying the same amount, showing that they were holding on to their small plots of land. Lindeth, the outlying portion of Warton township, attracted investment from two outsiders. Leonard Willan, a Lancaster solicitor, bought the Hazelwood estate and Henry Paul Fleetwood, a Preston banker, bought land around Gibraltar farm.

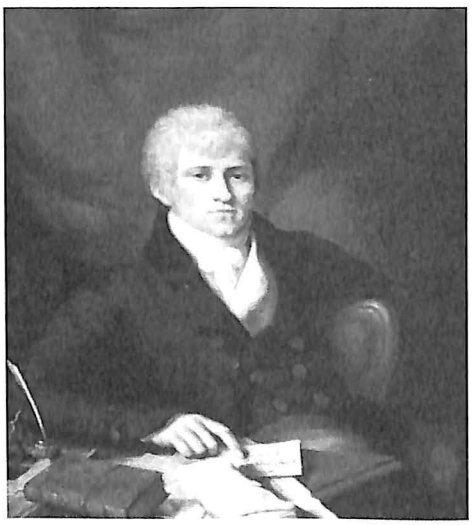
Landowners in the townships: Yealand Conyers

In Yealand Conyers the largest landowners were the successive owners of the Leighton estate. George Towneley lived at Leighton until 1772 and then devised it to his nephew, John Towneley. In the last decade of the eighteenth century Alexander Worswick, of a family of Catholic bankers who had been merchants in Lancaster, was looking for a country estate. He first considered renting Wennington Hall in the Lune valley, but rejected it on legal advice[11], and then chose to buy the Leighton estate for which he paid £22,300[12]. The actual date of purchase is not clear, being differently recorded in different sources, but in 1802 the estate passed to Alexander's son, Thomas.



Leighton Hall

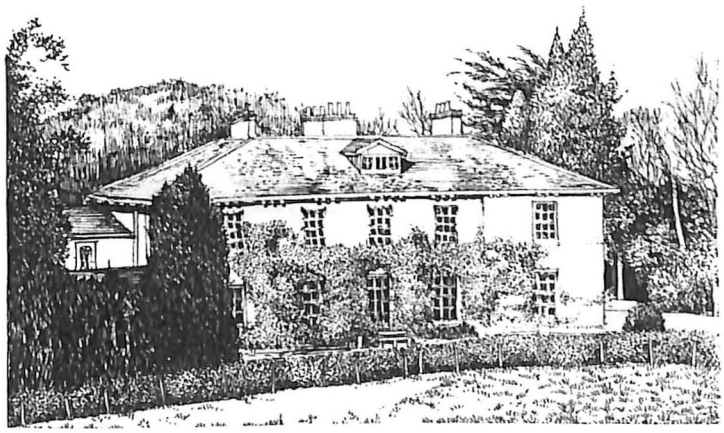
After the Worswick bank failed in 1822 Leighton estate was bought by Richard Gillow, grandson of the founder of the Lancaster firm of cabinetmakers. Richard had succeeded to the business in 1811, but retired soon after.[13]



Elizabeth & Richard Gillow

Gillow was a cousin of Thomas Worswick and, like him, a Catholic. The owners of the Leighton estate each in turn paid about one-third of the total land-tax for Yealand Conyers township, an indication of the large proportion of township land represented by the estate. Leighton estate grew during the first half of the nineteenth century. When the Tithe Award was drawn up in 1846 the Gillows owned over half of the total acreage of the township. They also had additional land in Silverdale and Warton.

The long-established farming families of Yealand Conyers were not completely squeezed out by the newcomers from Lancaster; they had been used to living close to the large Leighton estate for centuries. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Quaker Jenkinsons, of Green Garth, maintained and slightly increased their land holdings, apparently without help from Lancaster interests. Likewise the Hodgsons maintained their position. The Waithmans increased their holdings. The Waithmans, however, had important investments in the flax industry, so were not dependent entirely on farming income. There were many smaller landowners in Yealand Conyers who represented a new class of the wealthy. They were people with inherited wealth or well-paid occupations, who simply did not feel the need to own large estates. They required a sizeable country house with good grounds in an agreeable area within easy reach of Lancaster. An early arrival of this sort was Thomas Rawlinson whose family was at the core of much local business[14]. Thomas's grandfather had been involved with the early ironworks of south Lakeland and Thomas himself had interests in the local Leighton Furnace. His father, Abraham, was one of the early developers of the West Indies trade. Thomas inherited this business, so easy access to Lancaster was very important. Morecambe Lodge in Yealand Conyers (now called Yealand Manor) was his home until he died in 1800.



Morecambe Lodge

Some years later the property passed to his cousin, John Ford, a Lancaster ship-owner. Another Yealand resident of this kind was Dr David Campbell who had a medical practice in Lancaster, but also a country dwelling at Dale Grove.

Landowners in the townships: Silverdale

Silverdale township has always been slightly isolated from inland connections and, at the end of the eighteenth century, it was just a little more remote from Lancaster than the other townships of the parish. In 1800 the old order still held sway there so far as land ownership was concerned. If we take the land-tax as a guide, the three largest landowners were of local yeoman stock. They were Jonathan Bisbrowne of Bank House, Ann Peacock who owned the Bottoms estate and Enock Fryer of Hill House. The middling landowners were also long established farming families: the Kellets, Hoggarths, Huttons and Walkers. Yet even in Silverdale the old order was disrupted by Lancaster money when, in 1801, Enock Fryer sold the Hill House estate on the north edge of the village to Jackson Mason, the Lancaster solicitor. Jackson held it for only seven years before selling it on to Robert Inman, merchant and ship-owner of Lancaster.

The Inmans had given up their Yorkshire estate to invest in commerce. Michael Inman made an unsuccessful venture into trade in Hull in 1738, but his half-brother Charles, Robert's grandfather, came to Lancaster and prospered[15]. Charles was apprenticed in 1741 to the Butterfields, Lancaster merchants involved with the West Indies trade. In 1744 the Butterfields ventured into the slave trade when they sent the ship *Expedition* to Africa. Charles progressed rapidly, no doubt helped by his marriage to Susanna Casson in 1745. Susanna's father was a Lancaster mercer and former mayor. Charles ended his apprenticeship early and became a freeman of Lancaster. In 1753 he joined Thomas Satterthwaite in the slave trade and the arrangement continued until 1760. During this time Charles became an agent in Jamaica for the Gillows and he later became a resident agent there. Living conditions may not have been good. A relative, sent out as a young man to learn the business, afterwards declared himself fortunate to have survived the experience. Charles himself died at the age of 42. His fortune and business interests passed to his son Robert Inman. After his initial investment in Hill House estate, Robert enlarged his land holdings by buying the Bottoms estate, and so became the largest landowner in the village. On his death the Lancaster business and the estate passed to his son, Thomas. As in the other townships that have been examined these larger landowners increased their share of the township's land at the expense of the old-established farming families. In Silverdale, however, the change was almost entirely due to the purchases of the Inman family backed by their Lancaster-generated wealth.

Landowners in Warton parish in perspective

Although the largest estates in Warton parish were sizeable in local terms, they were not large in relation to the major regional and national estates. Indeed it has sometimes been suggested that the area attracted newly wealthy investors because it was not dominated by any very large landowners. It is difficult to find comparative figures relating to the first half of the century for other parts of the county, but a good idea of relative sizes of possessions two decades into the second half of the century can be obtained from the survey, the Return of Owners of Land of 1872-3[16]. The survey has imperfections, but has the advantage that it gives the size of the estates directly in acres. Among Warton landowners in the survey we find the farmer John Jenkinson of Yealand with 480 acres, an estate similar in size to that of William Sharp of Linden Hall in Borwick who had 580 acres. The Boldens of Hyning had only half this acreage at 246 acres. The larger landowners are revealed as the Gillows of Leighton Hall with 1,900 acres and the Dawsons of Aldcliffe Hall with a similar acreage (much of it outside Warton though). Outside the parish is the considerably larger estate of G.H.B. Marton of Capernwray, at 3,700 acres and, larger still and over the Westmorland boundary, the estate of the Wilsons of Dallam, with 9,900 acres (only a very small proportion of which was in Warton parish). Finally, to put all in perspective, the really big player in Lancashire was the Earl of Derby with 47,000 acres. He held no land in Warton parish.[17]

The Growing Interest in Seaside Property

The tendency for successful town merchants to seek prestigious and comfortable country properties is a centuries-old phenomenon, but a new development at the end of the eighteenth century was the discovery of the health-promoting value of sea bathing and visits to the seaside. This partly replaced the earlier fashion for visiting spa towns, which some of the wealthier classes felt had become over-popular and somewhat vulgarised[18]. Even the rather questionable attractions of sea bathing on Warton's Morecambe Bay coast received a good deal of attention at the start of the nineteenth century. Land adjoining the Bay was suddenly found to have acquired a special value and this was reflected in enthusiastic newspaper advertisements offering Bayside properties. The proximity to the sea and bathing was sometimes exaggerated sufficiently to accommodate properties some two miles inland.

The most obvious of the new breed of land-buyers attracted by the scenic qualities of the area was the Reverend Carus Wilson who bought land at the Cove in Silverdale, a piece of coastline that certainly merited the fashionable description *'picturesque'*. Here he built a seaside villa, and visited it regularly. His later purchase of adjacent stretches of coastline appears to have been

motivated by the desire to conserve the land and thwart development of further villas.

Rev W C Wilson and Cove House

In Lindeth another stretch of coastline of high scenic value was acquired by Henry Paul Fleetwood. The nucleus of this property was a very early seaside *'villa'* erected at Gibraltar Farm by Isaac Hadwen, a Liverpool merchant who had roots in the Warton area. Henry Fleetwood extended this villa and also built one for himself nearby, now known as *'Wolf House'*[19]. For others in Silverdale this new interest in the seaside provided opportunities to sell farmland for development and, in some cases, to set up holiday accommodation.

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1 Mourholme Local History Society, *How it Was* (Kendal 1998) pp.85-95.
2 Mourholme Local History Society, 1998, *ibid.* p.147.
3 *Lancaster Gazette*, November 1st, 1845.
4 Melinda Elder, *The Slave Trade and the Economic Development of Eighteenth Century Lancaster*, (Ryburn Publishing, Halifax 1992 p.28).
5 Thanks are due to Dr Margaret Bainbridge for the information about Christopher Burrow and Lazarus Threlfall.
6 Robert Bellis, *'Aldcliffe'*, 1987 Lancaster Central Library, Pamphlet Local History Collection.
7 A tax had been payable on all income derived from land since the end of the seventeenth century.

[8] Burke's Landed Gentry, Vol. 3 (Burke's Peerage Ltd 1972).
[9] Mourholme Local History Society, *How it Was* (Kendal, 1998), p.22.
[10] The Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 allowed payment of the church tithe as rent, rather than in kind as had been traditional. The calculation of equivalents involved, over the next years, the task of very detailed mapping and recording of land in all parishes.
[11] Emmeline Garnett, *John Marsden's Will: the Hornby Castle Dispute,* 1780-1840 (Hambledon Press, 1998), p. 68.
[12] Lancaster Public Library, *Lancaster Records, 1801-1850,* Lancaster Gazette 1869, p.144
[13] Lancaster Public Library, *Lancaster Records 1801-1850,* Lancaster Guardian 1869 p.144.
[14] Lynette Cunliffe, *The Rawlinsons of Furness,* (Kendal 1978), Pamphlet in Lancaster Public Library Local History Collection.
[15] Michael Wright, *'The Inman Family of Lancaster and Hill House, Silverdale',* Mourholme Magazine of Local History, 1999-2000, No2. pp.6-16.
[16] The survey was set up to investigate the concentration of land ownership. It was ordered by the government and undertaken by the Government Board. It included everyone who owned one acre or more
[17] J.K. Walton, *The English Sea-side Resorts: a social history 1750 –1914* (Leicester 0.U.P. 1983) pp. 7-12.
[18] J.K. Walton, 1983 *idib.*
[18] Michael Wright, *'Saving Silverdale's Shoreline: conservation in the nineteenth century', Mourholme Magazine of Local History, 2001- 2002* No.2. pp. 12-13.

Chapter Two

THE LAND:
Draining, Gaining and Improving.

While landowners such as Carus Wilson and H.P. Fleetwood saw an intrinsic beauty in the Warton landscape and were primarily interested in conserving it, most landowners in Warton parish, as in the rest of England, were largely interested in improving the productivity and profitability of their land. It was especially important to increase productivity at home while hostilities with France made overseas trade routes precarious. As John Holt the well-known contemporary agriculturalist commented in 1795, *'Why seek out distant countries to cultivate, whilst so much remains to be done at home?'*[1]. Most of the local landowners would have been aware of trends and ideas in other parts of the country and abroad, but the actual implementation of change depended upon their exertions. In 1815 R.W. Dickson, another expert agricultural observer of the time claimed that much better use could be made of Lancashire's agricultural land. Referring to the small tract of land extending from Sunderland Point to near Yealand and Burton, he says:

> *'... a great part of this land is low ground bordering on the sea shore, and excellently adapted to the production of wheat ... It is probably in many places little inferior in point of fertility to the preceding tract* [the Fylde]'[2].

Even the limestone land in Warton he thought to be equal in potential to the good Fylde land and only needing to be better utilised. He contended that:

> *'the demand for landed property has, for several years past, been much on the increase, probably in consequence of persons in trading turning their attention to the cultivation of the soil ...'.*

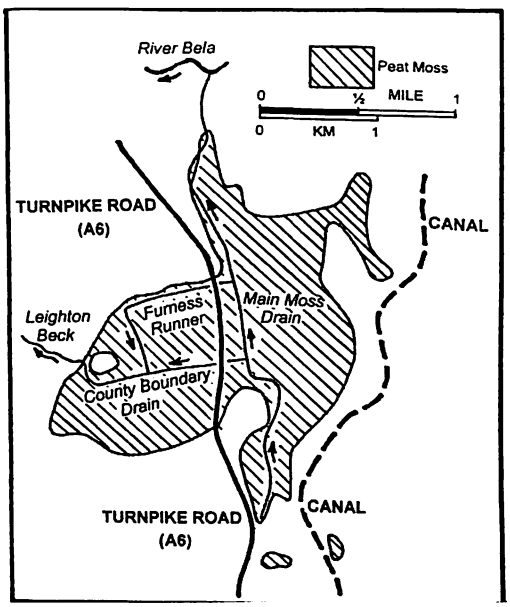
He goes on to comment that their change to landed property seemed to have created a new spirit and energy[3]. How far did Dickson's comments on a new spirit apply in Warton parish where, as shown, considerable wealth derived from commerce had indeed been invested in the land? The following sections may help to answer this question.

Land Reclamation: The Peat Mosses.

The peat mosses that surround much of Silverdale and Arnside and lie on the north side of Yealand Redmayne have historically formed large areas of

treacherous soft ground - an obstacle to local travel, but also an important source of fuel for most of the inhabitants of the parish. Small-scale drainage work in the mosses had been carried out for centuries under the supervision of the manor court officials, the *'moss-men'*, though the good of such drainage works was sometimes undone by individuals who needed ponds in which to ret their hemp and flax. At Haweswater in Silverdale a modest drainage scheme was carried out in the eighteenth century. This lowered the water level a few feet and facilitated peat extraction, but the moss remained partly waterlogged and of limited value as grazing land[4].

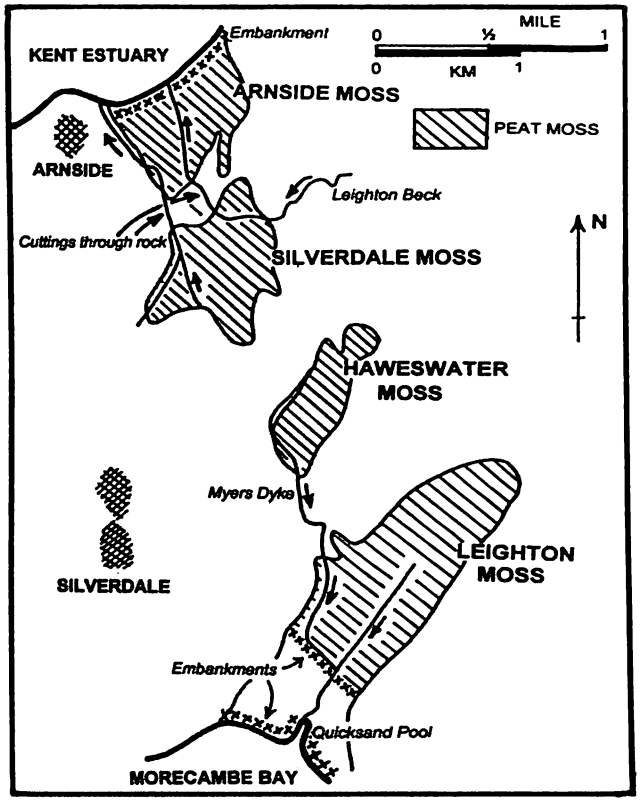
In Yealand Redmayne township peat supplies for fuel had, for many centuries, been dug from Thrang Moss, White Moss and Hilderstone Moss, contiguous tracts of moss-land on the northern boundary of Lancashire



The Drainage of Hilderstone Moss and adjoining mosses

Of these, Hilderstone Moss was directly involved in a very large drainage scheme in which a deep ditch over three kilometres long, was cut from Hilderstone Moss north through a cutting in glacial deposits near Pye Bridge and so into the River Bela[5]. This great scheme required the co-operative effort of many local landowners and tenants, including the Earl of Derby, whose south Westmorland estates lay at the north end of the drain. The work took much of the 1770s to complete. It resulted in the reclamation of well over 330 acres of land for agricultural use, although this ground was still susceptible to flooding in times of very heavy rainfall. Thrang Moss and White Moss, which lie on the

western limit of the scheme, were only partially drained as a result of this work. Evidence that some areas of the Yealand mosses had been reclaimed for agricultural use by 1844 can be found in a contemporary newspaper account[6] which describes an episode in which fire spread deep into the peat of the moss during the process of paring and burning its surface, a proceeding that was the usual preparation before sowing oats. The burning peat was extinguished with some difficulty. In 1850 William Waithman was criticised for using Irish labour instead of local labour to help drain part of Yealand Moss[7]. Many other small-scale drainage schemes must have gone unrecorded.

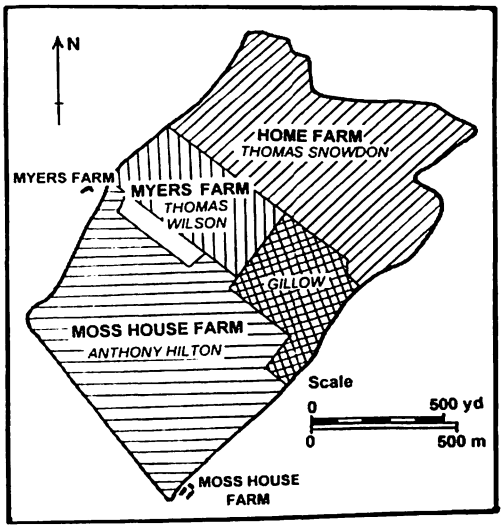


The Drainage of Arnside
Silverdale, Haweswater and Leighton Mosses

The Derby estates were also involved, albeit indirectly, with the drainage of Silverdale Moss, in the northernmost part of Silverdale township. At the start of the nineteenth century the Earl of Derby owned Arnside Tower and part of the farmland there was on the very poorly drained ground between Arnside Moss

and Silverdale Moss. Periodic flooding was made worse by the diversion of water from the mosses near Hale into Leighton Beck, which had been done to help keep the waterwheel turning at Leighton Furnace[8]. The Derby estate undertook major drainage work in 1808, cutting deep ditches through the ridge of limestone north of the marshy area, and on through Arnside Moss to the sands[9]. This drew down the local water table sufficiently to allow the drainage of Silverdale Moss that lay to the south. The Silverdale Manor Court co-operated by supervising the digging of a ditch alongside its own moss[10]. The moss was reclaimed and used for grazing. Drainage was subsequently further improved when new ditches were dug alongside the railway in the 1850s. The moss could then be fully reclaimed and used as productive farmland, though it was still, like the land reclaimed from Hilderstone moss, vulnerable to occasional flooding at times of high rainfall.

The moss drainage work looked at so far was, at least in part, initiated by the Derby estates which, without doubt, drew on experience of the value of similar but much larger-scale works further south in Lancashire. The last example of moss reclamation considered here, that of Leighton Moss, was an improvement made by a Lancaster businessman, the banker Alexander Worswick who had bought Leighton Hall and its land. Leighton Moss had formed through the silting up of a two-kilometre long inlet from Morecambe Bay. It was divided between three townships: Warton-with-Lindeth, Yealand Conyers and Yealand Redmayne.



The Division of Leighton Moss after Reclamation

Its peat had been dug for fuel since medieval times and by the end of the eighteenth century parts of the moss lay below the level of the highest tides. A plan of 1804 shows that by that date Mr Worswick had constructed a causeway across the middle of the moss and had dug some drainage dykes[11]. Even at this stage it was possible to make some use of the ground for crop growing. Dickson, writing in 1815, notes that Mr Worswick had cropped the moss with

> *'... oats, turnips, carrots, cabbage &c, but a great deal more drainage is requisite before they can be cultivated and consumed in such a manner as to be greatly beneficial in restoring the land to grass'*[12].

At this time the moss was still not secured against the highest tides, and in 1842 a high tide, backed up by a strong south to southwest wind, inundated it once more[13]. It was not until a much more substantial embankment had been built across the seaward end of the moss in 1845 that high tides could be kept out and serious reclamation could be started[14]. By that time the Gillows were in residence at Leighton Hall. Drainage dykes were dug and a pump was installed at Crag Foot to keep the water level down. To end the story, a new pump and tidal sluice were installed in 1890 or 1891, and the moss became locally famous for its excellent crops. But in 1918 pumping was stopped, presumably because of wartime shortages of fuel and labour, and the area became flooded again, fit only for wildfowl shooting[15].

Land Reclamation: The Keer Flood plain

Upstream from its constricted channel at the Keer Bridge between Carnforth and Warton, the river Keer has a very broad flood-plain (once an extensive inlet from the sea at a time of higher sea-level). The low gradient of the land has always made this a marshy area and even today it floods regularly in winter. Drainage on the north side of the river was for a long time complicated by the presence of the long millrace that brought water to the wheel of the mill at Keer Bridge. It was not until the mill and its millrace were closed that serious drainage improvements could be made. The exact date of closure is not known, but the mill is shown on Rennie's 1792 survey made for the construction of the Lancaster Canal[16], but does not appear on Greenwood's map of 1818. Earlier small-scale improvements to the drainage in the area had been recorded by Lucas writing in the early eighteenth century[17] and most of the land was in full agricultural use by the early nineteenth century. In 1818 the builders of the new turnpike road (the present A6) were confident enough about ground conditions to construct their road over the former marshy area, but it is perhaps significant that an earlier plan for the route of this road had opted for the old Keer crossing and then followed the firmer ground on glacial deposits east of Warton village[18]. The earliest reliable map of Carnforth, dated 1817[19], shows the

Keer very close to its present course. Rather than the flood plain being subjected to some overall plan for drainage, it seems that piecemeal improvements were made by individual farmers and landowners. For example, Richard Hodgson of Carnforth installed a stone drain on his land in the 1830s that he, much later, claimed had been damaged by the construction of the Lancaster-Carlisle railway[20].

Land Reclamation: The estuary salt marsh and the Kent sands

The River Kent, flowing through the sands of Morecambe Bay, frequently changes course, but not to any regular or predictable pattern. The river may spend several decades flowing close to one shore, during which time the strong in-flowing tidal currents and the weaker out-flowing currents lead to the accumulation of silt and clay on the opposite side of the estuary. In time a good grazing turf grows on the accumulated deposits and this has proved to be a valuable asset to the local farmers, who can leave stock on the salt marsh except when floods from the highest tides are expected. Such is the time-scale of changes in the Bay that a generation of farmers can become adjusted to this welcome bonus of grazing land before the Kent makes its relentless way back from the opposite shore, eroding away all that had been gained.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the possibility of taming the capricious Kent exercised the mind of John Jenkinson of Yealand Conyers He was a Quaker and a prosperous farmer, and his scheme was a forerunner of others that were put forward in the nineteenth century. He believed that if the Kent could be held to a course along one shore the natural accretion of tidal silts would build up the remaining undisturbed parts of the Bay until they were above the level of all but the highest tides, and then they would become readily vegetated. He was not suggesting a barrier across the mouth of the Bay, but simply a means of preventing the Kent from destroying what had been built up. His scheme was given wide publicity by the iron-master, Wilkinson of Castlehead (a reclaimer himself), and was reported by John Holt in1795[21]. As described by Holt, an embankment of stone and brushwood was to be built across the estuary near Dallam Tower, to guide the river to the east shore of the Bay. From there a cut was to be made above high-water mark to channel the river for eleven miles along the shore, eventually to empty its waters into the River Lune. The cost of the scheme was put at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and Mr Wilkinson offered to contribute one third of this if other gentlemen in the area would add the rest. There was opposition from those who had fisheries in the area and from lords of those manors that already claimed rights to the sands and fringing salt marsh. It must be said that the proposed earthworks appear to have been under-designed.

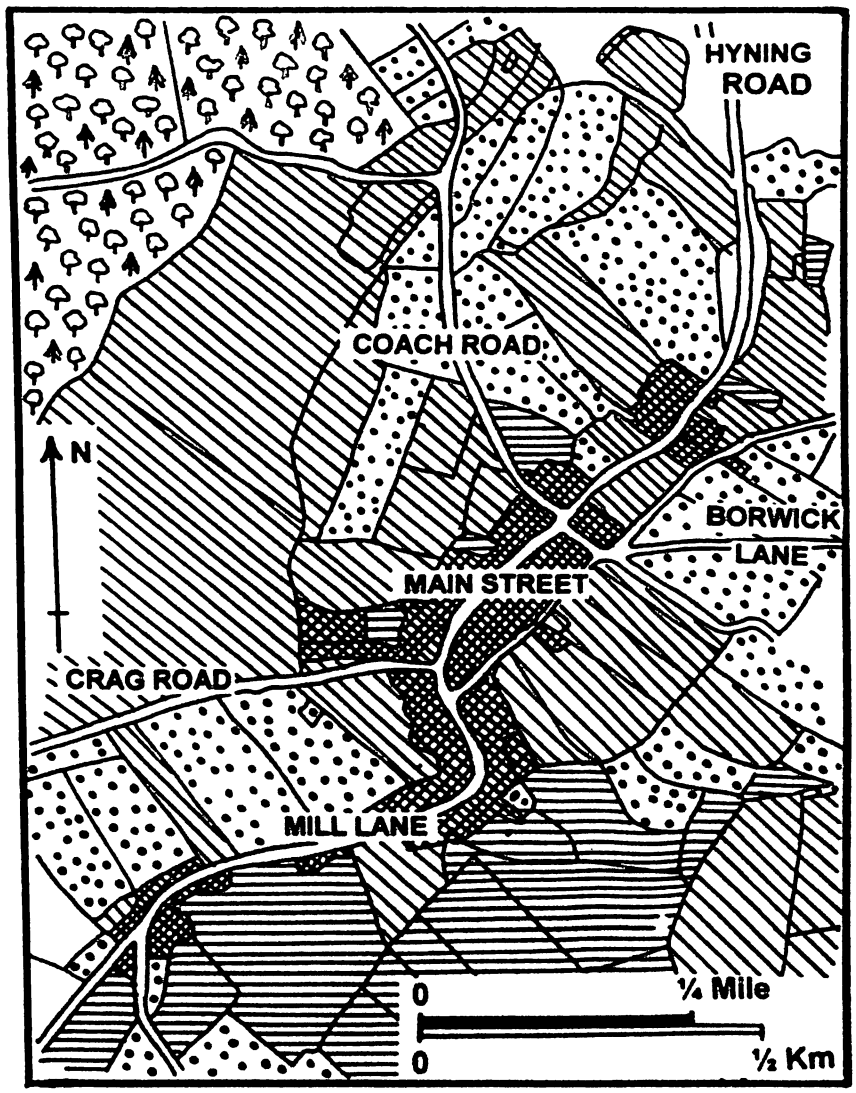
It was hoped that the Kent would remain within its eleven-mile long cut without rubble-protected banks. Robert Beaton, late of His Majesty's Corps of Royal Engineers, doubted whether enough sediment would accumulate to raise the level of the Bay as high as had been suggested by the Jenkinson-Wilkinson scheme[22]. In any case it transpired that no one was prepared to join Mr Wilkinson and the scheme never proceeded.

This was an age when expert advice was available based, directly or indirectly, on experience with schemes in the Low Countries. An example is Mr Dawson of Aldcliffe, Lancaster who, after a visit to Holland, won an award for reclaiming land from the Lune estuary in 1820[23]. His expertise in reclamation was applied to his Cotestone lands that flanked Morecambe Bay in Warton[24]. Cotestone farmland was later more fully protected when the railway to Arnside was constructed.

In 1837, following the suggestion that a rail link to Scotland should be made by following the coastal route, George Stephenson put forward a plan to take the southern section of this line actually across the Bay from Lancaster to Humphrey Head. A by-product of this scheme was to have been the reclamation of all the land east of the embankment. Even bolder was the plan suggested by John Hague in 1838. His scheme was to carry the railway on a ten-mile long embankment that would have run in a straight line from Poulton to Leonard Point, five miles south of Ulverston. It was expected that strongly in-flowing tidal currents would deposit silt upstream from the embankment and gradually raise the level of the sediments so that some 46,000 acres of new farmland could eventually be gained. The potential fertility of the reclaimed land had been proven by James Stockdale, who owned reclaimed land south of Flookburgh. In a letter to the *Lancaster Guardian* he described experiments carried out on samples of sand and silt dug from the shore and placed in pits excavated in his garden in Cark. When thickly sown with hayseeds these beds produced healthy vegetation, so proving that the salt content of the sediments would not seriously inhibit growth. Had either of these schemes been put into effect a large area of the Kent Sands that lies within Warton parish would now be fertile farmland[25]. The scheme that came closest to fruition was only initiated much later in the nineteenth century and does not fall within the remit of this book.

Land Improvement: The Parish Arable Land

The most potentially productive agricultural land in the parish is that formed by the glacial deposits and, in particular, the broad swathe of arable land that covers most of Carnforth and extends north to Warton Crag and along the eastflank of Cringlebarrow as far as the peat-mosses. This undulating ground is

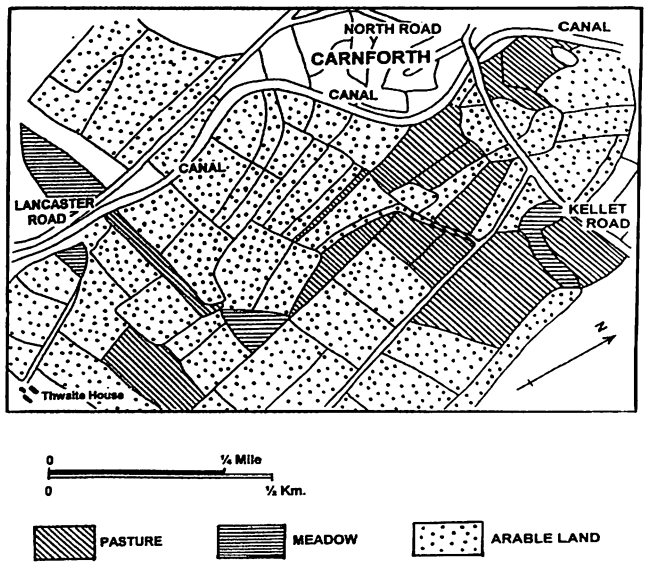


The distribution of various uses of land around Warton Village.
Based on the 1845 Tithe Book

part of the glacial *'drumlin field'* that extends from Kendal in the north right down to Heysham and into the Irish Sea. Although this ground is now almost entirely grassland it formed the main ploughland in the area from the earliest times through to the early twentieth century.

The glacial deposits of clayey, silty *'sand-with-gravel'* give a generally well-drained soil. The principal obstacle to efficient cultivation is the stony and bouldery nature of the ground. In other parts of the parish, such as the Yealands and Silverdale, thinner glacial deposits, sometimes accompanied by down-washed silts, formed the best ground for ploughing.

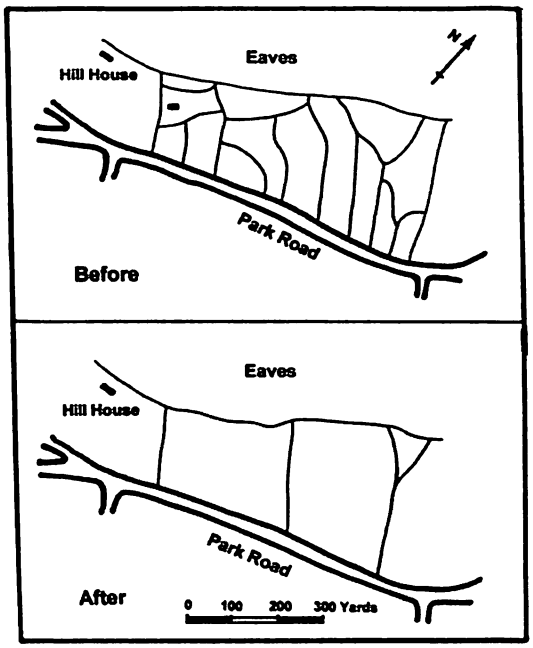
In medieval times an open-field system of agriculture was practised. The arable areas were unfenced, and the land was divided into narrow strips that were allocated to the manorial tenants. The remnants of the open fields still existed in the eighteenth century. Some were recorded, in general terms, in Carnforth at the beginning of the century by Lucas[26], but by the end of the century they had all been enclosed by hedges or walls.



The proportion of arable land was even higher in areas such as this former open field in Carnforth

The last recorded remnant of open field in the parish, about 17 acres in Yealand Redmayne near the present line of the A6 road, was enclosed in 1778 as part of the Yealand Enclosure Award.

Not only were the old arablelands completely enclosed by 1800, but also the process of amalgamation of adjoining farms and enlargement of fields was well under way. It is difficult to find well-documented examples of this change in the absence of contemporary plans. In Silverdale a group of small farms at the northern edge of the village, recorded in a survey of 1562, was bought, mainly by the Fryer family. Much later they were amalgamated into one large property, the Hill House estate. The estate was bought by Robert Inman at the start of the nineteenth century and the changes he made can be traced by comparing the Enclosure Award plan of1817 with the tithe plan of 1846



Removal of Walls

Several small fields that lay north of Chapel Lane were replaced by the two large fields that have survived into the twenty-first century. The larger of these, that nearer to Hill House, was named The Park; evidence of the Inman ambition to return to the landed gentry status that the family had given up two generations earlier. The elimination of walls and hedges to create much larger fields was seen as one of the agricultural improvements necessary to transform farming in Lancashire[27].

Land Improvement: The Limestone Pasturelands

Large parts of the parish are formed of hard limestone that is covered with a very thin soil layer, or is even bare of any soil. These hilly areas are often craggy,

or contain large expanses of limestone pavement. They are predominantly situated around Silverdale and northeast of Warton and include hills such as Warton Crag and Cringlebarrow. In medieval times this *'manorial waste'* was thickly wooded and so provided an important source of wood and timber, as well as nuts, berries and game. It was also used as a grazing area for cattle and sheep in the growing season when the livestock had to be excluded from the arable land. By the eighteenth century these rough-grazing areas were heavily overstocked. The tree-cover had virtually disappeared and the manor courts were busy with disputes over the numbers of animals permitted on the commons, the quality of the breeding animals and the need to keep boundary fences and gates maintained. The more ambitious farmers felt that they could make no progress with improving their stock while they had to share this unfenced common-land pasture with *'scabbed'* and inferior animals owned by the less particular husbandmen.

The solution sought by those who wished to improve livestock and productivity was the enclosure of the common lands. Carnforth, Priest Hutton and Borwick had had *reasonably* good agricultural land, and very little common land remained because of the processes of piecemeal enclosure that had taken place from medieval times until the eighteenth century. By contrast the Yealands, Warton-with-Lindeth and Silverdale had large areas of intractable, craggy limestone used for rough grazing that was still open common land in the eighteenth century. The two Yealand townships were the first in the parish to adopt parliamentary enclosure, when they acted together in 1778 to obtain such a private act. The major part of their common-lands lay in the northern part of Yealand Redmayne but a large part of this common had already been unilaterally enclosed by the Middletons of Leighton Hall in the seventeenth century, much to the annoyance of the commoners[28]. Smaller areas of open Yealand common land lay between Leighton Park and the Yealand villages and in a belt around the south side of the Leighton estate.

The procedure for parliamentary enclosure everywhere followed a set pattern, and was initiated by those who felt that they had most to gain – the larger landowners. In Warton-with-Lindeth and Silverdale these included John Bolden, Thomas Strickland Standish and Robert Inman. After a private act had been obtained commissioners would be appointed to hear claims on the common land; not only claims to the land, but also claims to passage across the land, access to water, rights of way and the right to dig stone. The commons were legally owned by the lord of the manor[29]. Those who rented the largest acreage of land from the lord of the manor were entitled to graze the largest number of animals on the open common. It followed that when the commons

were divided up the allocations would be in proportion to the size of the existing tenancy, so that the largest manorial tenants received the largest share of the common land for their private use.

However, before the allocation of land could proceed, the commissioners had to decide on the layout of routes; old routes over the former common land, roads that would give access to newly allocated enclosures, and various tracks and access paths. Road widths had to be specified, varying typically from 30 feet for the main routes to other townships down to 12 feet for small access roads. Public watering places had to be designated and the land thus specified became township property and remains so to this day. The designation of public watering places was especially important in the limestone areas, which are generally very short of water for livestock. The commissioners also had to ensure that access routes to the watering places remained open. Small areas of the former commons were designated as public quarries. This was partly to satisfy the old rights of the commoners to supplies of stone from the common, but also to provide the large quantities of stone that would be required to make the walls which were to divide up the common-land between new owners, for it was specified in all awards that the newly allocated land was to be walled, or fenced off in some way, within a few months of the award being made.

These were the processes used for the Yealand enclosure in 1778, the Silverdale enclosure and the Warton-with-Lindeth enclosure, both in 1817. In each case the enclosure process brought with it the first accurate surveys of land in the parish and for the first time parts of the townships were drawn as plans on paper. Also the land was consistently measured in statute acres instead of customary acres. Plans of the newly allocated land and the accompanying roads were drawn out in an office and the straight lines on the plans then set out on the ground (or as straight as possible, bearing in mind local difficulties with topography). Plans were convenient to work from. They were also useful when making accurate measurements of the lengths of boundaries when large quantities of new hedging and walling had to be paid for.

The Effects of Land Improvement and Reclamation

The drainage measures promoted through the Derby estates on the mosses at Yealand and Silverdale provided a considerable area of improved grazing land. Even more impressive was the farmland created from Leighton Moss by the Worswicks and the Gillows. The more piecemeal approach in the Keer valley also provided grazing areas, as well as making the area more amenable to the road and railway building that took place in the nineteenth century. Yet the most striking improvement to local agricultural productivity came through the enclosure of the common lands. Allocation of the common land to individuals

meant that each owner could control the intensity of grazing on his land and so was encouraged to take more care to keep it in good heart. Some of the former common land was, moreover, used for arable crops. Large areas of the old commons were planted by the new owners with coppiced woodland and plantations that eventually made a very significant difference to the appearance of the local landscape. Some owners laid out ornamental grounds on former common land, but most of the planting was intended as a commercial crop, undoubtedly a sensible use of the thin-soiled limestone uplands, and a practice that had been already used on the upland areas of the Leighton estate.

There is no firm information on whether agricultural *'improvements'* in the parish were a gain to the whole population, or whether the poorer people were losers. During the enclosure of the commons all manorial tenants were allocated some land in compensation for losing rights to common land grazing. Some of these plots were quite small (for example those alongside Coach Road in Warton) and these very small holdings were perhaps a poor substitute for grazing rights where it had probably always been possible to stretch the rules by putting more animals on the common than the official share of grazing allowed. Perhaps, too, some tenants who were not so financially stretched may have put out fewer animals than their entitlement, and may not have minded the less well-off taking more. Such easy relationships may well have become strained when the walls appeared and rigid allocations of land were made.

From the perspective of the early 21st century, when the production of food from the parish's admittedly second-class farmland is no longer considered an urgent need, some would regret that many of the nineteenth century *'improvements'* ever took place. To-day's demand for diversity of habitats ensures that the once productive land of Leighton Moss is maintained as a wetland area, and the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds intends to create new wetlands by allowing Barrow Scout Fields and Silverdale Moss to revert to marsh[30]. Some would even regret the loss of the old open common lands, which would now further diversify the attractive landscape.

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Chapter Three

FARMING:
Farms and those who worked on them.

An attempt was made in the previous chapters to show how the ownership of the land changed and to describe the attempts to improve the land for agricultural use. This chapter describes how the land was managed: how large the farms were, who ran them, who worked the land and how this farm workforce was recruited. It is important to bear in mind that Warton parish is dominated by thinly-soiled stony ground, limestones or sandstones, and that potential arable land is limited to relatively small areas of glacial and river deposits. Consequently Warton's agriculture has always been biased towards stock raising. The first accurate measurement of the area of arable land was made in 1846 for the Tithe Award. This showed that at that time one-third of the total area of farmland was arable.

Farm size

Farms were seldom large (though exact information on farm size in Warton parish at the start of the nineteenth century is limited). There are the Land Tax records, but these tell us only about the size of the total landholding of each owner, and not how those holdings were divided up into individual farms. Dickson, whose agricultural commentary was written at the start of the nineteenth, states that in the northernmost part of Lancashire the farms were small, with half the land divided into farms ranging in size from 8 to 100 acres, and only one-sixth in farms of 200 to 300 acres[1]. The Land Tax data for the parish of Warton over the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, as noted in the previous chapter, suggest that some of the smaller and medium-sized landholdings were, however, being amalgamated into larger units. This conclusion is substantiated by the accurate data presented in the Tithe Award of 1846. This shows that, in 1846, only just over a quarter of the land area was in farms of less than 100 acres each. A further quarter, or a little more, was in farms of 100 to 200 acres, leaving about 45 per cent in farms over 200 acres in size. The largest farm in Warton-with-Lindeth township was Dawson's farm at Cotestones (355 acres), followed by William Barrett's Warton Hall farm. (205 acres).

New and Rebuilt Farms

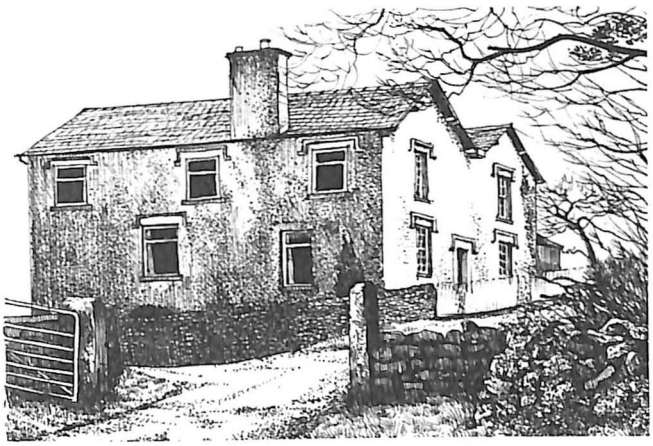
The land improvements described in the previous chapter resulted in more efficient use of the former commonlands and in the formation of new farmland

from some of the peat mosses. In general the enclosure of the commonlands had little effect on the location and provision of farm buildings. The newly enclosed land was allocated to the nearest existing farm, usually the farm which had used the same land when it had been open common. In Lindeth, however, the newly enclosed lands around Hollins Lane were farmed from a newly built farm, Hill Top. Later this became part of the Hazelwood estate. When room had to be made for Hazelwood Hall to be built, the old farmhouse and buildings were reconstructed on the west side of Hollins Lane, where they still stand.

Hazelwood Hall. Lindeth.

Although the enclosure of the commonlands did not have a great impact on farm location and farm provision, matters were quite different when Leighton Moss was reclaimed in the 1840s. This was by far the largest land-use change in the parish. Entirely new farmland was created and with it new farms. The Tithe Award of 1846 gives a detailed picture of the way the reclaimed land was divided between various farms. By far the largest part of the old moss land - just over 100 acres at the western end - was farmed from the new Moss Farm at Crag Foot. The field size chosen for this new development of arable land varied from 4 to 9 acres. In 1846 the farm was tenanted by Anthony Hilton, who also farmed another 150 acres or so of hilly limestone pastureland (like the land of Leighton Moss this was part of the Gillow possessions). Forty acres of the northern side of the moss were farmed by another tenant of the Gillows, Thomas Wilson. He worked from the newly built Myers Farm, which also had adjoining limestone pastureland, part of the former Silverdale commonland.

A third portion of the moss was farmed from Grisedale farm.



Grisedale Farm

Richard Gillow himself looked after the remaining 26 acres that lay nearest to Leighton Hall. All the farms were able to practice mixed farming, with stock on the pastures producing manure for the arable of the moss.

Though not many new farms were built in the early part of the nineteenth century several farms were rebuilt. William Waithman, wealthy from his flax processing factory at Holme, owned Brackenthwaite farm that a newspaper article described, towards the end of his time of ownership, as *'rebuilt'*[2].

Brackenthwaite Farm

The distinctly Georgian style of the farmhouse at Lower Hyning suggests a rebuilding date around 1800. Bottoms Farm in Silverdale was rebuilt in the early 1800s. Both Hyning and Bottoms had owners whose wealth originated from commerce. Profits from farming in Warton were not likely to provide enough funds for investment on this scale.

Owners and Tenants

In Warton-with-Lindeth the Land Tax returns tell us that from 1800 to 1830 about half the owners rented out their land. The returns also show that there was a fall in the number of the largest landowners occupying their own land and at the same time a slight rise in the number of small landowners occupying their own land. In 1800 as many as five of the ten largest landowners had occupied their own land (though, in fact, some of these probably divided their time between Lancaster and Warton). The proportion had declined markedly by 1830. Out of the ten largest landowners, only one lived on his own land. This was Mr Bolden who was closely involved with his estate and the farm, at Hyning.

In Yealand Conyers, by contrast, the number of the largest landowners occupying their own estates rose considerably from 1810 to 1830, as did the number of owners of the smaller plots. Yet in Silverdale the percentage of those occupying their own land fell from 70 per cent to around 50 per cent. over the same period. Included in the number of those occupying their own land are owners such as Robert Inman who lived part of his time in Lancaster, where he had a timber business and also owned ships, and part at Hill House in Silverdale. There he supervised the running of that estate very closely. His notebooks reveal that he was not only concerned with the day-to-day running of the farmlands, but also with wall-building and tree-planting on the land that had recently been allocated to him by the Enclosure Award[3].

The Complex Pattern of Ownership and Leaseholding

The detailed information in the Tithe Award gives a glimpse of the complex pattern of ownership and farm rentals in the nineteenth century. Much of this complexity arose from the very scattered landholdings that had resulted from the original medieval strip-holdings. Subsequent efforts to amalgamate holdings into more conveniently concentrated farms had varying degrees of success. Much depended on the persuasiveness of the financial offers. In this respect it is again tempting to see the influence of Lancaster wealth at work. At Hyning, for example, a compact estate based on a medieval demesne was assembled over a number of years by Mr Sanderson, a businessman of Lancaster. This was later acquired by Mr Bolden, who also had wealth from an external source. In contrast, there are the scattered land-holdings of the Whormby family,

old-established yeoman farmers in Warton. They had limited means to generate wealth, since they relied on farming. Consequently they had little surplus to spare for land acquisition. Detailed information in the Tithe Award shows that not only was the ownership pattern complex, but also that a large proportion of owners, including even large landowners, also held leasehold land. William Whormby had much land of his own, but also leased land from the Mason estate. Mary Whormby owned land, but rented more from Dorothy Collyers.

Tenancy Agreements

When a farm was rented out there was inevitably a strong temptation for the landlord to set out very restrictive conditions in the tenancy agreement. The effect of these could be that the tenant farmer was simply expected to carry out the running of the farm under the close scrutiny of the owner. This tendency was deplored by agricultural commentators of the time such as Beesley. He thought it could strangle much of the enterprise and initiative of the tenant, especially if the strict terms went with a short-term lease[4]. A desirable element of innovation and experimentation could easily be snuffed out, especially when reinforced by the innate conservatism of many of the smaller tenant farmers.

Lease constrictions were especially likely to stifle experimentation with new or different crops, and so prevent progress in agricultural practice. The lease taken up in 1805 for the Greenfold Estate in Yealand Redmayne by Roger Redhead, husbandman, from the trustees and executors of the late Thomas Rawlinson is a local example. The farm lay at the north end of the village and comprised just over 29 acres of arable and pasture, plus some parcels of moss-land. The lease was to run for seven years from February 1806 for the land, and from May 1806 for the dwelling house and buildings. It specified that certain closes must not be ploughed and certain other closes must be sown with barley and grass seed in the first year. In the last year most of the arable land must be sown with barley. The lessors were entitled to all the timber, wood, plantations and under-wood on the estate.

They could enter the land at any time to cut down and remove any wood or to *'coal'* it (that is, produce charcoal on site). They were also entitled to enter the premises

> *'... to Hawk, Hunt and chase all manner of game, fish, rabbits and wild fowl in and upon the same premises and the same when caught and killed to carry away and dispose of to their own use'*

(this was presumably a standard legal formula since there cannot have been any fish to catch on the Greenfold estate). Tilling, manuring and husbanding had to

be carried out to the satisfaction of the lessors, on penalty of twenty pounds for every acre not farmed in accordance with the instructions[5]. Many of these provisions, while they tended to stifle initiative were, from the point of view of the landowners, sensible precautions against misuse of the land that would ensure that it was in good heart for the next tenant.

Probably the most irksome clauses in the agreement were those concerning the disposal of wood and timber and the restrictions on shooting. Beesley, writing in 1849, said that the preservation of such large amounts of game by this type of lease was, in his view, a remnant of the forest laws and a *'disgrace'*[6]. For a farmer struggling to achieve good yields from his crops it was particularly galling to have to suffer the depredations of game, especially rabbits. In fact the question of rabbit control was so contentious that the law was later changed by the introduction of the Ground Game Act of 1882, which gave a tenant the right to kill hares and rabbits that were feeding on his crops. Shooting parties, which were an important part of the social life of the landowners, were, of necessity, often held on tenanted land. The tenant, perhaps, sometimes welcomed them since they brought him into contact with the local people of influence, and there were often perks in the shape of a share in the day's bag.

The Farm Workforce

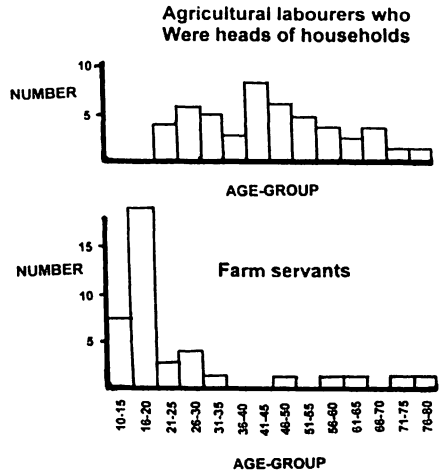
When landowners rented out one of their farms it was essential, from their point of view, to appoint a good tenant to run it in the way they thought best for the land. As has been seen they could put tight controls on tenants by the term of the leases and by offering leases of such short duration that they could always feel that even if a tenant was not performing as they wished, he could be changed within a few years before too much damage was done. It seems that tenant farmers moved about a good deal from farm to farm. In the 1851 census there were more tenant farmers who had come into Warton parish from quite a wide area outside than had been born in the parish itself. In Warton township three of the tenant farmers had been born locally (in Warton, Priest Hutton and Yealand respectively), but the other five were drawn mainly from some miles further south in Lancashire (Bare, Scotforth, Heysham and Wray). In addition there was one who came from Westmorland (Grayrigg). In Silverdale two tenant farmers hailed from Westmorland (Hutton and Underbarrow), one from Garstang (recruited by the Gillows for Myers Farm) and one, Michael Middleton of Bank House farm, from Durham. No tenant farmer had been born in Silverdale.

Farming Families and Agricultural Labourers

On the smallest farms - those of 10 to 50 acres in size - it was often possible for an owner-farmer or tenant-farmer, with the considerable support of his wife

and family, to work the land with minimal outside help. The 1851 census lists 63 farming relatives aged over 12 who were working on the family farm, or listed as *'farmer's sons'* (and therefore most likely to have been helping on the farm). However, farming in the early nineteenth century was very labour-intensive and the larger farms required a workforce of additional labourers. These came in two main categories: those living on the farm where they worked and those living elsewhere.

The farm workers who lived on the farm took part of their pay in the form of accommodation and food. In the 1851 census living-in workers are sometimes listed as Farm Servants and sometimes simply as Agricultural Labourers. The instructions given to enumerators in 1851 were that workers sleeping in the farmer's house were to be entered as *'farm servant'* and *'an out-door labourer working on a farm'* was to be entered as an *'agricultural labourer'*, which does not seem to leave room for the agricultural labourers in Warton parish entered as part of the farmer's household. It may be that those called farm servants slept and ate in the farm-house and those called agricultural labourers were lodged in out-houses and farm buildings, an arrangement known to have existed. There is however no way of confirming this from the census returns for Warton parish. In the following discussion of farm workers all those, however described, entered as part of the farmer's household are considered together as *'living-in servants'*, in contradistinction to those entered as part of a separate household. Probably many lived in tied cottages that would, like accommodation in the farmhouse, have been a boost to their wages. Again the census does not give this information.



The top part of the chart represents the number of workers who are classed as *'not living in.'*. The second group are those classed as *'living in.'*

In the 1851 census there are 106 agricultural workers listed as living-in (56 as *'farm servants'* and 50 otherwise described). Although they are of every age from 11 to their early seventies, by far the largest number are young (more than 80 per cent are 25 or less). Clearly these young men were cheap labour, though some may have hoped to gain experience and may have had ambitions to manage their own farm some day.

In Warton-with-Lindeth over half of the young men who were employed as living-in servants had been born in Warton parish and a quarter of these came from the township of Warton itself. Others came from near-by parishes in north Lancashire or from just over the county boundary in Westmorland. A few may have found their placing through local family connections, but others would have used the local hiring fairs whose nature and function is described below. For many, probably most, each spell of work on a local farm would only lead to further employment on the same or another farm. The Warton enumerators, like those elsewhere, mostly ignored the instruction to enter also the type of farm work undertaken, such as shepherd, ploughman, carter, dairyman or other title, so that there is no way of knowing whether the older workers were employed in increasingly skilled tasks. For the young boys, employment at any level must at least have served to relieved the pressure on accommodation and resources at home.

In 1851 the number of agricultural workers in the parish, who lived in accommodation other than on the farm (*'not living in'*) where they worked, exactly equalled the number who *'lived-in'* on the farm. The age distribution was much wider among those living out. Only 20 per cent were under the age of 26, but above that age the numbers were spread very evenly up to the age of 65. Most of these out-workers were married men with families. A few had sons living at home who were also agricultural labourers. In Warton township many of them rented cottages in Main Street. Their birthplaces were more widespread than those of the farm workers who lived-in on the farms. Of the twenty or so agricultural labourers living-out in Warton, eight had been born in the township, but the others were from Heysham, Ellel, Overton in Lancashire, or from Westmorland. Two were from Yorkshire (Slaidburn and Middleton). The proportion of the farm workforce living-out was particularly high in Silverdale at 80 per cent of the work force. Silverdale always seems to have been unlike the other townships, a matter that would bear further investigation, but the reason for this particular difference is not known.

Comparison of the age-structure of living-in and living-out farm workers shows a disproportionate number of young people among those living-in. Even allowing for a quickly growing population the numbers are extremely high. In

fact the local population was not increasing markedly and there was evidently no guaranteed progression to independent accommodation and continued employment after marriage. There was, after all, only a finite amount of work needed to run Warton's farms and the conclusion must be that youths were being pulled in by the larger local farmers as a convenient source of cheap labour. Some of the young men would at least be given time to consider employment in other occupations as the scope increased with diversification of employment in the parish.

As to the hope that some might have of progressing to farming for themselves, this seems to have been an almost unattainable dream unless the position was derived from a parent or other relative, by inheritance or by the exertion of some kind of influence. Jonathan Binns, writing in 1851, mentions the case of Henry Wildman, a labourer with Mr Jackson of Borwick Hall farm, who advanced himself and eventually owned 100 acres. This appears to have been quite exceptional, and Binns notes that Wildman was helped financially at the start[7]. In the Tithe Award for Borwick Wildman is shown as the tenant of Mansergh farm, which was run by the Mansergh Charity. Another example of a labourer advancing himself is Michael Garmick of Kellet, in a neighbouring parish[8]. The special attention given to these two among the hundreds who worked in Warton and Kellet is an indication of the extreme rarity of such individuals. Common sense tells us that the farm servant and the agricultural labourer must have been insecure in their employment, given that the system of hiring workers through Hiring Fairs meant that each engagement was for six months only. In the 1851 census, two elderly men in the almshouses both listed themselves as *'Almsman and Agricultural Labourer'*, while Richard Crayston has the description *'No occupation. Agricultural Labourer'* as if the enumerator had written the first in the return, and then learnt that Richard still sometimes did a bit of work for one of the local farmers.

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2 *Lancaster Gazette*, May 19th, 1855.
3 Lancaster Library, MS 3749*Account Book of Robert Inman*, (Accounts for 1813),
4 Beesley *Report on the State of Agriculture in Lancashire* (1849), pp. 42-44 & 65-66.
5 Lancaster Public Library, MS 543 *'Lease of Greenfold Estate, 1805'*
6 Beesley 1849 ibid. pp.45, 46.
7 Jonathan Binns *Notes on the Agriculture of Lancashire with Suggestions for its Improvement* (Preston 1851) p.35.
8 R.D.Escolme, *Times of Struggle and Strife* (Mayoh Press, Carnforth, 2003) pp.89-90.

Chapter Four

NEW WAYS ON THE FARM
Potatoes, Shorthorns and Threshing Machines.

In 1815 Dickson, an agriculturalist of the time, noted that the coastal land north of Lancaster, including Warton, was particularly well suited to growing cereals. The most widely grown cereal there in his day was oats, just as it had been in previous centuries. There was hardly any rye grown, and much less barley than there had been. The common white oat, the potato oat, the black or the blea oat were sown broadcast in late March, April or early May and reaped in late August or September. **(Photograph on Left)**

Sower

Some oats were used to feed horses, but most formed the staple diet of the local population. Wheat was, however, also widely grown, much more than it had been in the seventeenth century. White or red Lammas varieties of wheat were used and sown broadcast about three to three and a half Winchester bushels to the customary acre and then harrowed in. Winter wheat was sown from September to October and spring wheat in early March. The seed was steeped in strong lye, or in brine, with quicklime in powder form, in order to combat fungal diseases. The harvesting in August or early September generally yielded about 25 bushels to the customary acre, which is equivalent to 18 bushels to the statute acre. This compares reasonably well with the estimated early nineteenth century average yield of 20 to 21 bushels to the statute acre[1]. The yield can be contrasted with the very poor yields of 6 to 8 bushels in the difficult conditions of the thirteenth century[2] at one extreme and the late nineteenth century yields that commonly reached 40 to 60 bushels per acre in England.

Dickson felt that much more could have been achieved locally with vegetable crops, which had become neglected[3]. Broad beans had, historically, been an important crop in Warton parish, but were grown in smaller amounts by the nineteenth century, even though the ground was well suited to them.

Most of the beans grown locally were the common horse bean, but there were also small-seeded tick beans, which were said to be easier to sell. They were sown broadcast in early March and harvested with sickles (or occasionally with scythes) in late September.

The peas most often grown were grey or hog peas, but on the limestone soils white or boiling peas for human consumption did well. Cabbages and carrots were not widely grown in the early nineteenth century. Mr Worswick of Leighton Hall had tried both on his partially reclaimed land at Leighton Moss. Dickson saw some of the resulting carrots, and was not impressed. The carrots were rather thick for the top five to six inches and much forked below because the ground had not, he thought, been cultivated deeply enough. Cabbages tended to be grown for home use by cottagers and farmers. Potatoes, such as the dun and pink-eye, were widely grown and quite well managed, Dickson thought. A potato market was set up in Lancaster in about 1800, evidence of the increasing importance of that vegetable. At first, potatoes were widely used as animal fodder[4]. In Silverdale, Thomas Inman was growing potatoes in 1815. Turnips, a relatively new crop, were still not much grown. Swedes could be found only occasionally. Inman was growing turnips as well as potatoes[5], but the local lack of interest in new ideas in farming is signalled by the small quantities of turnips and swedes grown generally. Red clover was extensively grown and could give very good crops of hay for horse-feed, with the second growth used for grazing.

Scythe in use as in Early 19th Century.

When Dale Grove near Tewitfield was advertised to let in 1831 its 80 acre estate included:

> *'two improved allotments in Warton, well fenced and watered, about 13 acres laid down with lucerne.*[6]

The cultivation of hemp and flax, at one time so important in Warton parish, had declined greatly by the start of the nineteenth century. The national

decline in their cultivation caused some consternation in government circles in view of their importance for equipping ships with sail and cordage. During the wars with France imported supplies were vulnerable to attacks by privateers.

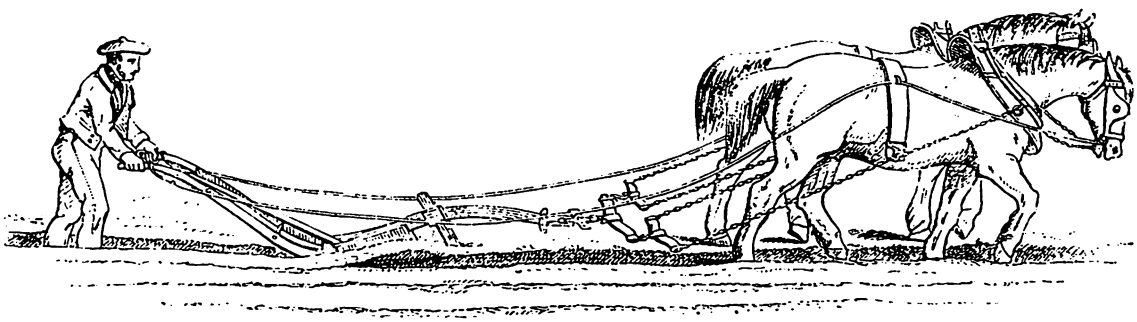
Farming Methods and Machinery.

Dickson was critical of many other farming methods used in the area in the early years of the nineteenth century. Fallowing of land was still common, especially as a preparation for wheat or barley. This was a practice used for centuries to control weeds; no crop was sown in the fallow year, weeds sprang up naturally and were killed (at any rate that was the theory) by repeated ploughing. The more times the land was ploughed the greater chance there was of killing weeds before they had seeded. Fallowing technique in Lancashire north of the Lune was one of the practices Dickson criticised. He thought that

Plough 1801

fallowing was often used on soils that did not need it and, when it was carried out, it was often badly done[7]. He was also critical of the complex crop rotations used in the Warton, Borwick and Yealand areas[8].

The introduction of light and improved ploughs, such as the Northumberland plough and the Rotherham plough, made ploughing much more efficient.



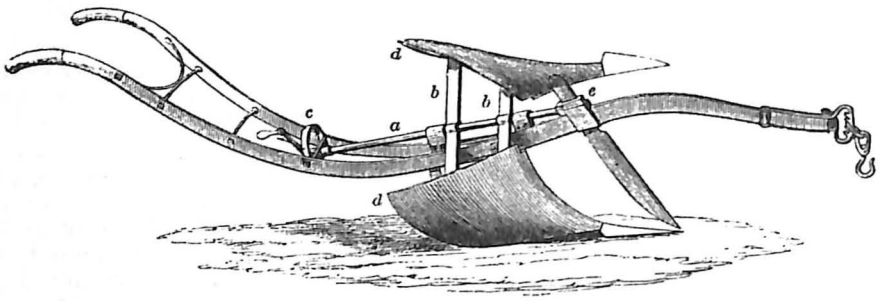
Scottish Plough

The use of oxen had become rare by the early nineteenth century in Lancashire. Horse ploughing became the traditional method of ploughing from the last decades of the eighteenth century on. The new ploughs required only a two- or three-horse team whereas the old ploughs had required either oxen or up to five horses. Nevertheless, even with an improved plough, a strong team was needed if weeds had got a firm hold. Dickson had seen four-horse teams struggling to plough heavily weed-infested land at Slyne and Bolton-le-Sands[9]. On the thinner, lighter, drier soils around Carnforth and Warton it was sometimes possible to manage with two horses, yoked double, though often three were needed, a double-yoked pair plus one leader led by a boy.

In an attempt to improve standards, ploughing matches were introduced. In 1830 a typical one was held in a field belonging to Mr T. Jackson of Borwick Hall:

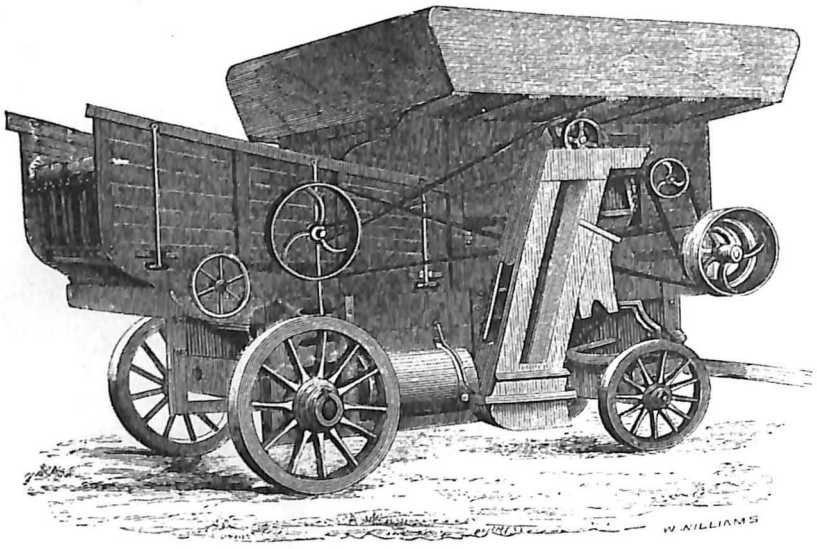
> *'There were 17 competitors, 15 men and 2 boys, who each had half a statute acre allotted... the whole was finished... in little more than 3 and a quarter hours'.* Prizes were from 12/6 to £2[10].

For a competition held in *'Nineteen Acres'* in Yealand Redmayne the prize was a silver medal. The winner was not allowed to compete again for five years[11]. Local gentry such as George Wilson of Dallam Tower and George Marton of Capernwray and well-known farmers such as Thomas Jackson of Borwick Hall showed great interest in these events. Ploughing matches continued through the nineteenth century[12] though apparently becoming less newsworthy as time went on.



Wilson's Turnwrest Plough.

The matches not only helped to improve standards, but also encouraged local smiths to produce better ploughs, for which separate awards could be given[13]. At a ploughing match at Tewitfield the winner used a plough made by Robert Wilson of Warton who *'...has gained great celebrity in that art, having made many for Australia and New Zealand'*.[14]



Garrett's portable combined thrashing-machine in perspective.

Farm sales reported in the local papers show that more farming machinery was gradually being acquired by the parish's farmers. In 1817 what must have been one of the earliest threshing machines was being sold at Uphall farm in Priest Hutton[15]. Others are noted later as at Dykes farm in Yealand Redmayne in

1841[16]; at Borwick Hall in 1855 and at Brackenthwaite farm in the same year[17]. A threshing machine costing twenty-eight pounds was exhibited at Kendal Show in 1854[18].

Turnip cultivating machines such as turnip drills and turnip cutters were common after mid-century. In 1851 a child of Mr Walling of Borwick had its hand caught in a turnip cutter at Capernwray Old Hall and was taken to hospital[19]. In 1851 there was a trial of a McCormick American reaper on a farm near Kendal[20]. This was not very successful as the machine had to contend not only with hillside slopes, but also with the complications of ridge and furrow, that is the man-made undulations caused by ancient cultivation or more recent drainage works. The sale at Borwick Hall in 1855 included a reaping machine[21]. In 1866 the Royal North Lancashire Agricultural Society reported on trials of a mowing machine[22].

At the start of the century almost all seed was sown broadcast, making it impossible to use machinery to remove weeds from between the growing plants. It was taken for granted that the growing crop would be chock full of weeds, especially where fallowing had not been done correctly. Most of the grain crops were weeded by hand, the more deeply rooted weeds being pulled using a type of forceps made from wood or iron. This instrument was presumably a descendant of the weeding tongs described by Lucas nearly one hundred years earlier[23].

Manure and Fertilizer.

At the start of the century the lack of imported or artificial fertilizer meant that the parish had to follow traditional manuring practices. With its mix of arable and grazing land the parish could use its livestock to provide manure for the arable land and feed the livestock on the grassland grazing, supplemented by hay and by crops grown on part of the arable. Animal manure was valuable, and it may be assumed that human waste from the privies was mixed with it and so scattered over fields and gardens. The parish was not near enough to any large industrial towns to benefit from the *'night-soil'* which could be collected regularly and brought to the farmland, as happened at Chat Moss and similar areas in the south of the county.

Lime was an important improver on reclaimed peatlands, but even on some of the limestone areas there were thin acid soils that could benefit from this treatment. Robert Inman's notebooks, dated about 1815, record many purchases of lime for his newly acquired Hill House estate[24]. At Silverdale and along the coast to the south, farmers used to dig sea sand to spread on their land. Eighty to four hundred cartloads would be spread on each

customary acre according to Dickson[25]. Presumably as well as conditioning the soil the high organic content of the estuary silt (including shellfish) would act as a nutrient.

Imports of Peruvian Guano started to arrive in Britain in the 1820's[26]. A cargo of guano is known to have been brought to the port of Lancaster on board the *'Caledonia'* that docked at St George's Quay at the beginning of 1845[27]. It came from *'Ichabod'* (presumably one of the island sources off the coast of peru). Ichabod must already have been a well-known source since just three months earlier the same paper had carried an article rejoicing in the discovery of a new source of guano in the Record Islands and saying how important the discovery was:

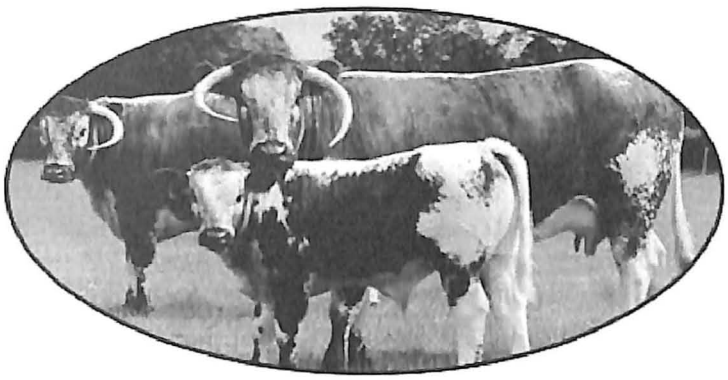
> *'when we recollect that Ichabod is getting exhausted and that there are only about 90,000 tons there to be shipped'.*[28]

A letter to Mr. Bolden of Hyning, commending guano, was published in 1859[29]. *'Abattoir guano'* from Manchester was advertised in 1856. It was very much a substitute for the real thing, consisting of *'bones, blood, flesh, fish etc'* and was said to be suitable for turnips and root crops[30]. A similar product from the Lancaster slaughterhouse was advertised in 1879[31].

Livestock: Cattle.

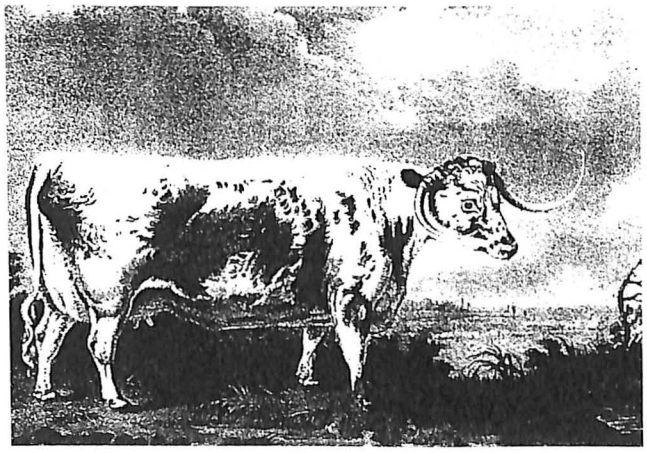
Cattle rearing and dairy farming have formed an important part of Warton's agriculture through the centuries. Cattle provided a wide range of useful foodstuffs and other products - milk, butter, cheese and beef, but also hides and tallow, and horn for household implements and containers. Oxen could be used as draught animals, though as has been said their use was much diminished by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The parish contained large areas of thin-soiled limestone pasture. These could not be ploughed, but provided excellent grazing. Scattered tree cover, the remnants of former woodlands, could provide winter fodder in the form of foliage. Hay crops could be grown in the closes, or parrocks, adjoining the farmsteads or on the meadows in the Keer valley. Cattle fitted very well into the old pattern of farming in which the deep-soiled land on the glacial deposits had been reserved for arable use in summer, but opened up to grazing stock in the winter months.

At the end of the eighteenth century the local cattle were mostly the Lancashire long-horned breed[32]. These were large animals that produced strong hides and a very creamy milk that was ideal for making butter and cheese, products that could be stored and transported easily. The grasslands north of



Modern Longhorn Cattle

Lancaster and in the Lune valley were noted at the start of the nineteenth century for their good butter and cheese[33]. Milk was not a priority at that time, particularly not milk produced all the year round. The cattle could follow a natural cycle of calving in the spring, so producing milk for their offspring and for butter and cheese during spring and summer. Then the cattle could be kept dry in the winter when fodder was scarce. The prevalence of long-horned cattle in Warton in the first two decades of the nineteenth century is shown by press reports of sales. When these reports specify the breed it is always long-horns that are mentioned. At Borwick in 1817 forty-seven head of long-horned cattle were advertised for sale[34]. At Brackenthwaite in 1819 there was a sale of *'improved Lancashire long-horned cattle'*.[35]

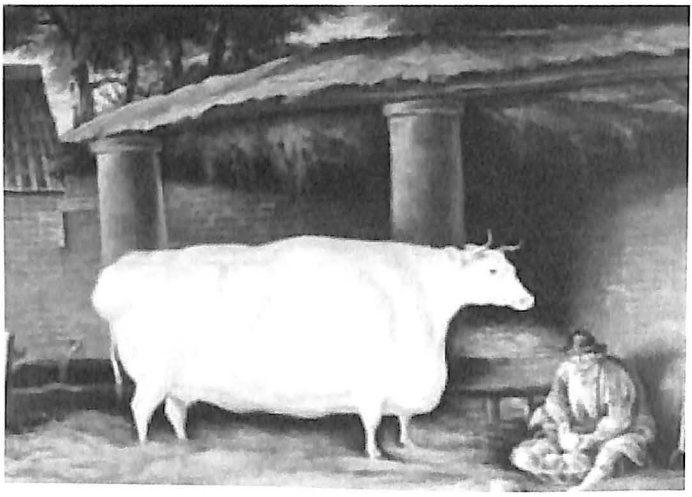


Improved Lancashire Long-horn 1820

Agricultural shows continued to encourage improvement of the breed for several more decades. William Barrett of Yealand Hall (later to become an auctioneer) specialised in long-horned cattle and won prizes at Burton Show in 1833[36]. So did Mr Hodgson of Yealand at the same show in 1842[37]. As late as 1865 John Watson of Borwick Hall won a silver cup for a long-horn heifer[38]. But long-horned cattle had been declining in numbers since the start of the century. A contemporary writer, commented that in 1849 there was scarcely a long-horn to be seen in Lancashire[39].

The revolution that occurred in cattle farming was the introduction of the more versatile short-horned breed. Nationally known cattle breeders elsewhere, such as Mr Charles Colling, publicised the Shorthorn, and an early local convert was Mr W.B. Bolden of Hyning. His interest is said to have started after attending a sale of Mr Colling's herd in 1810[40].

Charles Colling was still actively promoting Shorthorns in 1827[41]. Mr Bolden's *'small but entire select herd'* was advertised in 1838[42]. Shorthorn cattle were also for sale at Lower Hyning (on the Bolden estate) in 1831[43]. After his death Mr Bolden's *'entire and very select herd of first-class short-horns'* was sold. A *'catalogue of pedigree'* would be provided and the London auctioneer, Mr Strafford, conducted the sale[44].



Shorthorn Heifer. 1811.

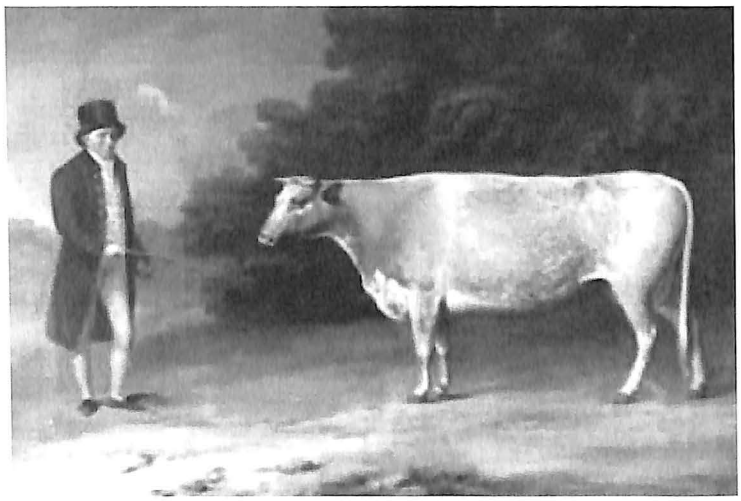
The sale realised prices of up to 220 guineas for individual cows. These must indeed have been prize animals.

Mr Bolden's son, S.E. Bolden of Springfield Hall near Lancaster, continued

the interest in Shorthorns. His purebred bull *'Grand Duke'* was a direct descendant of Mr Colling's *'Comet'*. Other notable pioneers in Shorthorn breeding in Warton parish were Thomas Jackson of Borwick Hall, and his brother Matthew[45]. Thomas was winning prizes for his Shorthorns in 1833[46]. The Borwick herd of Shorthorns, which was descended from the herds of the Earl of Lonsdale, and of Messrs Bolden and Ellison, was sold off in 1854, after Thomas Jackson's death[47]. Later in the century some of the animals bred by Mr Bolden and the Jacksons sold for over one thousand pounds each[48]. The animals went to customers in America and Australia[49].

The acquisition and breeding of such select herds of Shorthorns was clearly a rich man's pursuit. Mr Bolden seems to have felt few financial constraints in following his interest, but then he had entered farming with a fortune already accumulated from business interests. By contrast, in 1859, Roger Preston of Yealand Conyers had two cows *'distrained'* by the churchwardens because, as a Quaker, he refused to pay his church dues. Both animals together were valued at under £19. The conscientious Roger Preston had eight cows taken from him in the decade 1859-69 which were valued at prices ranging from £6 to £13[50]. Even Roger Preston's herd was probably above average. Preston was a man of some substance who owned and farmed 102 acres. The vast majority of herds on the parish farms were probably quite small and of very mixed quality. Thomas Birket's stock, at his farm in Carnforth, consisted of 5 spring calving cows and heifers, 9 gelt cows, 8 bullocks, 5 heifers *'and others'*. One can imagine that the *'others'* were a very mixed bag indeed[51].

The cow pictured here shows the type of Shorthorn common in the mid nineteenth -century.

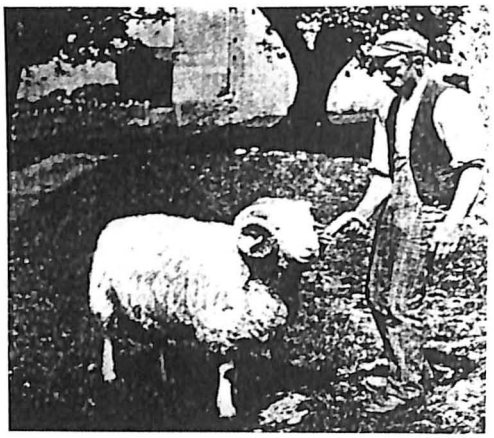


One of the principal reasons for the success of the Shorthorn cow was its greater yield of milk. A large and profitable market was opened up for those farmers who were within easy reach of the new industrial towns in the county.

Workers in these towns were comparatively well off, and they wished to buy milk daily all the year round. This required investment in good cattle and the need to keep them well fed throughout the year, winter included. This market for milk only developed in the Warton area in the later part of the century when Carnforth grew into a small town and railway transport developed.

Livestock: Sheep.

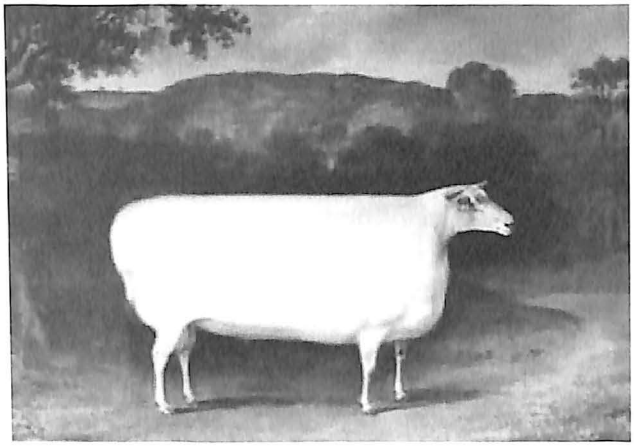
The fine quality grazing land in the parish had for long been the home of a distinctive breed of sheep, variously known as the Warton Crag, the Silverdale or the Yealand Crag sheep. This breed of sheep was said to be related to the white-faced woodland sheep, which still survive to day as a rare breed[52].



Warton Crag Ram

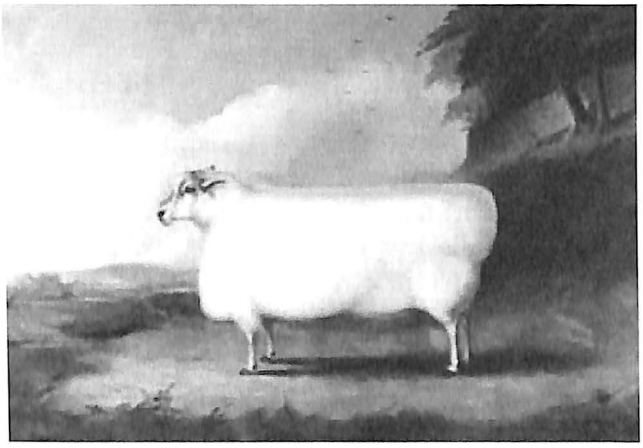
This local breed of small-horned, white-faced sheep, which died out shortly after the end of the nineteenth century, was particularly noted for its fine fleece that commanded a good price at market. A sale of stock at Yealand Hall in 1818 included 130 *'Yealand Crag Sheep'*[53]. These were the property of Edward North. A later tenant of the Hall, William Barrett, won a prize in 1833 for a *'Ram of Crag Breed'*.[54] Perhaps it says something about Mr Barrett that he persevered with this old-established sheep breed just as he had persevered with long-horned cattle. Despite the qualities of the Crag breed, Dickson thought that other breeds could be worth experimenting with[55].

Leicester sheep appear in a sale in the parish in 1819[56] and Mr Charles Colling, the breeder and dealer, was reported to be selling Leicesters in 1827[57].



A Four-Shear Leicester Ram. Early 19th Century

Leicester sheep were included in a sale of stock by John Bolden of Hyning in 1831. These were stated to be from the stock of R. and C. Colling and Messrs Champion and Mason[58]. In 1835 Thomas Jackson of Borwick Hall (who had helped pioneer the introduction of Shorthorn cattle to the parish) was awarded a prize at Burton Show for his Leicester ram. By the middle of the century Rothwell was saying, in a report on the Agriculture of the County of Lancashire, that Leicesters were common in the north of the county.



Leicester Ram 1859.

Improvement of farming stock, especially the sheep, must have been greatly facilitated by the enclosure of the common land. Prior to this the wide variation in sheep quality on the common, together with general overstocking, had made improvements difficult. As it was, many farms still had a great mix of breeds

and quality, typified by the sale notice for Know Hill Lodge that read, '... *about 20 sheep of different breeds*'.[59]

Timber, Wood And Coppice.

The large areas of natural woodland that had once covered the thinly soiled limestones in Warton had, by the nineteenth century, become reduced to tiny fragments of rough woodland confined to the rockiest areas. The only accurate figures found are those from the Tithe Award of 1846. These suggest that the remnants of the old forest only covered one and a half per cent of the total township area of Yealand Conyers and less than one per cent of Yealand Redmayne.

New plantations had become common in Warton parish by the start of the nineteenth century. These planted and managed woodlands can be divided into two types, plantations and coppice or coppice-with-standards. Many plantations were set out by the larger landowners on areas of limestone that had been enclosed from the old commonlands. The plantations were mostly intended to produce a commercial crop of timber, but often they also had an amenity value on the new estates both as landscaping and as important game reserves at a time when shooting was both popular and prestigious. There were plantations on the Leighton estate and on the Waithmans' land around Gait Barrows. The notebooks of Robert Inman contain references to hole digging and tree-planting on a large part of his newly acquired Hill House estate in Silverdale[60]. Plantations started by Inman in the second decade of the nineteenth century transformed the appearance of the high ground on the north edge of Silverdale. They now form part of the National Trust property known as Eaves Wood.

The commercial value of such plantings is shown in the sale of 48 acres of Scots pine and larch on the Hill House estate in 1844[61]. Evidently the trees planted by Robert Inman had taken thirty years to mature to a size where they were worth cropping. The sale was made by Robert's son, Thomas. Woodlands on the Hazelwood estate in Lindeth took a similar time to reach maturity. Timber from this estate was advertised for sale in 1849, about 35 years after enclosure[62] and again in 1882, 33 years later again[63]. Ash trees were particularly valued among the timber trees as the wood had so many uses. Matthew Jackson in Carnforth advertised in 1817 that he had for sale valuable ash timber trees *'suitable for coach makers, wheelwrights etc.'*.[64] In 1840 timber in a plantation at Hyning only 23 years old was sold.[65] This timber consisted of oak, ash, elm, sycamore and birch. It was suggested that the wood was suitable for bobbin- and chair-makers, hoopers and wheelwrights.

If a good stand of timber was thought to be neglected by a distant owner, it could be vulnerable to theft. Such was the case when, in 1834, a wheelwright

was accused of stealing five oak trees and fifteen ash trees from Scout Wood in Warton. He was under the impression that the owner was living far away, but the wood had changed hands and the new owner lived only half a mile away and was able to keep a better watch. In the court hearing it became clear that local people had been in the habit of entering the wood to collect spelks (for fixing thatch) and pea-sticks. The defendant optimistically claimed that this *'immemorial right and custom'* to collect wood extended to taking timber trees, but the judgement went against him[66].

The largest areas of woodland in the nineteenth century were the coppices. In these the under-wood trees, such as hazel and sycamore, were cut down to ground level regularly, usually once every ten to sixteen years, to produce a crop of thin, straight stems that could be used for fencing-posts or bobbin-wood or else *'coaled'* on site to produce charcoal.

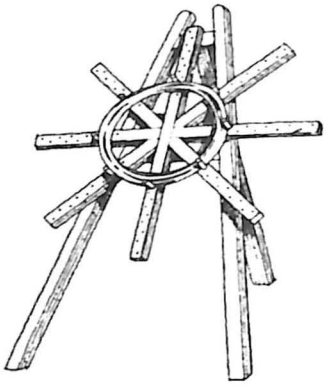
Charcoal Burning.

After cutting was over the coppice would be fenced off for four or five years to allow re-growth before any livestock was allowed to graze in the area. Much coppicing had originated centuries earlier because of the need to provide large amounts of charcoal for the furnaces at iron works. The need for continuous supplies of charcoal meant that, in areas near ironworks, coppice woodlands were carefully managed for long periods. Far from stripping the countryside of its woodland the ironwork enterprises ensured that woodland was maintained[67]. At the time of the Tithe Award there were 57 acres of coppice in Yealand Conyers, all of which belonged to Richard Gillow of Leighton Hall. It lay in the wooded areas disposed about the park. Yealand Redmayne had 114 acres of coppice, some of which (Crow Ash and Cinderbarrow) also belonged to Richard Gillow. Most of the coppice in Yealand Redmayne, however, belonged to

William Waithman and lay in the Gait Barrows area. Both coppice and plantation woodland were owned exclusively, in Warton parish, by those with large estates and outside sources of wealth: Gillows at Leighton, Inman at Silverdale, Bolden at Hyning and on Warton Crag, and the mill-owning Waithmans of Yealand Conyers.

Dickson, in 1815, commented that the demands for charcoal (from coppice wood) had declined, but wood was still needed for hoops, poles and rods[68].

Hoop making



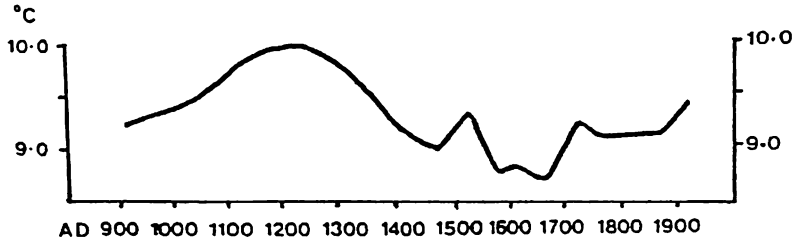
Hoop making easle

Later in the century much coppice wood was used for making bobbins for textile factories. Notices of sales of coppice wood occur in local newspapers. In 1834, for instance, coppice wood (Levensfield, Magsend Close, Far Slackwood, Dub Meadow and Fleagarth), 19 acres in all, was for sale[69]. Contracts for sale of coppice wood, such as that at Ford Wood in Waterslack in 1855, could specify the dates by which the wood must be cut, and the date by which the cut wood must be cleared from the site. Provision was made for charcoal burning within the wood at traditional sites, but the charcoal had to be cleared by a certain date[70]. A very important additional product from the woods was oak bark, essential at that time for tanning. Coppice wood was very often grown together with timber trees. In this *'coppice-with-standards'* system the large timber trees were left standing through two or three cycles of coppicing. The growth of the timber trees was enhanced by the regular clearance of the smaller trees.

Climate.

The nineteenth century saw the last phases of the *'little ice age'* that had gripped Europe since the sixteenth century. The general warming was, however, repeatedly interrupted by runs of years in which there was a reversion to extreme

cold. The decade 1810-1819 was the coldest in England since the 1690s and included *'the year without a summer'* of 1816. This exceptionally poor growing season may have been due to the suspended ash from the massive eruption of the volcano Tamboro in the East Indies in April 1815[71]. The 1820s and 1830s were warmer, with an exceptionally warm summer in 1826. There were severe winters in the periods 1837-1855 and 1878-1897, after which the warming trend became much more marked and persistent. The cold summer of 1879 produced an extremely poor harvest that added to the woes already being suffered by English agriculture because of the competition from imported food and a general recession in trade.



Mean Summer temperature England A D 800-1900

Local records of climate from the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth were kept by John Dalton of Kendal, and by Dr Campbell of Dale House in Tewitfield (though it is not clear if the latter's recordings were made there or in Lancaster where he worked). Many of the more exceptional events were recorded by Rev. William Hutton of Beetham, who kept a meteorological diary until his death in 1811. Such extreme events were also recorded in the local press. In 1795 Hutton recorded a thirteen-week frost at Beetham at the start of the year, while at the end of 1798 severe cold froze the river Bela there, so that people were able to walk on the ice. On February 18th, 1799 an exceptional blizzard filled the local lanes with snow and it took several days to clear it. That year the cold continued until the end of May and there was a severe shortage of animal fodder, a drought the year before having already resulted in a poor crop of hay. Consequently the skins of upwards of 10,000 lambs, which perished in the spring, were sold at Kendal during 1799. On the evening of January 20th, 1802 a severe gale began and lasted for almost twenty-four hours. It caused severe damage from Lancaster to Kendal, with roofs damaged and windows broken. On July 26th, 1809 there occurred the ' ... *greatest thunderstorm that had been felt for above 60 years'.* At Beetham it lasted from 9 in the morning till 5 in the afternoon[72].

In mid-January 1845, the Lancaster Gazette reported that:

> *'The frost which lasted 9 weeks continued up to Saturday evening, when we had a heavy fall of snow ...'* [73].

In August 1830 the same paper reported a violent storm that had interrupted work on the harvest:

> *'... In its utmost violence the hailstones ... measured upward of 6 1/2 inches and did much damage'*[74].

In May 1835 the paper reported a very unfavourable season, when there was great distress for want of provender:

> *'The cold dry winds too have had their effect on the poor beasts, many have been carried off by disease ... a poor industrious man at Carnforth ... has lost his cow which only a month ago he gave £8 for, and he has a wife and seven children'*.[75]

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2 M.M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society,* Vol. 1 of *The Penguin Economic History of Britain,* (Penguin 1975), p.68.
3 R.W.. Dickson, *General View of the Agriculture of Lancashire* (London, 1815) pp. 23ff and 334-365.
4 John Holt, *'General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster* (London 1795); reprint (Augustus M. Kelly, Publishers, New York 1969), p. 63.
5 Lancaster Public Library, MS 3749*Account Book of Robert Inman, (Accounts for 1813).*
6 *Lancaster Gazette,* November 10th, 1831.
7 R.W. Dickson, 1815. *ibid.* p. 248.
8 R.W. Dickson, 1815. *ibid.* p. 279.
9 R.W. Dickson, 1815. *ibid.* p. 233.
10 *Lancaster Gazette,* March 13th, 1830.
11 *Lancaster Gazette,* February 1835.
12 *Lancaster Gazette,* February 18th, 1843; February 18th, 1854; March 16th, 1861.
13 *Lancaster Gazette,* March 18th, 1843.
14 *Lancaster Gazette,* February 18th, 1854.
15 *Lancaster Gazette,* September 28th, 1816
16 *Lancaster Gazette,* September 6th, 1841.
17 *Lancaster Gazette,* March 17th and May 19th, 1855.

[18] *Lancaster Gazette*, October 6th, 1854.
[19] *Lancaster Gazette*, April 1st, 1851.
[20] *Kendal Mercury and Northern Advertiser*, September 20th, 1851.
[21] *Lancaster Gazette*, March 17th, 1855.
[22] *Lancaster Gazette*, February 10th, 1866.
[23] J. Rawlinson Ford and J.A. Fuller-Maitland, *John Lucas's History of Warton Parish: compiled 1710-1740* (Titus Wilson & Sons, 1931), pp. 4 & 41.
[24] Lancaster Public Library, MS 3749, *Account Book of Robert Inman.*(Accounts for 1812).
[25] R.W. Dickson, *1815 op. cit.* p.486.
[26] P.S. Barnwell and Colum Giles, *English Farmsteads 1750-1914*, (Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England) p. 6.
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[28] *Lancaster Gazette*, January 18th, 1845.
[29] *Lancaster Guardian*, July 16th, 1859
[30] *Lancaster Gazette*, October 7th, 1856.
[31] *Lancaster Gazette*, August 10th, 1879.
[32] John Holt, 1795 op.cit. chapter XIII
[33] R.W. Dickson, 1815, op cit. p. 412.
[34] *Lancaster Gazette*, March 29th, 1817.
[35] *Lancaster Gazette*, November 20th, 1819.
[36] *Lancaster Gazette*, November 9th, 1833.
[37] *Lancaster Gazette*, October 8th, 1842.
[38] *Lancaster Gazette*, March 11th, 1865.
[39] W.J. Garnett *Prize Report on the Farming of Lancashire 1849*, p.36; see also W. Rothwell *Report on the Agriculture of the County of Lancashire, 1850*, p.105.
[40] *Lancaster Gazette*, January 2nd, 1892.
[41] *Lancaster Gazette*, September 29th, 1827.
[42] *Lancaster Gazette*, January 9th, 1838.
[43] *Lancaster Gazette*, August 6th, 1831.
[44] *Lancaster Gazette*, March 8th, 1855).
[45] *Lancaster Gazette*, January 2nd, 1832.
[46] *Lancaster Gazette*, November 11th, 1833.
[47] *Lancaster Gazette*, October 21st, 1854, p.1 c.5.
[48] Lancaster Public Library, *Newspaper Obituary Collection*, G 191, p.58, (December 25th 1891).
[49] *Lancaster Gazette*, January 1st, 1892.
[50] Lancashire Record Office, FRL 2/1/6/95, *Account of Distraint on Friends* 1857 - 1872.
[51] *Lancaster Gazette*, November 3rd, 1860.
[52] Mourholme Local History Society, *How it Was* (Kendal 1998), p.48.
[53] *Lancaster Gazette*, October 10th, 1818.
[54] *Lancaster Gazette*, November 9th, 1833.

[55]R.W. Dickson, *1815 op.cit.* p.574.
[56]*Lancaster Gazette*, November 10th, 1819.
[57]*Lancaster Gazette*, September 29th, 1827.
[58]*Lancaster Gazette*, August 6th, 1831.
[59]*Lancaster Gazette*, February 3rd, 1855.
[60]Lancaster Public Library, MS 3749, *Account Book of Robert Inman*, (Accounts for 1812).
[61]*Lancaster Gazette*, October 12th, 1844.
[62]*Lancaster Gazette*, March 10th, 1849.
[63]*Lancaster Gazette*, March 25th, 1882.
[64]*Lancaster Gazette*, November 8th, 1817.
[65]*Lancaster Gazette*, November 14th, 1840.
[66]*Lancaster Gazette*, August 16th, 1834.
[67]Oliver Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape*, (2nd edition Phoenix Giant, 1996), pp. 84-85.
[68]R.W. Dickson, *1815 op.cit.* p. 436.
[69]*Lancaster Gazette*, November 1st, 1834.
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[71]H.H. Lamb, *Climate, History and the Modern World* (Methuan, 1982), p. 81.
[72]Lance Tufnell, *'Environmental Observations by the Rev. William Hutton of Beetham, Cumbria'.* Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological and Antiquarian Society Vol. 83, pp.141-148.
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[74]*Lancaster Gazette*, August 14th, 1830.
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Chapter Five

MASTER AND MAN
Hiring fairs and wages

A "Country Fair"

Hiring Fairs.

To facilitate the movement of workers from farm to farm and to allow the farmer to see who was available for hire, a system of hiring fairs had evolved over a period of hundreds of years. There was no organising body controlling it. No tolls or charges were levied and there were no written contracts. Farm servants and agricultural labourers were employed on a six-month contract and everyone's contract started either at Whitsun or at Martinmas. In North Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland this practice continued throughout the nineteenth century, with fairs held each Whitsun and Martinmas at Kendal, Appleby, Penrith, Ulverston, Cockermouth, Kirkby Stephen and Carlisle. At Lancaster the fairs were once a year, at Whitsun, though the hiring period was

still six-months. Farmers requiring labour assembled at the fairs to review and then hire the labour they needed, at a rate negotiated between master and man. Intermittent reports in the Westmorland Gazette and the Lancaster Guardian give some idea of the level of wages offered and accepted. Reported rates at the different fairs showed a remarkable consistence, but wages were not fixed by previous arrangement, or by any outside agency. There were different rates paid between men and women and also between *'first and second-class'* workers. Women generally received about half the men's rate, roughly the same as boys.

Whitsun can vary from May 9th to June 12th, a range of 36 days, whereas Martinmas is fixed at the Saturday nearest to November 11th. Although rates paid at Whitsun were generally marginally higher than those at Martinmas there is no clear evidence of higher wages being paid when the interval between Whitsun and Martinmas was longer. Hire included board, lodging and washing. Payment was made in one lump sum at the end of the six-month contract. All hiring transactions were held in the open, presumably on the understanding that farm work was an open-air occupation anyway. Towards the end of the century a concession was made to female employees who were engaged under cover, in Kendal, at St. George's Hall where also non-alcoholic beverages were served.

This cattle market approach to hiring men and women had some unusual consequences. Farmers with a poor reputation as employers would have difficulty in hiring. Weather made a difference. If the autumn weather had been good, a farmer might decide that his winter ploughing was so well advanced that he did not need much labour until next Whitsun, or at any rate he was not going to pay too much for it. Contrariwise at the special *'harvest fair'* in Milnthorpe in 1851 there was a:

> *'strong muster of masters and reapers, but on account of the weather being inclined to be wet masters were afraid to hire men''*[1].

On the other hand competing heavy demands for unskilled labour in the construction of the railways and canal and in quarrying meant that farm workers (particularly men) had no need to accept low agricultural rates. The outcome of these conflicting forces on the actual level of pay for agricultural work is considered below. The completion of a hiring agreement was marked by the award of a shilling to the hired man or woman. It was not uncommon for a boy aged 13 or so to be accompanied by his mother who then pocketed the shilling, reasoning that with board, lodging and washing provided her son had no need for his hard- earned cash.

The hiring fair was much more than simply an opportunity to find new

work. A week's holiday was often taken at the end of each hiring period. The week's break at Martinmas was very widely observed and for most farm workers it was a more important break in the round of work than Christmas. The Hiring Fairs were also important social occasions when young men and girls could meet and there was an opportunity to spend some of the newly pocketed earnings. The town's shopkeepers and market stallholders made sure that there was a full range of attractive and useful goods on display. This was an important boost to the town's economy[2]. Not only the townsmen profited. There is a description, admittedly from later in the century, of:

> *'Itinerant entertainers who went on a circuit at these times from town to town and with professional rivalry display the attractions wherewith they bid for the popular entertainment and a share in the spare earnings of the country youth'* [3]

Some men were more profligate with their new wealth, making full use of the attractions of the fair ground's pleasures. Kendal boasted a merry-go-round, coconut shy, trinket stalls etc. Young men with money in their pockets for the first time in six months sought refuge in the town's pubs and beer houses, conveniently opened for the whole day. All ended by midnight, by which time the pub revellers had sorted themselves and each other out with largely good-natured persuasion. On one occasion it was reported in the Westmorland Gazette that by morning there were six revellers in the watch-house. Five of them had committed minor disturbances and the sixth, by the name of Stedman, a 28-year old wool-comber, had been assaulting his 65-year old father. The father refused to prosecute, but while giving an account of the base conduct of his son, tears of agony were said to have rolled down his cheeks. The son informed the magistrate that he could not pay his father for board, as he had to redeem his coat and waistcoat from pledge. He was discharged with a warning[4]. In 1862 the Dean of Carlisle issued a manifesto strongly dissuading against the folly of spending hardly-earned wages in drink.

Wages and the Cost of Living

For a better understanding of the life of the farm workers (and indeed of all paid workers in the townships) it would of course be helpful to know how wages related to the prices of goods that needed to be bought. Or, to put it more bluntly, how well off farm workers were. It seems generally accepted that:

> *'Lancashire farm workers, in the first half of the nineteenth century received wages which were among the highest in the Kingdom...'*[5].

The quotation is from J.D. Marshall's detailed study of rural labour in Lancashire, the source of much of the information given in this chapter.

Marshall's study showed that wages could vary quite widely over the county, so that more local information needs to be added. What follows here about wages and prices in the Warton area is condensed from a recent article in the *Mourholme Magazine of Local History* by Geoff Gregory?[6] Statistically minded readers are recommended to turn to the original article; only his general conclusions are quoted here. There are already published figures showing the changes in the national *'cost of living index'* over the nineteenth century (the index being based on the estimated cost of a notional standard *'basket of commodities'*, a basket held to contain enduring basic necessities)[7]. The most striking feature of the index is that there is a fall over the nineteenth century, most marked after 1880. This is a point that has to be kept firmly in mind, so strange is it likely to seem to those living in a world of ever-rising prices. In the first half of the century, the time span with which this book deals, the figures present a rather different picture. In the early decades the cost of living fluctuated quite widely, an effect presumably of war and the aftermath of war. From the 1820s to 1850 the variability is much less, and the general trend shows neither rise nor fall.

A national cost of living index would not necessarily be relevant to the situation in the north of England. Wheat, so important a cereal in the south was of so little importance in the markets up here, where oats were the staple cereal, that a direct comparison of wheat prices in the north and south was neither feasible nor relevant. Instead Gregory compared the national prices of wheat over time with the price of oatmeal at Kendal market. These last were collected from the *Westmorland Gazette & Kendal Advertiser*. The prices, referring as they did to completely different commodities could not be directly compared, but it was possible to chart the rise and fall of both over time. The national price of wheat and the local price of oatmeal were to follow similar trends, suggesting that prices in the north were following the national pattern of stability in the decades before the mid-century. The price of mutton and eggs also remained stable, but they were almost certainly less relevant to the cost of living of most wage earners for whom eggs and mutton would have been luxury items.

To understand what these stable prices meant to people in the parish it is obviously also necessary to know if wages also remained stable and so Gregory also charted the wage offered and accepted at the biannual (Whitsun and Martinmas) hiring fairs in Kendal. The informal manner of hiring used at these fairs means that any official data on the hiring rates simply does not exist. Instead the figures used are those reported in the local press (usually the *Westmorland Gazette)*. These figures do not go back further than 1830, but between then and the end of the first half of the century, despite variations from

year to year, they do not show any consistent tendency to rise or fall from the 1830 level of £13 a year.

This local stability is consistent with Marshall's findings elsewhere in Lancashire[8]. If both wages and prices were remaining stable it seems it can be said that living standards would not have varied much in the period under review in this book. That does not make clear, of course, what this standard of living was. Wages of £13 a year, a mere five shillings a week, do not seem to tally with the high wages claimed for Lancashire. The notoriously impoverished farm workers in the south are said, at the time of the agricultural riots there in 1830, to have been receiving wages of seven shillings a week[9]. The answer presumably lies in the different practices of employment in south and north. Up here in the north living-in servants were still so usual that wages were being quoted for workers who would also get free board and lodging. The cost of meals alone has been estimated as possibly a shilling a day[10], which of itself would bring the value of the pay up to thirteen or fourteen shillings a week

The Kendal wages also showed quite wide variations from year to year. Marshall had found the same wide swings throughout the rest of Lancashire. For instance, the Lancaster district was doing badly in 1824 and a figure of six shillings a week is quoted[11]. By 1833 the district had recovered. Marshall quotes a figure of 12-15s a week from the returns by parish officers for the near-by parish of Bolton-le-Sands. Because of this variation such few estimates of immediately local pay as have been found must be viewed with caution. One does not know whether they refer to a good or a bad year. There are notices in the papers about Harvest Hiring Fairs in Milnthorpe. The wages quoted are presumably for living-out workers hired for the period of the harvest and so cannot be converted into a yearly wage. In August 1846 reapers were being hired for 18 shillings a week. Some were asking for a wage of 24 shillings but did not get it according to the newspaper item[12]. In September 1851 reapers were being hired at 10s. 6d. to 12s. the week at a time when wet weather was making the masters *'afraid to hire'*[13]. A few other records of local wages have been found. In 1813 Mr Robert Inman of Silverdale was paying a certain Matthew Armer two shillings and sixpence a day flat rate for a variety of jobs on his estate. Nancy Walker, being a woman, got less. She is recorded as getting £1-8s for 14 days *'hay & other jobs'*, which works out at about 2s a day. For *'3 1/2 days getten potates up'* she received 5s 3d, or about one shilling and sixpence a day[14]. Ann Hillman, in her thesis on quarry work in the neighbourhood uses an estimate for local agricultural wage as two shillings a day[15]. It is known that in the 1840s police constables were being offered from 16 to 18 shillings a week (some £41 to £48 a year).

Perhaps one can go no further than to say that in the first half of the nineteenth century a farm worker in Warton parish might in general hope for a wage (whether in cash or partly made up of board and lodging) of about 14 to 15 shillings a week, more if he counted as a first class worker. Family income may have been higher, for the labourer's wife and children may also have been employed, if on a less regular basis, on the farm where the husband worked. Such a wage of 14 to 15 shillings a week should have brought in some £36 to £40 a year, but only if employment was regular, that the worker was not laid off in winter and at other slack times and did not fall sick. The level of unemployment, temporary or long term, in Warton parish is not known. The 1833 returns of parish officers in a dozen Lancashire parishes are said to show that, on average, takings were about 80 per cent of what might have been received from a full year's employment. Casually employed workers, the old, the sick and the migrant, are another matter. The paupers known from the census returns to be living in the parish would be likely to come from among these.

It does seem that, in general, farm workers in Warton parish shared the relatively high wages of the rest of the north. How far this was because of the availability of alternative work, such as quarrying and work on roads, railways and canals is not known. It is to be supposed that the possibility of a dissatisfied agricultural worker seeking either better-paid or more regular employment in one of the growing Lancashire towns must also have had its influence. Evidence of whether or not there was wide-scale exodus from the villages is lacking. None of this really shows what sort of comfort wages could buy. However perhaps what has been shown may allow the reader, when the price of anything is quoted, to form some estimate of how affordable it would have been.

Clearly some people had very large incomes, hundreds if not thousands of times that which a farm worker received. However, the rich kept their cards close to their chest and did not reveal their income. There are only hints. Right at the beginning of the century the banker, Alexander Worswick, was able to pay £22,300 for the Leighton estate and, a rather back to front evidence of wealth, William Waithman of Yealand Conyers and Holme Flax Mill crashed to the tune of almost £50,000 in 1854.

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1 *Lancaster Guardian,* September 6th, 1851.

2 S.A.Caunce, Centre for North West Regional Studies, Lancaster University. Seminar January 21st 2004.

3 *Westmorland Gazette,* November 21st, 1891.

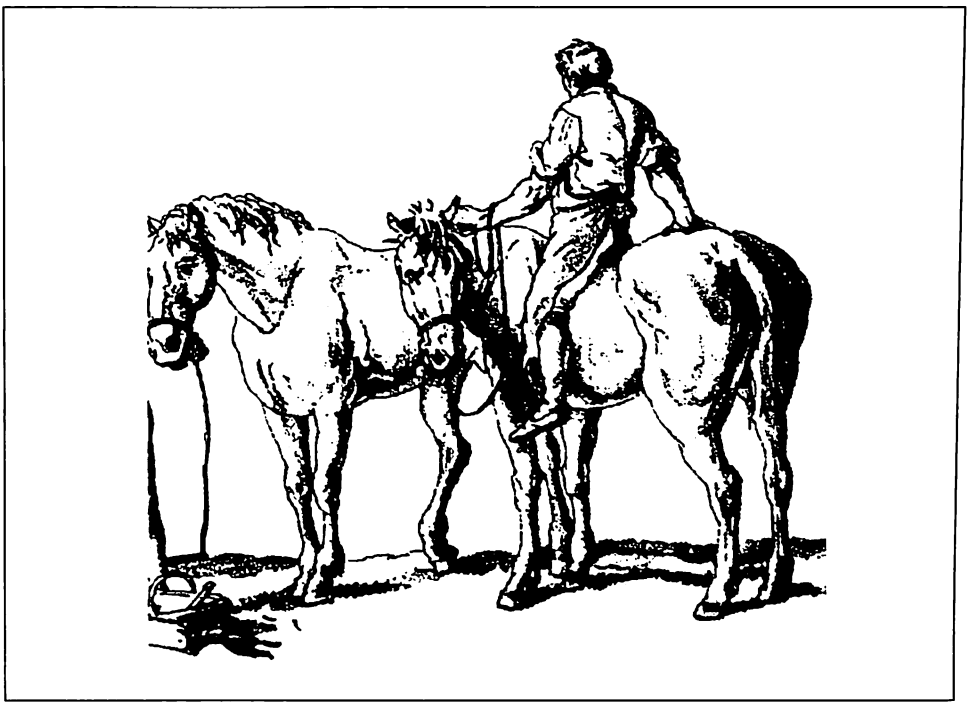
[4] The provenance of this anecdote has unfortunately been mislaid.
[5] J.D. Marshall, *'The Lancashire Rural Labourer in the Early Nineteenth Century'*, Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1961. Vol.71, p.90-128.
[6] Geoff Gregory, *'Prices, Wages and Populations in the Nineteenth Century: a Study of Warton Parish Part I, Mourholme Magazine of Local History, 2004-2005,* No.1, pp 8-12.
[7] John Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living,* (Penguin, 1969) pp 9-14
[8] J.D. Marshall, 1961 *ibid,* p.90-128
[9] J.L. & Barbara Hammond, *The Village Labourer, Vol. II.* (4th Ed. Longmans 1927), p.103.
[10] J.D. Marshall, 1961, *ibid* p.100
[11] J.D Marshall, 1961 *Ibid,* p. 32.
[12] *Lancaster Guardian,* August 15th, 1846.
[13] *Lancaster Gazette,* September 6th, 1851, p.2, C.3.
[14] Lancaster Public Library MS 3740 *'Account Book of Robert Inman'*, (Accounts for 1813)
[15] A.C.Hillman (Hyelman) *The Development of Quarrying in Rural areas of Lonsdale and South Westmorland* M.Sc. Thesis (1984), p.203.

Chapter Six

FROM THE SUN TO SUN: Men at work

Agriculture was by far the largest source of employment in the parish of Warton in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1825 Edward Baines in his directory of Lancashire estimated that of the 371 families in Warton parish 237 were employed chiefly in agriculture[1]. In 1841 nearly half of the residents of Silverdale and Borwick who had occupations recorded in the census were farmers or agricultural workers. In 1851 it was much the same, but if one considers men only, then the proportion was much nearer 60 per cent. Women's work followed a different pattern and it has seemed better to consider it separately in another chapter. In both 1841 and 1851 the proportion working on the land was higher in Yealand Redmayne, where it was over 70 per cent, but a good deal lower in Yealand Conyers where, in 1851, it was only a little over 30 per cent. Yealand Conyers was becoming a home for people who had made money and had no wish or need to farm. The still current local gibe, *'Rich Conyers, poor Redmayne'* probably goes back to this period. These figures are likely to have underestimated the numbers employed on the land. They do not include the category *'male servants'* though, especially where such servants lived on a farm, they probably did work on the land. Nor, more importantly, do they include the many males entered simply as *'farmer's son'*, all of whom would undoubtedly have been expected to work on the land as far as their age allowed. Among those not directly involved in work on the land many were occupied in trades that provided support to farmers, such as farriers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights and carpenters, or else provided the physical framework in which farming operated: masons, joiners and wallers. Perhaps one should include tailors and more especially boot and shoemakers as very necessary to workers on the land.

In these respects Warton was typical of very many rural areas, but not at all typical of Lancashire as a whole. Data from ten years earlier collected for the 1831 census shows that, in the county as a whole, the number of people working in agriculture was between a quarter and one-fifth of the number in manufacturing. The numbers in Warton parish were much closer to the 1831 figure for Westmorland, which recorded over twice as many agricultural jobs as manufacturing jobs. In the nearby Lune valley there were numerous small workshops and factories, each employing some workers. The abundant waterpower there could support small industrial ventures such as the nail

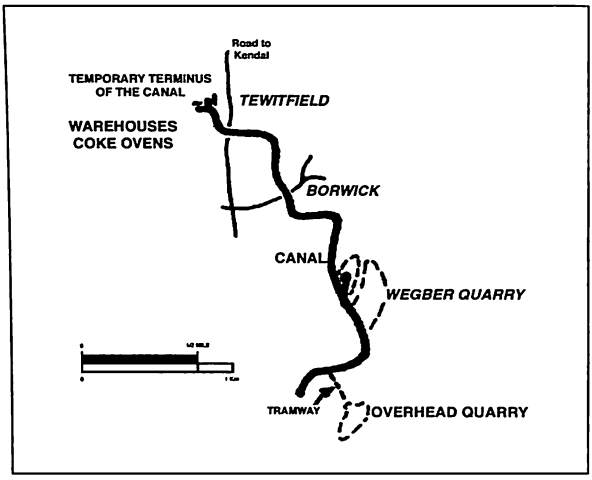


At the Farrier

workshops and hat factories[2]. There was money aplenty in the Warton area looking for investment opportunities, but there were few places to install powered workshops because of the lack of waterpower or cheap coal. Nevertheless Warton parish did have a few small-scale industrial enterprises that required special capital resources and organisational skills. These included quarrying, the ironworks at Leighton Furnace, coke-ovens along the new Lancaster canal, and flax processing in Yealand Conyers.

Information about occupations in the first half of the century is derived mainly from the census data for 1841 and 1851. To this has been added the much less detailed information from over two thousand baptismal records in which the occupations of the fathers have been recorded[3].

These sources are subject to some limitations. Though people almost certainly often had multiple occupations, or part-time or seasonal jobs, the census enumeration officer (or the vicar in the case of parish records) usually recorded only the principal and more standard occupation. Cockle-gathering in Morecambe Bay, for instance, which could be seen as merely a backup for agricultural work, was seriously under-recorded.



Position of Coke Ovens and Quarries relative to the Canal

Each township in Warton parish supported a considerable diversity of employment. The township of Warton-with-Lindeth, for example, is revealed in the 1841 census as a thriving village, with a third of its population children and with a wide variety of craftsmen and their apprentices, traders and their assistants as well as farmers employing large numbers of farm servants. In 1841 only 32 people in the whole parish lived alone. Most of the rest of the township population was living in large family or household groups. The census may have even underestimated the size of families, since the returns only list family members present on the night of the census and so cannot record older siblings who might have gone to work elsewhere. Many are known to have gone to work in farms and houses outside the township. Some may have left to work in the mills in Lancaster or further south, though the evidence for wide-scale migration to the cotton towns remains equivocal.

Living-in servants could form an important part of households, but to have a servant living in was the exception rather than the rule. Of the 119 households in Warton township in the 1851 census only about a fifth had a living-in servant. Eleven of the 26 families that did could rise to only one *'general'* servant. Of the fifteen households that employed more than one servant, seven were farms and the servants farm workers rather than domestic servants. This seems to have been the general pattern. In the same census, only about a quarter of households in the parish had a living-in servant. Twenty households had one or more relatives other than sons and daughters living with them, most commonly a grandchild or a grandparent, but altogether the nuclear family of parents and their immediate children was more common than the extended family giving shelter

to an assortment of servants and relatives. Many of the living-in servants were the sons and daughters of families in Warton or other near-by parishes. Four craftsmen in Warton had living-in apprentices or journeymen (all but one born in the parish), suggesting that children were receiving their training in service or craftsmanship on the job and locally. However the opportunities to learn a craft may have been limited, for a number of craftsmen seem to have made do by themselves or with the help of their children.

There were, in general, enough opportunities outside farming to allow a variety of lifestyles. The rural trades listed in the 1841 census for Warton-with-Lindeth suggest that the village was almost self-sufficient, or as self-sufficient as it was still possible to be in a country becoming ever more industrialised and commercialised. Warton was the largest township in the parish and may have been acting as a centre for the other villages, but it does seem as though even the smaller villages supported a range of occupations other than in farming.

Examples of the Trades mentioned in the 1841 census: Warton-with-Lindeth

Bailiff	Copper Miner	Linen weaver	Shoemaker
Blacksmith	Dressmaker	Maltster Saddler	Slaterer
Butter dealer	Excise officer	Manglewoman	Tailor
Cockler	Fisherman	Nurse	Washerwoman
Cooper	Flax dresser	Saddler	Woodcutter

They are only examples and do not show how many people followed each trade.

Rural Craft Occupations.

Many jobs were the centuries-old traditional rural crafts that were needed to supply services to farmers. Typical of these was the blacksmith. Much of the blacksmith's time was occupied with shoeing horses, but there was a mass of other jobs to do, including the making and repairing of agricultural implements and the provision of metal parts for gates, fences and household needs[4]. Robert Wilson of Warton who became famous for making excellent ploughs has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. The scope for a blacksmith venturing into the construction of agricultural machinery widened as all-iron equipment began to supersede ironclad wooden implements[5]. Even the source of heat for the blacksmith's fire was being improved by the replacement of charcoal by the coke being produced in ovens along the line of the Lancaster canal. There was usually one blacksmith in each village, though Borwick appears to have been provided with at least two from 1810 to 1820, possibly to help look after horses working on the canal and hauling carts to and from the canal. Farriers are occasionally specified in the records. Traditionally a farrier shoed horses and often also undertook the doctoring of them. Plainly it was work that overlapped with that of a blacksmith, and indeed Richard Whormby, who had called himself a farrier in 1829, had earlier, in 1821, referred to himself as a blacksmith. It was a stimulating time of innovation and enterprise. Several large agricultural machinery manufacturers can trace their origins back to village smithies.

Carpenters, joiners and wheelwrights.

Wheelwrights, carpenters and joiners were other craftsmen vital to the work of the farmer. There is some confusion over nomenclature used. Conventionally the name carpenters was used for those concerned with large-scale work: fencing, gates and building, while the name joiner was used for those concerned with furniture and the details of house building. In Warton the division between the two cannot be made. On the whole any worker in wood tended to refer to himself by the older and more general term *'wright'* at the beginning of the century: after about 1820 woodworkers were more likely to use terms such as carpenter or joiner, but not consistently. One finds, for instance, a man referring to himself as a carpenter on one occasion calling himself a joiner on another. Probably, in a small community, full specialisation was not practicable. The craftsman turned his hand to whatever work was needed. What is clear, however, is that there must have been much for all workers in wood to do in constructing barns, gates, fences, farm implements and carts and probably household furniture; there was a man calling himself a chairmaker in Yealand Redmayne in the 1841 census.

From the 1820s those dealing specifically with wheels and carts were likely to distinguish themselves as wheelwrights. The job of the wheelwright had

become especially highly skilled since the introduction of spoked wheels that turned on a fixed axle. Before that *'clog wheels'* made from three pieces of wood fastened together with wooden pins were commonly used. These crude wheels were fixed to the axle and it was the axle that turned. The change to a spoked wheel had probably been one of the many small but significant advances made locally during the eighteenth century. The wheelwright usually had the considerable skills it needed not only to make and mount wheels (including the placing of metal tyres on wheel-rims), but also to make, finish and paint the bodywork of carts and carriages.

Wheelwright

A very high standard of craft ability was required for all working with wood. Not the least of the skills was knowledge of the correct choice of wood for each application. Ash was one of the most useful woods because of its high tensile strength and resistance to splintering. It was in demand for wheels, implement handles, cart shafts, chairs and hoops. Oak was used to carry heavy loads in building and construction work: elm for use where water-resistance was needed: sycamore for whitewood surfaces and utensils in kitchens and dairies[6]. Those working with wood kept large stocks in their yards, allowing plenty of time for the wood to season. A Cotswold wheelwright is quoted as saying that the true craftsman:

'made sure that he had a supply of well-seasoned stocks not only for his own use, but for the sons or grandsons who might come after him' [7].

Each item produced by the worker would be designed specifically for each customer and each application.

Masons, Slaters and Wallers.

Long before 1800 masons had played an important role in modernising the buildings in Warton parish. Medieval half-timbered buildings were being replaced by farms and houses built from the local limestone, from the end of the seventeenth century on. The evidence from records of occupations suggests that the changeover from thatch to slate was in full swing during the period 1800 to 1820, though before that period there may have been an unrecorded slating programme. After 1820 either the work was substantially completed, or it was absorbed into general building work. Slates had been available, at a price, for

hundreds of years. Heavy stone slates were quarried in the Lune valley and at Hutton Roof in the hills to the east of Warton. There were slate quarries on the site of the present Burlington quarries near Askham in Furness in the seventeenth century. Good quality roofing slate had also long been available from Coniston and, as with the Askham slates, the slates could be transported most of the way by water across Morecambe Bay, completing their journey in the Kent estuary at Sandside or Arnside. This was long before the canal brought cheap slates into the area. Apart from the greater ease of maintenance of a slate roof, an important bonus was the possibility of collecting roof water and so reducing dependence on wells and springs.

The baptismal registers record five masons in the parish in the first years of the nineteenth century, but somewhat more in the years 1810-1840. The 1841 census lists only five, suggesting a possible slump in activity. A slump that fits in with a fall in the population of the parish in the decade from 1841 to 1851. There are ten masons listed in 1851, by which time the population was rising again: a trend particularly noticeable in Silverdale and Carnforth. Among the names of these early masons are some which were to become well-known family building firms: notably the Boltons of Warton and Silverdale and the Mounts of Warton. Some Silverdale Boltons are listed as plasterers, an occupation becoming more common in the period 1810-1820.

In the first twenty years of the nineteenth century there are up to seven wallers listed at any one time. These would be needed to cope with the huge programme of wall building that followed the enclosure awards at the turn of the century. Between them Messrs Walling, Towers, Hodgson, Robinson, Jenkins and others must have built many miles of the straight enclosure walls that form an important feature of Warton's landscape at the present day.

Cordwainers and shoemakers.

Most inhabitants of the parish had to walk to get anywhere, so it is not surprising that every village had its shoemaker. The names *'cordwainer'* and *'shoemaker'* are used interchangeably in the records, though cordwainer tends to be the older of the two titles. In Warton parish the term shoemaker is first used by William Robinson of Warton, though he reverted to cordwainer in 1813. After bout 1825 shoemaker is used rather more often than cordwainer, though the latter persists at least until 1851. Perhaps there were local fashions in what one called oneself. In 1841 there were seventeen makers of shoes in the parish as well as three apprentices. In 1851 there were twenty-five, counting both masters and apprentices. Thirteen of them were calling themselves cordwainers. Their livelihoods were not threatened until the second half of the century when factory-made shoes appeared in numbers and at a considerably lower price.

Tailors.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century Warton had three tailors and Silverdale and the Yealand villages one each. The evidence from baptismal records suggests that most of the townships had at least one tailor for much of the first half of the century. When more reliable figures became available in 1841, six tailors were listed for the parish. In the 1851 census there were five tailors. As with shoemaking and other trades that required a long apprenticeship tailors tended to have long careers. There are records of Thomas Caton in Borwick from 1827 to 1841 and of Joseph Collinson in Warton from 1816 until 1841 (when he would have been about fifty-five years old). Tailors provided one of the most useful services to the local population. It is not until 1841 that there is mention of a draper in Warton. Later in the century clothing shops would compete strongly with the local tailoring. Dressmakers provided an equivalent service for women. It was entirely a woman's job and is discussed later on in the chapter devoted to women and the home.

Innkeepers and Maltsters

Warton and Carnforth were both well provided with inns. Innkeepers sometimes ran second jobs. George Jennings, innkeeper in Warton, also worked as a mason. In 1810 George Hodgson of Carnforth kept an inn and was also farming. In 1808 the Warton innkeeper John Mounsey worked in the related trade of maltster. In 1830 there appeared an auction advertisement for a *'new and very substantially built malt kiln, drying kiln and granary'*.[8] It was in Back Lane in Warton just behind the Red Lion Inn and was bought by Mr Carruthers of Lancaster. It was advertised to let in November, then changed hands several times subsequently. Richard Morland was a maltster in Borwick from at least 1816 until 1829. In 1835 there was an advertisement for:

> *'a newly erected malt kiln' on the bank of the canal which was capable of 'sleeping' 36 windles of malt every four days*[9].

Shopkeepers.

Shopkeepers appear in baptismal records from 1816 onwards. From these it appears that there was a grocer in Carnforth at that date and for several years after. In the 1830s there were shops in Borwick and Warton. George Johnson of Keerholme Lane was a farmer and butcher in the 1820s and 1830s. He would be providing the services of a slaughterhouse, something very useful to those householders who might be raising a pig in their back garden. By 1851 there was a grocer in each village, while in Warton-with-Lindeth there were two and also a baker. There was a butcher in Carnforth, Silverdale and Warton. It seems likely that the listed shops may have been true village stores rather than mere grocers.

When, in 1845, Mr Rowlandson's shop in Yealand Redmayne was broken into the thieves took tobacco, tea and coffee, but also a considerable amount of wearing apparel: eleven pairs of trousers, four waistcoats and six pairs of quarter boots[10].

Occupations in Textiles.

In the seventeenth century the people of Warton parish had grown hemp and flax. In the mid-eighteenth century Lucas wrote of the local population that there was:

> *'scarce one Freeholder, Farmer or Cottager in the whole Parish, but who has a Hempland, as they call it ...'*[11].

The hemp and flax had also been processed and the fibres woven into home-produced harden and linen cloth[12]. In 1787 John Kendrew of Darlington patented a flax-spinning machine and this had quickly been adopted by his brother-in-law, Charles Parker when he set up a flax-spinning mill at Bentham. Parker later joined with another brother-in-law, Joseph Waithman of Yealand, and together they converted a mill at Holme, just north of the parish, from corn milling to flax spinning[13].

The Waithman family, who lived at Yealand Conyërs and attended the Quaker meeting there, continued with the business through the first half of the nineteenth century, eventually owning both the Bentham and the Holme Mills. In 1825 the Waithmans set up a small workshop in Yealand Conyers for heckling and spinning flax. This was powered by a steam engine, possibly fired by coal brought along the Lancaster canal. The parish baptism registers record many fathers who were working as flax dressers or as weavers. The flax dressers cleaned the raw flax, combing (heckling) it to prepare the fibres for spinning. Flax dressers were concentrated almost entirely in the Yealands from about 1821 until 1833. Records of weavers are much more numerous and it seems that linen weaving had survived as a reasonably flourishing cottage industry, though hand-loom weaving in general in Lancashire was entering a period of decline. In 1845 the Lancaster Gazette thought it of sufficient local interest to reproduce an article from the Blackburn Standard saying that the price for their work had been going down and that a further reduction that very week of *'3d per piece had pretty generally to be submitted to'*[14]. The baptismal registers show some weaving taking place in every township at different dates over the first half of the century. The largest concentrations of weavers were in the Yealands between 1807 and 1820 (with a maximum of ten weavers recorded in 1812). The Waithman family, it is likely, would have been the main agents for *'putting out'*, that is distributing yarn to the weavers and collecting the lengths of woven linen[15]. The 1841 census

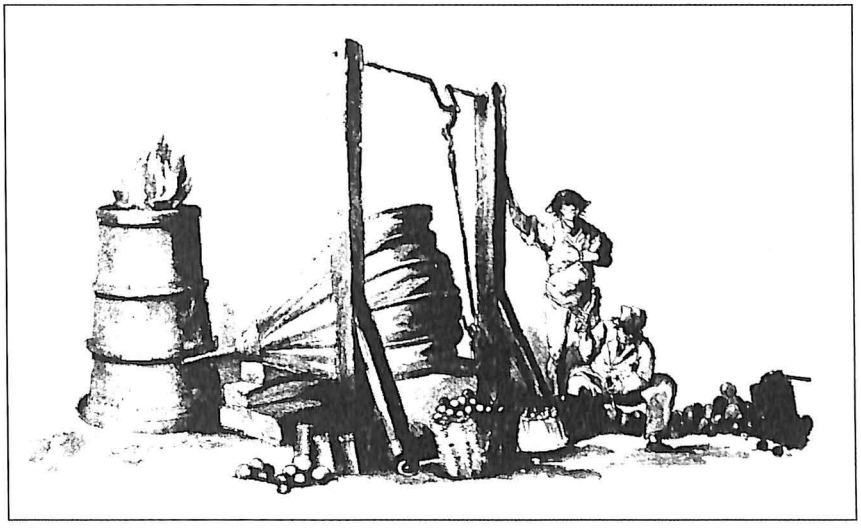
lists 29 weavers in the parish, of whom 14 were living in Priest Hutton, but the reason for this concentration in one township is not known. By 1851 there were only 14 in the whole parish, nine of whom lived in Priest Hutton. In 1861 only one weaver remained.

Leighton Furnace

The blast furnace on Leighton Beck, at the northern edge of Yealand Redmayne, had put the parish at the forefront of current technology when it was set up in 1713. It was then part of the Backbarrow Company in Furness and the furnaces at both sites were intended to take advantage of a steep rise in the price of iron that resulted from the interruption of Swedish supplies when that country was involved in the *'Great Northern War'* with Russia that raged from 1700 to 1721. As William Stout, the Lancaster merchant, recorded in his diary:

> *'The King of Sweden seizes all our ships he meets with in the Baltic Sea ...'* [16].

The modest water-flow in Leighton Beck was increased by cutting a channel through limestone rock and across the Yealand mosses. The waterwheel powered large bellows and the vital supplies of charcoal were assured by the purchase of woodlands, mostly on the Leighton estate initially. The charcoal was, most unusually, supplemented by peat from the local mosses. The furnace prospered and found ready sale for its products such as fire-grates, heaters, pans, kettles and cast iron work of many sorts[17].



Furnace with Bellows

In 1747 fifty-two tons of shot were sent from the furnace to Portsmouth. In the early years the business was managed by William Rawlinson, assisted by his son, another William Rawlinson. At the end of the eighteenth century the furnace had passed into the control of Thomas Rawlinson who had inherited it, together with the family shipping interests in Lancaster. Thomas had bought Morecambe Lodge in Yealand Conyers. Whether this choice was influenced by proximity to Leighton Furnace is not clear, but it seems more likely that it was simply an agreeable place to live that was conveniently close to Lancaster, where much the greater part of his business interests lay. Leighton Furnace did not survive long into the nineteenth century. Thomas Rawlinson died in 1800 at Morecambe Lodge and another partner, Thomas Warbrick, was drowned in 1803 while crossing the sands from Hest Bank to Allithwaite. The fate of the furnace was sealed when an explosion, possibly caused by lack of cooling water, damaged it in 1806[18].

Mining and Quarrying

Warton parish has attracted much interest over the centuries from prospectors for metal ores, some of them no doubt seeing the limestones of the area as potentially as mineral-rich as those of Furness across the bay. However the amounts of ore found in the parish have been frustratingly small. The chief mineral present is iron in the form of haematite, limonite, siderite and pyrites, the latter in very small quantities. There are also small amounts of the copper ores malachite, azurite and cuprite. Mines on Warton Crag and in Grisedale Wood were first worked for copper in the eighteenth century. The ore was smelted at Jenny Brown's Point. This venture lasted only ten years and in 1802 the buildings, other than the chimney, were demolished. A small mine on Cringlebarrow, above the Yealands, provided only very small amounts of ore for Leighton Furnace in the eighteenth century, dashing hopes of a local ore supply.

There was a resurgence of interest in mining in the late 1830s. Barrow Scout Mine, on Mr E. Dawson's land, allowed him a ten per cent share of all minerals. In 1837 the Warton Crag, Silverdale and Leighton Mining Company obtained a lease from Richard Gillow of Leighton Hall to mine on Warton Crag. In baptism records there are seven miners listed between 1837 and 1840. The list is notable for including three non-local names: William Jones, Benjamin Gribble and Richard Quick were from central Wales. This venture was evidently unsuccessful too, and on September 10th, 1840 there was an auction of the mining machinery at Warton Crag, along with 20 tons of red paint. The latter was ruddle, a red pasty material formed just below ground surface by the weathering of haematite iron ore. It is often used to mark sheep. It is a very inferior iron ore, suggesting that very little useful ore was being found. All the miners had

evidently moved on to other areas by 1841 since none of them appear in the census for that year. Interest was to be shown again later in the second half of the century, but no venture was to have much success.

Limestone has always been quarried on a small scale in Warton parish. As soon as the loose blocks scattered around the fields had been gathered up and used for walls and the foundations of houses, it became necessary to excavate into the commonlands for more. The ancient rights of manorial tenants to dig limestone on the common had to be protected when the commons were enclosed, so sites were set aside for township quarries, some of which can still be identified, such as the quarry off Bottoms Lane in Silverdale. The township quarries were left open to a road for easy access. It was particularly important to make such quarries available to the township when the enclosure award specified the rapid construction of *'fences'* (which up here were usually walls) after the land had been allocated. Limestone had also long been dug for burning to make lime mortar, and agricultural lime.

At the start of the nineteenth century, with the arrival of the Lancaster canal, the scale of quarrying took a quantum leap. It was envisaged, when the canal was proposed, that one of the main sources of goods traffic would be the carrying of limestone and lime south to the agricultural areas of south Lancashire. Lack of capital brought the construction of the canal to a temporary halt at Tewitfield, but good quality limestone had been reached a mile before Tewitfield and a quarry was opened by the canal company at Capernwray to provide stone for its own canal work. The site at Wegber (or Wakeburgh) was later offered for lease and, together with Overhead Quarry a little further south, supplied all the limestone needed to fulfil one of the original trading aims of the canal. The following advertisement appeared in 1805:

> *'A number of men for Quarrying limestone at Borwick, nr. Lancaster. Good wages will be given either by the day or by the ton. For particulars apply John Rittson, at Borwick aforesaid'* [19].

Wegber quarry produced an income for the Stricklands of Borwick Hall, who were Lords of the Manor, while the Marton family of Capernwray gained dues from the quarry known as Overhead. The clerk to the canal company, Samuel Gregson, profited from investment in both quarries and also held interests in coke-ovens along the canal. Conflicts of business interest were evidently not seriously considered in those early years of the nineteenth century, but in the 1830s Gregson was challenged when he appointed his son as his assistant. He was also found to have arranged a contract to sell coal to the canal

company at a price higher than other bidders were prepared to ask. An enquiry cleared him of dubious practice and he continued in his job, acquiring a considerable fortune before retiring to live at Caton[20]. The Wegber and Overhead quarries produced very high tonnages. Anne Hillman, who has made detailed studies of the quarries, has estimated production during the peak years of 1813-1818 at about 34,000 tons per annum[21]. Even after the canal had been extended to Kendal, the limestone quarries up there and at Farleton could not compete for the southward limestone trade because they had the disadvantage of lying many miles further north.

At Wegber quarry a branch of the canal was extended for a few hundred yards into the quarry floor to streamline the loading operations. Some idea of the scale of the workings is suggested by an item that appeared in the Lancaster Gazette in 1834 when the stock of quarry machinery was to be auctioned following the death of the owner, John Holgate. The item claimed that there was enough machinery to keep 200 men at work, as well as a crane *'which will raise 40 tons'* and could revolve. There were also smithy tools, workhorses and carts[22]. The figures are perhaps exaggerated and a figure more like forty men employed altogether at Wegber and Overhead has been suggested[23]. It is difficult to trace the quarry workforce in the records of occupations since the designation quarryman is not used. The large numbers of labourers listed in baptismal records for Borwick in the period 1813-1820, and in Priest Hutton and Borwick 1822-1831, may include quarry workers as well as agricultural workers.. There is no specific mention of quarrying in the 1841 census, but in 1851 there are three *'stonegetters'* listed in Borwick.

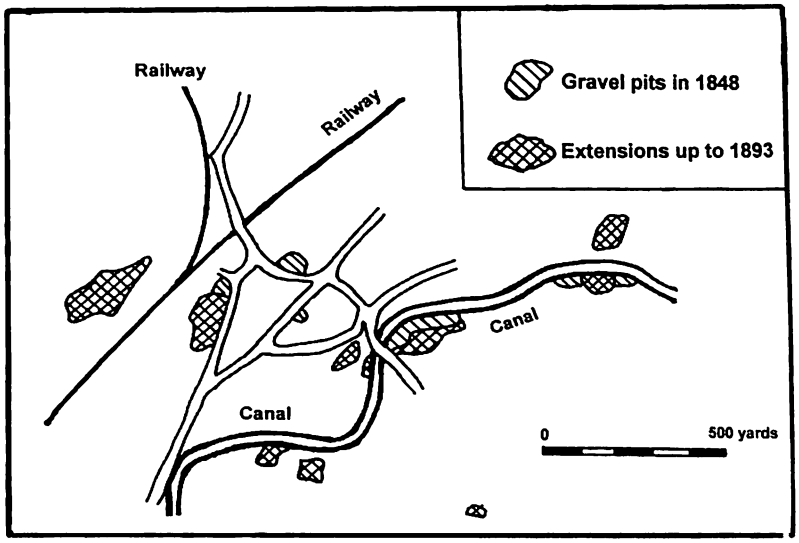
While the limestone quarrying has left obvious scars on the landscape, which soften very little with time, the large-scale gravel digging that took place at Carnforth has, at first sight, left little trace. Since the gravels were deposited by glacial meltwaters they are of good quality and remained an important local resource to the end of the twentieth century.

The first gravel pits were adjacent to the canal apart from small areas such as that at Robin Hill, near what was later to become Carnforth railway station. In early years the gravel was used for road surfacing, but when concrete became important as a construction material in the mid-nineteenth century the gravel made a very useful aggregate.

Occupations generated by the Canal

There is plenty of evidence that the primary purpose of the canal of carrying coal north was successfully accomplished, though the immediately local market was on a small scale. The temporary (20 year) terminal of the canal at Tewitfield

was evidently a busy place. There were agents employed at the canal warehouse as well as coal merchants and clerks. Among the merchants were John Kew junior, of Dale House, whose main occupation was given as farming, and Thomas Arkwright who worked his way up from labourer in 1814 to coal agent



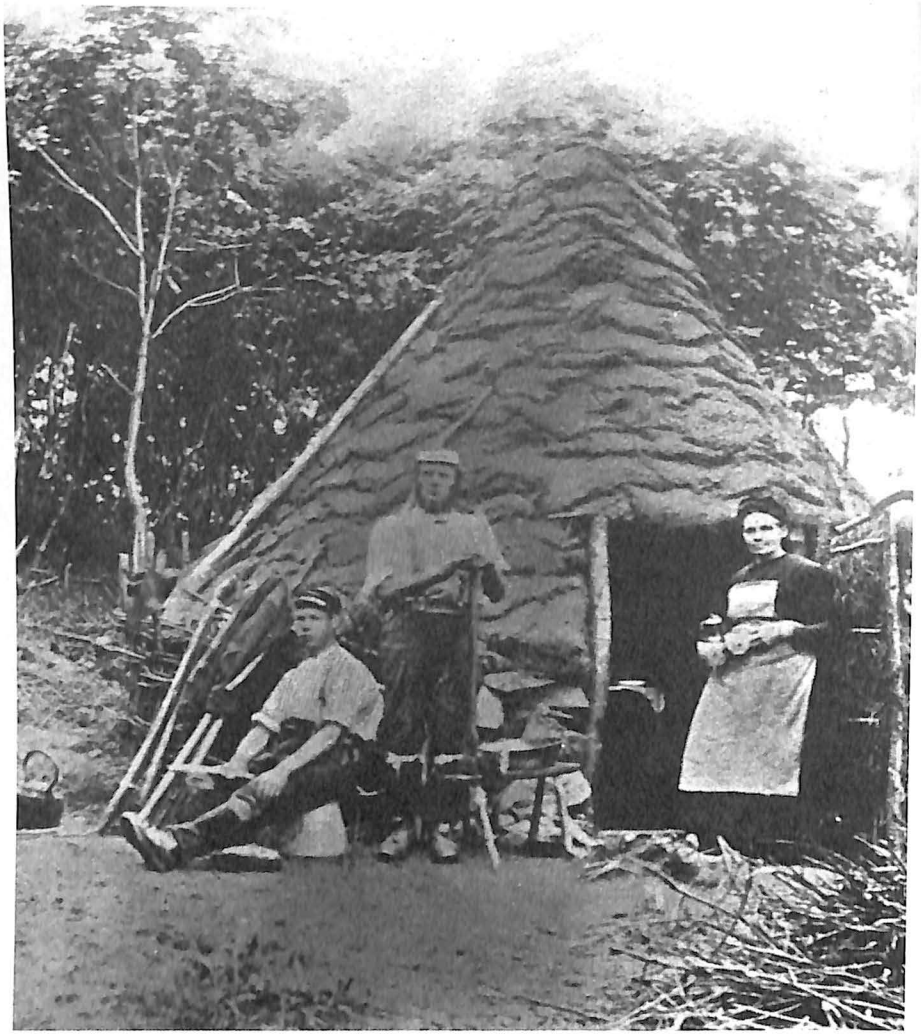
Sand and gravel pits at Carnforth

in 1826. Carriers would also have been needed to transport the coal to the villages. One unfortunate, Thomas Robinson, aged 12, *'who served in the coal trade'*, drowned in the canal in 1833[24].

The canal supported a small coke-making industry. Coke was needed locally for limekilns and smithies. Coke-ovens were built at Tewitfield and Carnforth. The five dome-shaped ovens at Carnforth were in Spring Field, Crag Bank, near Thwaite Bridge. The remains can still be seen. Barges delivered coal at a stone-faced wharf and a water supply for the process (and for drinking-water for the oven-keepers) came from a nearby stream. The coke-ovens at Tewitfield were similar. An advertisement in the Lancaster Guardian in 1819 stated that James Millington, coal merchant at Tewitfield, and two partners were burning and dealing in coke.

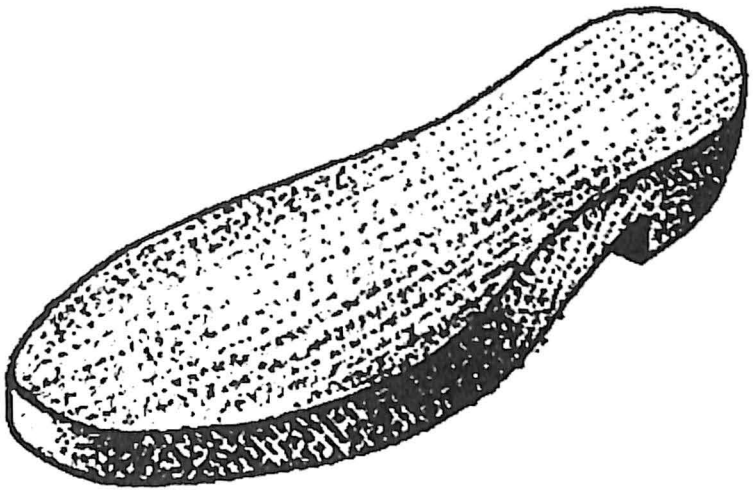
Woodland based Occupations

The woodlands and plantations, many of them newly planted at the start of the century, provided further occupation. The versatility of wood as a raw material has already been mentioned. It can be further illustrated by an eighteenth century list of products that originated in Leighton Wood. The wood had been bought in 1713 from Albert Hodgson of Leighton Hall by the Backbarrow Company. The company were first and foremost interested in wood for charcoal, but as they had acquired the whole of the wood with all its timber



Charcoal Burners

and coppice, they made the most of their assets. They sold timber for the building of several ships at Arnside, including a sloop, the *Leighton*. In addition timber was sold for wheels, spade-shafts, axletrees, clog-soles, coffin-boards, laths, ships' nails and barrel-staves. Bark was sold for tanning[25]. A few coopers are mentioned in baptism records at Silverdale as well as one woodcutter. Much of the work provided by woodlands, however, went to those living outside Warton parish. Charcoal burners were itinerants who were based mainly in the South Lakes area.



The Clog Sole

Employment provided by the Big Houses

Historically the largest houses in the parish had been the residences of landed gentry financed largely by farming their own acres of land. By the start of the nineteenth century, as has been said, an increasing number of estate owners were men who had made fortunes in trade and had chosen Warton parish as a desirable area to live.

They would expect to live well and with the latest comforts that the nineteenth century was to bring in abundance. They needed house-servants, gardeners and coachmen. In 1841 the 31-year-old Richard Gillow was head of the household at Leighton Hall. He employed eight living-in servants, three gardeners, a gamekeeper and a coachman.

Leighton Hall after 1870.

In the same year, Mrs Mary Ford was living at Morecambe Lodge. She had five servants. Mr Waithman, the flax merchant lived in Yealand Conyers with his wife and five children, and had three servants and a living-in nurse (there was a child a few months old). These well-to-do folk must also have brought to the area higher expectations in the standard of furnishing (with the Gillow family setting the pace) and in building. Even broader matters, such as local road improvements, concerned them and ultimately provided an impetus for improvements and more work.

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Chapter Seven

TRANSPORT: Shanks's Pony to Steam Train

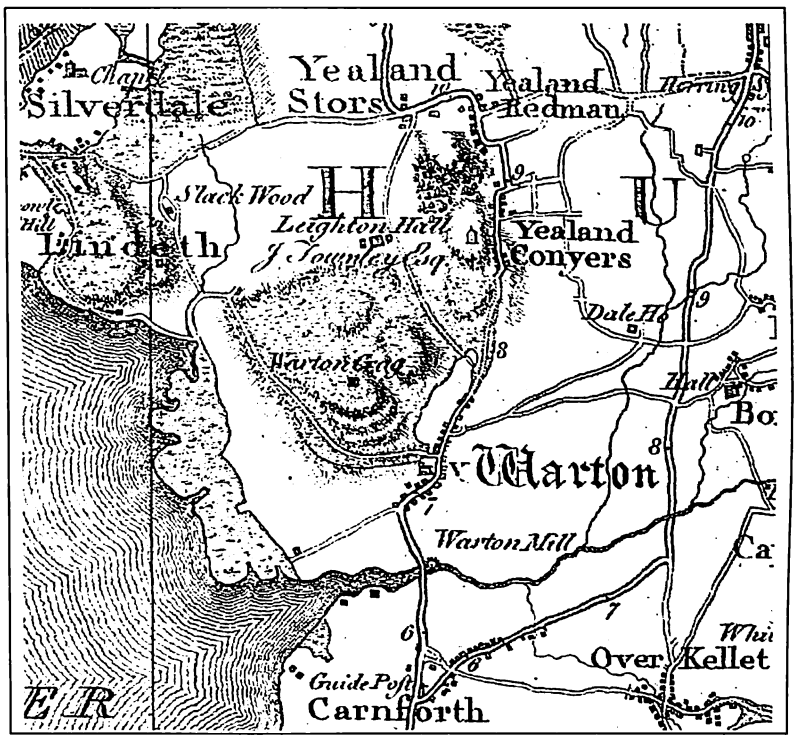
It is too often assumed that people moved around very little in past centuries and it tends to come as a surprise to find how many people, even in medieval times, travelled long distances. Nevertheless it is true that most of the inhabitants of Warton parish, as of any other, would have travelled no further than walking to their work in the fields and commons during the week and to the church on Sunday. This pattern gradually changed as the old, more self-sufficient subsistence culture developed into an agricultural economy that traded surpluses with more distant parts. More and more of the parishioners regularly visited the local market towns, Kendal and Lancaster. By the start of the nineteenth century many would have regular business in Lancaster or have family members trading there or sailing from the port in merchant ships trading with Ireland, the Baltic and the West Indies. This window on the world overseas through maritime trade was very influential in widening people's lives, but links with other parts of England itself remained poor.

Warton's position on the coast must have meant that some transport went via the universal highway of the sea and at low tide the cross-sands route to Furness on the far side of the bay. Remnants of the once-important access routes to the sands can still be seen all along the coast; at Sand Lane in Warton, Shore Road in Lindeth, Cove Road in Silverdale and the lane to Jenny Brown's Point that led on across the sands to Carnforth. Yet though there was plenty of local traffic in and around the parish, long-distance traffic was more likely to by-pass Warton. Those choosing to travel all the way around the coast, to avoid the Lake District fells, would pass over the sands to the west; those using the convenient route through the Lune valley to Tebay and the Vale of Eden to the north passed east of the parish. Kendal was an important traffic centre, with roads radiating in all directions, but traffic from Kendal heading to Yorkshire went *via* Kirkby Lonsdale and Skipton. Some of those travelling to London preferred this way because the roads were better east of the Pennines. Only those travelling to Lancaster and the important industrial centres in south Lancashire were bound to follow the lowland corridor that included Warton parish.

An inadequate local road network

The prosperity of Lancaster in the eighteenth century, largely as a result of its trade with the West Indies, can only have highlighted the inadequacy of the

roads in the hinterland, including those in Warton parish. For Lancaster to maintain flourishing business, especially in competition with Liverpool, it was important that goods could be brought to the port from wide and far. It was not only near-by goods such as hats from the Lune Valley, saddles from Milnthorpe and harden cloth from Silverdale that had to be brought in, but also goods from further afield, such as earthenware from Staffordshire and drabs (a hard-wearing cloth) from London[1]. Such traffic had to make its way along the complex network of local roads and tracks that had been established in medieval times.



Extract from Yates Map of 1786.

These old roads were very variable in width, hilliness and surface quality. They were frequently almost impassable owing to wheel-ruts and potholes. Think of the effect that horses can have on an inadequately surfaced bridle-way at the present day, and then contemplate the effect of numerous trains of heavily laden packhorses. It was not till the enclosure awards of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that many miles of new roads were provided in the parish to replace the tracks that had criss-crossed the old commonlands and fields. The new roads would be marked out by survey and would be straight and of standardised generous widths.

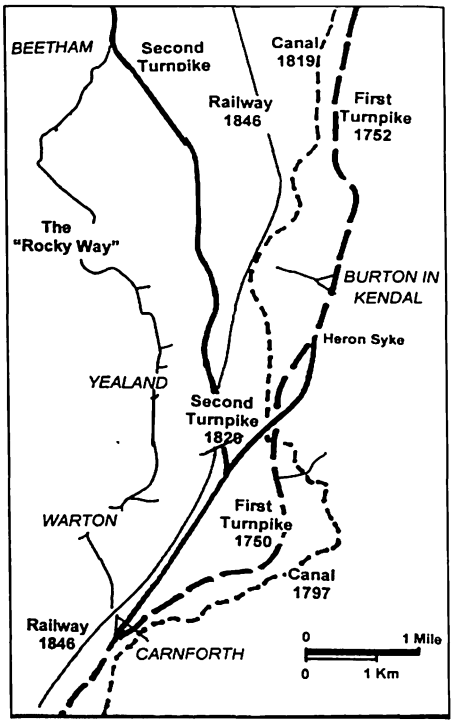
From medieval times, and no doubt from still earlier, the main route through Warton parish had been the rocky way described by the antiquary Bishop Nicholson in the early eighteenth century[2] and also by that indefatigable traveller, Celia Fiennes, in the seventeenth century. She travelled from Lancaster to Kendal in 1698 and said that, having been given leave to ride through Leighton estate, she *'saved the going round a bad, stony passage'*[3] i.e. the road through Yealand Conyers and Yealand Redmayne that was part of the normal road to Milnthorpe, Kendal and the north. The road was winding, narrow and, for long stretches, ran on bare limestone rock. The absence of mud was welcome, but the surface was punishing to man and horse.

For those whose destination was Furness there was what was probably the oldest route of all, the cross-sands route. This provided a shorter alternative to the winding inland lanes, but it involved some risk especially to the inexperienced because of dangerous tides, currents and quicksands. It was advisable to hire a guide. The first mention found of a public conveyance crossing Warton sands was of a *'diligence'* for three people in 1781[4]. The diligence went, weather permitting, from Lancaster to Ulverston on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and the other way on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. From 1785 a coach was used. The fare was five shillings a trip. In 1834 a certain Charles Kelsall advertised that *'a strong-built covered car, driven by two horses, carrying passengers and parcels'* would continue to run over-sands and back. It was still to run on the same days of the week. The distance of 24 miles would be covered in 3 1/2 hours[5]. Local papers carried stories of drownings in the bay over many years; stories such as that of the post-chaise lost in 1821 close to Hest Bank and of the coach that sank in August 1828 (but on that occasion the passengers were all saved).

The Turnpike revolution

The increasing use of coaches and, as industry grew, the need for large wagons to replace packhorses meant that a huge improvement was required both in the quality of road surfaces and in providing easier gradients and less acute bends. To fund these essential changes turnpike trusts were set up. These were empowered by parliamentary act to levy tolls on traffic using the roads, so giving the trusts the capital for road maintenance as well as profits to distribute to investors. These trusts relieved the local parishes of the responsibility of maintaining the main highways.

The first trusts were set up at the end of the seventeenth century, but in Lancashire they were only slowly introduced. It was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that the county saw a surge of activity. One of the aims of the road improvers was to complete a turnpike route from Manchester through



Preston to Lancaster and Carlisle. This was to have passed through Warton parish, but when it came to the section from Carnforth northward it was clear that the old route through Warton and the Yealands was far too tortuous and hilly. Consequently it was the more easterly route that was chosen and improved, a route that crossed the Keer at the eastern edge of its marshy valley. This turnpike trust, the Heron Syke-Garstang Trust, was established in 1750. Heron Syke lies just south of Burton in Kendal (where some houses lying a little below the present road show the level of the old turnpike road). Northward from Heron Syke the route came under a separate trust, the Heron Syke-Eamont Trust, which improved the route to Kendal and northward. It was set up in 1752. Macadam, the great road builder, was involved with this trust, but more at the northern end. The improvement he brought to bridges and road surfaces is said to be attributable not:

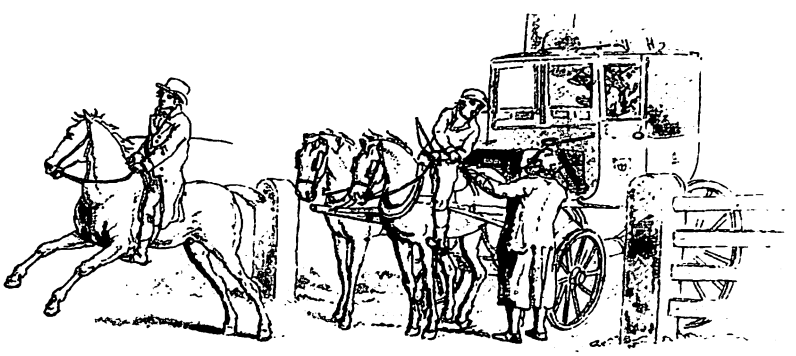
'to materials alone but methods of constructing them'[6].

With the construction of these turnpike roads it became possible to carry goods from Kendal south by horse-drawn wagons.

So by the start of the nineteenth century Kendal had established a full network of turnpike roads radiating to all points of the compass and Warton parish had achieved a good link to Lancaster and to Kendal. The geographically nearer town of Milnthorpe could only be reached by a slightly devious route via Burton-in-Kendal. Further benefits accrued to the parish when a general Turnpike Act of 1815 provided for exemption of payment of toll on cattle and carriages employed in carrying cloth from any mill already erected in any parish[7]. The Heron Syke-Garstang Trust must have been optimistic about its business because, in 1815, it borrowed £17,000 for improvements. Further loans were raised in 1821. There were staging posts for changing horses at Carnforth, including one at Slinger's Farm on North Road. Accommodation and food for travellers could be had at the Golden Ball nearby. South of Carnforth the Traveller's Rest, in Crag Bank, may also have provided hospitality. Improved

toll roads must, incidentally, also have improved the mail service. There had been a sort of service from the seventeenth century on. By 1756 there was a daily service from Lancaster to London and a three times a week service to Carlisle[8].

Attention was next turned to improving the road around the north side of Morecambe Bay and the Kent estuary. This route was notoriously tortuous and difficult, a fact that influenced many to use the treacherous sands crossing instead. In 1817 the *Lancaster Gazette* carried a notice of a public meeting at Newby Bridge to consider applying for an Act of Parliament for a new turnpike from Ulverston via Milnthorpe to Carnforth[9]. Within twelve days of the notice appearing subscriptions for £7,500 had been raised. In the end 46 people subscribed £9,550 mainly from dwellers north of the sands who were likely to profit most from the new road. Thomas Clarkson of Brackenthwaite farm in Yealand Redmayne was the only subscriber from Warton parish. There was a board of trustees with 176 members but a quorum of only five. The board issued a list of authorised tolls. It went into such minute detail as must have made interpretation on the spot difficult.



Post Chaise paying Toll (Pyne)

Probably a toll-keeper could recognise a *'Coach, Berlin, Chariot, Landau, Barouche, Phaeton, Hearse, Curricle, Calash Chaise, Car, Gig'* as easily as we distinguish between makes of cars.

What of the twopence to be paid for every animal drawing a dray or cart

'so constructed as that the distance between the Axle-trees thereof shall be no more than Nine Feet, and laden otherwise than with a single Piece or Block of Timber or Stone'[10] ?

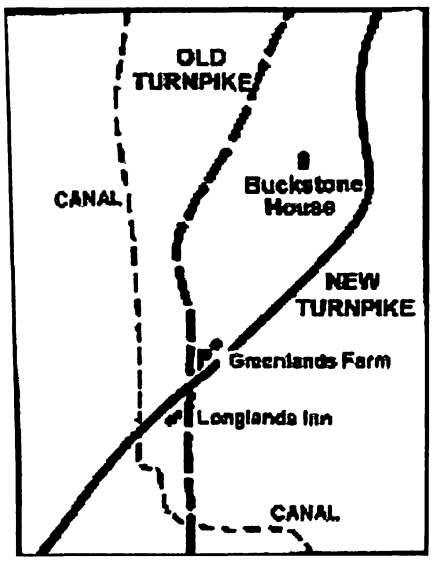
Some selected examples showing the rough level of tolls is given below.

A horse drawing a cart or other vehicle	6d,
Carriage	9d,
Dray	1s 6d,
Drove of oxen	10d a score,
Drove of calves, swine, sheep and lambs	5d a score[11].

The road south of Milnthorpe was on the line of the present A6. It crossed a length of ground that had previously been thought too marshy and soft; a good indication of improved road-building techniques. The builders even felt confident enough to construct a length of about half a mile on the remains of the old peat moss at Holme. Finally the road crossed the Warton meadows north of Carnforth where a new bridge was built over the Keer. It looks, from the various stipulations built into the act, as though there had been considerable local opposition at this south end of the route. The road was not to enter Dr David Campbell's Lower Dale Close at Tewitfield and no tollgates were to be erected on existing roads anywhere in Warton parish. Inhabitants of both Warton and Beetham were to be exempt from statute labour[12]. This referred to a remnant from sixteenth century legislation that required some days' labour on the high roads from every householder in the parish. It could already be avoided by paying a fine and in 1835 the whole system was abolished, and the levy of a local highway rate substituted.

A branch of this new turnpike linked it to the older Heron Syke route, and this was routed round the eastern side of Buckstone Hill, so eliminating a troublesome obstacle (incidentally, leaving Buckstone House (below) with its back to the new road) as the later map shows.

The Milnthorpe to Carnforth turnpike opened in 1820, in that golden age of the stagecoach that lasted till the coming of the railways. Despite problems arising from the lack of regulation of wheel width (narrow wheels led to rutting of the road) it was a financial success. The engineering evidently proved sound, apart from one stretch next to Homer or Holmere Tarn in Yealand Redmayne.



In 1834 flooding here from the overflow of the tarn had led to a diversion being created up through Yealand Conyers.

A traveller, instead of using this:

> *'pursued his course along ...the turnpike ... In trying to turn the horse round, it unfortunately got off the road and was almost immediately drowned'.*

The driver stayed in the cart and was eventually rescued. It was not clear how he came to make the mistake. The Trustees claimed they had fenced off the dangerous stretch of the Turnpike road at both ends. They promised:

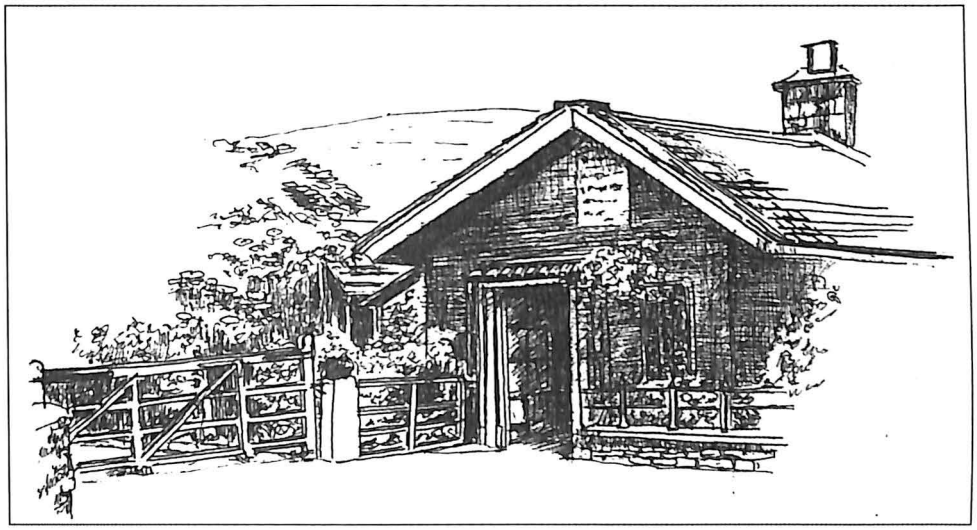
> *'to raise part of the road which is at present inundated, so as to prevent the possibility of a similar recurrence.'*[13].

While the main purpose of the Carnforth-Milnthorpe turnpike was to improve commercial traffic it was clearly of considerable benefit to those wishing to travel between homes in the eastern side of the parish and businesses in Lancaster.

On the other side of Warton Crag, a small but important new road was initiated in 1837 by a group of landowners and businessmen who had property in Silverdale and Warton. The expressed purpose was to improve access to Lancaster. The prime movers in this were Thomas Inman who owned the Hill House estate in Silverdale, and E.B Dawson, of Aldcliffe Hall near Lancaster, who had estates on the west side of Warton Crag. The route chosen from Silverdale by-passed the hilly road over Warton Crag and was to have crossed the Keer west of Warton village and so reach Bolton-le-Sands and Lancaster. The new bridge that would have been needed over the Keer evidently proved to be too expensive and this southern part of the road, which would have made a very convenient

direct route to Lancaster, was never built. This also negated a further purpose of the road that was to bring cross-sands traffic up the coast from Hest Bank to a shorter and therefore less hazardous crossing-point at Lindeth. The northern end of the route was, however, quickly completed[14]. Tolls continued to be charged at a tollgate at the end of Sand Lane in Warton until 1927.

The road forms the main route between Silverdale and Carnforth to this day.



Toll House on the Silverdale Road at Sand Lane, Warton.

The Lancaster Canal.

The main stimulus to the development of waterways (navigable rivers and canals) was that they provided cheap and reliable means for transporting heavy goods. Having seen the profitability of such enterprises elsewhere, landowners and businessmen in and around the Lancaster area were eager to exploit the potential of a canal in this area. Lancaster was a flourishing port in the mid-eighteenth century, but it was rapidly being dwarfed by its rival, Liverpool, which lay close to much larger centres of population. It was, therefore, worrying that Liverpool was to be connected with much of inland Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire through the Leeds-Liverpool Canal, work on which started in 1770. Initially the Lancaster merchants felt that the interests of their town would best be served by a canal link through Preston and Leyland to Parbold and on to join the Leeds-Liverpool Canal. This scheme did not get much support[15], but another scheme that, it was hoped, might revive Lancaster's trade was taken up when Glasson Dock was constructed in 1787.

Some people in Lancaster continued to press for a canal. This time they stressed that its main value would not be to act as a feeder to the port of Lancaster, but as a means of bringing cheap coal supplies to the town. There was plenty of coal at Wigan. After the construction of the Douglas Navigation in 1744 had provided a canal link between Wigan and the Irish Sea via the Ribble estuary some coal was already being brought by sea to Lancaster and Milnthorpe. What was needed was a more direct canal link with the coalfields.

So, in the 1770s, John Rennie was asked to make a new survey. This time the route was to head southeast from Preston to reach the coal reserves on the east side of Wigan. One particular attraction was the *'cannell'*, a particularly clean-burning smokeless coal that was available from the Wigan area.

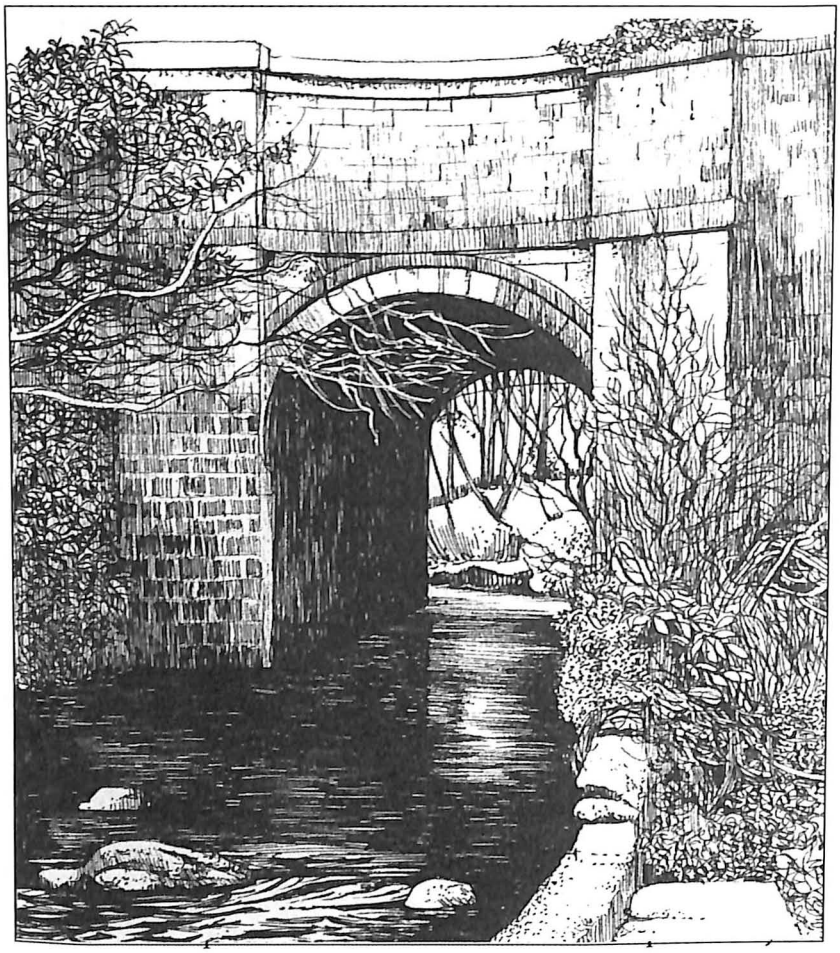
Discussions had been taking place in Lancaster for some time, but the canal scheme only made a serious start when a meeting was held on June 8th, 1791 at the Town Hall. The length of the canal proposed was to be 76 miles in all and, to balance the northward trade in coal, limestone, sand and gravel were to be carried south. It was envisaged that the limestone could be burnt to provide lime for the agricultural areas of south Lancashire. There were formidable problems to face, not least the need to cross both the Ribble and the Lune. A route had to be surveyed, sources of water to be secured, objections overcome. Safeguards

also needed to be written into the plan, giving mills and factories preference for water. Mandatory rights of fishing on the Lune at Skerton also had to be safeguarded. The engineering decision to carry a level course as far as possible on the stretch north of Preston resulted in a 42-mile length without locks - the longest in Britain.

The crucial choice of the level at which to construct this length had to take account of the need for aqueducts over the Ribble and Lune, and such a one-level canal would have given little flexibility in choice of route. The chosen level meant the canal skirted Lancaster town centre and required a cutting south of Lancaster to avoid the need for a long westerly diversion. Fortuitously for Warton parish the chosen level came to a practical engineering end in the glacial gravel deposits at Tewitfield. For nearly twenty years, until sufficient funds could be raised to complete the canal, Tewitfield formed the northern terminus. Just before Tewitfield had been reached the canal had struck a source of the hoped-for limestone. The development of Wegber Quarry at the site appears to have satisfied demand so that a proposed link to Warton and a quarry on the Crag proved unnecessary.

Construction of the canal had started in 1792 and the very expensive aqueduct over the Lune was completed in 1796[16]. An official opening of the canal took place in 1797, even though only part of the projected canal had been completed. The section from Preston to Tewitfield was completed and also another, quite separate, section stretching from just south of the Ribble down to Wigan. perhaps because of the French wars and rising prices, investors had to agree with the resident engineer that there was not enough money to construct an aqueduct over the Ribble to join the two sections. Instead, a tramway link was to be built across the Ribble from Walton Summit near Preston, where the southern stretch of the canal ended, to the north bank where the northern section began. The tramway ran over a bridge (still known, despite many re-constructions, as the Old Tram Bridge), which was completed in 1804[17].

It was not until 1819 that sufficient funds had been accumulated for the canal to be extended to Kendal. The tramway link at Preston remained for the life of the canal, adding cost to the transport of loads. The planners of the canal had estimated that it would allow coal to be delivered to Lancaster at eight shillings the ton. The inclusion of a tramway link raised the price to twelve shillings and eleven pence[18]. In 1826 a canal branch to Glasson Dock, was constructed which generated new traffic both towards Preston and up to Kendal. Of more immediately local significance to Warton parish was the canal basin made at Carnforth in 1845 to allow barges to turn round.



Before the Lancaster Canal was built, coal must have been an expensive luxury in Warton parish. The nearest coalmines were in the Lancaster fells and the rather inferior coal that they produced had to be delivered by packhorse. The cost of this form of transport, at a penny per ton per mile, meant that the selling price of coal rapidly escalated as distance from the mines increased[19]. For example, it would have cost about an extra 8 shillings per ton simply to carry coal from Lancaster to Kellet, where the selling price was about 15 shillings per ton[20]. At this rate the huge reserves of good quality coal in the Wigan and St. Helens area would have been much too far away to be marketable in north Lancashire until the canal was built. The part solution had been to cover as much of the distance as possible by water. It would be carried first by the Sankey Navigation Canal, which had been completed in 1758, to connect Wigan to the Mersey estuary. From there it could be carried by coastal vessels to places

such as Sandside and Milnthorpe on the Kent estuary[21]. Delivery into Warton parish would have involved additional cost. When the Lancaster Canal was proposed it was hoped to deliver coal from Wigan to the Warton area for about 9 shillings per ton[22]. This would have given a decisive price advantage all along the line of the canal. Unfortunately the necessity for the tramway link meant that loads had to be transferred onto the tramway and then back into canal barges. This added nearly five shillings a ton to the cost, severely denting the market advantage[23]. Some coal traders found it advantageous to by-pass the tramway link by continuing to use sea transport and rejoining the Lancaster Canal via Glasson Dock or the stone pier built at Hest Bank in 1820 by the Hest Bank Shipping Company. The pier allowed easy transit of cargoes at a point where the canal was only a quarter of a mile from the shore of Morecambe Bay[24]. Details of changes in price are difficult to establish, but were enough to encourage householders in Warton parish to abandon almost entirely their centuries-old habit of burning peat. Not that the thought of householders in Warton would have influenced the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, He owned coal mines in Wigan and seems to have been satisfied with his profits, but he had commented in 1807 that he was supplying with coal two *'insignificant'* towns, namely Preston and Lancaster.[25]

There had been many jobs for navvies during the construction period, but afterwards there was employment for only a limited number of men as canal-rangers. These checked the canal banks and the water supply to make sure that the waterway remained sound and navigable. There was also work for those managing the canal boats and horses, as well as those loading and unloading. A canal-ranger's cottage with stables was built at Carnforth. The census of 1841 records two lock keepers living in Carnforth and two in Yealand Conyers. As well as carrying the usual bulk cargoes of limestone, gravel and coal the canal saw some unusual cargoes. In 1827:

> *'A schooner-rigged vessel, the Seaforth, 60 tons burthen, laden with salt from Nantwich, went up the canal from Glasson Dock to Kendal'* [26].

The canal company was keen to generate business with special offers. In May 1835 when the canal company was bringing large loads of road material south to Bulk it was announced that:

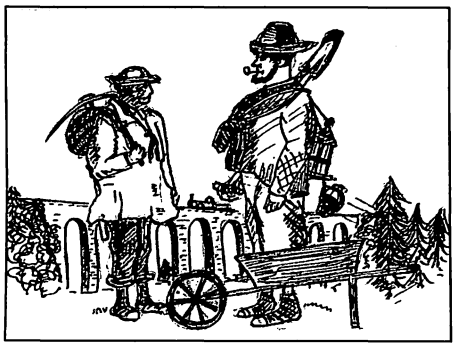
> *'The inhabitants of the several townships bordering on the Canal between Lancaster and Burton, are respectfully informed that ... a more favourable opportunity will be offered for several weeks, of conveyance of heavy carriage as stone, manure, timber etc. northwards'.*[27]

After the canal was completed it took passengers over the full 57 miles from Kendal to Preston. A boat leaving Kendal at 6 a.m. arrived at Tewitfield at 9 a.m., at Lancaster at 1 p.m., at Garstang at 4 p.m. and at Preston at 8 p.m.. From 1833 until 1846 (after which it could not compete with the railway) a fast-packet service was provided by four specially constructed boats. They were pulled by teams of galloping horses that were changed every 4 miles. Each boat could carry 70 or 80 people and, it was claimed, travelled at 10 miles an hour. The journey time from Kendal to Preston was halved from fourteen hours to seven. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays a *'swift packet boat'* from Preston met the *'new packet boat the Water Witch'*, which plied between Lancaster and Kendal, but in July 1833 *Water Witch* began to do the whole journey, leaving Kendal at 6 a.m. A second *'iron gig boat'*, the *Swiftsure,* started operations in 1834.

The Arrival of the Railway

The construction of the railway system in the early decades of the nineteenth century revolutionised transport throughout Britain.

Warton and the adjoining villages were too small to be considered as railway destinations in themselves, but the parish lay on the west coast on the line of a possible long-distance connection to Scotland. In 1835 railway connections were under construction from London as far north as Preston and it was natural to consider the next link north. Initially the engineers who were consulted on possible routes merely considered the most favourable routes from an engineering point of view. Had this attitude prevailed Carnforth might never have been on the main line. George Stephenson, employed by the Whitehaven, Workington and Maryport Railway, put the case strongly for a route right the way around the west coast, on the grounds that this would not climb more than 40 feet above sea level. This route would have taken the railway well to the west of Warton, on an embankment across Morecambe Bay. In 1836 Joseph Locke, working for the Grand Junction Railway, suggested a route that missed out even Lancaster and headed up the Lune valley to Kirkby Lonsdale and Shap (where there was to be a short tunnel) and so on to Penrith and the north. At this point there was clamour from Kendal, where the town elders and businessmen insisted that the line should at least acknowledge their presence by passing close by, if not passing through, their town.



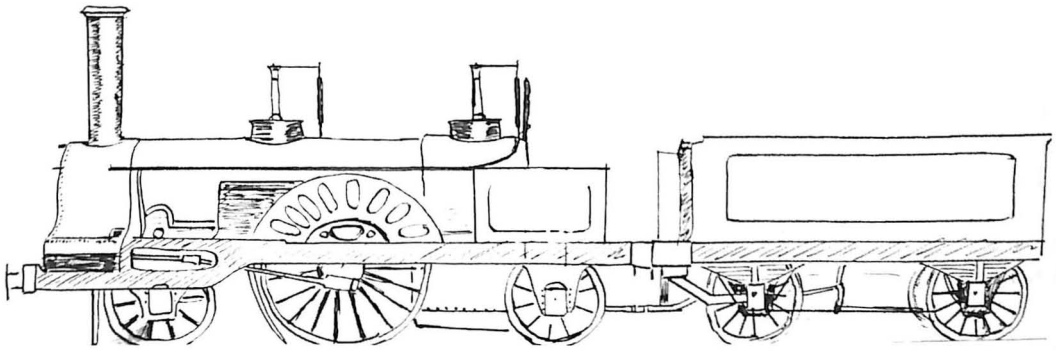
Navvies working on the Railway

Joseph Locke

The compromise route was designed by Locke to pass close to Kendal with a station at Oxenholme, just outside the town. The Oxenholme route satisfied the inhabitants of Kendal and, incidentally, meant that after leaving Lancaster the line passed through Warton parish[28].

The Railway in Warton Parish

The Lancaster and Carlisle railway was formally opened on September 21st, 1846 and public services began on the 22nd. At this time Carnforth was only a second-class wayside station described by one Carnforth businessman, as worked by *'one man'* and as having only a single platform 30 ft in length, and *'no shade except a wooden porch'.*[29]



LNWR Locomotive used on the Lancaster and Carlisle for Passenger Trains from 1846

However a new station house was soon built. At first the railway extended northward only as far as Oxenholme. Carnforth was served by three trains a day in each direction, but this number was quickly reduced to two when the line was extended to Carlisle in December of the same year. By comparison Milnthorpe and Burton both merited four trains and Lancaster six in each direction. Carnforth was on a par with Hest Bank, with only Bolton-le-Sands being considered of less importance.

Some special excursions, such as those to the Lancaster Races in 1847 and 1848, provided a little extra business and in the early 1850s more special trains included Carnforth as a pick-up point, but it was not considered important

enough for special trains to London for the Great Exhibition of 1851, though Milnthorpe and Burton were thus favoured. By May 1848 the Lancaster and Carlisle Railway had inaugurated a local service for Lancaster market for all stations southward from Burton; a service which by February 1850 had been extended to Kendal market with the further inclusion of the other intermediate stations and the opportunity of a connection at Lancaster for anyone wishing to attend Preston market.

In September 1846 the *Lancaster Guardian* published a letter from someone signing himself *'Canto'*, which advocated a station at Dale Grove (in Tewitfield). Canto pointed out that the inhabitants of the Yealands and of Borwick and Priest Hutton, far from feeling the promised benefits of the new railway, were being deprived of the convenience of the swift canal packet boats. At the very least a railway service to Kendal and Lancaster on market days was required[30]. In March 1847 Canto repeated his plea for a station at Dale Grove or at the Hyning and complained bitterly about the increased charges for coal and the delays in delivery of mail since the advent of the railway[31]. Who Canto was is not known. No corroboratory evidence has been found for his complaints about the increased cost of coal and the postal delays; complaints which go against usual opinion. However, whether or not through Canto's influence, Yealand was provided with a station, but only for the Saturday market service to Lancaster and Kendal. Even this service was gradually reduced until, by October 1850, the only train advertised in the Lancaster Guardian as calling there was from Lancaster at 5.41 p.m. In 1848 a special train for

LANCASTER AND CARLISLE RAILWAY.

OPENING TO KENDAL.

TIME AND FARE TABLE.

On and after the 22nd SEPTEMBER, 1846.

Kendal and Lancaster to Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and London.	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Mail. 1st Class	1st and 2nd Class	1st and 2nd Class	1st, 2nd & 3rd Class	1st and 2nd Class	Mail. 1st & 2d Class
LEAVE	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	p.m.	p.m.
KENDAL	3 0	.....	8 0	11 0	... ..	5 30
Kendal Junction	3 7	.....	8 6	1 8	.....	5 38
Milnthorpe	.....	.....	8 22	11 25	.....	5 55
Burton & Holme	.....	.....	8 30	11 33	.....	6 5
Carnforth	.....	.....	8 40	11 45	.....	6 15
Hest Bank	.....	.....	8 50	11 55	.....	6 25
				p.m.		
Lancaster	4 5	6 50	9 5	12 20	2 20	6 45
Preston	5 10	8 0	10 20	1 30	3 30	7 53
ARRIVE AT				p.m.		
LIVERPOOL...	6 45	9 45	11 50	3 20	5 30	9 45
Manchester	6 35	9 35	11 45	3 5	5 20	9 25
			p.m.			a.m.
Birmingham.....	9 15	.....	3 20	7 35	.....	12 36
	p.m.					
LONDON	1 0	.. ...	8 45	11 0	.....	5 52

London, Birmingham Liverpool, and Manchester, to Lancaster and Kendal	1	2	3	4	5	6
	1st & 2d Class Mail.	1st & 2nd Class	1st, 2nd & 3rd Class	1st & 2nd Class	1st & 2d Class Mail.	1st & 2nd Class
LEAVE	p m.	a. m.	a. m.	a. m.	a. m.	p. m.
LONDON	8 45	.....	.....	6 15	*10 0	———
	a. m.				p. m.	
Birmingham.....	1 25	.....	6 0	11 15	1 46	.....
				p. m.		
Liverpool	. ....	8 0	10 15	1 30	3 35	6 0
Manchester	.....	8 15	10 30	1 45	3 50	6 15
Preston.....	5 33	9 40	11 55	3 40	5 35	7 40
			p. m.			
Lancaster..	6 29	10 30	12 50	4 30	6 40	8 30
Hest Bank	.....	.....	1 0	4 42	6 50	.....
Carnforth.....	.....	.....	1 10	4 52	7 0	.....
Burton & Holme	7 0	.....	1 25	5 3	7 10	.....
Milnthorpe	7 10	.....	1 35	5 13	7 20	.....
Kendal Junction	7 30	.....	2 0	5 40	7 40	.....

Lancaster Races called at Yealand, but otherwise, except for the market trains, Yealand seems to have been neglected. In January 1851 the service to Yealand disappeared altogether, though the station name unaccountably remained in the Lancaster Guardian's published time-tables until March 1853 and remained, coupled with that of Carnforth, in Bradshaw until the 1860s.

The 1851 census, taken five years after the railway had come to the parish, shows a small number of railwaymen living in Warton parish. In Carnforth there were six railway labourers, one inspector and one stationmaster. There were more railway men in the other villages, all described as railway labourers; one in Borwick, three in Priest Hutton and three in Warton-with-Lindeth. There were a dozen or so people living in the parish who called themselves share holders, but there were only two, both living in The Row in Silverdale, who specified that it was railway shares that they held. All this just underscores how relatively small the local influence of the railway industry was at that date, although it was to have a profound effect.

The Railway and the Roads

The new situation did, however, send tremors through the rest of the transport industry. Almost immediately the turnpike trusts realised the threat being posed. In 1838 the stagecoach fare between Whitehaven and Kendal had been 20 shillings *'inside'* and 15 shillings *'outside'*. By 1850 it was possible to travel from Whitehaven to Liverpool for 10s. Coach proprietors were taxed a mileage duty, the assessment being based on the number of passengers the coach was licensed to carry. There was also a tax on coachmen, guards, draught horses, and post-horses. In addition there were tolls. Passengers would not only find all this reflected in the price of their tickets, but would also have the expenses of accommodation for overnight stops on lengthy journeys and of the customary tips. Road transport was also already struggling to keep its hold on the transport of freight, though the road taxes were reduced somewhat in the 1840s so that overland transport was better able to compete with coastal shipping. The trusts also had to face the well-organised canal company, another potent contender for freight.

Despite this the Ulverston and Carnforth Turnpike Trust had, at first, been doing well. Income in 1825 was £1132; in 1841 it was at much the same level at £1,320[32], but after that problems increased, returns in the Garstang-Heron Syke Trust accounts show a serious falling off. When the railway opened it was not taxed so highly initially. Road fares had to be slashed in order to remain competitive though, in compensation, some increased use of roads may have resulted from the growth of railways. New road connections had to be made,

since people and goods had to get to the new railway stations (though these new connections would not necessarily be along turnpike routes). This may have helped to cushion the impact, but road transport could not compete in speed. The average rate of rail travel by 1844 was about 24 miles an hour, whereas no stagecoach could hope to exceed 12 m.p.h.. Inevitably road receipts fell dramatically. (Though whether the dismissal of the treasurer in 1848 was in any way connected is not known).

With this revenue reduction the turnpike trusts were unable to do proper road repairs. Though such repairs were part of the terms of the trusts they were given low priority in the trusts' expenditure, even being suspended altogether as when, between 1846 and 1850, the Ulverston-Carnforth and the Garstang-Heron Syke Trusts were obliged to devote their entire toll revenue to repaying mortgage debts to avoid the creditors taking control of the toll-gates. The threat loomed that, with the possible dissolution of the trusts, responsibility for maintaining the roads would be thrown back on the revenues of township and parishes through which these long-distance routes happened to pass. In 1850 there was a further Act of Parliament designed to allow lower interest to be paid under the terms of trusts. The Garstang-Heron Syke rate of interest was reduced from 4 1/2 per cent to 2 3/4 per cent and then, in 1873, to 2 1/2 per cent.

The story of the final demise of the turnpike system belongs to the history of the second half of the century.

The Railway and the Canal

The arrival of the railway from Preston to Lancaster and its later extension to the north led to some decades of uneasy relations between the railways and the Preston-Kendal canal. The Lancaster & Preston Junction Railway had opened in 1840, having been unsuccessfully opposed by the Canal Company. At once the two rival companies jockeyed for position, competing viciously and causing, one way and another, much public dissatisfaction. A deal was done in 1842 whereby the Lancaster & Preston Junction Railway gave the Canal Company a twenty-one year lease on the railway, for an annual rental of £13,000. The Canal Company undertook not to oppose the building of a railway north of Lancaster'[33]. The building of the railway north from Lancaster went ahead, but there began a further chaotic period with disagreements between railway and canal and consequently still further annoyance to the passengers. There was an informal agreement between the Lancaster & Carlisle Railway (to which the Lancaster & Preston Junction Railway had been leased in 1849) and the Canal Company; the railway would take passengers and general merchandise and the canal would have the heavy traffic, especially coal and minerals. The rest of the story belongs to the second half of the century, but briefly competition was

finally eliminated when the London & North Western Railway (which had by then taken over the Lancaster & Carlisle Railway) was able in 1861 to lease the canal, and finally in 1885 obtained ownership.

In sum by the end of the first half of the century the arrival of the railways had linked Warton parish into the rapidly growing national rail network. The main west-coast rail route to Scotland was soon to be completed. Shortly after the mid-century a rail branch to Furness was added. Carnforth station was transformed from a wayside halt to an important junction, and Carnforth township from a small village to a sizeable town. The coming of the railway in turn led to further expansion when, in the 1860s, a branch came in from Yorkshire and Carnforth was chosen as the site for an ironworks because of its good rail links.

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Chapter Eight.

POLITICS
An age of reform

Political stability in Britain began to collapse even before George III ascended the throne in 1760. Then the American War of Independence and, still more, the long wars against first revolutionary and then Napoleonic France led to very severe political and economic strains. The cost of war, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, had been paid for largely by loans and indirect taxation. In 1799 an income tax was added and lasted until 1816. Country landowners, especially the smaller ones, were particularly burdened by the land tax. Not that this was a new tax, and it was not paid to the government, but to the county. It was however burdensome. It had been established in the 1690s and was destined to run until 1832. The usual rate was 20 per cent of all income from land. In addition the radically new thinking that, all over Europe, followed the revolution in France had its effect on France's enemy, Britain, and had led to much political and social unrest. The government, as any wartime government is likely to, had responded by coercive measures. Attempts by workers to better their condition by combining together to resist employers' demands were made illegal by the Combination Acts passed in 1799 and 1800. Censorship was strict and newspapers were taxed at a level that put them beyond the reach of many. The courts were used in an attempt to suppress those who spoke out too freely. Unfortunate, also, was the effect of the war in putting a stop to the attempts at parliamentary reform that had begun to be influential in the late eighteenth century. The result was that the political system, though theoretically a democracy, was becoming more and more unrepresentative. The total effect of the various problems was to raise the political temperature and, in the end, transform British politics – which, to speak truth, had become badly in need of change.

Tiny Adult Male Electorate

In the first decades of the nineteenth century no more than 10 to 12 per cent of adult males in England and Wales had the parliamentary vote (and, of course, no women). Only about 30 per cent of the seats were contested at elections and a parliament could last for seven years. The majority of MPs were nominees of the land-owning families of the great houses. Broadly speaking, members of Parliament were either *'Tories'*, who tended to derive their income from the land, defended the royal prerogative and the Church of England and opposed religious toleration of those outside it; or they were *'Whigs'*, more of

whom had commercial interests, who wished to limit the crown's powers and favoured religious toleration. This is too simplistic a picture, but roughly true. There was no party that directly represented the interests of what were then called *'the labouring poor'*. In Lancashire the Earl of Derby's family, the Stanleys, were dominant in political life right through the enormous changes that were taking place; in the franchise, in trade, in industry, in the population, in welfare and in education. They remained dominant even after they changed from the Whig to the Tory persuasion.

Agitation over Catholic Emancipation

In the first three decades of the century there was an intensification of the battle over Catholic Emancipation. Catholics were debarred from all public office, including service as a Justice of the Peace; could not sit in Parliament; could not hold a commission in the armed services; could not enter the universities. The same Act that excluded them, the Test and Corporation Act of 1673, had applied to Protestant dissenters as well, but in their case piecemeal amending legislation and the general attitude of the public had led in practice to much toleration. It was not so for Catholics, a matter which must have been of some importance in a parish like Warton with a substantial Catholic minority and where the biggest estate, Leighton, had had a succession of Catholic owners right back to the time of the reformation. (Apparently this succession had been broken, from 1640 to 1672, by Sir George Middleton who chose to conform, but he was strongly suspected of remaining a Catholic at heart[1]). An Act to secure Catholic emancipation was finally passed in 1828 by, unexpectedly, a Tory government. The measure was partly forced on them by alarm over the situation in Ireland with its overwhelmingly Catholic population. The measure was much disliked by many of the Tories, and was very disruptive for the party.

Agitation over Reform

At the same time there was increasing agitation on a number of fronts and, in the face of industrial hardship, this became increasingly radical. There was a continuing battle for the reform of the corrupt and unrepresentative parliament and the equally continued and long-running battle over the Corn Laws, a matter discussed in more detail later in the chapter. All this was not helped by the political confusion caused by the madness of George III and the party wrangling which accompanied the consequent assumption of the regency by his son in 1811. The regency continued until, on the death of his father in 1820, the Prince Regent assumed the throne as George IV.

Parliamentary Representation of the County Palatine

When, at the end of the 1820s, an economic depression developed,

perturbation increased. It all had its repercussions at local level. Indeed, it has been said that at this time:

> *'... old society came under real and sustained challenge at local rather than at national level'*[2].

The parish of Warton had its parliamentary representation as part of the County Palatine of Lancaster, which was entitled to send two *'Knights of the Shire'* to represent it in Parliament. From 1796 until 1830 Lord Stanley, a follower of the Whigs at this stage of his career, and John Blackburn, a Tory, were the two knights elected, unopposed, at each election. In 1830 John Wilson Patten replaced Blackburn as the Tory candidate. Despite the seat being uncontested, Patten evidently campaigned. He obtained £219 1s 5d from the Lancashire Banking Co. for election purposes, and his account of its expenditure included several small amounts for *'refreshments for freeholders'*[3]. Bribery and the treating of voters were common and commonly winked at, but later in the century Lancaster was dis-enfranchised for corrupt practices, that is to say its electors' votes were included in the county vote, and Lancaster did not have its own representative. Shades of Dickens and Eatanswill! Despite this apparently unchangeable parliamentary representation, newspaper reports of the time show that there was considerable interest in political matters.

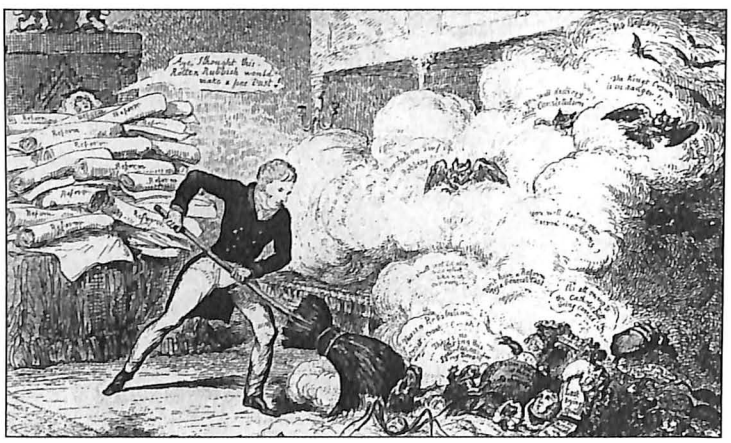
The Election at Eatanswill

The Reform Act

Pressure to widen the franchise was growing very strong. The new King, William IV, had what today we might call a very hot situation dumped on him. Lord Grey, the Whig leader and Prime Minister, put electoral reform at the top of his agenda, but though demand for reform was so strong, the House of Commons, still elected under the old system, did not adequately represent the state of feeling in the country, while the House of Lords was definitely hostile. It has been said that Britain has never again, in modern times, been so close to revolution as in the autumn of 1831[4]. There was no police force, and the army was neither adequate nor suitable to deal with the unrest. In Bristol, dragoons had to be called out in October 1831 because of a riot over reform, but despite ill-thought-out cavalry charges through crowded streets, the riot was not controlled for two days and much of the centre of the city was burned down. The official number of dead was given as twelve, but much contemporary opinion put it many times higher.[5] The riot was certainly bad enough to shake any complacency about the situation in the country.

Lord Grey told the House of Lords in that same autumn of 1831 that:

'The principle of my reform is to prevent the necessity for revolution' [6].



Sweeping Measures or Making a Clean House (Cruikshank)

It was the same fear that led the king, reading the situation aright, to say that he would be prepared to create fifty new peers if this were needed to pass the bill. The Tory lords withdrew their opposition and on June 4th 1832 the bill was passed and the great Reform Act was in the statute book. It had taken a second general election to achieve this. In the election in June 1831 the Lancashire seats were uncontested and this time both the men elected were Whigs, which seems to show what the feeling in the county was[7]. It might seem hard to square the apparently happy picture painted in the newspaper of the celebration in Warton of William IV's coronation with the political realities of 1831 and 1832, except that it does seem that the celebrations were largely church and gentry inspired rather than a spontaneous outburst[8]. Moreover, William IV was viewed with hope by reformers. The Bristol rioters were noisily and alcoholically in his favour.

The New Franchise

It is estimated that, under the new act, the proportion of adult males entitled to vote in England and Wales rose from 13 per cent (439,000 out of 3,463,795) in 1831, to 18 per cent (652,277 out of 3,577,538)[9]. (Put another way, in 1833 about one man in five had become entitled to vote in England compared with one in nine before the Reform Act). It was still the possession of property that entitled a man to vote. A county elector, for instance, could only be registered if he (it was still a purely male franchise) owned freehold property worth at least 40 shillings per annum, or possessed a copyhold worth at least £10, or rented land worth at least £50 per annum[10]. It is difficult to translate these sums into modern terms, but in Warton parish the restriction would almost certainly exclude all of the *'labouring classes'*, except perhaps a few skilled artisans. To give one example of property prices, a decent cottage could be rented in Warton for £4 a year, and that was in the 1860s after the coming of the railway had raised rents[11].

However, the reform did achieve a much fairer distribution of votes across the country. The old pocket boroughs (that is boroughs with no, or only a handful of, voters that were *'in the pocket'* of the landowner) were done away with and new centres of population obtained the representation they had never had before. The total number of county seats in England was increased from 80 in 1820 (a convenient pre-reform date) to 144 in 1832. Even so, county representation only accounted for 37 per cent of the seats in parliament, though the population of the counties, which by this time included industrialised sprawls outside the old boroughs, formed 57 per cent of the electorate[12]. The county of Lancashire became entitled to return four members; two each for the northern and southern divisions[13]. After the election that followed the 1832

Act the Whigs had a huge majority in the country and the Tories were reduced to a rump, though farmers tended to remain largely Tory.

At the general election contingent upon Queen Victoria's succession to the throne in 1837 the Whigs, under Lord Melbourne, retained their majority. It was not until 1841 that a Tory government again came to power, this time under Sir Robert Peel (perhaps one should begin to say *'Conservative'*, since this, for various reasons, became the name of Peel's party). The successors of the Whig party later also adopted a new name and became known as Liberals[14]. The two seats allocated to North Lancashire continued to be uncontested. In 1834 Lord Stanley had seceded from the Whigs, preferring to stand as an Independent, but this does not seem to have deterred his supporters. He and J.W. Patten were returned each time until 1844 when, Stanley having been raised to the peerage, his place was taken first by Mr J.T. Clifton in 1844 and then by Mr J. Heywood in 1852. It perhaps says something about parties at the time that the *Lancaster Guardian*, in recording this series of uncontested elections, never mentions which party each man stood for. It seems that the members were not primarily seen as belonging to a party in quite the way they would do today. What interested the writer of the article was that they one and all *'represented'* North Lancashire[15].

The New Electoral Register in Warton Parish

In Warton parish the first Electoral Register under the new act (that of 1832)[16] shows that a fair number of those registered were not resident in the parish. Registration of a county vote must have been particularly confusing, for though borough voters had to live within a circuit of seven miles, county voters might live anywhere. It was the possession of property that counted. Paying the travel expenses of these distant voters was an accepted election expense[17]. Many of those on the Warton register lived in neighbouring parishes or in Lancaster. Still others lived farther afield, in Yorkshire, Cheshire and Middlesex. Among those claiming a vote in the parish was Thomas Strickland of Sizergh, who owned Borwick Hall. He also claimed a vote in Westmorland, where he owned Sizergh Castle. Another man claiming votes in more than one parish was George Wilson of Dallam who owned land in Silverdale as well as in Haverbrack, near Milnthorpe. William Waithman of Yealand Conyers appears on the electoral registers of both Burton township and Yealand Conyers on the basis of his ownership of the land and buildings of Holme Mill. There is no evidence that anyone actually voted more than once, though preventing double voting must have been a problem. One historian has said of electoral figures in the 1830s:

'It is impossible to be sure how far plural voting affected total figures of the electorate' [18].

The proportion of the adult male population of Warton parish appearing on the register in 1835 can be calculated. The population of males aged twenty and over in the 1841 census was 593, and this can be assumed to be approximately equal to the number who had reached the legal age for voting of twenty-one years in 1835. Based on these figures the 120 residents who appeared on the register for 1835 represent about one-fifth of the total number of adult males. This is about the one in five quoted above for the country as a whole, but there are many uncertainties complicating the calculation. It is not known either what proportion of the eligible were qualified to vote in other parishes and chose to do so, or what proportion voted twice or simply had not bothered to register even though they were legally entitled to vote.

The Chartists

Not long after the passing of the Reform Act, and largely as a result of dissatisfaction with the limited increase in the franchise that it had allowed, the Chartist movement got under way. A *'People's Charter'* was published in May 1838. It had six demands: annual parliaments, universal male suffrage, equal electoral districts, the removal of the property qualification for members of parliament, a secret ballot; and payment of members (all measures, except the annual parliaments, that are now accepted and established). Chartism was a good deal more, however, than a mere demand for electoral reform. It was in essence a political reaction against the Whigs and those Radicals who had allied themselves with them to bring in so limited a Reform Act. It also involved protest against such contemporary control measures as the new Poor Law Act and the reform of the police. Even more fundamentally it was motivated:

'by the economic distress and social exploitation of industrialism'[19].

Chartism obtained mass following in the cotton towns, but had its outposts in north Lancashire, in Preston and even Garstang[20]. It was, though, mainly an urban movement and had less impact in rural areas. In speculating about the reasons for this, it is probably worth remembering that, by and large, Chartists were in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws, a move that was unpopular in the rural areas, since Corn Laws protected home-grown grain[21].

The Corn Law Agitation

In the late 1830s the Anti-Corn Law League was founded and this had far more impact than Chartism in country areas. A succession of *'corn laws'* had long controlled the import of wheat into Britain by the use of variable import dues.

The laws had been tightened in 1815. No import of foreign corn was allowed until the price on the home market was above a level fixed to ensure what was seen as a fair profit for home growers of grain. Such restraint on imports of cheaper grain was seen as representing a stark and oppressive protectionism by those in industrial towns, since it served to keep the price of bread artificially high. The Anti-Corn Law movement was, not unexpectedly, particularly strong in Manchester.

A *'physical force'* Chartist

It is sometimes suggested that such political movements were ignored in backward rural areas like Warton, but this seems to be a misreading of the situation and certainly did not apply to the corn-law agitation. In the lead up to the 1841 election (which was won by Sir Robert Peel, a Conservative and, at the time, an apparent supporter of the corn laws) the *Lancaster Gazette* reported on local reaction:

'We have not to thank, the Leaguers much in general' the article said, *'but we*

do owe them gratitude for giving agriculturalists of Lonsdale South an opportunity of demonstrating their approval of the existing law'.

The article then said that, in response to a meeting arranged by the Anti-Corn Law League, local people had been stirred into petitioning Parliament in favour of retaining the existing laws.[22] The petition was supported in all the townships of Warton parish – Borwick, Carnforth, Priest Hutton, Silverdale, Warton-with-Lindeth, Yealand Conyers and Yealand Redmayne. The support for retention of the corn laws is not surprising in this an agricultural area, where high grain prices could be seen as boosting the local economy. In Kendal there were popular disturbances because of anger against the League.

From 1837 to 1847 George Marton was the member for Lancaster Borough. As he was living at Capernwray Hall his loyalty might have been divided between his town constituency and his rural interests. Peel's government which had already re-introduced, temporarily it promised, the unpopular income tax at seven pence in the pound, went on to repeal the corn laws in 1846, an unexpected move on Peel's part which split the Conservative party which had, till then, always staunchly opposed repeal. Peel was forced to resign.

Abolition of the Slave Trade.

During the first half of the nineteenth century other reformers were active, both in and out of Parliament, over issues that raised moral concerns. Probably the best known, and most heart-warming, was the campaign against slavery, forever associated with Evangelicals like William Wilberforce and Clarkson. Abolition of Britain's involvement in the slave trade was secured in 1807 and abolition of slavery in British territories in 1833. Lancaster traders had been involved in the business of trafficking in slaves, and the family fortunes of a number of local men had undoubtedly had their origin in the trade and in the ownership of plantations worked by slaves.

Gilray's comment on the Anti Slavery Movement.

It is good to read, then, that in Yealand Redmayne

> *'... a benevolent female, one of the Society of Friends ... went round among the inhabitants of that place, rich and poor, Friday last, the day on which British colonial slaves were to be emancipated, and collected the sum of £9'.*

How was the money to be spent?

It was *'for supplying each liberated Negro with a Testament and Psalter'.*

The article concluded *'Reader, go thou and do likewise'*, which gives some idea of the attitudes of the times.[23]

Party Politics

Between 1830 and 1870 attention was perhaps focusing more on local government issues, such as public health, education and civic amenities, than on national issues. These other issues are considered in other chapters. However, it would be a mistake to imply that the people here were uninterested in general

political issues. Political parties, now that they had a larger electorate to deal with, were becoming more organised. Local political clubs were beginning, though their full flourishing did not come till the second half of the century. Immediately following the 1832 Reform local organisation usually took the form of *'Registration Societies'* whose task was seen as getting as many of their own voters as possible onto the register (and challenging the presence there of their opponents' voters). The need for such societies grew out of a certain lack of clarity about qualifications in the Act, and also the lack of an adequate bureaucracy to oversee matters[24]. The problems this vagueness led to in the drawing-up of the register in a rural area like Warton parish have already been referred to. Candidates, such as the local Tory member William Patten and his agents, were forced to become more businesslike in their efforts to gain support[25]. There were revising barristers to check the lists; Stephen Temple, Esq. was one of those appointed to revise the list of voters in this area[26]. One matter particularly concerned such agents: it was not enough for a potential elector to satisfy the property qualification, he must himself take steps to get himself on the electoral register. The importance that parties put on this is reflected nationally in Sir Robert Peel's urgent appeal in 1832 to the electors of Tamworth. *'Register! Register! Register!'* he besought them[27].

Conclusion

The first half of the century closed with the Great Exhibition of 1851, a demonstration of Britain's increasing self-confidence. The repeal of the Corn Laws had not, after all, led to catastrophe. It has been said that the political history of the following decade, the fifties, was sterile, but this is arguable. There may not have been much overt political action, but one only has to read the local papers of the period to be impressed with the length and detail of the political reports that readers were apparently willing to pay for. Certainly not everyone was happy with the political situation. The free trade encouraged by the repeal of the Corn Laws continued to have its opponents. In 1856, ten years after the repeal, the Lancaster Gazette could still carry a leading article on its ill effects[28]. The violence of the Chartist movement may have died down, but demand for a larger franchise remained. And there was always one cause of discontent remaining. As a writer in the Lancaster Gazette said: *'What is Lancaster about that it has taken no steps to get rid of that intolerable nuisance, income tax?'*[29]. The income tax that Peel had reintroduced in 1842 was still looked on as a temporary measure; both parties hoped to get rid of it. Neither ever did.

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Chapter Nine

THE UNCHANGING PARISH: The Pauper, the Poacher and the Constable

The Parish

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the maintenance of law and order fell to a great extent on the individual parishes whose officers were under the supervision of their own county justices, not on an as yet almost non-existent civil service. A parish was in origin a township (or a group of townships as in Warton parish) possessing its own church. Its affairs were organised by *'the Vestry'*, or more correctly by *'the inhabitants in vestry assembled'*. The full title is informative. Meetings may have been held in the church vestry, but they were dealing not just with church matters, but also with any matter that concerned the inhabitants of the geographical area of the parish. That this was so is emphasised by the fact that religious dissent did not, of itself, prevent an inhabitant being part of the vestry. Over the centuries the parish acquired more and more civic functions. Because, from the beginning, it had the organisation to raise a church rate to pay its ecclesiastical dues, it was the obvious choice as a body to raise and administer other rates: the first poor rate, after the Elizabethan Poor Laws were enacted, and then any other rate as the need arose. Parishes worked on the tradition that there was a right of all the inhabitants to participate in parochial business, and a duty of all inhabitants to perform the duties of parochial officers, such as Constable, Churchwarden, Overseer of the Poor, Surveyor of Highways'[1]. Each officer served only for a year and, since it was seen as his duty to serve, was unpaid. Vestries often found it simplest to appoint by house row; that is to say that the job fell to each house in turn without regard for the suitability of the current householder. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were some 15,000 parishes, each of which was a separate unit of local administration and each of which might vary from any other in its organisation.

Such unpaid, untrained and part-time officers were more or less adequate to cope with the problems of a small parish, but failed hopelessly when the coming of industry swelled some parishes to many thousands. All sorts of expedients were tried, such as appointing more expert paid assistants to do the actual work, or replacing the *'open vestry'* by a more manageable *'select vestry'* of a few of the more influential parishioners, a change which carried with it all the inherent dangers of corruption in a self-perpetuating body answerable to no-one. The townships of Warton parish do not seem to have adopted this

expedient, retaining instead open vestries that all (or at any rate all who paid rates) might attend. Newspaper notices can be found advising *'all owners and occupiers of land within the said parish'* of a coming vestry meeting. A notice of this nature appeared in 1819 when a meeting was needed to consider the state of the Free Grammar School, which had fallen into disarray[2]. Some tasks could be hived off to some special purposes authority, such as the Paving, Lighting and Watch Commissions that were being set up from the end of the eighteenth century by local Act of Parliament. This expedient was mostly used by towns, but Warton parish was involved in passing on one of its responsibilities. Highway maintenance passed to the Heronsyke/ Garstang Trust after it was set up in 1750.

The Justices of the Peace

All this was not the end of the complications of the system. The work of the parishes was not totally uncoordinated. There was a higher level of local government; the Justices of the Peace. The office of Justice of the Peace was created by Edward III in the fourteenth century. The justices were local gentlemen appointed by the crown to act as the crown's agents in keeping *'the King's Peace'* in the countryside. As had happened with the parishes, more and more duties were allocated to the justices until their duties straddled the whole field of law and order in their county. They could act as part of the judiciary, both trying and punishing all but the very gravest offences. To most people their local Justice of the Peace would be a far more real presence than the distant circuit judges who appeared only once or twice a year in the Assize town. Even a single Justice of the Peace, acting by himself in his own home, had the power to bind an offender over to appear again at court, as happened when two men from Warton parish were brought before Edmund Hornby Esq., charged with a poaching offence at Capernwray. They were *'held to bail to await charges at the next Lancaster sessions'*[3]. Two or more Justices, met together in a *'Petty Session'*, could try and punish certain minor offences. When all the county justices were met together in *'Quarter Sessions'* they had authority to try even such major crimes as murder (though not forgery or high treason). Quarter sessions, as the name suggests, met four times a year on the Quarter Days: at Easter, Midsummer, Michaelmas and Epiphany. In the large county of Lancashire the sessions were held at different towns spread over the county: Lancaster, Preston, Wigan (alternating with Ormskirk) and Manchester (alternating with Salford).

As well as judicial functions, the Justices of the Peace had administrative responsibilities, including supervising what was going on in the parishes. By the nineteenth century they had (and these are only instances): oversight of the repair of bridges, highways, gaols, asylums, houses of correction, fairs and markets; they had the duty of fixing wages and prices; licensing alehouses,

playhouses and peddlers; they scrutinised turnpike trust accounts; they kept registers of barges; they saw that returns on charities were sent to Parliament. Furthermore the rules of friendly societies, loan societies and literary societies had to be deposited with them; gamekeepers and the estate they worked for had to be recorded; the names and abodes of owners of printing presses had to be registered with them; they had supervision over the appointment of the parish constable, the parish surveyor of highways and the parish overseers of the poor. Additionally there was, in Lancashire, an informal meeting of Justices of the Peace, held twice a year at the time of the Assizes, designed to deal with countywide administration. It was called the *'Sheriff's Table'* and in 1798 it had been put on a legal footing by an Act of Parliament that established it as the *'Court of Annual General Session'*. All in all, a description of the Justices, in their corporate capacity, as acting in effect, as an unofficial County Council, seems justified.

As with the parish, problems arose with the growth of industry. For one thing, the country gentlemen who, for better or for worse, had been the backbone of the system were unlikely to choose to live in such urbanised areas and, if they did, might be unwilling to serve on the bench. There were compensations for undertaking the work in the countryside. It was a position of prestige and power - too much power one might say, for there was very little legal control of the Justices' activities, so that they could be, and undoubtedly sometimes were, oppressive or incompetent or both. In an industrialised area their workload was likely to be vastly increased and they might well find that neither rich masters nor rebellious workers were willing to show them the unquestioning respect that they felt to be their due. The newly rich industrialists understood the problems there much better and were not unwilling to take on a position that still carried great social cachet as well as power.

The composition of the Lancashire magistrature began to change. In 1821, 51 per cent (60 out of 105) of active county magistrates were landed gentry; by 1851 the figure had dropped to 36 per cent (144 out of 400). In the same period the percentage of magistrates from trade, commerce and industry rose from 14 per cent to 47 per cent.[4] The change was markedly less noticeable in the agricultural north and west of the county. In the almost completely rural area of Lonsdale, the division in which Warton parish lay, landed society still accounted for 69 per cent of the active bench in 1851[5]. The Justices of the Peace mentioned in contemporary newspaper accounts in connection with affairs local to Warton parish are all recognisable as country gentlemen, even if they had achieved that status through wealth made in commerce.

It would not be the place here to give a full account of the system, but it is perhaps possible to make some sort of illustrative table of the system, as it would have applied to the still rural parish of Warton. All the same, any formal table cannot give a very realistic picture of a set-up that had grown up piecemeal over centuries, where tradition took precedence over rational reform and where any attempt to distinguish between judicial and administrative functions must fail because of the appearance of the justices of the peace under both headings. Then there were the manor courts, a survival from the Middle Ages of a different system of authority that still retained powers in the matter of transfer of land. There is a further proviso: to speak of *'the parish'* can be misleading for modern readers, for today we have two parishes, the Ecclesiastical parish and the civil parish.

The Chain of Authority in the Parish

	JUDICIAL	LAW and ORDER
National	The Crown	Parliament
	Circuit Judges	Local M.P.s
	(In Assize Court)	
County	Justices of the Peace	Justices of the Peace
	(In Quarter & Petty	(In Quarter & Petty
	Session)	Sessions)
Parish	Parish Constable	The Vestry
	(as executive arm of	Incumbent
	the law)	Churchwardens
		Overseers of the Poor
		& other Parish Officers.

Until the Local Government Act of 1894 the church parish covered the functions of both. Altogether the neatness of a table can only convey very roughly the haphazardness of the reality.

The system, with all its vagaries, was probably accepted just as any system of government tends to be accepted if it is not too blatantly corrupt or oppressive. In the same way the legal system that enforced it was accepted. It was an age

when children not yet in their teens could be transported for the most minor thefts; the purloining of a currant pie in one case[6]. Debtors could be imprisoned for no other crime than being unable to pay off the debt and, by an absurd twist of the law, were then forbidden to pursue their trade and so could do nothing to earn release. Severity of punishment often seemed arbitrary. When T. Myerscough and Paul Thompson, of Tewitfield, were found guilty of stealing ten pounds of sugar they were given three months imprisonment[7]. On the other hand, when Simon Vickers went before the Assize Court, charged with *'killing and slaying'* Betsy Dickinson at Warton he was imprisoned for one month only[8] (admittedly the discrepancy is less glaring than it might seem. *'Killing and slaying'* seems to have been a lesser charge than murder, perhaps more like manslaughter).

Poaching

What touched more people more closely, and was likely to have been more resented, was the attitude of the justices to poaching. The bench took very seriously the belief of the time, enshrined in the law, that the right to kill any creature that counted as *'game'* was reserved exclusively for landowners. Game included pheasant, grouse and the like, but even rabbits. In 1806 most of the gentry names of Warton township - Worswick, Bond, Dawson, Jenkinson, Sanderson, Jackson, Mason – appeared under a joint announcement that, because of the depredations caused by poachers and trespassers who had been causing *'damage to the owners of land'*, they would give a reward of five guineas (*'besides the penalties allotted by the law'*) to anyone giving information[9]. The idea that going after game might be enjoyed just as much by the poor as by the rich was not admitted, nor was the more serious issue that, to the poor man, the taking of game seemed an obvious and right way of earning extra money and feeding the family.

It was not even that the justices round here were dealing with gangs of urban roughs as happened near the big industrial towns. Accounts of the court trials show that almost always the offence was committed by, at most, a couple of men from the area, often men described as *'labourers'*. In 1809 Christopher Redhead, a labourer from Slyne, was fined £5:

> *'for keeping and using a dog called a setter dog otherwise a lurcher dog, to kill and destroy the game'* [10].

In 1827 George Beck, a servant at Capernwray Hall, strayed from virtue and was convicted for being armed *'with intent to kill pheasants'*. He too was fined £5[11]. Some mercy could be shown. Samuel Wilson, a labourer from Warton who

had trespassed on the preserves at Leighton Hall *'in pursuit of game'* was fined only 5s (*'in mitigation'* as it was put), but then he had committed his offence in daylight hours and gave in quietly[12]. Poaching in the hours of darkness and resisting arrest, were viewed more seriously. James Whallusey and John Lupton, labourers from Borwick, were found in the preserves of George Marton M.P., of Capernwray Hall. The gamekeeper reported the men had used *'great violence'* towards him. They were given three months in Lancaster Castle. Further, at the end of that time, they had to find sureties amounting to £15 each (a huge sum for a labourer); otherwise they were to spend a further six months in prison.

The Game Laws or the sacrifice of the peasants to the hare.

Sometimes, it is true, even in the neighbourhood of Warton parish, poaching encounters could turn really nasty and being a gamekeeper was not without risk. In February 1828, round about midnight, two gamekeepers found two men on the road near Capernwray. Each man had a dog and a suspiciously stuffed bag. Wilson, one of the gamekeepers, approached to see what the bags contained. One of the men struck him with a large stone, and then both men kicked him while he was on the ground. He was *'left for dead'* (but recovered). The men were later identified by the second keeper and sent to the next Lancaster Sessions[13]. Their fate has not been traced, but if instead of kicking Wilson they had carried a gun and so much as threatened him with it, they could, in law, have suffered the death penalty.

The Relief of Poverty

In two particulars, poor relief and policing, the old system was becoming so hopelessly outdated by the early nineteenth century that reform had to be seriously considered. First there was the problem of widespread poverty and the ever increasing cost of relieving it. Poverty has been, arguably, one of the most important and enduring social problems through the ages. For many centuries its relief was left to private charity and the church. From the end of the sixteenth century a poor rate, levied on the parish, had come to supplement (but not done away with) charity. From the time of the Poor Law Acts of 1597 and 1602 each parish was wholly responsible for its own poor both financially and administratively. The *'Overseers of the Poor'*, the officials responsible for the collection of the poor rate and its suitable distribution, were appointed by the parish, though they were under some supervision by the justices. Various attempts had been made to improve and regularise the Elizabethan system (and cut down the ever increasing costs), but always the principle of payment through local rates and of the responsibility of the individual parish remained.

During the 18th century increasing use was made of workhouses for those in need of relief. Even rural parishes, encouraged by new legislation such as Gilbert's Act in 1783, had begun to erect workhouses, often, to cut down overheads, in union with neighbouring parishes. A workhouse was meant for *'the indigent poor'*, as the wording of Gilbert's Act put it; that is the elderly, the orphaned, the disabled and the destitute. Any able-bodied adult capable of work who sought relief from the parish was to be put to work. From the start this had proved an impossible aim and it became ever more so over the years. In the unstable trade conditions of the new industrial age able-bodied people were out of work, not because they were idle, but simply because, in times of trade depression, there was no work, and guardians of the poor, with the best will in the world, could not create it. Yet the view that the destitute were poor through their own idleness, vice and incompetence died hard (if indeed it ever died entirely).

Despite the intentions of the law-makers, the realities of poverty, particularly the low wages of agricultural workers in the south of England, had forced many parishes to grant *'outdoor relief'*, not only to those out of work, but even, in the form of allowances to subsidise wages, to those actually in employment, but on wages too low to maintain themselves and their families. In 1795 this became semi-regularised as the *'Speenhamland Allowance System'*. It was the intention of the justices at Speenhamland in Berkshire to help the poor by ensuring that each family had a minimum income, calculated according to the price of bread and the number of dependants in the family. It seems that, in

the south, the system may have worked to encourage farmers to offer still lower wages, which then had to be still further supplemented by the ratepayers. How widespread or long lasting this system was is a matter of controversy[14]. The system had probably never been of great importance in the north, except that its faults coloured everyone's views when the time came for reform. Poverty itself, of course, was not confined to the southern counties. Everywhere the perennial causes of poverty, sickness, large families, widowhood and the infirmities of old age, meant that:

> *'most members of the working class were likely to experience poverty at some period of their lives'*[15].

If this seems to imply that people never did anything to help themselves, then the view is unjust. Self-help was not just something inculcated by Victorian moralists like Samuel Smiles in his best-selling book, *Self Help*. Avoiding the need for parish aid was deeply desired and valiantly attempted. Friendly societies, burial societies and other self-help societies date back at least to the eighteenth century and their membership was growing. The Parochial Returns for 1812-15 show:

> *'that there was roughly one friendly society member for every family in the county*[16].

Undoubtedly some of those who would otherwise have fallen into destitution might tide themselves over short periods of distress by using benefits from these societies to which they had contributed in better times. Nor must the place of charity, both institutional and individual, in relieving the poor be forgotten. It has been truly observed that:

> *'...some of the pressure on the ratepayers was eased by a modest but useful flow of charitable endowments, and by a persisting expectation of neighbourly assistance in time of illness or unemployment'*[17].

Nevertheless such individual efforts neither could nor did solve the problem. Estimates of a pauper population of up to 20 per cent of the total national population were made and, though the statistics of the time could be very unreliable there is enough to show that the problem was only too real.

The relief of Poverty in Warton parish

Warton parish had a number of charitable endowments for providing help for the poor[18]. The first trust to have been established, at the end of the sixteenth century, was set up by Matthew Hutton, one time of Priest Hutton and later Archbishop of York. It was intended for the support of a grammar school and

an almshouse where six paupers were to be housed and to receive a small allowance. How far the almshouse was fulfilling its purpose in the early nineteenth century is doubtful. School and Almshouse had fallen into such a bad state that the Charity Commissioners had had to be alerted. In 1826 the commissioners reported that though the almshouse had been put into good repair thirty years before, yet at the time of their report the almsmen had ceased to live in it, preferring to let their tenements at the best rent they could get. Since 1815 no new almsmen had been appointed[19].

Then there was Mansergh's Charity. This had been set up under the will of Thomas Mansergh of Borwick in 1700. Its purpose was:

> *'to place four boys, and as many more of the poorest boys as profits would extend to, to be apprenticed for seven years ...'.*

It must have been a godsend to many boys striving to rise out of family poverty.

In 1858 the small endowments made by John Lawrence, John Dawson, Thomas Adamson, and Robert Lucas had been amalgamated. Out of the total six of the poorest women of the parish could each receive for life 12s annually, in two half-yearly payments. Money from the Sherlock Charities and the Carnforth Poor Land Charity was distributed to *'such poor as did not receive weekly relief'*; in the first named charity the help was for those in temporary distress and in the second it was to give out modest sums at Christmas. *'Neighbourly assistance'*, in the nature of things, goes unrecorded, but can be assumed since it persists to this day.

Public Relief in Warton Parish

It is difficult to know how, in practice, the old system of poor relief worked in Warton parish. Warton, like many other parishes, has almost no surviving overseers' records. It is known that Warton did not have its own workhouse, or join in a union with next-door parishes to build one. A large workhouse had been built in 1787-8 on Lancaster Moor as a replacement to a succession of earlier houses. A lunatic asylum was also erected on the moor between 1811 and 1816 that was able to accommodate, though it was not restricted to, pauper lunatics. Previously the insane had had to be housed in the general workhouse (or in the Castle if they had committed crimes)[20]. How far Warton parish made use of these needs ascertaining. There is one possible indication that sometimes paupers were housed within the parish. In the 1826 report of the Charity Commissioners on Archbishop Hutton's charity it was said that the derelict almshouse was being partly used to house *'persons placed there by the overseers'*,

a phrase which presumably means that ordinary paupers on parish relief were being kept in the parish[21]. Out-relief was presumably being given to some in accordance with general practice, but there is no record.

The Poor Law Commissioners in their 1832 report give no details for Warton parish. However the neighbouring parish of Bolton-le-Sands was recorded as having a poor rate well above the Lancashire average. Of the total population of 695, 31 people were receiving some form of relief within the parish and six more were being supported in workhouses elsewhere. Why there was this problem in Bolton-le-Sands, and whether it was shared by Warton is not known.[22]

Policing

The other social problem that was becoming urgent in the early years of the nineteenth century was how order was to be kept in the face of what was seen as an increasingly volatile situation. The powers and skills of the parish constables, the only police force available in most rural areas, seemed grossly inadequate. Above the constable rose the whole panoply of the judiciary, but he remained the only local executive officer. Even in the towns, which often raised their own force of *'watch and ward'*, the policing available was often of very doubtful efficiency. In a small community like Warton parish things may not have seemed too bad, but nationally there was everywhere the impression of threatening, unmanageable disorder. The unease was finally strong enough to lead to administrative change even in rural areas, no easy matter in so traditional a society.

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2 *Lancaster Gazette,* Jun 5th, 1819.
3 *Lancaster. Gazette.* February 16th, 1828, p.3.
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5 David Foster, *ibid.*
6 E.C. Midwinter, *Social Administration in Lancashire 1830-1860* (Manchester University Press, 1969), p.134.
7 *Lancaster Gazette,* August 7th, 1811.
8 *Lancaster Gazette,* March 20th, 1833.
9 *Lancaster Gazette,* September 8th, 1806.
10 *Lancaster Gazette,* January 21st, 1809.
11 *Lancaster Gazette,* December 1827.

[12] *Lancaster Gazette*, January 22nd, 1841.
[13] *Lancaster Gazette*, February 1828.
[14] J.D. Marshall, *'The Old Poor Law 1795 – 1834'*, Studies in Economic and Social History, 2nd Edition, (Macmillan 1985) p. 20.
[15] Michael E. Rose, *'The Relief of Poverty 1834-1914'* (Macmillan, 1972) p.7.
[16] J.D. Marshall, *'The Lancaster Rural Labourer in the Early Nineteenth Century'* Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1961 Vol 71, p.124.
[17] John K. Walton, *'Lancashire: A Social History 1558 – 1939'* (Manchester University Press, 1987), p.90.
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[19] *Report of Charities Commissioners, Endowed Charities, 1826.*
[20] Andrew White, ed., *A History of Lancaster 1193-1993* (Keele University Press, 1993), p 160.
[21] *1826 Endowed Charities Report Vol.15*, p.305
[22] J D Marshall, *'The Poor Law Next Door: Pauperism in Bolton-le –Sands'* Mourholme Magazine of Local History Spring 1985 p4.

Chapter Ten

CHANGE COMES TO THE PARISH: Crime, the new Poor Law and the Rural Police.

New Rules for the Poor

Old systems, however entrenched, do finally have to give way to new, but up to the first decades of the nineteenth century change in local government had been slow and the paramount place of the parish and the county justices of the peace had been retained since the middle ages. It was not until the 1830s that the first tentative steps were taken away from this locally based system towards increasing centralisation. Change came first in the methods of relieving poverty.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century there was mounting concern at the escalating burden of the poor rates; concern which inevitably led to increasing pressure for change. A commission to investigate the working of the Poor Laws was set up by Parliament in 1832 and attempted a thorough investigation. Many have judged that the commissioners who carried out the enquiry started with a pre-conceived notion that parish relief was being handed out indiscriminately, that it was harmful and that, in particular, outdoor relief for the able-bodied, was widespread and demoralising. There was a good deal of evidence that the old system was working far better in the north than in the agricultural south. Gilbert Henderson, the Assistant Commissioner who drew up the report for Lancashire said firmly in his preamble that Lancashire *'will bear a satisfactory comparison with other parts of the country'*[1]. He pointed out that expenditure on relief was *'... smaller, than in any other county in England and Wales'*, though he did admit that the rate varied very widely between the parishes. Outdoor relief (though on nothing like the organised scale that had prevailed in the south) was, he also admitted, being paid to men with young families, even if they were in employment. This was more especially true for handloom weavers who had been hard hit by the advent of steam-powered industry. He did not think this family allowance was driving wages down. Since weavers were paid piece-rates, *'the spur to exertion'* was not removed[2]. Henderson also found that, in Lancashire, workhouses had been duly built and that, in the towns at least, were being run *'in a reasonably competent fashion'*.[3] Warton parish gets no specific mention; indeed Henderson was open in saying that he had concentrated his personal attention on conditions in towns. He thought that in rural areas *'agricultural vicissitudes'* had more effect than any shortcomings in

poor relief methods[4]. He did comment however that in general:

> *'the rural areas felt the pinch of the decline of hand-loom weaving more than the towns where there was often alternative employment'* [5].

He appears to have been talking of the growing industrial settlements just outside towns, but his comment could be of relevance to Warton parish where cottage-based textile industry was still known.

Despite the evidence offered that in Lancashire, and indeed in other counties as well, the old poor law system was functioning reasonably satisfactorily both financially and administratively, it was decided that a clean sweep was needed. The 1834 Poor Law Act dismantled the old system, and the independence of the 15,000 separate parishes which had allowed them control of their own poor relief was taken away. In the place of these parishes were to be a smaller number of *'Unions'*. Regulation of the system was put in the hands of a central authority, the Poor Law Commission (later the Poor Law Board). The work of the Board was to be mediated locally through elected Guardians of the Poor in each Union. The basic intention of the new act was that all who applied for relief should be offered it only if they entered a workhouse. Further, to deter unnecessary applications for relief, life in the workhouse was always to be made *'less eligible'* than anything but the most desperately impoverished life at home. An unfortunate result of the less eligibility principle was that it bore heavily on those who had most need of help: the aged, the ill and the orphaned.

Only landowners and the larger ratepayers might vote in the elections and the voting was *'plural'*, that is to say that the higher a person's rating the more votes were allowed [6]. In fact, despite the formation of Poor Law Unions, parishes and townships did not drop out of the system. Within a Union each guardian represented his own township and, until 1865, parishes were wholly responsible for rating and rate collection for the relief of their own poor[7]. Hence there could still be arguments over parish responsibility for maintenance, for example that between Priest Hutton and Over Kellet about the maintenance of a lunatic pauper[8].

The New Rules in Practice

It is of interest, as further evidence that Lancashire had been going its own way, that even prior to 1834 there had been an increasing tendency towards the establishment of voluntary amalgamation of parishes into unions. Locally a voluntary Union had been set up, in 1772, centred on Caton in the Lune Valley[9].

There was much opposition to the 1834 Act, especially in the north, an opposition that showed itself as obstruction to implementation of the changes, as well as in outspoken criticism. A study of Poor Law Unions in north-east Lancashire has concluded that outdoor relief still *'continued much as before'* as late as 1871[10]. A reviewer of a pamphlet on the new system appeared in the *Lancaster Gazette* in 1836. The writer had to admit that the pamphlet gave a very balanced account of the first year of the system. All the same he could not resist finishing by saying that:

> *'It was almost impossible to allude to this new Poor Law without feeling provoked to question not merely the justice and the policy, but the decency and humanity, of certain of its powers'*[11].

Local opposition could not prevent the setting up of unions. By 1837 a total of 368 parishes (out of a total of 466) in Lancashire had been united into twenty-one Unions. Among the laggard areas were Lancaster and Lunesdale. Lancaster's Poor Law Union was not formed until 1840 and Lunesdale's not till 1869, the very last in the whole of the county. The delay in Lunesdale may have been connected with the prior existence of the voluntary Caton Union[12]. Warton parish came within the Lancaster Union that encompassed twenty-one parishes in all. To be more exact all the townships of Warton parish except Borwick came within the Lancaster Union. Borwick became part of Lunesdale Union. It seems probable that the oddity arose because Borwick had earlier joined itself with the Caton Union, but confirmation has not been found yet.

Lancaster and Lunesdale Poor Law Unions
from Midwinter p.19

Union	Townships	Population	Date formed
Lancaster	19	25,006	1840
Lunesdale	17	9,044	1869

It seems, too, that in general the change in personnel may have been less than dramatic.

> *'Over and over again, it is said, the former Overseers of the Parish became the Guardians of the Union'* [13].

Professionalism gradually increased. Overseers were only paid an honorarium, but Lancashire had also 228 paid Assistant Overseers in 1834. In several townships these were replaced by one full-time Relieving Officer[14]. In 1846 there was, in Lancashire, one Relieving Officer to every 1,700 inhabitants, earning an average annual salary of £53, or 7d per head of population. In 1840 the Board of Guardians appointed a Relieving Officer for the Northern Division of Lancaster Union (essentially Warton Parish minus Borwick). His salary was £30 per annum[15]. The population of the Northern Division was given as 1,881, which works out at under 4d a head, rather less than the average salary just quoted. In 1841 the Board of Guardians of the Lancaster Union decided to appoint a separate medical officer for the Northern District. He was to attend all sick paupers, except for midwifery cases (he was paid separately for those at a rate of 7/6d for each case). His salary was to be £15 per annum.

Relief of poverty in Warton parish after 1834

A report to the guardians in Lancaster in 1840 painted a depressing picture of Lancaster's Workhouse. It had four *'damp and badly ventilated storeys'*, with *'a dark cell for refractory inmates'*. The 210 inmates subsisted on dinners of potato stew on four days, offal on two days, but at least meat on Sundays. The bathroom, the report said, *'is never used except under medical direction'*. The common privies were in an abominable state. Fourteen children had died in the previous month[16]. In fairness it should be added that by August of the same year the Guardians had decided to alter and enlarge the workhouse[17]. It is hoped that research by a member of the Mourholme Society, currently in progress, will give an answer to the question of how far the townships of Warton parish were using the Lancaster workhouse (and that incidentally we may learn if the workhouse was, in fact, improved).

In the 1851 census of Warton parish seventeen inhabitants were entered as paupers; less than one per cent of the population which is a very low figure. Lancashire as a whole (which did better than most of England and Wales) was estimated by the Poor Law Board to have an average of 6.7 per cent of its population on relief[18]. Nine of Warton's paupers were lone women, only one of whom was under 65 and she was a widow with four children under twelve to care for. The eight men were all seventy or over, except for one man of 34 living with his pauper mother in Priest Hutton, (a problem family? or was he incapacitated in some way?). Three of these old men were also entered as *'former agricultural labourer'*. Whether Warton had no young paupers is not clear. Maybe some were receiving out-relief to tide them over a bad time, but were not being counted in the census as paupers.

At any rate the attitude, at least to one old man, seems to have been very relaxed. Joseph Blamire, aged 86, was listed in the 1851 census as *'almsman and pauper'*. Presumably he was receiving Union relief as well as the small allowance under Archbishop Hutton's charity. In addition he and his wife had taken in as lodgers two middle-aged men in employment as sawyers. It does sound a little as though Blamire was, in the modern phrase, working the system.

This is only conjecture, but if the regulations were being interpreted leniently, it would have been within the spirit of the general way in which the guardians in Lancashire interpreted the law. They continued to give out-door relief. For the quarter ending on Lady Day, 1840, there were 21,263 on out-relief in Lancashire, the highest number on out-relief in the country. Figures varied widely from year to year. On New Year's Day, 1854, there were 60,000 on out-relief and only 11,702 on in-relief[19]. Estimates were probably unreliable, but they do show that the giving of out-door relief continued to be widespread in Lancashire. It has been suggested that the continuation of this practice, in defiance of central wishes, may in effect have helped the new regime in its aim of keeping down costs, since it would probably have been cheaper to give outdoor relief than maintain large workhouses[20]. However although Lancashire continued to have fewer paupers, whether on out or in-relief per head of population than the rest of the country, the rates per head of population did not change much[21].

Argument continues as to whether the new poor law system was an improvement on the old, or the reverse. The argument is complicated by Lancashire's refusal to put the whole of the new system into action by continuing to pay outdoor relief on a large scale. It has been argued that *'The old Poor Law was a proper device for dealing with distress of the agricultural worker'*, and the watering down of the rigours of the new law were a continuation of this older tradition[22], and in more human terms that *'the old system had both humanity and flexibility'* [23].

The new Rural Police Force

The new Poor Laws of 1834 which were supposed to help relieve poverty and so lessen stress, proved so deeply unpopular as to add to the unrest that was alarming people. The idea that policing needed reform was not new; there had been various piece-meal attempts before. Edwin Chadwick himself (the same who was to be so influential in the reform of the poor laws) had taken a hand in the demand for police reform. He published an article in the London Review in 1829 on the subject of *'Preventive Police'*. By this he meant something quite new at that time, a police force that was not just the executive arm of the courts to apprehend already known offenders, but a force dedicated to preventing and

detecting crime The article was in Chadwick's usual didactic style, both laying down what he saw as the facts and inculcating what he saw as the best way of amending things. It was an influential article for he was giving form to increasing fears that the unpaid parish constable, chosen annually by his township, was no longer able to cope.

In 1839 a Royal Commission was set up *'for the purpose of inquiring as to the best means of establishing an efficient constabulary'*. Edwin Chadwick was in charge. The report identified what the commissioners thought were two prevalent types of crime. One was petty crime, including *'migratory crime'* (a concept of the period which is discussed below). The other was illegal activity associated with industrial unrest and political disturbance. It is often held that alarm over the second type of crime was the major factor in gaining support for a countrywide police force. However, ordinary wide-scale general crime undoubtedly existed and a wish to rid the country of it was another factor, and probably the more important one in rural areas.

Chadwick had earlier urged that his new Poor Law needed a strong rural police force to deal with crime connected with the administration of relief. Indeed both Tories and Radicals, tended to see the new police as *'the efficient arm of the hated Poor Law'* [24], though differing as to whether its efficiency was beneficial or dangerous. There was a belief held by Chadwick and others that, because of the serious inadequacy of policing the easiest option for working people had become living by crime [25]. Therefore crime as a way of life must, like the workhouse, be made *'less eligible'*. There was a feeling, never substantiated, that large numbers were being thrown onto the roads by the abolition of outdoor relief and that such people were particularly likely to choose crime as a way of life, and so become *'migratory criminals'* [26] Chadwick estimated that a comprehensive, centralised and properly managed police force was required at a level of one policeman to each 1,769 people or 4,403 acres[27]. The remarkably exact figure is very much in Chadwick's style.

Countering this fear of increasing crime was a long established fear of a centralised police force as a threat to the liberty of the individual and as foreign to tradition in this country. It was an attitude which had defeated previous attempts to introduce a nation wide police force, such as had been embodied in Sir Robert Peel's failed Police Bill of 1822. Such feelings were forcefully summed up in the *Westmorland Gazette*. To create a centralised police, the article said, would be:

> *'extending the influence of government patronage ... to a level never before known in England'* [28].

As a result of these conflicting attitudes, the Rural Constabulary Act of 1839 was an uneasy compromise between central and local responsibility. The Act was permissive only. The almost complete retention of control by the counties was ensured since the whole cost, instead of three quarters as had been suggested in the report of the Commissioners, was to be born by the county rate. All incorporated boroughs were exempted from the act, as was any town or parish with a population over 10,000 if they had set up their own police by a Watch and Ward Act[29]. It was considered to be a purely rural force, though it might include many of the industrialised conurbations that had grown up outside the old boroughs, so that a great many highly populated areas came under rural policing.

Altogether the hope of a countywide force was much eroded. Under the proposed act there was to be dual control of policing, central and local, though without precisely defined boundaries between the two. Local county magistrates were to control appointments. The size of the force and the appointments merely had to be approved by the Home Office. Apart from that, for the first decades at least, any central control was little more than advisory. The outcome was that, though there was the beginning of a paid, uniformed and potentially trained police force, yet administration remained where it had always been - with each separate county.

Rural Policing in Lancashire

On October 14th, 1839, the justices of North and South Lonsdale together took the initiative. They decided, at their Quarter Sessions meeting, that a constabulary was needed and that they should take action under the new permissive act. Legal advice was sought from the Attorney General and he ruled that it was permissible to pay out of the County rate for police, up to a ratio of one officer to each thousand inhabitants. On 6th November 1839 it was resolved to install a county police force. In December, Captain John Woodford, late of the Rifle Brigade and adjutant of the Duke of Lancashire's Own Militia, was appointed as the first Chief Constable[30]. Lancaster itself was not involved, as it had formed its own police force in 1824. Captain Woodward organised the county force with a Superintendent in charge of each district. Under him were inspectors, sergeants and constables. Superintendents' salaries were £100 - £300 per annum [31] (a good salary for the period). Lower ranks did much less well. In 1840 Woodward was asking for 28 shillings a week (£72 a year) for inspectors; for sergeants he wanted 21 shillings a week, and for constables 18 shillings for first class men, falling to 16 shillings for third class men (by which he seems to have meant new recruits without experience)[32]. Sixteen shillings was probably marginally more than any but a really skilled farm worker could earn in a week,

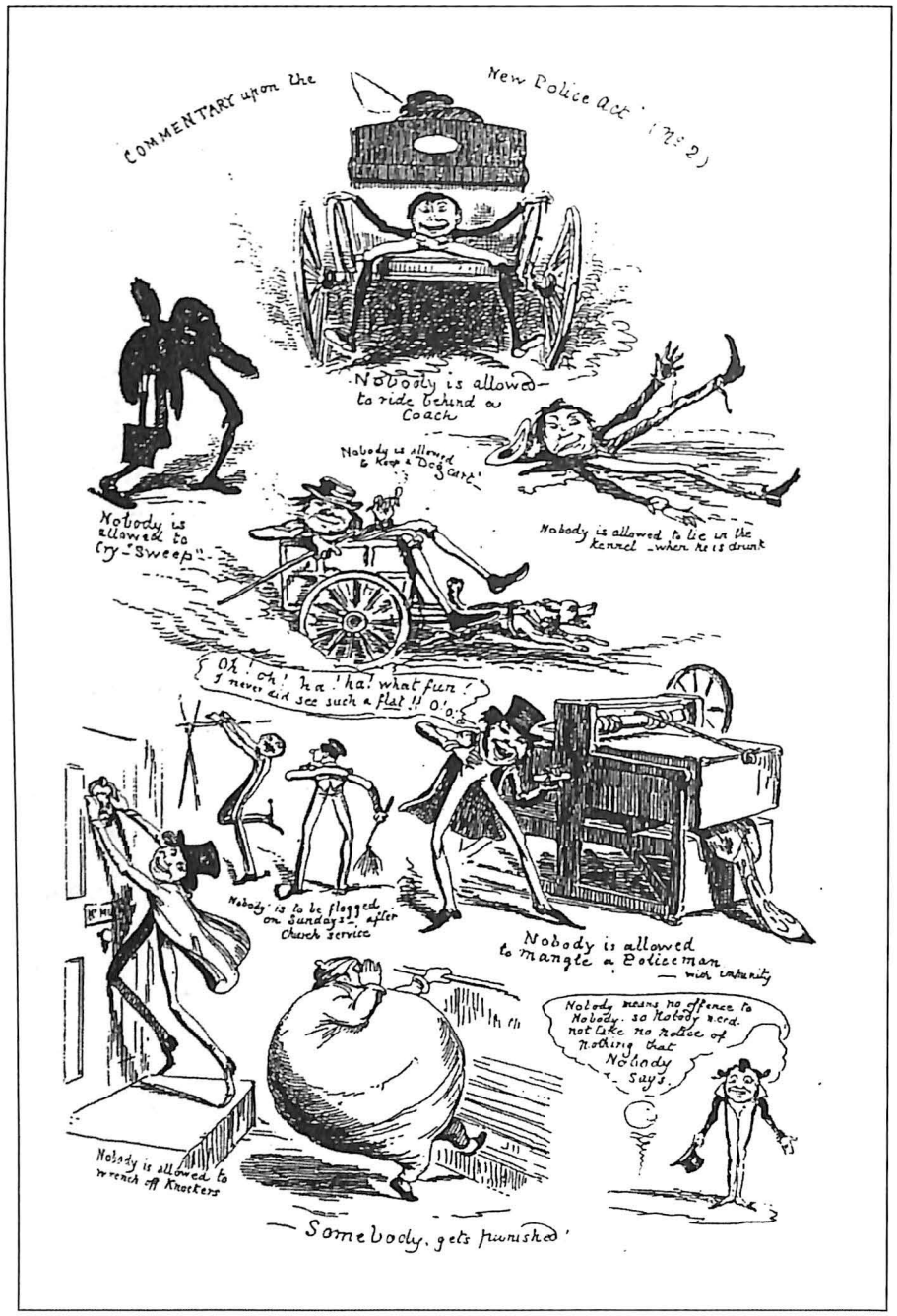
but it had the advantage that it was regular. Warm clothing (including one dress-coat, dress and undress trousers and two pairs of boots) was also supplied and gradually good police housing was to become available

A police constable had wide authority, but he led a hard and restricted life. A constable was forbidden to take any other gainful employment to supplement his wage and he had to give one month's notice to resign. Anyone who entertained a constable on licensed premises while he was on duty could be fined £5[33]. Hours were long. Any officer taking sick leave had a shilling a day docked from his pay. Captain Woodward did make the suggestion that, because of this, the force should at least employ a Medical Officer[34]. On top of all this, officers were subjected to public criticism and abuse. Around here there was not such violent opposition as in certain cotton towns, where the militia had to be called out to quell riots, though there was a sort of riot at the Lancaster races in 1840. It is not clear who began it, the police with their truncheons or the crowd with stones. The police at any rate were sure that the attack on them was deliberately planned. Despite an unusually large police presence at the races they were initially forced to retreat before a crowd estimated as between 1,500 and 2000[35].

All in all the reformers' boast of creating an entirely new disciplined and efficient force, must have been partly based on illusion. To find hundreds of new recruits to a job that was neither particularly well paid nor highly thought of, must have been difficult, and it was likely that many of the pre-reform personnel were recruited into the new force. There was a high turnover in the early years as a result both of dismissals and resignations[36]. As early as April 1840 seven men had already been dismissed from the Lancashire Constabulary for drunkenness[37].

Early problems for the Lancashire Police Force

In 1853 a Select Committee of parliament expressed itself convinced of the economy and efficiency of the new system. In the counties people seem to have been less convinced of the efficiency of the new forces and were very doubtful if there was any saving of money. Per capita costs were, if anything, higher and estimates of crime rates are always difficult[38]. Lancashire did not reach its ambitious starting establishment target of 502, never going beyond 428 recruits. Even so there was alarm at the cost. In fact the magistrates of Lonsdale South, talked of setting up a district police force of their own for which they would be able to set their own rate[39]. Other Lancashire hundreds were equally unwilling to endure the costs. In the end the county force did hang on, though reduced in strength, until there was only just over half the originally envisaged manpower[40].



Cruickshank's view of the 1841 Police Act

Lancaster and County Police Forces
Midwinter p.141

Police Force	Date est.	Population.	Initial est.	Strength in 1856
County	1839	995,000	502	614
Lancaster	1824	10,000	9	10

Numbers in the Lancashire County force, once it had survived this crisis, gradually began to creep up again, so that they rather more than kept pace with the growing population. In 1848 there was one police officer per 1,700 population and by 1857, one per 1,550 that was rather better than the ratio of one to 1,769 desired by Chadwick[41].

Policing in Warton Parish

These vicissitudes are reflected in the immediate local situation. In 1842 the *Lancaster Gazette* was reporting that, following a meeting of the magistrates in session, the force for the hundred of South Lonsdale would be reduced from nine men to three[42]. Yet earlier the same year, sheep stealing in Carnforth had drawn a comment in the same newspaper on the inadequacy of the police force to cope because of the lack of men:

> *'The farmers ask what the police are about – but let us be just. We believe the man stationed in Carnforth to be a very good officer, but (and this shows the utter absurdity of the whole thing) he has to look after some dozen or more townships, and how is it possible that his labour can be efficient?'*

The article concluded:

> *'We say what we have said before ... the force should be trebled, whilst already the expense is protested against from one end of the county to the other'* [43].

It seems that the justices in Lonsdale were aware that their decision was likely to leave the countryside undesirably bare of police. They decided to meet again at the Judges' Lodgings in Lancaster *'for the purpose of appointing constables under the new Act'*[44]. In fact, what the magistrates discussed was not the appointment of police constables for the new Rural Force, but the appointment of the old-style parish constables. The townships were permitted to give their

constables an allowance, though this was seldom more than five shillings a year. Doubts were expressed by some at the meeting. The chairman observed that:

> *'it was the duty of the constable to go about and see that the peace was kept and not wait to be called upon'.*

He was plainly aware what the magistrates were doing for he went on to say that:

> *'The parish constable was, in fact, being expected to take the place of the rural policeman'.*

He thought it was unlikely that, with such a small allowance, a parish constable would be doing that. (Though one parish constable at least had apparently given the matter some thought. When asked where he would go to find and prevent trouble, he replied that he would start at the inn). The committee also wanted clarification of the relationship of these parish constables to the new force. It was agreed that the Rural Police Inspector might call upon a parish constable, but that a man would not be called upon to serve beyond the limits of his own township without a special warrant from the magistrates. The new chief constable, Captain Woodward, who attended the meeting, then revealed that, of the three police officers remaining in the rural force, two were to be based in Lancaster itself and one in Skerton, on the edge of Lancaster. The justices argued in favour of all three being based outside Lancaster, but without success[45].

An account of how these arrangements worked (or failed to work) locally appeared in the newspapers two years later. A group of drunken stonemasons from Capernwray got completely out of hand one Sunday and started to wreck both Longlands Inn and Longlands Beerhouse in Tewitfield. A constable was summoned, but it would plainly have been impracticable to send all the way to Lancaster, so Mr William Muckalt, parish constable for Priest Hutton, the township in which the two pubs lay, was fetched. The stonemasons refused to move. Muckalt walked back to Priest Hutton to fetch three friends - a weaver, a young farmer and a farmer's son. His own father, Mr Robert Muckalt, a well-to-do farmer of 700 acres, came to support him. This time they apprehended the drunks and put then in a shandry (a light trap) to drive them to the lock-ups in Lancaster. William Muckalt walked back to Priest Hutton again to fetch his horse, since there was not room for him in the shandry. Unfortunately while the others were driving through Carnforth a riotous group of drinkers, headed by Edward Titterington, a local blacksmith, came pouring out of the Joiners' Arms, saying they were going to *'rescue'* the prisoners, and they did succeed in freeing two of them. It was only the next day that the Rural Police were involved when Inspector Armitage and Police Constable Dobson succeeded in apprehending

the two who had been *'rescued'*. In the end the unfortunate William Muckalt was rebuked by the court because he had acted outside his parish without getting the permission of a magistrate to do so[46]. To give Captain Woodward his due he had foreseen one part of the problem. Four years before he had urged on his authority the need to supply vans for conveying prisoners. He had argued that it would be cheaper than hiring and, when the van was not in use, the horses could be used by superintendents to enable them to carry out their work efficiently [47].

Inspector Armitage does seem, in the end, to have been able to make his mark in the parish. When the shop in Yealand Redmayne was broken into in 1845, Inspector Armitage *'proceeded to the spot'*[48] (How did he *'proceed'* one wonders? In a shandry? On horseback? On foot?). The next year, when suspicious prowlers were observed in the parish, it was Inspector Armitage who was informed[49]. However, it is perhaps not surprising that the number of police officers was gradually increased. By the time of the 1851 census, Warton township had its own resident police constable, Marmaduke Taylor, aged 39, with a wife and four small children. No constable was recorded in the census for any of the other townships.

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1 E.C. Midwinter, *Social Administration in Lancashire 1830-1860* (Manchester University Press, 1969), p.11.
2 Midwinter, *ibid.*, p.12.
3 Midwinter, *ibid.*, p.22.
4 Midwinter, *ibid.* p.10.
5 Midwinter, *ibid.*, pp.11,12.
6 Midwinter, *ibid.*, p.27.
7 Michael E. Rose, *The Relief of Poverty 1834-1914* (Macmillan,1972), p.36.
8 *Lancaster Gazette*, October 9th, 1850.
9 Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
10 Rhodes Boyson, *'The New Poor Law in North East Lancashire 1834-1871'* Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society 1960,VolLXX, p.55.
11 *Lancaster Gazette*, April 13th, 1836.
12 Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.19.
13 Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.32.
14 Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.37.
15 *Lancaster Gazette*, January 4th, 1840.
16 quoted in Midwinter, *op.cit.* p.53.

[17] *Lancaster Guardian*, August 2nd, 1840.
[18] Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.52.
[19] Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.51
[20] Michael Rose, *op.cit.*, p35.
[21] Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.59.
[22] M. Blaug *'The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the Making of the New'* Journal of Economic History, June 1963, p151.
[23] J.D. Marshall, *'The Old Poor Law 1795 - 1834*, Studies in Economic and Social History, Vol.---, 19--, p38.
[24] David Foster, *The Rural Constabulary Act 1839, National Statutes and the Local Community*, (Bedford Square Press, 1982), pp. 9 & 14-15
[25] Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p124.
[26] Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.132.
[27] Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.125.
[28] *Westmorland Gazette and Kendal Advertiser*, March 9th, 1839.
[29] David Foster, *op. cit.*, p.16.
[30] Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.141.
[31] Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.164.
[32] *Lancaster Guardian*, April 18th, 1840.
[33] David Foster, *op.cit.* p. 17.
[34] *Lancaster Guardian*, April 18th, 1840.
[35] *Lancaster Gazette*, August 1st, 1840.
[36] David Foster, *op. cit.*, p.33.
[37] *Lancaster Guardian*, April 18th, 1840.
[38] David Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28.
[39] Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.146.
[40] David Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[41] Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
[42] *Lancaster Gazette*, November 5th, 1842.
[43] *Lancaster Gazette*, January 22nd, 1842.
[44] *Lancaster Gazette*, November 5th, 1842.
[45] *Lancaster. Gazette*, November 5th, 1842.
[46] *Lancaster Gazette*, April 6th, 1844 & April 13th, 1844.
[47] *Lancaster Guardian*, April 18th, 1840.
[48] *Lancaster Gazette*, November 23rd, 1845.
[49] *Lancaster Gazette*, June 27th, 1846.

Chapter Eleven.

Church, Chapel and Meeting House

As one tries to gain a picture of the religion practised in the original Warton parish in the nineteenth century, one must be aware of the changes that were manifested in the wider world. The population explosion challenged the churches to provide for greater numbers by building churches and schools. The growth of industry meant that the mainly rural society of England was transformed to a largely urban one, and church provision did not always move with the population. The growth of nonconformity and the less strict interpretation of the religious Test Acts resulted in a huge proliferation of *'chapels'* and indeed of denominations. Immigration from Ireland and the Continent swelled the number of Roman Catholics. A realisation that the country was becoming less churchgoing led to various kinds of missionary activity. The growth of open unbelief was stimulated by the development of science. The Romantic Movement involved a recovery of regard for the middle Ages and with it an emphasis on the country's Catholic heritage, particularly in the Church of England, where worship was enriched by hymn singing and by a more elaborate use of ritual in the services. The resultant *'ritualism'*, as its opponents called it, and the restoration and embellishment of church buildings provoked a Protestant backlash.

The need for increased educational provision, hitherto a preserve of the churches, led first to state financial help to denominational schools and then to the growth of secular education, both moves which resulted in much controversy. In the Church of England a financial revolution was created both by the changes in the system of collecting tithes which was inaugurated by the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 and by the abolition of compulsory church rates in 1868. One looks for signs of these changes locally, often in vain, though absence of evidence does not prove the district was unaffected by them.

At the start of the century there were only four places of worship in Warton parish. The established church was represented by the ancient parish church in Warton, St. Oswald's (or Holy Trinity as it was known as during much of this period) and its chapelry, dating back centuries, in Silverdale. The only Protestant dissenting place of worship was the meetinghouse of the Society of Friends in Yealand Conyers, dating back to 1692. There had, for a time, been a Presbyterian meeting in Carnforth, but this had failed before the end of the eighteenth century. Roman Catholic worship had, for a century and more, been offered at

Leighton Hall, where there had been a succession of Catholic squires, but in 1782 an independent mission had been set up with a chapel and presbytery in Yealand Conyers.

This useful indication of the number of nonconformists before the increase in chapels is found in a return of nonconformist congregations made in 1829[1]. It was made by township constables in response to the Clerk of the Peace in Preston, who was in turn responding to a requirement by the Home Secretary, Robert Peel, for information to be laid before the House of Commons. How the counts were made is not known. Each constable had his own idea of how to complete his return.

An attempt has been made to tabulate the results as shown below.

Nonconformist Congregations 1829

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Roman Catholic	4	15	3	0	9	58	4
Methodist	6	0	3	0	18	4	0
Quakers	0	2	1	0	5	21	0
Places of Worship	0	0	1	0	1	3	0

The Townships are numbered as follows along with the remarks of the constables

1. Borwick. Methodists *of the Wesleyan persuasion*
2. Carnforth. No Comments
3. Priest Hutton. Places of Worship. *Methodist.*
4. Silverdale. Places of Worship. *There are no Dissenting places of worship in the Township, nor any place of worship excepting the Church of England*
5. Warton-with-Lindeth. Places of Worship. *One Methodist meeting house twice in the week.*
6. Yealand Conyers. Places of Worship. *1R.C. 1Chapel 1 Quaker Meeting House*
7. Yealand Redmayne. Catholics. *1man. 2 women and 1 child*
   Places of Worship. *Church of England 202.*

THE ANGLICAN CHURCHES
Warton-with-Lindeth

The original parish church which, at the beginning of the century, still served all the townships was St Oswald's, in Warton-with-Lindeth. In the long history of St. Oswald's the eighteenth century appears to have been one of a latitudinarianism that approached lethargy. Early in the century Warton had a distinguished vicar, William Aylmer, a convert from Roman Catholicism and formerly Professor at Douai (the seminary founded in 1568 in France for the training of Englishmen as missionary priests). Aylmer also acted as a physician[2]. His successor, Robert Oliver, who was vicar from 1734 to 1775, seems to have been less distinguished.

The churchwardens reported in 1738 that their vicar:

'is not always with us; he comes at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide and continues with us sometimes half a year' [3].

What happened in the rest of the year one does not know, but he probably maintained a poor curate in the parish? In 1768 Oliver became rector of Whittington as well as vicar of Warton. One of his successors, Joseph Nicholson, came to the parish at the age of 72. He continued to hold the curacy of Aughton-in-Halton parish until his death at the age of 82. His successor had a noteworthy name, but the few details known of him do not suggest any improvement. Thomas Washington died insolvent, having retained the salary of the schoolmaster for himself[4]. He came of the famous family that produced an older contemporary in America, the first president of the United States. Both seem to have been descended from a family that once lived in Warton parish, but the major branch had moved to Sulgrave in Northamptonshire before their arrival in America. Some Washingtons must have remained in Warton parish, for it seems that Thomas Washington was local. The unusual tombstone at the east end of the church commemorates, in quite different lettering, both his aunt who died in 1751 and himself who died in 1823. He had been vicar for 24 years. The next vicar was James Barns, in whose time the present vicarage was built in the grounds of the medieval rectory[5]. William Hutton, of Queen's College, Oxford, followed Barns, becoming vicar in 1838, but moved to Beetham in 1844. He was the grandson of an earlier rector of Beetham who was a noted antiquary. It seems, too, that the fabric of the church had fallen into decay towards the end of the eighteenth century for in 1888 an article in the Westmorland Gazette stated that:

'The last occasion on which any improvement was done to the fabric was about a century ago, and the people in authority in those days ... stripped the roof of most of its lead to help to defray the cost' [6].

Thomas Dean who arrived in 1844 represents a change in style from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century vicars. *Crockford's Clerical Directory* gives no University and merely states that he was ordained by the Bishop of Salisbury at the minimum age of twenty-three. He was appointed as vicar of Warton by the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral, the patrons of the benefice. His earlier ministry had been in Worcester diocese where he was curate of Berrow and Little Malvern and also master of Colwall School. The school had been endowed in the seventeenth century and its trustees were the Grocers' Company. Dean took over a run-down establishment for poor boys at a salary of £30 a year, but he was able to augment this by boarding the sons of the better off. One of the local churchwardens was Mr Barrett, father of the poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Elizabeth noted in her diary that Dean's sermons were *'sleepy'* and *'not worth disturbing one's feelings'*. He was successful in reviving the school and was, we read, much esteemed in the neighbourhood. This esteem was shared by the Grocers' Company who gave him a hundred guineas on his leaving *'for his zealous and efficient services'* [7].

One does not know whether Dean thought of himself as a *'Tractarian'*, that is a follower of the movement that had grown up in Oxford in the 1830s; a movement which sought to return the Church of England to some of its original roots in Catholicism. He does seem, though, to typify the reforming priests of that movement. The movement aroused high feeling, both for and against, and one might expect to hear of some controversy in the parish about any increasing use of ritual. It is unfortunate that a main source of information about Dean's work in Warton is a highly prejudiced one. James Erving, a cloth merchant from Rochdale, who moved to Carnforth in 1850, was one of Dean's churchwardens. He kept a record, half diary half note book, of matters that interested him[8]. He plainly took Dean in dislike. In public he could refer to him as *'my worthy friend the vicar'* [9], but the general impression from the diary is that he was critical of all the clergy and of Dean in particular. Among other complaints Erving recorded that, in 1855, Dean wanted alterations to the church which Erving and, so he said, some of the other churchwardens thought:

'more ornamental than useful'[10] and that In 1857 Dean *'exhibited scarlet Book mark and device like a Cross also a fancy plate for collecting the offering before sacrament'*[11].

In the same year there was trouble over the new practice of chanting the psalms both at morning and evening service[12]. Erving blamed the vicar for equivocation over the matter, since he said he was opposed, but allowed the practice to continue. The whole story is difficult to follow from Erving's private notes. It seems possible however that the reforming vicar had simultaneously come up against two established traditions: the objection of Erving and others to chanting in church and the sort of folk tradition that Thomas Hardy describes in his novel *Under the Greenwood Tree* between a vicar who felt he should be in charge and a village choir which had always gone its own independent way. In 1858 Erving made a note of *'another row between Vicar and singers'*. The Vicar, Erving wrote:

> *'says they* [the singers] *began singing hymns which were not in the collection but written and brought by some of them'.*

The organist, Mr Laing, *'left the organ and church again'*, though it is not made clear whose side Mr Laing was on. The vicar, according to Erving, finally said

> *'he has done now what he ought to have done at first so there is to be no more chanting to please some and vex others'*[13].

Dean was responsible for the first nineteenth century stained glass in Warton church. It was put up in memory of John Bolden of the Hyning and his wife. The large east window involved quite extensive alterations to the chancel. The ceiling had to be partly opened, the gable carried up. A cross put on top. All this, Erving declared, was arranged without consulting the churchwardens[14]. Erving had already, at the time of Bolden's death in 1855 recorded doubts about Bolden's way of life. The entries in his notebook were as follows (retaining his spelling and punctuation, or lack of it; matters on which he tended to go astray when he was agitated): -

> *'Bolden This gentleman was intered in Warton Church under his own pew 6 Feby 1855 How the vicar could allow such a thing after saying so much against such practices astonished me'.*

The practice of burying the dead in the church floor under their own pew was wide-spread and traditional (at least for those who could pay for the privilege). Dean had apparently opposed the custom, as many others did by this time, and Erving seems so far to be accusing him of nothing more than inconsistency, but the rest of the entry suggests suspected darker motives:

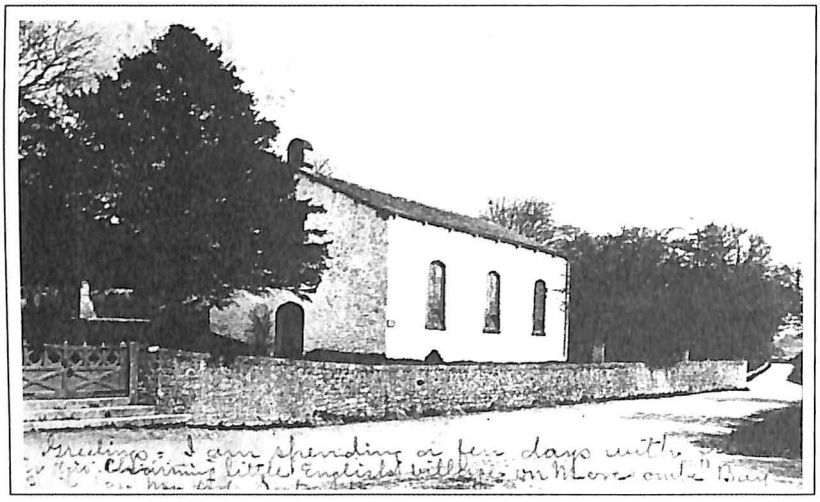
> *'This gentleman* [Bolden] *when at College was chairman of the Hell-fire Club and would not allow the Bible read in his presence but about 14 days*

before his death he sent for the Vicar who says that period was spent delightfully he recanted his former opinions and prepared to meet what his whole life had denied to exist'.

Whether Erving was accusing Dean of allowing special privileges to the wealthy, or of leaning towards Rome in allowing too much weight to a death bed repentance is not made clear, but it was Erving's opinion that because of these changes *'a large falling off took place in people going from Carnforth to church various reasons are given some say it is the new chancel window others the singing some that the vicar is losing himself...'* [15]. While these matters do not suggest the kind of serious ritual controversy experienced in other places, they do suggest that Dean's tenure was moving things in a more High Church direction and that there was some controversy. Dean died in 1870 and his second wife, to whom he had been married for six years, moved to Burton.

Silverdale.

The single parish of Warton was divided into four parishes in the course of the century and the changes had begun in the first half of the century. Silverdale had grown noticeably in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, increasing its population by over 40 per cent.



St John's Chapel of Ease Silverdale
from a 19th C. Post Card

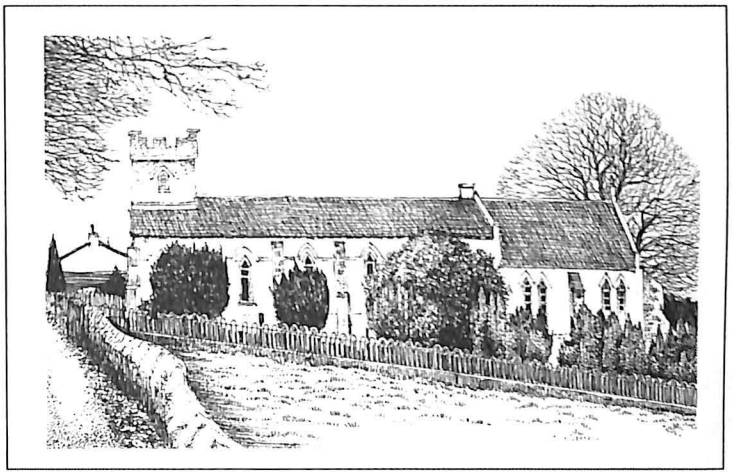
The ancient chapel, dating back to the seventeenth century, was a chapel-of-ease with a resident curate, built for these parishioners who lived at such an inconvenient distance from the mother church in Warton. The chapel was rebuilt and enlarged in 1829 and consecrated as St. John's.

Two prebendaries of Worcester Cathedral reported, somewhat in the spirit of the literary romanticism of the time, that it:

'formed a pleasing object in the retired rocky vale in which it is situated'[16].

Yealand Conyers and Yealand Redmayne

There was both a Quaker meeting house and a small Roman Catholic mission in Yealand Conyers, but the Church of England parishioners in both villages had to travel to St Oswald's until 1838 when St. John's church was built in Conyers.



Yealand Conyers Anglican Church

Its foundation seems to have been under the influence of the Evangelical movement, a movement of spiritual reform that had begun in the eighteenth century and had a profound effect right across the religious scene. John Hyndman M.A. was the first minister and the *'chief promoter'* of this new church according to his memorial in St John's, but he died before it was completed. Backing for the project came from *'Miss Catherine Elizabeth Hyndman's Bounty to the Church of England'*. (One assumes that the first minister was a relation of this lady). The grant seems to have been conditional upon the appointment of the minister being vested in her trustees. Among these was the Rev. William Dodsworth, at the time a well-known Evangelical preacher in London (though

later he moved, through Tractarianism, to Roman Catholicism)[17]. The Evangelical connection is significant. The Hyndman Trust, which survives to-day, was for erecting and endowing churches and nominating to them clerks in Holy Orders having received ordination according to the rites and practice of the Church of England and having subscribed to the Articles of Faith of that church. This appears to cover all Church of England clergy, but the Thirty-nine Articles were thought by Anglican Evangelicals to be the bulwark of the church's Protestantism, a bulwark they feared had slipped from its central importance in much Anglican thinking. Miss Hyndman seems to have aimed at maintaining a succession of Evangelicals in the churches, like Charles Simeon, the influential Evangelical divine whose trustees appointed to over a hundred benefices.

The Hyndman trustees also made a grant of £25 to create a church repair fund, to which a gift of £50 by Dorothy Proctor was added. The fund, in 1900, provided an annual £2 4s 4d towards repairs[18]. The land on which the church was built had been purchased from John and Jenny Hodgson for £20. Subscribers included local men of substance like John Proctor of Beechfield, J.M. Walling and John Jenkinson, all of Yealand Conyers. The church was consecrated on June 18th, 1838 by John Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester (and later Archbishop of Canterbury) who was himself an ardent evangelical[19]. He preached on the 122nd Psalm *'I was glad when they said unto me we will go into the house of the Lord'*. Hyndman's successor, John Deane Freeman, from County Cork, read the service that was accompanied by the singing of a choir that had been formed under Mr Thornton of Kirkby Lonsdale. Freeman served until his death in 1854.

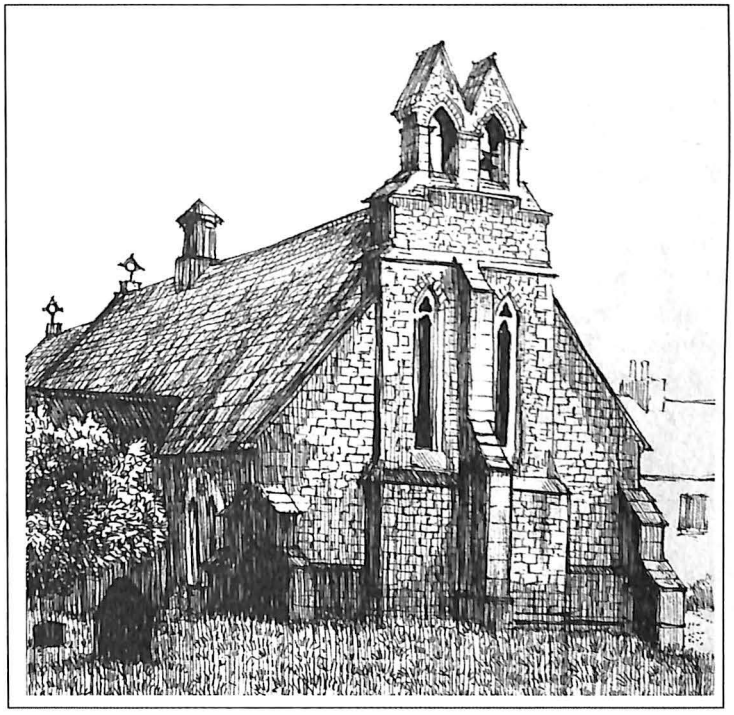
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Over a long period Leighton Hall was the centre of Catholicism in the locality from the Reformation on. First the Middletons, (with the doubtful exception of the conforming Sir George in the mid seventeenth century) then the Oldfields, Hodgsons and Towneleys were all catholic squires. They maintained a somewhat irregular succession of priests, trained in seminaries abroad. Notable among these was Michael Wharton (1733-1809), trained at the English College in Lisbon (a seminary for training priests for missionary work in England), who came to Yealand Conyers with George Towneley in 1760. He devoted the rest of his life to building up the congregation that by 1767 had 54 recorded Catholics in the parish of Warton, 27 in Bolton-le-Sands and 12 in Burton[20]. When the Towneleys left Leighton in 1782 they established Wharton in an independent mission with a house both as presbytery and chapel.

> *'Simple and unassuming, this chapel breathes the spirit of Georgian Catholicism'* [21].

Wharton was succeeded by Basil Richard Barrett, who wrote a life of Francisco Ximenes de Cisnero, the great Franciscan reforming cardinal of fifteenth century Spain. The Worswick family, who followed the Towneleys at Leighton, were also Catholics as were the Gillows who followed them. The Gillows were of the famous Lancaster cabinetmaker's family and arrived in 1827. The family produced three priests and three nuns. In 1846 Richard Thomas Gillow succeeded to the estate and lived till 1906, dying at the age of 99. He it was who provided the present church building designed by E.G. Paley who later designed St. Peter's Cathedral in Lancaster. St. Mary's is situated adjacent to the former chapel in Yealand Conyers and is said to have been built in response to the challenge made by the building of the gothic Anglican church of St. John's in 1838. St. Mary's was completed in 1852:

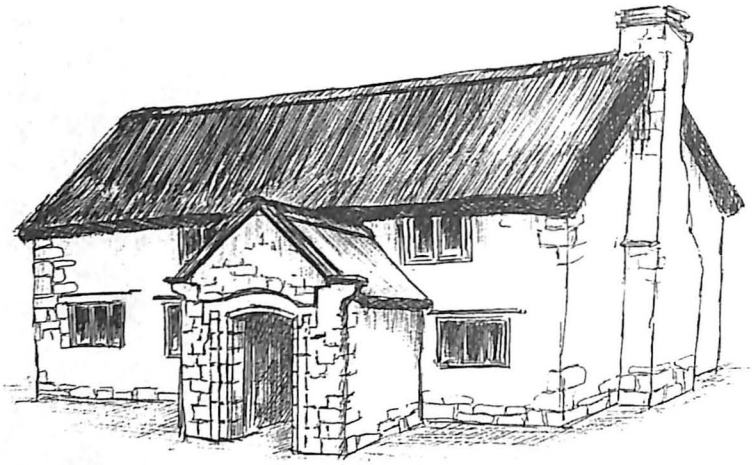
> *'a modest building, consisting of a nave and a chancel ... and surmounted by a bell-cote'*[22].



St Mary's RC Church by Paley

William Henderson was priest from 1846 to 1887. St Mary's remained the only Catholic Church in the area until 1926 when a church was provided in Carnforth.

QUAKERS



Friend's Meeting House Yealand Conyers

In the early eighteenth century, John Lucas, the local historian, said that Yealand Conyers was almost wholly inhabited by Quakers[23]. This may have been an exaggeration and certainly, during the next century, the proportion of Quakers diminished, though their Meeting House in Yealand Conyers continued to be used. This earliest local dissenting cause continued through the nineteenth century quietly and with little record of eventful happenings. Numbers dwindled in accordance with a national tendency; the number of members and attenders in the Society dropping from 27,800 in 1799 to 17,034 in 1861[24]. This was largely due to the marriage discipline by which those who *'married out'*, that is married someone not a member of the Society were, *'disowned'*, that is excluded from membership.

> *'In 1835 Friends were still a little separate community behind a pale; marked off ... by special usages, marrying within the Society, educated in their own schools, mocked but not despised, keeping themselves unspotted from the world'* [25].

Angus Winchester of Lancaster University, in a talk on *'Yealand Quakers'*, which he gave in 1992 for the tercentenary of the meetinghouse, had little to say about the nineteenth century. He refers to the *'Quiet Years'* with a:

> *'loss of vigour and the increasingly inward-looking pre-occupation with conformity to the Quaker regulations of plainness of dress, speech and behaviour ...'* [26].

This is not to say that Quakers had lost touch with their roots. Their peace testimony was still important. In 1824 there was a slightly unusual manifestation of this in the Lancaster meeting. In their minutes concern is expressed about a certain member who had become a Freemason. The meeting had carefully:

> *'ascertained that membership could be by solemn declaration or by affirmation',*

so that there was no direct break with *'our rules'* (which forbade the taking of oaths). Nevertheless there was *'no unity'* in the meeting about the matter, for as far as the meeting could find (the Masons' rules being secret) it seemed the Masons:

> *'made processions amidst the display of their symbols some of which appear to be of a warlike nature''*[27].

Evangelicalism touched even the Quakers. In 1838 Isaac Crewdson (who had been born in Kendal, but spent his adult life in Manchester) published *'A Beacon to the Society of Friends'* arguing that guidance by the Inward Light must be controlled by the Scriptures. Crewdson's arguments were thought by many Quakers to be contrary to the words of the founder of the Society, George Fox, laying forth the fundamental Quaker belief in a universal inward light which can be known by anyone of either sex, of any age, of whatever faith. Much controversy resulted. Three hundred Friends in Lancashire, Kendal and London resigned from the Society to form a separate denomination called Evangelical Friends. If the Beaconite controversy had repercussions in Yealand meeting it seems to have left no trace in the records.

Of Yealand meeting itself Angus Winchester said that over the past 150 years Yealand meeting has changed considerably, from being a fellowship of farmers and others involved in rural activity, and passing through a phase when many of its leading members were wealthy industrialists. Among the conspicuously well-to-do members were Richard Batt of Arnside who owned the Beetham paper mill, the Waithman family of Yealand Conyers who owned the Holme flax mills, James Holdsworth, a retired mill owner from east Lancashire and the Ford family of Morecambe Lodge. At a slightly more modest level, there was Roger Preston, recorded in the 1851 census as *'Owner and Farmer of 102 acres'.*

The Quakers everywhere kept meticulous records of those who suffered for

their faith in any way, a record always known as *'The Book of Sufferings'*. In 1803, it was recorded that Joseph Blamire a member (otherwise unknown) of Yealand meeting lost £20 of household furniture for refusing to serve in the militia[28]. The records also show that the members of Yealand meeting were keeping up their testimony against paying tithes and church rates. Between 1800 and 1825 a dozen named Quakers in Yealand meeting had goods confiscated to the tune of £175 8s 4d in all. A variety of goods was taken, usually hattocks and sheaves of oats and barley, but also wool and fleeces. In 1820 Jane Lawson lost five shillings worth of candles and sugar. The bulk of the confiscations was of goods from those known to be well off like John Jenkinson, the Waithmans and the Fords. Whether smaller folk were not worth harassing or were not liable anyway is not known.

Though a man like William Waithman cannot have been much harmed by the confiscation of even 40 yards of linen to the tune of £1 13s 4d, it could plainly be an irritation if particularly cherished goods were taken. In 1850 William Waithman was in trouble with the meeting for buying back *'goods distrained for Rent Charge'*. He had to promise not to repeat the offence [29]. Despite the presence of these men of affairs in the meeting, the conduct of the business of the meeting seems to have been apathetic. In 1841 Lancaster Monthly Meeting, the wider group to which the Yealand Preparative Meeting belonged (Quaker nomenclature tends to be obscure to outsiders), had to demand the immediate completion of business papers that had been unreasonably delayed. And even then the matter dragged on till 1843. Throughout the 1840s Lancaster Monthly Meeting repeatedly reported that *'No Friend from Yealand'* had attended their meetings. In 1850 Lancaster Monthly Meeting had to record that Yealand meeting was reduced to very few members.

METHODISM

Methodism as a society takes its origins from John Wesley's Mission beginning in 1739. He and his itinerant preachers established societies throughout the land, but he was himself a priest of the Church of England and the early Methodists saw themselves as members of the established church, rather than a separate denomination[30]. It was only in Wesley's later years that Methodism emerged as a separate *'connexion'*. As part of his remarkable itinerant mission, Wesley travelled on several occasions to Whitehaven and in 1759 his journal recorded crossing the sands of Morecambe Bay on his way there, but there is no mention of stopping and preaching in the Warton area. No record seems to survive of the formation of any Methodist groups in Warton parish until well into the nineteenth century. The groups were not established as the direct result of the itinerant mission, but rather because individuals who

had become active Methodists elsewhere moved in to the district. There was, however, a circuit in Lancaster early in the century and John Walsh, a minister of that circuit, married his wife Jane in 1814 at Warton Church[31].

Tewitfield

The first of the farmer evangelists was Joshua Bibby who was born in Marshaw in the Trough of Bowland and had lived in Wyresdale where, from 1802, Methodist-travelling preachers conducted worship at his home. He moved to Tewitfield farm in Priest Hutton as tenant probably in 1809. Early circuit plans, from 1814, show preachers visiting there. Bibby was himself an outstanding and much-travelled lay preacher. In 1823 he bought from Thomas Bainbridge of Priest Hutton a plot of land *'within the liberties of Priest Hutton ... known by the name of Longlands'* [32]. With the land went what are tersely described as *'premises'*. There is a tradition that this building had once been the Longlands Inn. There is no positive proof, but it seems a probable conclusion. It would have been a suitable site for an inn, abutting as it did on what was then the main road north from Lancaster. Presumably the Longlands Inn transferred to its present site (taking its old name with it) to recapture the traffic that no longer went past its doors after new Turnpike road was opened in 1756. At what date the move was made is not known, but probably long before Bibby bought the old building, for in 1824 Longlands Inn was described in a sale notice as:

> *'that well accustomed' inn, situated adjoining the Great Turnpike Road from London to Edinburgh'* [33].

Bibby continued to live at Tewitfield farm and it seems likely he bought Longlands with the intent that it should be used as a chapel. At any rate, two years afterwards he transferred the property to trustees specifically *'to promote Christian religion'*. The only condition he laid down was that the trustees should:

> *'at all times permit the said chapel to be used for worship of All Mighty God....'*

The chapel is still there and in active use, though altered in appearance by a considerable enlargement in 1886. Bibby himself left Tewitfield, and settled in Lancaster, when his wife died in 1826[34].

Arnside and Silverdale

Another pioneer evangelist was Robert Gibson, who was born in Langdale and raised in Kendal. He took over Arnside Tower farm in 1832 and held prayer meetings there. Both the Arnside and Silverdale chapels seem to have grown from the Tower farm congregation.

Robert Gibson founder of Wesleyan Methodism in Arnside

Warton

A Methodist group met in Warton as early as 1828, when circuit plans record a 6 p.m. service there. In 1830 there were twelve members. One wonders what connection this group had with the Tewitfield chapel only a mile or so away. In 1838 land was bought in Warton for £4 and a peppercorn annual rent. Thomas Wilson, yeoman, and Robert Nicolson, shoemaker, signed the indenture and seem to have been the first stewards. In 1840 there was a debt of £40 on the chapel. The congregation seems to have remained small[35].

Carnforth

The origins of Methodism in Carnforth have not been traced. Nor has it been found where they met in the early days, but in the religious census of 1851 the presence of a chapel was recorded. It was said to have been founded in 1849 and to be large enough to offer sittings for 120 people. It claimed an average Sunday attendance of 80 people, (against 23 at Tewitfield chapel and 12 in Warton). The steward who made the return was Thomas Stephenson, a draper and overseer of the poor. He and his family were all prominent in the Methodist cause at the time of the 1851 census, but later they seceded and helped found the Congregational church in Carnforth[36].

Yealand Redmayne

There was also a small Wesleyan Methodist group in Yealand Redmayne. They met in the house of Thomas Borrow Bush where there was said to be an average attendance of 20, and 12 children at Sunday school[37]. Thomas B. Bush is recorded in the 1851 census as an agricultural labourer, born in Yealand and aged 31. His household consisted of himself, his wife and two small children. His house seems to have been on the northern edge of the parish, or at any rate it is listed in the census between Thrang End farm and Brackenthwaite farm.

The 1851 Census of Religious Worship

The one and only religious census came at the middle point of the nineteenth century. Horace Mann, on the instruction of Lord John Russell's government, carried out what was intended to be a complete record of the provision of seating in places of worship and of the numbers worshipping there on Sunday, March 20th, 1851. There was a controversy about the legality of the survey and as a result it was made voluntary. In fact 7% of Church of England clergy failed to give attendance figures. Thomas Dean, the vicar of Warton, was one of these. The following are the returns for churches in the original Warton parish.

1851 Census Returns

CARNFORTH

Church of England

Premises Licensed room (established 1850)
Sittings 100 (all free)
Attendance (no figure for the attendance on the stated Sunday).
Average attendance 80

Wesleyan Methodist

Premises Chapel (established 1849)
Sittings 120 (84 free)
Attendance Morning 40, and 14 Sunday scholars; Evening 72
Average attendance 80, and 25 Sunday scholars.

SILVERDALE

Church of England

Premises Chapel Consecrated 20th August 1829 in lieu of an old existing one.
Sittings 320 (140 free)
Attendance Morning 103, and 30 Sunday scholars. Afternoon 91 and 26 Sunday scholars
Average attendance Morning 95; Afternoon 25

PRIEST HUTTON (TEWITFIELD)

Wesleyan

Premises Chapel (erected 1823).
Sittings 122 (54 free).
Attendance Morning 23 and 34 Sunday scholars. Afternoon 83. Evening 23 and 34 Sunday scholars
Average attendance Morning 23 and 32 Sunday scholars; afternoon 83; evening 106 and 22 Sunday scholars.
'There are two Wesleyan travelling preachers belonging to the Circuit who preach occasionally and local preachers at other times'

WARTON

Church of England

Premises Ancient Parish Church
Sittings 1,200 sittings. (number of free sittings not given)
Attendance (No figure given)
Average attendance not known.

Wesleyan Methodist

Premises Chapel (erected 1838)
Sittings 120 (60 free)
Attendance Morning 12 (no other service held)
Average attendance 12 and 8 Sunday scholars

YEALAND CONYERS

Church of England

Premises 18th June 1838 *'as the district church of Yealand Conyers and Yealand Redmayne'*
Sittings 90 free. 134 others
Attendance Morning 59 and 48 Sunday Scholars. Afternoon 42 and 36 Sunday Scholars
Average attendance about the same

Roman Catholic

Premises Erected before 1800
Sittings 120 free and 20 others
Attendance Morning 150. Afternoon 60
Average attendance Morning 170 afternoon 20

Quaker

Premises erected before 1800. Used exclusively for worship except occasionally for meetings of a philanthropic character.
Sittings 250-300 estimated
Attendance Mornings 21 Afternoons 7 *'several families live a considerable distance & not able to return in the afternoon'.*
Average attendance --

YEALAND REDMAYNE

Wesleyan Methodist

Premises: congregation meets in a dwelling house of Thomas Borrow Bush
Attendance 21
Average attendance 20 and 12 Sunday Scholars

Thomas Dean's total of 1,200 for sittings in St Oswald's church, even if it included the gallery, seems a surprisingly high figure. He does not state the number of free sittings, but does, in the financial section, give Pew Rents as £32 15s 0d. In view of the serious controversy later in the century about local inhabitants' prescriptive rights to pews this lack of clarity over sittings is interesting. No figures are given for attendance, but in the *'Remarks'* section Dean wrote:

'See *1 Chron. Chap. 21 and 2 Sam. Chap. 24*'

and in certifying the return as correct he adds:

'except as to the Number of persons attending divine service which cannot be taken without prophaning God's Holy Sabbath'.

The Biblical references are to David's numbering the people, which met with divine displeasure and a resulting pestilence that carried off 70,000 Israelites.

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1 Lancashire Record Office, QDV/9 *'return of nonconformist congregations, 1829'.*
2 *Crockford's Clerical Directory.*
3 1729 Church Wardens report on Robert Oliver.
4 'Report of the Charity Commissioners 1826', quoted in 1899 Report of the Charity Commissioners *...into Endowments subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts 1853-1894.*
5 William Farrer ed. *Victoria History of the County of Lancaster Vol. 8* (Constable 1914) p.155.
6 *Westmorland Gazette,* August 18th, 1888.
7 Pamela Hurley *Portrait of a School – Colwell 1614-2000* (Colwell, 2000)
8 Lancashire Record Office, DP494/1 *Notebook of James Erving of Thwaite Gate, Carnforth.*
9 *Lancaster Guardian,* January 17th, 1863

[10]Lancashire Record Office, DP494/1 *ibid*, p.184.
[11]*ibid*, p.187
[12]*ibid*, p.188
[13]*ibid*, p.195
[14]*ibid*, p.212
[15]*ibid*, p. 187
[16]*St John's Silverdale: a short history.*
[17]*Dictionary of National Biography* 1975
[18]Rev. W.A. Swift, *Notes on St John's Church, Yealand, c. 1948.*
[19]N.A.D. Scotland, *John Bird Sumner; Evangelical Archbishop* (Leominster Gracewing, 1995).
[20]J.A. Hilton, *The Catholic Revival in Yealand 1782-1852* (Preston, 1982), p.4.
[21]J.A. Hilton, *ibid*, p. 6.
[22]J.A. Hilton. *ibid.* p.10
[23]J. Rawlinson Ford and J.A. Fuller-Maitland, *John Lucas's History of Warton Parish: compiled 1710-1740* (Titus Wilson & Sons, Kendal 1931), p.65.
[24]Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, Vol. I,* (A & C Black London 1966), p.430.
[25]Owen Chadwick, *ibid*, p. 423
[26]Angus Winchester, *Yealand Quakers: the History of a Country Meeting,* (Phylloscopus Publications, 1993)
[27]Lancashire Record Office, FRL 8370 / 6 *'Minutes of Lancaster Monthly Meeting, 1818-1839'*, entry for August 11th, 1824.
[28]Lancashire Record Office, FRL 1/1/7/5 *'Account of the suffering of Friends 1793 -1828'.*
[29]Lancashire Record Office L.R.O. Acc. 8370/8 *'Minutes of Lancaster Monthly Meeting 1840 -1852'.*
[30]Owen Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 370
[31]Eva Needham, *Yes, in Christ,* (1988), p.4
[32]Kind permission was given to view the photocopy of the 1823 deed of purchase that is kept at the chapel.
[33]*Lancaster Gazette,* February 28th, 1824.
[34]Information about the chapel, unless another reference is made, derives from a pamphlet *'Methodism at Tewitfield'*, written by Ian Dent in 1986. There is a copy in Lancaster Public Library PT 1495.
[35]Eva Needham, *Yes, in Christ,* (1988).
[36]Ruth Badley, *Emmanuel Congregational Church, Carnforth 1880-1980*
[37]1851 religious census

Chapter Twelve.

HEALTH
Doctors, Cholera and Middens

It can be assumed that the better to-do in the parish would have made sure they were able to call in skilled medical care when they were ill, but for the very earliest part of the century there is very little information on who might have provided it. The Silverdale Manor Court Book records that in 1808 Robert Inman became a tenant by alienation (court language for a change of tenancy) from a Rodger Parkinson, *'Doctor of Physick'*, but who he was and where, if anywhere, he practised is unknown[1]. Dr David Campbell M.D., of Dale House, is mentioned in the Warton Manor Court Book[2] in 1809.

He was at that time the most prominent physician in Lancaster, where he was justly honoured for establishing a dispensary for the sick poor in 1781. He was also the first visiting physician to the County Lunatic Asylum in Lancaster. He must have been a well-known figure in Lancaster society. He is listed among the guests at the launching dinner for one of Brockbank's ships, the Penelope, in 1796[3]. He is known to have been physician to the Marton family of Capernwray[4], but it seems unlikely that so busy and eminent a man practised in any general way in Warton parish. In Pigott's Directory for 1834, there is no reference to any physician, surgeon or apothecary in Warton parish[5].

Most people would, in the first instance, have:

'pondered their symptoms' and attempted their own diagnosis'[6].

They would then administer medical self-help. Well-stocked homes had kitchen-physic: bottles of home-brewed or shop-bought purges, vomits, painkillers, cordials and febrifuges (dog-latin for any medicament that it was hoped would put a fever to flight, such as concoctions of the common plant, feverfew). If these measures failed, people relied on medical care mediated by a variety of unlicensed *'empirics'* or *'irregulars'*, ranging over interested clergymen, *'wise-women'*, herbalists, unqualified and possibly semi-literate druggists and apothecaries. This description of themselves would have been hotly denied by the apothecaries. The Society of Apothecaries held a royal charter and, from

1704, its members were legally permitted to prescribe as well as dispense medicines. Since prescribing necessarily involves diagnosis it could be said that the:

'right of an apothecary to act as a doctor had been established' [7].

However, control (as with the doctors themselves) was loose and not all those calling themselves apothecary would have been recognised by the Society.

The tradition of seeking advice and treatment from the medically unqualified instead of, or even alongside, treatment being given by a medical practitioner died slowly[8]. It could be said to be still alive to day in the form of alternative medicine. James Helme, *'Old James'* to everyone, lived with his sister Dolly near the house in Yealand Redmayne known as the Castle.

The Castle. Yealand Redmayne

He:

'was delighted when people came with their cuts and bruises. He used Burgundy pitch plaister and a bottle called "cure-all". The children gathered herbs for him ... He left this world in 1859' [9].

(Burgundy pitch, incidentally, was properly resin from spruce firs growing in Burgundy, but more often ordinary local resin was used).

Blacksmiths and farriers might draw teeth and set bones. Midwives required a licence from the bishop to practise, but did not have to have any professional training[10]. Like nurses, they would have relied on skills they had picked up by raising their own families, helping out others, and perhaps by a sort of informal apprenticeship to equally untrained nurses who had gone before. The *Lancaster Gazette* of the period was full of advertisements for dubious remedies - Patent

Worm Lozenges which, the advertisement asserted, were given by two duchesses and a number of right honourable ladies to their own children. Among the claimed cures of one of these medicines was that of the fifteen year old William Hogarth of Silverdale, cured almost overnight of chronic rheumatism by Cumberland Bituminous Fluid[11]. Widow Welch's Female Pills for:

> *'removing obstruction and relieving all other inconveniences to which female frame is liable'*

sounds suspiciously like an abortifacient.

There was not, at the time, any legal control on claims in drug advertisements, but family planning, even in this crude form, was not something to be mentioned openly. On the other hand Lignum's Pills for the *'infallible cure'* of syphilis were openly on sale[12]. Advertisements for drugs were perhaps particularly numerous in the *Gazette* because the editor was the local agent for most of them.

Since no practising doctors have been found in Warton parish itself, perhaps the details of the career of John Thomas Bateson who was born in near-by Wray, can illustrate the path by which professional standing might be reached. Bateson was born in 1803, the son of a local gentleman. In 1819 his father paid £80 to have him indentured for five years to John Smith, surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife, who worked in Lancaster. During the five years he received teaching and board and lodging, but no pay. In 1825 he obtained his licence to practise from the Apothecaries' Hall in London after examination. While he was in London he also obtained a Diploma from the London Vaccine Institution. He then settled down to practise as a surgeon in Lancaster, until his unlucky death in a railway accident in 1857[13].

At the beginning of the century doctors were, officially, divided into physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. However, demands for reform of training for the medical profession and the need to control *'quacks'* (demands, it has to be said, which emanated mostly from doctors), would result in a blurring of these distinctions. The Apothecaries' Act of 1815 was the first attempt at reform. The Society of Apothecaries would issue a licence (LSA) to those completing a training that was largely reliant on a five years' apprenticeship. In addition many aspiring doctors undertook the little extra training in surgery approved by the Royal College of Surgeons in 1800 for the award of the Member of the Royal College of Surgeons (MRCS). Though doctors could practice with a single qualification the combination, LSA, MRCS, became standard for members of the

profession who wished to raise their status. They were then usually termed *'general practitioners'* and they were the backbone of medical care in the community

Warton's First General Practitioners

In the 1841 census of Warton parish there is a record of John Walling, *'a surgeon'*, living at Laurel Bank (originally called Ivy Cottage) in Yealand Conyers. He was aged 40 at the time. He was the son of John and Ellen Walling of Bradshawgate in Silverdale and so related to a well-known and widespread local family. He had, in 1831, married the daughter of a clergyman at Hornby. His name does not appear in *Pigott's Directory* for 1834, but he probably began practising in Yealand shortly after that. Dr. Walling had qualified with a degree as M.D., that is Doctor of Medicine. Strictly speaking this would classify him as a physician only, not as a surgeon. Officially physicians were not permitted to dispense their own prescriptions, did not undertake surgery and they usually regarded midwifery as beneath them. Physicians were still seen as of a higher rank than surgeons. Dr Walling possibly centred his practice in Yealand Conyers because this township was an affluent one. His MD would please the gentry there. In 1857 Dr Walling, for unknown reasons, moved to Preston. He died there suddenly in 1871:

'while engaged in the active and benevolent discharge of his duties',

as is written on his tombstone in Warton churchyard[14]. What Dr Walling's practice consisted of is not known; he may well have acted as a general practitioner covering most branches of medical care. When, in 1877, his widow Mary Walling left £2,000 to local charities, she said it was in commemoration of her husband's connection with Warton, Carnforth, Silverdale, and Arnside:

'wherein for many years he practised as a physician'.

A tablet was put up in his memory in Silverdale Church in 1872[15].

In 1858 Dr Peter Allen followed Dr Walling and settled in Yealand Conyers. He had been born in Kent in 1827, the son and grandson of country surgeons. Many practitioners did come from medical families, or were the sons of other professionals or minor gentry. He had qualified at King's College, Aberdeen, in 1849 with an MD. He was also a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in England and a Licentiate of the Apothecaries' Society. In 1851, while practising in Dorset at Bridport, he had married Flora Nicholetts, a solicitor's daughter. In 1853 he wrote *'Practical observations on deafness arising from exanthemata'* (exanthemata was a catch-all term for diseases characterised by fever and a rash). In July 1855 he had become an assistant surgeon in the Army, serving in the

Crimea and being awarded a medal and clasp for service at the siege of Sebastopol in that year. After coming to Yealand Conyers in 1858, he took on, in addition to his private work, the position of a certifying surgeon under the Factory Acts, (a doctor appointed to certify not only a child's health, but also whether his appearance was consistent with the legal age for employment; a necessary precaution before birth certificates became established). Allen was also Medical Officer to the Lancaster Union and Honorary Surgeon to the 10th Lancashire Volunteer Rifles. He was probably not the only doctor consulted by the inhabitants of Warton parish. The Mannex Directory for 1851 shows that there were other practitioners just over the parish boundary who lived near enough to come into the parish to attend patients. There were Robert Abbotson and David P. McLane in Burton-in-Kendal; Benjamin B. Wilson in Holme and Ellery Birkett in Bolton-le-Sands.

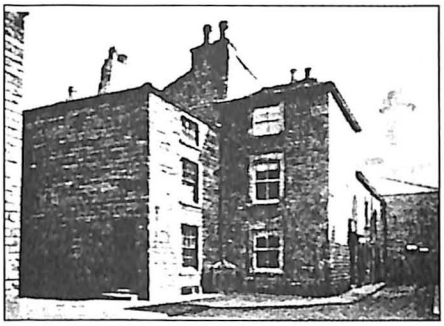
Epidemic Disease

Progress in medical understanding of disease processes was gathering pace. The development and use of a growing number of medical instruments - the stethoscope in 1819, a practicable microscope in 1829, the ophthalmoscope in 1851 and the clinical thermometer in 1866 - together with a little progress in the use of chemical methods of analysis of urine in kidney disease, was later to improve diagnostic performance dramatically, though main impact of the discoveries was not felt until the 1860's[16]. There were also advances in the provision of hospital care. The Dispensary for the Sick Poor in Lancaster had moved in 1833 to Thurnham Street where it could offer in-patient treatment for surgical and serious medical cases. Some provision for the mentally ill had been made quite early in the century, for the County Lunatic Asylum, on Lancaster Moor, was built in the years 1811 to 1816. Its first visiting physician was the Dr David Campbell who owned Dale House at Tewitfield in Priest Hutton. Ideas about mental illness were fairly rudimentary when the asylum was built; lunatics often ended up in the workhouse or the Castle prison; but under Dr. Campbell's supervision some more enlightened care was begun. No doubt these advances in medical practice persuaded the general public to seek help with more confidence when they became ill, but there is scant evidence that the medical advances at this period were being very effective in helping doctors counter lethal disease.

Two Medical Successes

It would not be fair, however, to imply that medicine had nothing to contribute. It had two notable triumphs. The first was against smallpox. Useful protection against this disease had been available since Dr Jenner first used cowpox vaccine in 1796. About 100,000 people had been vaccinated in Britain by 1801[17]. In 1802 a certain John Ayre Brathwaite was offering to vaccinate the

19 Castle Hill 1781- 1785



Plumb Street 1815- 1832

Thurnam Street 1832-1896

The Lancaster Royal Infirmary

'poor inhabitants of Lancaster' at his own house without charge believing, as he said, that vaccination would help to rescue the *'lower order of society'* from the ravages of smallpox[18]. By the 1830s it was in very general use everywhere. The Royal College of Physicians set up a National Vaccine Establishment (the same from which, as recounted earlier, Dr Bateson of Wray obtained a diploma as a vaccinator in 1825.). By 1832 the Establishment was issuing over 100,000 shots of Jenner vaccine a year[19]. In 1840, following an epidemic in the years 1837-40 in which almost 42,000 people died, vaccination at the rate payers' expense became available under a parliamentary act; an act which was purely permissive for those who chose to have their children vaccinated. The following year, 1841, the Board of Guardians for this area arranged for their poor law Medical Officer to be paid 1/6d for each successful vaccination, for which purpose he was to attend each village on two days every month. It was not till 1851 that an act for compulsory vaccination was passed; the act made it obligatory for parents to have their child vaccinated by three months. There were no real means of enforcing this, and epidemics continued. Nevertheless between 1800 and 1870 mortality from smallpox fell from an estimated 3-4,000 per million population to 300 per million[20].

The second triumph was the development of efficient anaesthesia. Ether was first used for anaesthesia in October 1846. It was used in Lancaster, at the Infirmary in Thurnham Street, on February 11th, 1847. The patient, Robert Newby of Whittington aged 20 years, had a leg amputated to deal with a *'white swelling'* of his knee joint (probably a tubercular infection) by Mr. Howitt, while ether was administered by Dr. Arnott, a physician[21]. The operation lasted a mere 10-15 minutes, (which might have seemed rather long in those days. Surgeons had perforce learnt to be speedy when operating on unanaesthetised patients). However, one does wonder about the efficiency of Robert Newby's anaesthesia when learning from the newspaper report that total unconsciousness was not effected. Indeed at one point during the operation Newby was asked if he felt anything. He instantly replied, *'No, but I heard them sawing the bone'* [22]. Newby survived the immediate effects of the operation well, but what happened to him afterwards has not been found. Unfortunately because of post-operative sepsis, patients' lives were only too often imperilled to an almost unacceptable level as surgical interventions, encouraged by the use of anaesthesia rapidly increased.

Public Health

However it still remains true that the greatest impact on the control of disease was the thrust forwards in public health initiatives that were taking place. Public health, in this sense, means all those measures that enhance the health of the community carried out by communal rather than individual action. It is often said that at this period more advance was made against disease by better nutrition, improved housing and public health initiatives in water supply and sewerage than by the attempts at curative medicine.

The greatest stimulus to public health activity was undoubtedly the fear of epidemic disease. Smallpox had taken the place of plague as the disease to dread. It seems to have become more virulent than previously round about the beginning of the seventeenth century. At any rate its death toll increased from then on. Then cholera, an acute diarrhoeal disease that could lead swiftly to collapse and death, abruptly took precedence as the most alarming threat. It was an Asiatic disease, which had moved inexorably, if slowly, west. In 1831 a temporary Central Board of Health was set up by the Privy Council. The Board produced recommendations for the detection and isolation of cases, and also encouraged local authorities to set up their own boards of health. These were to include (a new thought), local medical practitioners. The first established cases in Britain occurred in October 1831 in Sunderland and the disease spread slowly throughout 1832. Fifteen thousand people are said to have died in Lancashire alone[23]. Cholera was reported in Kendal in July 1832, and was still there in November.

'From Monday morning to Tuesday morning there were four deaths and two or three new cases'[24].

It reached Lancaster also in July, but though it devastated the County Lunatic Asylum, the death rate in the town itself was comparatively low. No report of cholera in Warton parish has been found, nor do the burial registers suggest that the cholera epidemic had reached here.

The cholera epidemic finally burnt itself out. The action taken can have had little effect for nothing was really known either of its treatment or of its cause. The notions of the times attributed epidemic diseases to what were vaguely called miasmas, or *'pestiferous exhalations'* in the air. It was not until a second epidemic in 1849 that the source of infection was known. In the epidemic of that year, Dr John Snow, a London physician, by charting the geographical distribution of the disease, showed that in his practice cases were concentrated about the pump in Broad Street. This evidence that cholera was a water-borne disease was greatly reinforced in the public mind by his dramatic action in chaining up the pump. In 1839 Dr William Budd, a general practitioner in North Taunton in Devon had shown that typhoid fever, then newly distinguished from typhus, was also spread by some agency contaminating water[25]. Even so it was not clear what the causative agents of disease were.

The boards of health lapsed as the cholera epidemic waned, but the shock of cholera made action of some sort imperative. There was an uninformed awareness that death rates were high in the big towns and interest was becoming more and more concentrated on such matters as poverty, overcrowding and dirt. In 1838 there was an epidemic of typhus fever. This is very much a disease of overcrowding, dirt and famine, among other reasons because, as is now known, it is louse-borne. Untreated, epidemic typhus can kill up to 40 per cent of those infected. During the 1838 outbreak auditors had disallowed expenditure by the East London Poor Law Guardians on cleaning up filth. This was too much for Edwin Chadwick.

He went into battle again and managed to inaugurate a full investigation that concluded that:

'there was an indisputable connection between filth, disease and pauperism'[26].

Not perhaps a very unexpected conclusion since the study was carried out by men, such as Dr Southwood Smith of the London Fever Hospital, who were already of Chadwick's way of thinking.

Sir Edwin Chadwick 1800 –1890

Chadwick then demanded more data on infectious diseases. From the data obtained he produced sanitary maps, which showed that the highest incidence of disease and death was in overcrowded areas. Chadwick was largely responsible for the monumental *Report of an Inquiry into Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* of 1842. The findings of the Parliamentary commissioners jolted the establishment. The shifts in population that had come with the Industrial Revolution had led to the crowding of workers into towns and villages where the water supply and sewerage might already have been barely adequate. The conditions revealed in the report were horrific enough to lead, after delay, to action in the form of the great Public Health Act of 1848 which inaugurated a whole new attitude to water supply, sewerage and eventually housing. The Act set up a General Board of Health that was empowered to sanction the establishment of local boards, but only on a petition of the ratepayers[27]. Where, however, the annual number of deaths exceeded 23 per thousand of the population the setting up of a local board could be legally required. Lancaster's death rates were above the critical level and, after cholera had visited the town again in 1848 affecting ten per cent of the population, the councillors acted and a Board was set up[28]. Warton parish, being outside the city, was not affected. The 1848 Act had tended to concentrate action on the big towns even though Chadwick's report had in fact shown that the sanitary evils of towns also

existed in agricultural villages. They were just less dramatic because occurring on a smaller scale[29]. The result was that the often-sordid conditions in rural parishes did not lead to action for some time to come.

Probably not much changed in Warton parish. Contemporary comments on its sanitary state are non-existent. Extrapolating back from what is known later in the century, one can make certain assumptions. There would have been no running water, nor were there any sewers. Water came from wells and springs and from collected roof water, and no one was responsible for seeing that the water was in any way healthy and fit to drink. Human excrement was disposed of in middens or simple cesspits, which only too often seeped into the water supply. When the pits were emptied the contents were used on the land, a practice that was ecologically sound if open to risk.

One minor aspect of the environment had caught the attention of those seeking health. In this period sea bathing as a health-improving activity was much in vogue. In the Morecambe Bay area it was attracting visitors. The local papers carried hopeful advertisements. The Britannia Hotel in Silverdale placed one that said it:

'supplied bathing machines for use of guests'[30].

The most northerly of Shore Cottages, the row of fishermen's cottages facing the bay, was known as *'the bath house'*. So popular did sea-bathing at Silverdale become that in 1844 it was reported that:

'... numbers have been obliged to pass on to other places in order to be accommodated. The Inns and private dwellings are at present overflowing' [31].

Diseases and their Treatment

Cholera epidemics came and went, but the other, less dramatic diseases remained. The care that Warton received from its doctors seems, as far as can be judged, to have been in line with general development throughout the country, but their understanding of disease, and hence their power to control it was limited. It was not until the 1860s that the concept of germs was even vaguely understood. It is not unexpected, therefore, that infectious diseases remained major killers. Scarlet fever unfortunately took on an unexpected malignancy round about the 1830s. By 1840 deaths from scarlet fever had almost doubled and in the next few decades it was the major childhood killer. In 1863, of every million children under 15 almost 4,000 died of the disease[32]. Tuberculosis was rife and, unlike cholera, was endemic and killed year after year. The death rate from tuberculosis from 1838-42 was 3,880 per million of the population, which

translates as some 60,000 deaths a year[33]. There are no records to show how many died of tuberculosis in Warton parish, but at the beginning of the century, one third of adult deaths in the Lancashire town of Colne were recorded as due to *'decline'*, which almost always would have meant tuberculosis[34]. All one can say is that the death rate was probably lower in a rural parish (it was certainly so later in the century when more accurate statistics became available). Death would have been preceded by long ill health and incapacity, with the entire burden on families that that meant. It was a distressing illness; the pain in the side, the choking coughs, the wasting. Little could be done for these patients then. The treatments of the time such as *'blistering'* (the raising of blisters on the skin), and administering cod liver oil are examples of hopeful cures that achieved nothing.

Medical Statistics

It was not only in tubercular disease that rural areas had the advantage. The Registration of Deaths Bill in 1837 had established a Registrar-General's Office, which it was hoped would produce useful information on health, which indeed it did, especially when, after a clause requiring the cause of death to be entered was added in 1838. Reliable statistical evidence of the pattern of disease was rendered possible even down to a very local level. In 1845 the *Lancaster Guardian* printed much information collected and analysed by the Lancaster born Professor Richard Owen (better known as a zoologist and comparative anatomist). Owen entitled his work:

> *'The influences which in Lancaster abridge the term of life especially in the labouring population'.*

The findings were based on figures for 5,000 deaths in the previous seven years supplied to Professor Owen by the district superintendent registrar. Owen calculated from these that the average age of death in Lancaster was 28 years, that in *'the rural parts'* it was 35 years and in the sub district of Warton 37 years. The average age of death varied enormously with social position. In Lancaster the average age of death for *'gentry'* was 50 years, for *'artisans'* 26 years and for *'general labourers'* 23. No comparable figures are given for the rural districts[35].

The Financial Side and the Friendly Societies

How did the inhabitants of Warton parish pay for the medical care they needed? (For when one says that doctors' powers were smaller than to day, that does not mean their services were not valued and desired). For reasonably well-to-do patients there was little problem. They could hope to find the doctor's fee. Most practitioners had a scale of fees. Wealthy patients were charged much more

for services than those on lower incomes. Nevertheless there was a limit to how far a doctor could bend his fees, and many patients must have found payment beyond their pocket. There were increasingly, however, ways by which help with fees could be obtained.

For those at the bottom end of the financial scale the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 must have made an enormous impact on health care. It is hard to over-emphasize the effect this act must have had by requiring the Guardians of the Poor to appoint, as parish or union doctors, properly qualified general practitioners, and by encouraging them to set up Poor Law Infirmaries alongside workhouses. It meant that even the destitute could have care of some sort in illness. For the many between pauperdom and wealth there were the friendly societies. These were self-governing mutual benefit associations founded, in the first place, mostly by manual workers. They began as local clubs, holding their common fund in a wooden chest or strong-box, often held by the publican of a local pub where meetings were usually held[36]. The societies offered benefits such as sick pay when the breadwinner was unable to bring home a wage because of illness, accident or old age, and often a death grant large enough to ensure a decent funeral. Some also took on the function of sick clubs and funded medical care for the member and his family. They offered a sense of achievement to people who had few other opportunities of managing their own affairs.

> *'Membership of a friendly society gave the industrial worker a status his working life failed to offer'* [37].

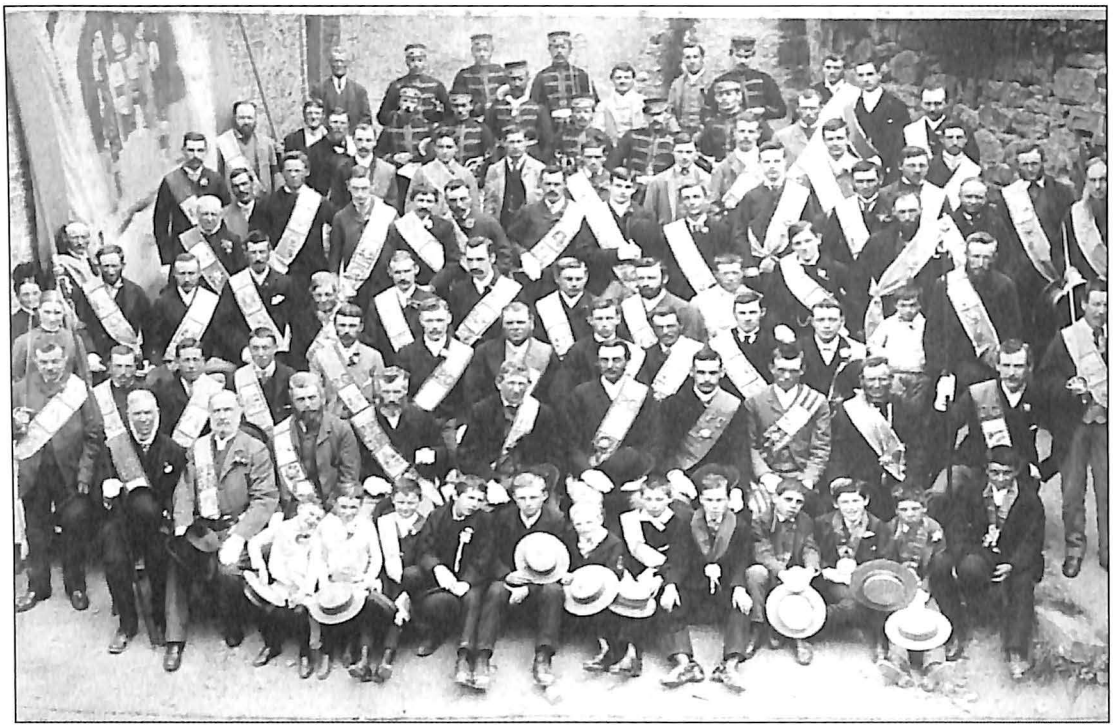
Along with this went a sense of social belonging, fostered by the monthly meetings of all members at which dues were paid, almost always at an inn that allowed of plenty of friendly drinking. In 1803 there were an estimated 9,672 societies with 704,350 members in England and Wales. By 1815 a Parliamentary report estimated that 8 1/2 per cent of the population was enrolled in a friendly society[38].

Until the 1830s the attitude of the governing classes towards friendly societies was dictated partly by their concern to reduce the poor rate by promoting self-help and partly by a fear that the societies threatened social order. Friendly societies preferred to run affairs themselves rather than accept the guidance of gentlemen, and they were suspected of acting as cover for trade union or other political activities all still illegal under the Combination Acts. They were subjected to paternalistic supervision by the justices of the peace until 1834, when they were given more independence, though their rules still had to be approved by an appointed barrister, who acted as their registrar. By that time

political opinions were changing and, in the north at least, fear of the effects of the new poor law was increasing. In 1836, Henry Gregsom, the then town clerk of Lancaster, was urging the advantages of sick and friendly societies in saving working men from the darkly hinted horrors of what would be their fate under the new system[39].

Payment of benefit during sickness was, for most societies, the biggest single task. Local control of the finances probably helped to control fraud (at this early stage the clubs had no legal corporate entity and could not sue defrauding officials), but over-optimism, combined with the lack of adequate actuarial information on sickness rates, led to many smaller clubs being unable to meet their commitments. The local clubs tended to be gradually replaced by larger, national societies, better able to meet crises of excess sickness rates or trade depression. *'Affiliated societies'* with multiple branches grew in importance, so much so that by 1850 the two largest, the Ancient Order of Foresters and the Manchester Union of Oddfellows had between them over 300,000 members[40]. The drawback was that the increased security might be paid for by a loss of what one might call the friendly side of friendly societies. Many clubs refused to join the affiliated societies, not only because they felt it meant loss of local control, but also because stricter accountancy requirements meant that the big societies had to discountenance the spending of members' savings on drinking, however friendly and however much liked by the members themselves.

There has been a difference of opinion about whether it was mainly skilled workers who joined friendly societies. It seems that agricultural workers did join,but the position in the Warton area in the early years of the century is not known. It is true that Lancashire was the county with the highest percentage of its population in friendly societies (about 17 per cent in 1821), but near-by Westmorland was among the counties that had fewer than 5 per cent[41]. All that one can say is that the Lancaster newspapers carry numerous references to friendly societies like the Hearts of Oak (said to have specialised in better paid workers), the Good Templars and the Rechabites (specially founded for tee-totallers who disliked paying their dues at the pub). In the 1840s notices of meetings of the Oddfellows in Warton begin to appear. The brethren of the Grand Order of Oddfellows are recorded as having an anniversary meeting in the Red Lion in 1842. There was a parade of members to the church (accompanied by a brass band from Kendal). Prayers were said by the vicar, the Rev. William Hutton, and after that a sermon was preached by a fellow clergyman who spoke of the great advantages of membership in keeping men safe from the workhouse[42].



Members of a Benevolent Society

In 1846 the Oddfellows again paraded to St Oswald's church to hear a sermon from the vicar, Thomas Dean, this time urging the necessity of gratitude for health[43]. The newspaper account, which is purely about the festivity, does not allow a judgement of what occupations the membership was drawn from, but it does seem to show that this particular friendly society had quite a strong following and had become highly respectable.

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[31] *Lancaster Gazette*, August 17th, 1844.
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Chapter Thirteen.

NEVER DONE:
Women and the Home

Women and the home are deliberately put side by side in the title of this chapter. Throughout the nineteenth century women's work in Warton parish was almost entirely home-based; either in their own home as part of that great army of unpaid labour which still today underpins paid production, or in someone else's home as domestic help. It is true that it is extremely difficult to find any evidence at all about women's work in the first three decades of the century. For men in this period something can be learnt, as has been said, from the parish baptismal registers in which the father's occupation was usually recorded. This source is not available for women. The mother's occupation, if any, was not entered though trouble was taken to enter *'single woman'* at every baptism of a bastard child. By 1841 women's occupations were being entered in the census returns. If these were to be trusted then it would seem that women were largely limited to domestic work. There was little possibility for them of the millwork that women were finding at the time in the cotton towns. There was a flax mill at Holme but that was some miles away from even the nearest point of the parish and neither the 1841 nor the 1851 census records show any woman working there. Indeed the column in which occupation was supposed to be entered was most often either left blank, or simply had the words *'wife of,'* or *'daughter of'* the head of the household entered. Both wives and daughters may have added considerably to the family budget by going out to work at least part-time, but the census enumerators were told only to enter a woman's work if she was *'regularly employed from home.'*[1]

It is difficult to believe that the entries bear much relation to what the women actually did. In the 1841 census there are, for instance, only four women put down as in any way working on the land. In a rural parish it seems unlikely that women contributed nothing to the farm work. A woman who went out to work in a farmhouse was simply entered as a domestic or general servant, unlike the men who were divided into farm servants and house servants. Yet it seems very probable that female servants in farmhouses did do farm work. In the next-door county, Westmorland, the parliamentary commissioners looking into the employment of women slightly later in the century, saw enough of women's work to be a little shocked. They found that:

'there is probably scarcely a farm ... in which female servants do not

contribute some portion of the outdoor labour, and the work demanded of them is often very heavy and unsuitable to the female constitution'.

The commissioner described the sort of work involved:

'The greater part of such work as spreading dung, weeding crops, thinning turnips and taking up potatoes, is still done by female farm servants and by extra women when they can be procured'[2].

Then there are those entered as *'farmer's daughter'*. The likelihood that a boy entered as *'farmer's son'* was in fact working on the family farm was discussed in an earlier chapter. The same probability applies to the daughters, though their work may have lain mainly in the chicken run and the dairy. Both sons and daughters would have formed an integral part of the family economy. However, since the census figures are almost all there is to go on, it seems worth, cautiously, looking at what they show.

The pattern of employment found in 1841 census proved to be very close to that found in the 1851 census. In both women were recorded as predominantly employed in domestic work. Such other work as they did mirrored, at a slightly more restricted level, what they were doing in 1851. Women were already employed in non-domestic paid work. The 1841 census records two shopkeepers, two innkeepers, eight dressmakers, one farmer and one woman in the post office. A directory for 1825 notes three businesses run by women: Ann Eglin kept the *'Joiners' Arms'* in Carnforth, Margaret Burrow was a grocer in Silverdale and Eleanor Richardson was employed by the *'penny post' in Carnforth*[3]. A penny post in 1825, fifteen years before Rowland Hill's penny post was established, may sound unexpected. However, many towns had established a local *'penny post'* before that. Lancaster and the villages around it seem to have been among the pioneers[4]. Because of this relatively unchanging pattern it was decided to concentrate on the 1851 census, partly because it contains more detail and partly because, falling as it does at the end of the period covered in this book, it seems to form a useful marker of what women might realistically aim at in the first fifty years of the nineteenth century.

The 1851 Census

In the 1851 census 52 per cent of all women in the parish who were over twelve years, the age at which it was mostly assumed young people were ready for work, had no occupation recorded. Four per cent were said to be still scholars. A further seven per cent were put down as in some way living on their own means; which meant anything from being Mrs Mary Ford, the owner of Morecambe Lodge and employer of six resident servants, down to being a grandmother living in an agricultural labourer's cottage, but apparently having

some savings of her own, or possibly something coming in from a charity, a friendly society or the parish.

Women at the upper financial end would not have been expected to earn anything towards their keep, indeed would have been actively discouraged from doing so. The family would have felt shamed if it was known it could not maintain its unmarried womenfolk. If one of the daughters went to work, even in such a genteel occupation as being a governess in a private home, she would be hard put to it to continue her claim to being a lady. The novels of the time, for instance those of the Brontë sisters, make this abundantly clear. This does not mean that such women did no work. Quite apart from what was involved in household management many were very actively involved in charitable work: teaching in Sunday schools, organising such things as clothing clubs and in general visiting and assisting the poor and the sick (and in an age before social security such work was badly needed).

The remaining 36 per cent of women were entered in the census as in some way in gainful employment, two thirds in domestic employment. These percentages are perhaps a little misleading. In an area where there was almost no opportunity for millwork and where men's wages were relatively good one might not, perhaps, expect many married women to go out to work. The figures for unmarried women are, in fact, different. The percentage gainfully employed is much higher at 64 per cent.

Occupations of Women over 12 years of age
Warton parish 1851 census

	Total	No Occ.	Servant.	Other Occ.	Own means	Scholar
All	701	361 *(52%)*	192 *(27%)*	63 *(9%)*	52 *(7%)*	33 *(5%)*
Single	325	57 *(18%)*	172 *(53%)*	36 *(11%)*	27 *(8%)*	33 *(10%)*

Before trying to draw a picture of this world of domestic service, there are still other matters to be taken into account. Of all the domestic servants, about one third were living at home or with relations on the night of the census. Whether these were women going out to work as dailies, or employed domestically in their own homes, or were between jobs is not recorded. If they

were working at home it must have been a very different experience from going out to live with strangers. Just to complicate matters still more, living-in domestic servants often came from outside the parish (or at any rate had been born outside it, which is all the census shows). This is in accordance with contemporary practice. There was, apparently, a prejudice against employing servants from too near-by. Among other reasons, too much information might be spread into the local community by gossip[5]. In Yealand Conyers, where as has been said those who had made money tended to settle, domestic servants born outside the parish outnumbered those born within it by two to one. In the biggest house, Leighton Hall, all the servants were born outside the parish. Opportunities for rising to more prestigious domestic posts were limited in Warton parish.

Only about a quarter of households kept a living-in servant at all, and a good half of those that did so, could only rise to one *'general servant'*. In the few houses with two or more staff there was the beginning of specialisation. Servants might occasionally be described as *'cook'*, *'housemaid'*, *'kitchen-maid'*, or *'nursemaid'*.

No local account of what it was like to go out to service has survived. It is known from elsewhere that service could be harsh and degrading, and young things, far from home and knowing their families would be hard put to it to support them if they lost their job, were not in a position to complain[6]. It is on record that one woman from a village not so far away did complain of her treatment, but whether she was malicious or a true whistle-blower she only succeeded in being forced into an abject apology. In 1821 the following newspaper notice appeared:

> *'Whereas I, Agnes Townson of Lancaster, late housemaid to Charles Gibson of ...Quernmore Park, did leave my place without proper notice ... and did spread reports of the place and family which were not true, as to the treatment of the servants: I hereby ask pardon of my late master and mistress for my behaviour, acknowledging my fault in so doing'* [7].

What did the relatively few women employed outside domestic service do? The only professional work undertaken by women in the parish was teaching. There was, it is true, in the 1851 census a woman who lived by herself in Warton and was entered as a *'cottager nurse'*. She might be called professional, but not in the sense, at that date, that she was likely to have trained other than on the job. Nine women were teachers of one sort or another. It has not proved possible to find if any of them had been trained in any way. Three of these teachers were enterprising young women in their early twenties from Manchester who, with an equally young assistant, were entered as in charge of a boarding school in Lindeth. In Yealand Redmayne there was a twenty-two year old schoolmistress, Annie Bradshaw, who lived with her two schoolmaster brothers, probably all running a private school. The twenty-two year old daughter of a Conyers family is given as a *'teacher in a ragged school'*, but since there was no ragged school in Warton her work must have lain elsewhere. There was a twenty-two year old teacher from Liverpool lodging with a family in Warton, possibly a teacher at the infant school there A twenty-six year old governess was employed at Leighton Hall and, finally, there was a seventy-nine year old *'school misses'* in Borwick who perhaps ran a dame school.

Dressmakers just outnumbered teachers. Ten women gave this as their occupation. Apprenticeships in dressmaking in towns were being advertised in the newspaper at the time. Such establishments had a bad reputation for underpaying, overworking and neglecting their employees[8]. The dressmakers in the small villages of Warton parish were presumably not employed in workshops, but sewing for the better to-do, either in their own homes or in their employers' houses. Even if the work was not lucrative or regular, still a few days' work a week might have helped the family budget, even if only by saving the cost of her meals. It was common practice for dressmakers working in their employers' houses to be given part of their wage in food.

Shops offered a few openings for women. There were difficulties in the way of a woman owning a business, especially if she were married. Until the Married Women's Property Act of 1870 a wife's earnings belonged legally to her husband, something likely to check initiative one would think. Despite such disincentives, five of the eleven-recorded shopkeepers in Warton parish were women. The post office in Carnforth was run by Miss Richardson, assisted by her mother-in-law and her fifteen-year-old daughter. The impression is that the shops were run in a small way, in a corner of the home. Only two of the five women, Agnes Fryer in Warton and Jane Scott in Yealand Redmayne, have been found in a contemporary directory. There was a woman baker in Warton township, the head of a household that consisted of herself and two resident house-servants. perhaps her business was approaching the commercial. Nevertheless, whatever

the size of the business, shop keeping was something a woman could resort to at need. Each of the women who kept shop, whether single, married or widowed, was entered in the census as the head of her own household.

Then there was the refreshment trade. Two women, both widows, were innkeepers. Three women were employed at a lower level in inns, two as *'waiters'* and one as a barmaid, but in each case they were related to the innkeeper. Two women in Yealand Conyers gave their occupation as *'taking in lodgers'*. Both were getting on in life, and both were heads of their small households. According to the census return a fair number of other women around the villages had lodgers in their house, but only these two gave taking in lodgers as their occupation.

A few women were doing work that was unlikely to be home-based. Mrs Mary Fryer, a widow living in Borwick, was a *'coal carter'*. Two elderly women in Priest Hutton said they were *'sacking weavers'*; two women in Carnforth said they were *'ropers'*, but where these women went to work is not known. There was one woman said to be a *'cockler'*, though why only she named herself so among so many who undoubtedly went cockling, is not known. perhaps one should also mention the fifteen-year-old girl in Warton who claimed to be an *'Earthen Ware Dealer'*; so were her father and two of her brothers. Nothing else is known of this family business. Three widows were recorded as farmers. Presumably their dead husbands had left them the farm, but they were not necessarily involved in field work, for each had a son living at home also entered as a farmer.

Women are not found in public life. Their role there could only be behind the scenes. They were not eligible for public office, and they had no vote; no parliamentary vote that is, though a woman who was a householder had as much right as a male householder to vote for the Guardians of the Poor. The question of whether she could also be a guardian was not mooted until the second half of the century. Even when it comes to social life it has proved very difficult to find how far women shared in entertainments with the men. Newspaper reports read as though only men attended. It has not even proved possible to find out how far women were acceptable at the pubs and inns where so much of the entertainment took place. If the newspapers do refer to women it is only in connection with the refreshments. We learn, for instance, that at the coronation celebrations for William IV the sixty gallons of coffee and the seven hundred buns were *'under the supervision of the Vicar's lady'*[9].Yet, she only supervised. She must have had helpers. Experience suggests that the helpers were women.

All that is written above is subject to one possibly very important proviso. There is no certain evidence about how many women left the parish to find

From Hunt's Picture of Life in a Country Vicarage

work elsewhere. Naturally they do not figure in the censuses for the parish, yet it seems reasonable to assume, for instance, that the servants coming into the parish were matched by a certain number of local girls going to work in houses outside the parish. Advertisements seeking country servants appeared in the papers. In 1805 there was a particularly un-encouraging one that read:

> *'Wanted Immediately. Middle aged woman servant who can bear confinement, dress a plain dinner, and has no followers ... a person from the country will be preferred'*[10].

Some rather uncertain evidence exists suggesting that a certain number of girls did leave the parish to seek work elsewhere, usually as domestic servants. More work needs to be done on the subject.

The Home

Trying to reconstruct in the mind's eye the houses people lived in at the beginning of the nineteenth century is a tantalising task. Something can be known of the big houses. They conformed to a more national pattern and life in them can be re-constructed to a large extent from information from elsewhere. The biggest of all, Leighton Hall, still has much of its nineteenth century

furniture and can still be visited. There are also plenty of small houses in the townships to-day the structure of which goes back to the nineteenth, the eighteenth and even the seventeenth century, but a house as a dwelling place is more than its structure. Heating, lighting, furnishing, equipment are every bit as important. A modern cottage, damp-proofed, double glazed, and complete with laid-on water and indoor sanitation and accommodating a far smaller family does not convey its nineteenth century essence.

Overcrowding

There is one brief official account of local housing. It dates from the beginning of the second half of the century. The railways had come to Carnforth by then and things were beginning to change. It seems unlikely, however, that the villages were changing so fast as to make the report irrelevant to earlier decades. A parliamentary commissioner, a certain Dr Hunter, visited Warton and the two Yealands as part of the 1865 parliamentary inquiry into *'the State of Dwellings of Rural Labourers'*. Dr Hunter reported that the houses were *'not too full'*[11]. The trouble is that one does not know what *'too full'* meant to him or anyone else at the period. Standards for overcrowding had not been laid down. The census returns do not give as much help as might be hoped even though they give both population and number of houses. In 1841 there were 417 houses in the parish and 2,209 inhabitants; that means 5.3 persons in each house on average. In 1851 there were 408 houses for 2,099 people; 5.1 persons per house. Modern census returns are not given in a directly comparable way. All one can say is that in 1991 only 1.4 per cent of households in Warton Ward had more than one person per room, and only 0.8 per cent in Silverdale[12]. Such a figure cannot be worked out for the 1851 returns since the size of the house is not recorded.

Houses would have ranged from a mansion like Leighton Hall down through the larger farms to two- and even one-bedroomed cottages. An attempt was made to overcome this difficulty by picking out the houses where the head of the family was said to be a labourer (agricultural or otherwise), a fisherman or a quarryman, on the assumption that men in these occupations would be at the lower end of the wage scale and only able to afford the smaller houses. Even then there are difficulties. How small was smaller? In a survey of 5,375 *'labourers' cottages'* in Lancashire in 1865, 40 per cent had only one bedroom. The proportion of one-bedroom houses in Warton parish is, unfortunately, not known, but they did exist according to Dr Hunter.

In such houses the most usual number of inhabitants in each was three, which certainly does not suggest gross overcrowding. However the figures can be looked at in another way. While two thirds of the dwellings being considered

had six or fewer inhabitants, the remaining third had from seven to eleven inhabitants.

Overcrowding

Six inhabitants, particularly if most of them were young children, might just have been fitted with some minimal degree of comfort, into a cottage with two bedrooms, but hardly numbers up to eleven. Still less, of course, into a one bed-roomed cottage.

The House

In the first half of the century all building in Warton would have been in stone, though not necessarily good stone. Brick really only began to be used up here later in the century and wooden buildings were not in the local idiom. At the end of the nineteenth century a parliamentary investigator still had to admit that though a good stone wall might resist the wet, yet *'damp may ooze through the floor or come through the roof'* [13]. Even to-day older people tell that in their youth walls were so ruined by damp that in any re-decoration sodden wallpaper had to be stripped off first. One trouble, certainly in the early nineteenth century, was that the sort of careful maintenance required was unlikely to be given by tenants who had no security of tenure. When, at the end of his six-month hiring period, an agricultural labourer found a job in another parish, he would move there with his whole family. In May 1867 the headmaster of Yealand Friends' school entered in his logbook, among reasons for a poor attendance, that families were *'changing their residence'*. No further comment was needed; it was simply something that happened[14]. Lack of the technology for achieving ventilation without draughtiness must have added to dampness. Dr Hunter's 1863 report made repeated comments, such as *'only one small pane of glass in each window was*

made to open'. It was apparently not a new complaint about northern housing. Dr Hunter tells that the great Erasmus wrote to the physician in the household of the Archbishop of York, in the sixteenth century, to say that:

> *'It would be a great improvement if your windows were made to open, or if there were some contrivance for letting air into your houses'* [15].

Houses would have been cold too. One does not have to be all that old to remember the chill of unheated rooms before the days of double glazing and the lagging of roofs. In 1836 there was a warning to those immigrating from the south to Lancashire that:

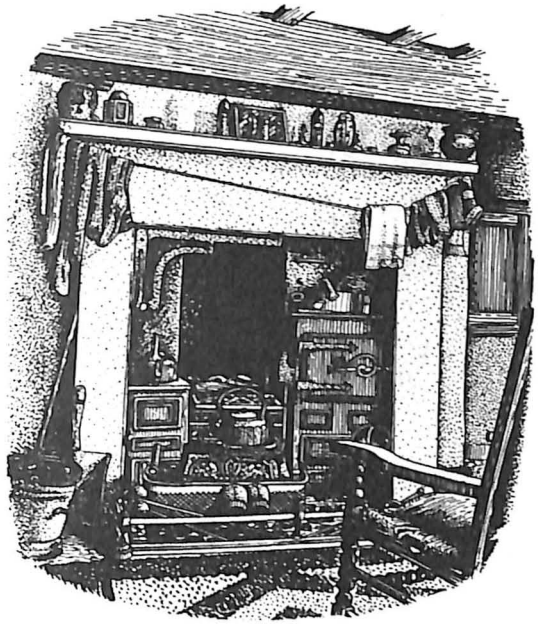
> *'...it would probably be very conducive to the health of the migrating family, if they were enabled to adopt a custom almost universal in this part of England, of protecting themselves by flannel under-garments ...'*

Though, to be honest, the writer was more particularly worried about the dangers of moving from the heat of the mills to the cold street[16].

Changes were beginning. Thatch was giving way to slates or flags for roofing. When Mr Gillow, of Leighton Hall, helped in 1834 to re-house an unfortunate woodcutter whose house had burnt down, flags for roofing were fetched from ten miles away in Hutton Roof[17]. Floors of beaten earth had been common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries[18]. By the 1860s it seems such floors were no longer acceptable. Dr Hunter reported flooring in cottages of *'boards, tiles, brick, flags, paving stones and concrete'*, but not beaten earth[19].

The Furnishings

In the seventeenth century the cooking pots had been hung on hook and chain over the open fire[20]. By the beginning of the nineteenth century fitted grates and fixed ovens were coming in, though there seems no way of judging how complete the change was. Dr Hunter was still finding cottages with nothing but an open fire to cook on even in the 1860s. He thought it a *'stupid and cruel'* arrangement for landlords to expect the tenant to put in their own closed grate. The tenant would not be able to afford the cost, he said, and so have to cook over the much more wasteful open fire[21]. Ovens could certainly be bought locally. As early as 1801 a Lancaster firm, Parkins and Branthwaite, advertised that they had received a large consignment of *'boilers, ovens, stoves, hollow ware, fire grates etc'* [22]. The price is not given, so there is no way of judging how affordable to an ordinary cottager these were.



A Mid-Nineteenth Century Westmorland Kitchen with Range

There would also have been the cost of fuel to consider. The cheaper, locally dug peat could be used on an open hearth, but grates and ovens required coal or wood. The falling cost of coal after the opening of the Lancaster canal has been considered in an earlier chapter. However, at what stage in the century the complicated balance between wages, convenience and costs led to the general change over to coal is a matter for speculation. Certainly when the ironworkers' cottages were put up in the 1860s in Millhead it was assumed by the builders that closed coal grates was what was needed.

The same consideration of cost goes for other household amenities that were becoming available. From the earliest decades of the century oil lamps had been available. Carter, an ironmonger in Lancaster, was offering *'improved lamps'* for sale. They could be had in a:

> *'variety of graceful and elegant forms for suspending from the ceiling, or fixing against a wall...'* They would burn *'common oil without smell or smoke'* [23].

The advertisement does not say what counted as common oil. At the time it would have been a vegetable oil, colza oil perhaps, not the mineral paraffin we know to day. In 1858 Jackson, a druggist in Lancaster, was selling best quality colza oil at 4s 9d a gallon. Even the second quality oil was 4s 3d a gallon[24] which suggests it would be a luxury item to an agricultural labourer's wife. Lamps were

never a complete substitute for candles. It hardly needs saying that candles would have been widely used. Even candles were a relative luxury. Rush lights with wicks of the pith dipped in any kitchen grease available gave a cheaper if very dim and malodorous light.

Lancaster was able to supply beautiful furniture made to order by the firm of Gillow, but that sort of furnishing was not for cottages. It seems to have been unusual, at the beginning of the century, to buy ready-made furniture at all. No advertisements for furniture shops have been found. Instead there are numerous advertisements for auction sales at which the existing furniture of a house was being sold. By 1854 furniture dealers are appearing in directories, but they are all called *'furniture brokers'* which implies they were dealers in second hand furniture. Probably the same re-cycling of furniture made by local craftsmen went on in the villages at a level too modest to warrant newspaper advertisements.

Wallpaper could be bought in the shops. In 1811 a bookseller in Ulverston announced that he had, along with other upholstery material, a stock of *'stamped paper and bordering'* [25]. Yet, when cholera was approaching Kendal in 1831 the newly established Board of Health arranged that committee members should visit the *'dwellings of the poor'* to see that the interior was whitewashed[26]. Plainly they did not expect to find wallpapered walls. A certain J. Pennington of Lancaster was prepared to visit his customers' homes where the paper-hanging business would be *'executed in the neatest manner'*[27]. He also had mattresses and bedding for sale, but does not say if his beds included the new *'cotton beds'*. In the same issue of the paper there was an article describing such beds that, it was said, were coming more and more into use and were as comfortable as feathers. Then there were the truly luxury gadgets like Dr Arnott's stove, which had:

> *'all the advantages of warming by steam and hot water together with .... advantages peculiar to itself'* [28].

It seems fair to accept that, as is commonly the way, luxuries would be creeping down the financial scale, but how fast or how far is difficult, if not impossible, to establish.

Household shopping must have been becoming a little bit easier. Not only were there bakers and butchers within the parish, but it seems the local shops had begun to act as general stores. When Mrs Rowlandson's shop in Yealand Redmayne was broken into in 1845 the thieves were able to extract:

> *'... eleven pairs of trousers, four waistcoats, six pairs of quarter boots, some flannel and some tobacco, tea and coffee'* [29].

The Basics

Yet however sophisticated the details, the basis remained extremely primitive. That this must have been so is obvious from the more detailed reports of conditions later in the century. As was emphasised in the chapter on Health, sewerage was non-existent and the contents of privies went onto the land. Water was nowhere laid on, and in general had to be fetched from wells and springs. The nearest to running water, for those able to afford such an arrangement, was a tap or pump connected to a rainwater tank or even, if one was lucky, to a near-by well.

Drying Clothes

The washing of clothes and bed linen must have been a particularly exhausting task for housewives, what with fetching the water, lighting the fire to heat it, filling and emptying the wash tub by hand and pounding the washing with the heavy dolly. To some extent, of course, the task would be lightened by not washing clothes, or at any rate not so freely as we casually do today in our washing machines, but it looks as though more and more washing was being done. Between 1841 and 1861 the national *per capita* consumption of soap doubled[30].

I used your soap two years ago; since then I have used no other.

Mangles were, it seems, known in the parish for at one time there was a woman living in the parish who gave her occupation as a mangler. If clothes needed further smoothing then it meant using a flat iron heated over the fire, a hot and tricky task.

FOOD

In one domestic matter the women of Warton almost certainly had one great advantage they had a relatively good chance of serving up good meals. Throughout the century every commentator agreed that people in the north ate better than those in the south. Just before the opening of the nineteenth century, the beneficent Sir Frederick Morton Eden, one of the founders of the Globe Insurance Company, being *'troubled'*, as he put it, by the high price of war-time food, undertook a most thorough investigation of what he called the:

> *'state of the poor'.* One of his conclusions was that *'In the north of England ... the poorest labourers can, and actually do, regale themselves with a variety of dishes that are wholly unknown in the south'.*

Labourers' families in the south, he said, ate an almost uninterrupted diet of dry bread and cheese. He then gave a detailed description of what might be expected in the north. In particular, of course, northerners ate oatmeal-based foods, oatcakes, hasty pudding and crowdie. By hasty pudding he seemed to mean oatmeal in cold water, and by crowdie oatmeal cooked in a stock. They were, he said, eaten with *'butter, beer or treacle'.* Northerners, he went on, even ate meat regularly, at least in the form of corned beef, which in those days meant salt-cured beef. They used it providently, for:

> *'In the North of England where the greatest advantage, and richest treat expected from a small piece of corned beef (which there are few so low or poor as not to indulge themselves with for a Sunday dinner), is its supplying sufficient ... savoury skimming for crowdie'.*

As well as oatmeal dishes the northerners ate *'Pease kaile'*, which he described as

> *'peas boiled till they are soft and milk added (or boiled in broth to give a soup)'.*

And, of course, northerners ate potatoes:

> *'No vegetable is, or ever was, applied to such a variety of uses in the North of England as the potato'.*

It was, says Sir Frederick:

> *'served up for every meal except breakfast in houses of Rich as well as Poor'* [31].

Potatoes were something that could be grown in the garden and perhaps at this point it would be well to correct a possible bias in this chapter. All through, household management has been spoken of as though it was purely a matter for women. There is no evidence one way or another, but it would be surprising if nineteenth century Warton was an exception to the tradition of housework as women's work. It is a tradition that, after all, survived almost unchanged until the second half of the twentieth century. Doubtless also, as always, a husband would give such help as was felt to be consistent with his masculine role. It would very probably be the man who did the heavier work in the garden, including growing potatoes. This was before the age of allotments, and it is not easy to know how many cottages had gardens. Dr Hunter, reporting on Yealand Conyers, seemed to think they were the exception there:

> *'Gardens seem small and few, the labourers here, however, valued their mere potato patches as much as their fellows valued gardens in the more sheltered corners of the South'* [32].

In the mid-century the north kept its advantage. When James Caird published his letters on English agriculture in 1851 he had been greatly struck by the difference in wages between north and south and the consequent difference in living standards.

> *'In the North counties the labourers are enabled to feed and clothe themselves with respectability and comfort'*[33].

In 1843, the Poor Law Commissioners also noted how much better those in the north fed:

> *'There might be a lot of bread, potatoes and tea in the diet, but there was also milk and broth, oatmeal porridge and hasty pudding, and pies and bacon'* [34].

If a woman had to struggle to feed a large family in an ill-equipped cottage it must at least have been rewarding to be able to serve up something tasty.

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[18] Mourholme Local History Society, *How it Was* (Kendal 1998), p.79.
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[20] Mourholme Local History Society, *op. cit.*, p.78.
[21] PP 1865, *ibid,* p.141.
[22] *Lancaster Gazette,* October 21st, 1801.
[23] *Lancaster Gazette,* September 14th, 1811.
[24] *Lancaster Gazette,* October 9th, 1858.
[25] *Lancaster Gazette,* March 2nd, 1811.
[26] *Herald,* November 19th, 1831, p.357.
[27] *Lancaster Gazette,* September 20th, 1845.
[28] *Lancaster Gazette,* March 31st, 1841.
[29] *Lancaster Gazette,* November 22nd, 1845
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[32] PP, 1865, *op.cit*
[33] James Caird, *English Agriculture, 1850* (Cass 1966 facsimile), p.513.
[34] PP 1843, Vol.XII, *'Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture'*, p.300.

Chapter Fourteen.

GROWING UP
SURVIVING INFANCY

Out of every thousand children born alive each year in the nineteenth century at least one hundred and fifty would be dead before their first birthday. This infant mortality rate of 150 in every thousand live births remained essentially unchanged until the very end of the century. Babies in rural areas would have a rather better chance of surviving, children in industrial towns a much worse one. These figures underestimate the actual toll, for stillbirths were ignored. There is no recorded figure of how many infant deaths this meant each year in Warton parish, but even at the very end of the century, when the infant mortality rate was just beginning to improve, the local Medical Officer of Health was having to report an average each year of 27 deaths of babies under the age of one in the Warton sub-district (roughly the same area as the old parish)[1].

Woman, Child & Cat

The survivors then had to face the hazards of later childhood. Gastro-intestinal infections were particular killers. Every year children were being carried off by the diarrhoea and vomiting that was inevitable in homes with primitive sanitation, no refrigeration and where the very water needed for cleanliness was scarce and itself likely to be contaminated. Professor Owen's work *'Influences which in Lancaster abridge the term of life'* has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. He included estimates of childhood deaths, differentiating carefully between the classes. He calculated that of every 100 children born to the gentry in Lancaster 15 would be dead by ten years and that for *'tradesmen'* the figure was 36 and for *'operatives'* 67. Putting it another way, he estimated that 21 per cent of the gentry died under 21 years, 46 per cent of tradesmen and 62 per cent of general labourers[2].

Owen, unfortunately, does not give separate figures for rural areas, but it is possible to obtain some picture of child mortality in Warton parish from the parish registers. In the years 1800-1812, there were 299 burials recorded. Of these 57 were of children of ten years or under; that is to say that almost a fifth of those dying were dying in childhood. If this figure really represents what was

happening, it looks as though Warton may have been doing rather well. All the same such figures represent many tragedies, and obituary notices for children in the newspapers are sadly frequent.

Despite the death toll children abounded. There were almost as many as today, but in villages a quarter the size. That was the nineteenth century pattern. Everywhere the high death rate among children was more than matched by a high birth rate. A surviving child, in the early nineteenth century, was likely to be one of many brothers and sisters. One family had eleven children of whom four died in infancy; twins in babyhood from an unnamed illness, a two year old boy, John, from croup and a daughter, again from causes unknown, at nine months.

There was also the chance that a whole family might grow up motherless. There are no reliable figures for maternal mortality at any time in the nineteenth century, but at the beginning of the twentieth century five mothers were dying for every thousand babies born. For most causes of death rural mortality was less than urban, but not for maternal mortality. Today we are so shocked at any maternal death that every case has to be investigated and reported on.

CHILDREN AT SCHOOL

There seems to have been a bias towards education in the North West, with higher than average literacy rates. It has been shown that between 1839 and 1845 80 per cent of men in Westmorland were able at least to sign their name on the marriage register (ability to sign is really the only evidence of the level of literacy in an earlier community that one can hope to find). This was at a period when in the southeast, in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire for example, only 49 per cent of men could sign their names and when the average for England was 67 per cent[3]. In Warton parish, between 1754 and 1800, seventy seven per cent of men could sign their name, and in the township of Silverdale an astonishing 97 per cent [4].

A contemporary account of one local child's search for education may perhaps be more illuminating than statistics. John Simpson (1782-1858), a farmer's son who passed part of his childhood in Warton parish, is one of the very few local people who have left a written account of their childhood[5]. His story relates to the last decade of the eighteenth century, but there is little reason

to suppose a country boy in the first decades of the nineteenth century would have found things much changed. Up to the age of ten, John lived on his father's farm near Caton. There was:

> *'a small miserable School kept by a poor woman, and that at a distance of* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *miles over the moors'.* He was soon moved to another school which was *'about the same distance away'* but over *'a worse road through the wood ....'*

There *'he first learned a, b, c'*. He did not learn much for as soon as he was old enough he was *'employed about the farm with my Brothers and Sisters, 8 in number...'*. As he put it:

> *'I drove the plough-share, attended the Cattle on the Moors ... and did anything useful my age would allow me to do, for none were allowed to be idle about the Farm'.*

The result was that he remembered *'but little of what I had occasionally learned'*. In 1792, when John was ten, his father took Lindeth farm near Silverdale. Here John was employed as the shepherd and in attending the cattle on the marsh *'to prevent them getting to sea and be drowned'*. He did, for a few weeks, attend :

> *'a small Chapel school in Silverdale Parish kept by a Mr Gildart,(or Geldart) who had been in the Army, and had served abroad in Germany'.*

His army service must have been many years before, because Mr William Geldart had been curate at Silverdale since 1770[6]. At Mr Geldart's school John *'made some small progress in writing and account'*. He sold wild mushrooms and went out with the fishermen to gather cockles to earn money to buy books in arithmetic, spelling and letter writing. He also bought travel books and *'a small Chart of the World and Mercator's Projection'*. And *'while with the sheep I read my books'*. The figures puzzled him, but *'with slate and pencil ... I learned to write'*. His father once bought him some books at a sale, among them *'some poetry (the first I had seen) in praise of the Island of Bermuda particularly, this was my companion for weeks ...'* (Could this loved poem have been Robert Herrick's *Where the remote Bermuthas ride?* It is a pleasing thought). The family moved to a farm near Kendal. John was beginning to long for *'learning enough to get me some other employment than Farming (which I did not like)'*. However by now he was really useful on the farm for he could *'sheer corn, thrash it out in winter, cart manure and other things about the place'*. As the family moved from farm to farm he was able to put in a few weeks from time to time at a variety of small schools, but his father's attitude was *'that from the time spent over my books I should be good for nothing'*. Poor John was *'mortified'* when it turned out that, for all his study of

arithmetic, he could not measure and price some hay his father was selling. A man had to be employed. John thought he was well paid for *'a very easy half day's* work'. perhaps the father felt the same for he finally allowed John to walk the four miles daily to the Charity School for Boys in Lancaster (on condition that he also mucked out the cow houses each morning and evening). John was eventually able to leave farming, became an insurance broker in London, married the daughter of a wealthy Lancaster merchant, and was made a Freeman of Lancaster. John's experiences may have been coloured by his father's opinion of learning and so perhaps suggest a much poorer provision of educational opportunities in Warton parish than was in fact the case.

All over the thought was being given at the time to the need for more education of the general mass of the people. The motive was to a large extent religious. The Evangelical movement that had revitalised religion everywhere meant that it was seen as of great importance to teach people to read so that they might read the Bible. There was also, mixed with religious motives, a general feeling that education might be a restraining influence on the unruly and growing urban population. Sunday schools were the first answer. Such schools must have existed in Warton parish by 1826 for there is a Charity Commissioners' report of that date saying that an upper room at Archbishop Hutton's was used for a Sunday school, but they did not record how many attended, nor what was taught. Not all such schools taught reading, and still fewer writing, which was not necessary for Bible reading, and was felt by the stricter to be an unsuitable occupation on the Sabbath.

The first hard evidence of how many children were receiving a school education of any sort comes in the 1830s. In 1834 a commission of enquiry into the *'state of education'* was set up. It included a request for a return on all local schools, showing the type of school and the numbers attending. In 1835 an abstract of these returns was published[7]. The seven townships of Warton parish claimed between them 307 pupils in attendance at day school, and 231 at Sunday school. The details are given in the table overleaf.

Borwick and Priest Hutton seem always to have shared school provision. The totals for boys and girls have been calculated on the assumption that equal numbers attended in mixed schools.

Even assuming that the figures for school attendance were reasonably accurate, there still remains a problem. Apart from anything else, there was no legal definition of school age.

State of Education.
(Population figures taken from the 1831 census)

Township	Pop.	S'dy	Boys	Girls	Day	Boys	Girls
Borwick[1]	278	0			0		
Carnforth	299	1	27	33	1	30	24
Pr. Hutton	263	1	0	21	1	18	15
Silverdale	240	1	25	35	2	20	15
Warton	558	1	mixed 50	1	60		
do.					1	Infants 40	
Y. Conyers	294	1	mixed 40	1	mixed 60		
Y. Redm.	227	0			1	10	15

In his preface to the 1851 Educational Census, Horace Mann (who was in charge of the report) suggested a usual age range of 5 to 12 years. In the 1841 census there were 417 children in that range in Warton parish, so that the claim that there were 307 children in attendance at day school seems to mean that about 74 per cent of children from five to twelve were attending school. Only, *'attending school'* itself needs interpretation. Horace Mann took a very gloomy view of attendance. He thought that total attendances of any child would, in almost all cases, fall very short indeed of the eight years' possible attendance between five and twelve.

Mann also suggested a level of provision he thought desirable. He wanted school places for 16.7 per cent of the total population. The actual average for England & Wales was far below this at 8.4 per cent. In South Lonsdale it was 13 per cent (if Lancaster with its mere 9.2 per cent is excluded). North Lonsdale did even better with 14.6 per cent[8]. Warton, in 1833, with 307 pupils in a total population of 2,160, was at a level of 14 per cent, certainly streets ahead of what most of England could show nearly two decades later.

Not mentioned in the report are the places available in fee-paying private schools. Not that this should be taken as an indication that fees were only paid for private education. The report makes it clear that education was not free in any day schools. Sunday schools were more likely to have outside support allowing free attendance.

In Silverdale education on Sunday was free *'at the expense of Mr Inman'*. In Priest Hutton and Warton the children were *'gratuitously instructed'*. In the latter place books were supplied by the vicar. Only in Carnforth was the Sunday School clearly stated to be *'at the expense of the parents'*. The entry for Yealand Conyers is unclear. It says that:

> *'at present the school is wholly supported by payment from the parents'*

but does not say if this applies only to the day school, or to the Sunday School as well. Education in the weekday schools was wholly at the expense of the parents, except in the case of Warton Infant School that was *'supported by subscription in aid of payment by the parents ....'* [9].

Schools

So what were the schools supplying as education according to the report? There were, for a start, two endowed schools in the parish: Archbishop Hutton's Grammar School in Warton and the school run by the Society of Friends in Yealand Conyers. Archbishop Hutton had set up a trust to endow a School and an almshouse in his native parish in 1594. The trust provided £20 for the master's salary, £6 8s for the usher and £20 for the almsmen (£3- 8d each annually). The school had survived through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, never counting among the more famous schools, but never losing its claim to be a Grammar School, that is a school able to impart classical learning. By the beginning of the nineteenth century it was in low water. In 1826 the Charity Commissioners had to be called in to investigate the trust. They found that no master had been appointed since 1808 and nothing had been received from the trust since 1815. Still worse, the vicar of Warton, Thomas Washington, who died insolvent in 1823, had misappropriated to his own use the £20 intended for the master's salary. The school had been kept going by the usher, Mr Robert Gibson. The Commissioners reported that he occupied three of the four up-stairs rooms and his salary was being paid out of the funds of *'another charity'*. He taught the poor children of the parish *'reading, writing and accounts'*, but was not competent to teach classics. Not unexpectedly the report ended with the comment that:

> *'Under the circumstances ... the interference of a court of equity seems necessary*[10].

The schoolhouse, situated at that time up the hill behind the church, needed to have the gable end re-built, a new staircase installed, new windows supplied, the ground floor flagged, and the privies rebuilt and added to. As a result it could not be re-opened until 1833. Mr Gibson's services were

dispensed with and an advertisement was placed for:

> *'A master ... competent to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and other branches of education in the English language, and also in the Classics and other learning usually and customarily taught in other Grammar Schools'.*

A Mr John Hodgson Steble, B.A. was appointed. His salary was to be raised to £40 and he was also to receive *'quarterage'*, that is to say the school fees came to him[11]. The fees, given in the table below look ridiculously small to day, but in 1833 they would have been high enough to be a barrier to the children of labourers and the like. From then on, the school has continued without break, in one form or another, to the present day.

Archbishop Hutton's School: charges for tuition 1833[12]

writing	3 pence
writing and the first four rules of arithmetic	4 pence
writing and other higher branches of arithmetic	6 pence
mensuration, geography and algebra	1 shilling
Latin and Greek classics	1 shilling

No charge for teaching reading is given. Mr Gibson had taught reading, but when the school re-opened again in 1833 it tried to revert to Grammar School status and it was decided that children would not be admitted until they were *'competent to read in a common spelling book'* and to spell words of two syllables. The rule was soon relaxed[13], possibly because numbers were falling under Mr Steble's management. In December 1835 his resignation was *'accepted'* as they tactfully put it. The trustees said he was a good teacher – when he was there – but felt he *'should not have neglected daily attendance at the school'*[14]. In 1837 the head master resigned on being admitted to the University of Cambridge. The trustees complained that this was the third master who *'had accepted office with a view to their own advancement to Holy Orders'*. They decided it would be better to appoint a master qualified only to teach the *'rudiments'* of Latin' [15]. The original charter of the school had merely said that the Archbishop had founded it to *deo et bonis literis*, which might be translated as *'to the glory of God and for the promotion of good learning'*[16]. Nevertheless, membership of the Church of England had come to be required for the master and was still being required in 1854[17]. Rules laid down in 1846 required that children were to attend service at

the parish church twice every Sunday and also public prayers in church on All Saints' Day and on Wednesdays in Lent[18]

The Friends' School had been founded at the beginning of the eighteenth century when Robert Withers of Kellet, who died in 1709, left an annual sum of £6, to be charged on his estate

> *'towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster of the people called Quakers'*[19].

Over the years the school had acquired small extra endowments. As well as these individual gifts the school was being supported by contributions regularly collected from the meeting[20]. It never laid claim to being a grammar school, but was apparently prepared to teach Latin. At any rate in 1727 the meeting decided that:

> *'All Friends who has their children taught by the school master is to pay 2/6 per Quarter for learning Lattin...'* At that time the master was charging *'3d. a week for writing and arithmetic'*[21].

The school appears to have gone quietly on throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, teaching girls as well as boys (unlike Archbishop Hutton's which did not admit girls until 1836). Robert Withers left his money *'to be applied for teaching Friends' children'*, but this seems to have been interpreted liberally. In 1899 the Charity Commissioners noted:

> *'The benefit of the charity has never been reserved for members of the Society of Friends ... and the managers do not design any such rigorous exclusion'*[22]

The nature of the school in Silverdale is less certain, but was probably the one that appears in a sale notice in 1819. The sale was of a house said to be near the parish church and also near *'a boys' and girls' school'* [23]. At this date the parish church was situated at the north end of Emesgate Lane and the curate of Silverdale had his house near-by[24], so that it seems probable the school was his. The tradition of the curate as schoolmaster is an old one in Silverdale. At the end of the seventeenth century the inhabitants had boasted that their curate was *'an honest orthodox and painefull* [i.e. painstaking] *Schoolmaster'* [25]. In 1722 the Vicar of Warton told his bishop that in Silverdale the curate taught in his own house English and Latin' [26].

Still less is known about the infant school listed in the report on Warton with Lindeth. The Infant School still existing in living memory was not built

until 1864 and there is no information where this earlier one was situated, but it seems to have been accepted as in some way part of the grammar school[27]. Nor has anything been found about the schools listed in Yealand Redmayne and Priest Hutton.

The school in Carnforth is known, but details about its founding are obscure. It was held in a disused Presbyterian chapel behind the present Shovel Inn. The building was:

> *'converted into a township school and used for this purpose until 1849'.*

The information comes from the Charity Commissioners report of 1899, but unfortunately, they had to admit that:

> *'no evidence has been presented to show under whose management it was, nor in whom the site was invested'*[28].

Carnforth township was very small at that time. It would be interesting to know where the enterprise came from to organise a school. Presumably the Richard Haslam, entered in the 1841 census as *'teacher'*, was master at this school. He employed three farm servants, which suggests that school teaching was only a sideline. By the 1851 census he is only calling himself *'farmer'*, but by then he had been active in helping to found a new public elementary school in Carnforth. The story of public elementary schools in the parish begins with the building of the school in Yealand Conyers in 1842 and is bound up with the sad quarrel between the established church and dissenters, each determined that they would educate the young in their own beliefs and only united in a dislike of a purely secular education supplied by the state.

The *'National'* Society and the *'British'* Society

The warring factions grouped under two national societies, both founded at the beginning of the century: the *National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church* and the *British and Foreign School Society* to which dissenting schools gravitated. From 1833 on, the central government made increasing grants for education, but in order to pick its way as best it could between the denominations, it allocated the grant, not directly to schools, but through the two societies. It was not a policy likely to settle the rivalry between the two societies.

Doubtless there was inter-denominational feeling in Warton parish as there was elsewhere, but only one example of extreme feeling has been found. In 1840 the incumbent of Yealand church, in an effort to extract money from the

National Society wrote a letter saying that there were no schools in his district *'except three kept by females ... hardly deserving the name of school'*[29]. He may have been technically right, since it does seem that the Friends' school had faltered for a couple of years at that exact time.[30] All the same it seems disingenuous of the curate to have ignored so totally a school which had given service to the children of the Yealands for nearly a century and a half. Anyhow, he got his grant and a *'National'* school was near the border between Yealand Redmayne and Yealand Conyers in 1842.

There was no doubt in people's minds for what sort of child this new school was to be. When Edward Cumming and Jane Adamson conveyed land in Footern field, they specified that the premises built on it were to be used for a school for the education of children:

'of the labouring, manufacturing, and other poorer classes ' [31].

A newspaper article, in describing the opening of the school first listed by name the big people present, and then mentioned that there were also present *'... many of the yeomanry and labouring classes'* [32]. They were only using the language of the time.

Government grants at that time could only be used towards the actual buildings. In all other respects a school had to find all its own running costs, through the children's fees and donations from the public. Subscribers were assured, lest they feared their money might be misused, that the school would be managed upon the principles (italics in the newspaper article) of the Church of England[33]. In 1846 the school was further helped financially by a legacy of £300 under the will of Miss Lucy Rothwell of Yealand Conyers[34]

The next public elementary school to be set up also came under the Church of England. The Dean and Chapter of Worcester granted the site of an old tithe barn at the top of Haws Hill for a school for the education of children:

'of the labouring, manufacturing and other poorer classes in the township or village of Carnforth...'[35].

The National Society granted £60[36]. In accordance with standard practice the grant would have been in proportion with what sums were raised locally, and a further £273 pounds was raised by local subscription. The school building still exists. It was converted to commercial use when the school moved to its present site in 1960, but a stone recording the date can still be seen in the wall. The schoolteacher, Mr Robert Townson, was not to be given any pay, but to be allowed the school pence paid by the parents of each child. As in Yealand great

care was taken that the children's religious education should be strictly Church of England based. The next elementary school, also a National school, was built in Silverdale just after the end of the first half of the century.

Private Schools

Through the decades private schools came and went. Sometimes they can be traced, but probably there were others that left no record. It is the more the pity because at that period private schools were not necessarily élitist. They charged fees of course, but not necessarily higher than at other schools. Some do sound to have been for those with some money. In the 1820s there was a boarding school for young ladies in Yealand Conyers run by a Mrs Crick (or Creek) that was advertised in the newspaper[37] and also appears in a directory[38]. Three enterprising sisters called Harris, together with a young assistant, all from Manchester and all in their early twenties, opened a boarding school at Lindeth Cottage (it is not clear how the school fitted in with Mrs Gaskell's use of what seems to have been the same cottage as a holiday home). In the 1851 census the sisters had eight pupils living with them, mostly themselves from Manchester. In the 1861 census their school has gone. In 1842 Miss Wikeley and Miss Reeves, both previously on the staff of Casterton School for Clergymen's Daughters, advertised that they were opening a school at Cove House in Silverdale[39]. It too seems to have had a short life. In the 1851 census Cove House was occupied only by a housekeeper.

At the bottom end came the Dame Schools. Schools such as George Crabbe described :

> *'That where a deaf, poor, patient widow sits. And awes some thirty infants as she knits'* [40].

There very probably were such schools in the parish, but only one official record hints at such a school. In the 1851 census there is an entry recording a 79-year-old woman, Nancy Bradley, living alone with her granddaughter. Her occupation is given as *'School Misses'*. If it were she herself who filled in her granddaughter's occupation as *'scollar'*, it would come as no surprise. Such schoolmistresses were often little more than child-minders. There was still such a school remembered at the beginning of the twentieth century:

> *'a school in Yealand Redmayne ... kept ... by Mrs Jinny Fryers. Mrs Fryers taught from a Bible and a spelling book. She taught also sewing, knitting, and patching; no arithmetic'*[41].

The Curriculum

The question of what was taught in the schools, by what methods and how well, is virtually impossible to answer. There are tempting glimpses. In 1837 the governors of Archbishop Hutton's school voted to appoint a master who could teach on the *'monitorial system'*. This was a system, used both in National and British schools, whereby boys and girls, maybe no more than ten or eleven years old, were paid a penny or so a week to pass on to younger pupils what they themselves had learnt. It is not known how far the Master appointed really made use of the full monitorial system, but monitors were certainly being used, both there and in the Friends' School, well on into the second half of the century. Logbook entries then show that their task was not just seeing that inkwells were filled and so on. They were expected to teach.

Only one outside report on education in the parish has survived and it is not entirely flattering. When, in December 1853, Mr Thorold, the rector of Whittington, visited Archbishop Hutton's grammar school he thought that, on the whole, arithmetic, reading and writing *'did not deserve censure'*, but could not report so favourably on History, Geography and Scripture knowledge. There was:

'In the upper children a dark and dead Ignorance...'
which contrasted unfavourably, he thought with:
'the scripture knowledge in your Infant school' [42].

perhaps the real trouble was that Mr Thorold did not have the gift of getting young lads to answer him at all, for he reported that:

'In a class of about twenty children...barely three or four answered the questions addressed to them, and four fifths maintained a firm and consistent silence'

CHILDREN AT PLAY.

This is going to be a very short section. The information simply is not there. Presumably the children, being children, did play whenever they could find the time. A good deal about children's games and toys is known from general surveys, but no one thought it a matter of concern to record what Warton children did for their amusement. Toys that richer children might have played with can be seen in the Museum of Childhood in Lancaster, but the homemade toys of ordinary children were not the sorts of thing anyone thought to preserve. It is likely that, just as children were expected to work alongside adults from a very early age, so they would be expected to get their amusements alongside adults. A special world, just for children, was something of a Victorian invention and it began among the *'better-to-do'* who could afford nurseries for children to

play in and special toys for them to play with. Most children did what they could to amuse themselves including watching and taking part in adult games such as are described in the next chapter.

CHILDREN AT WORK

Nineteenth century Lancashire has tended to be seen as the county where very young children were put to work in the mills. In 1851 some 43 per cent of boys and 34 per cent of girls between the ages of 10 and 14 were recorded as being in work, many in textile mills and coalmines. The figure was considerably higher than the national average, though there were other counties as bad. Even the under tens worked, though apparently only relatively few of them[43]. In rural Lancashire things seem to have been rather different. In the 1841 census for Warton parish only 13 per cent of this age group were recorded as in employment, and of these almost all were already thirteen or over. A few younger children were working; two boys, one of twelve and one of eleven, worked as agricultural labourers; two girls worked as domestic servants, one of them eleven years old and one ten. It is true there were also three children in employment in Yealand Conyers who had not even reached ten: a male domestic servant of eight and two female servants of seven and eight. There is no indication of what sort of work was expected of these infants.

The situation was essentially the same in 1851, though the percentage of 10 to 14 year olds at work was a little higher at 21 per cent. Work under thirteen was still unusual, but there was a ten-year-old errand boy in Warton and one house servant of eleven in Borwick. In 1851, as in 1841, the girls all worked as house servants, (apart from one girl in 1851 who was put down as an errand girl). Boys worked mostly on the land (though a few found jobs as house servants).

Although work on the land was the commonest job for boys the actual number recorded seems unexpectedly low for an agricultural parish. Only nine agricultural labourers under fifteen were recorded in the whole parish in 1841 (or 14 if those called male servants are included). The figures are almost identical in 1851. A probable explanation has already been put forward in an earlier chapter. In the first place a great deal of farm work, particularly in harvesting, hay-making and the weeding of crops would have been expected of children, but such casual work would have gone unrecorded in the census. Secondly Warton was an area of small farmers and such farms survived by making full use of family labour which again would not have been recorded in the census, as it did not count as paid labour. A parliamentary commissioner commented, slightly later in the century, that in North Lancashire:

'the attendance [at school] *of children of agricultural labourers is much more extensive over a longer period of the year than of small farmers'* [44].

What the commissioner seems to be implying is that though the labourers' children might be employed from time to time, their work was not so much part of the family economy as that of farmers' children. Altogether the census information on children's work needs viewing with caution.

Legal protection of children from exploitation at work in factories and mines was beginning to be established, but such legislation as there was did not cover children in agricultural work[45]. It is known that the Waithmans of Yealand Conyers employed children in their flax works In 1836 the Hertfordshire poor law authority arranged for a group of children to be:

'placed with Messrs Waithman of Yealand ...accompanied by a widow with three children of her own acting as matron of the whole'[46].

Nothing more is known about these children.

FURTHER EDUCATION

Was there any escape through education? There were opportunities in the parish for those who wanted higher education, but they were for those who could pay. In 1834 the following newspaper advertisement appeared:

'J.H.Steble B.A. ...has accommodation for limited number of young gents to be prepared for universities, royal navy, military colleges, commercial establishments, land surveying, navigation. Lodging in village'[47].

Mr Steble was the Master at Archbishop Hutton's School. One assumes that the sons of the big houses in Yealand Conyers and Silverdale got their education at such establishments, or in more prestigious grammar schools. It seems unlikely, from the accounts given above, that parents who could pay for something else would send their children to the Archbishop Hutton's school of those days. The girls in such families would have been educated at home by mother or a governess. For those without money going on to higher education would have been almost impossible. There were no state or county scholarships. Even Lancaster Grammar School could not help. In 1818 it was reported that:

'There are no Exhibitions, nor other University advantages belonging to the school' [48].

It was only after 1850 that the Victoria Scholarships were created there[49]. At one time Freemen of Lancaster could claim free education in the Lancaster

Grammar School for their sons even if they were living outside Lancaster, but this right was gradually whittled away. By 1850 the governors had decided that there should be:

'no gratuitous education either for the sons of Freemen or anyone else'.

Technical education was a possibility. Numbers of boys took up apprenticeships (and some girls called themselves dressmakers apprentices, though it is not clear how formal these were). Apprenticeship not only required a premium, but also meant that the apprentice would receive either no wage or a pittance during the years of training. Mansergh's Charity helped some boys. In July 1825 there were 16 apprentices on the charity's books; a figure, which, in proportion to the 18 boy apprentices listed in the parish in 1851, suggests that the charity was playing a significant rôle [50].

Education is not, of course, something merely applied to the young from above. However, the way to self-education was not made easy. The age of technical colleges and the Workers' Education Association and public libraries was yet to come. A Mechanics' Institute was opened in Lancaster in 1824. It ran lectures and courses and also maintained a library from which books could be borrowed, but its purpose of helping the *'labouring poor'* came under difficulties. At the 1848 AGM, the Friends and Members of the Mechanics' Institute were told that it had been:

'manifest from the first that people of the class of mechanics to a very small extent availed themselves of the privileges especially designed for them'.

It was a complaint common to all the many Mechanics' Institutes created at this time. Everywhere it was non-mechanics, with a little more money and leisure, who took advantage of the lectures and the courses. When one thinks of the very limited basic education on offer to most children and the bitter necessity of earning their living as early as possible this is hardly surprising[51]. Even newspapers were too costly to be freely available as a source of information. Newspapers were subject to a stamp duty so heavy as to put them out of the reach of working people[52]. It is not surprising that the *Lancaster Gazette* was priced at 6d a copy when it was first issued in 1801. By 1835 the price had risen to 7d, about 3 per cent of even a well-paid labourer's weekly wage. In 1837, after the stamp duty was lowered the price fell, but only to 4½ d and was still at that level in 1851.

The career of John Simpson, recounted at the beginning of this chapter, shows what could be achieved by some one who took the path of self-education.

Simpson succeeded against all the odds, though he did not clearly know what was driving him. He only says that as he minded the sheep on the hills around Lindeth Farm:

> *'... I often looked towards the south wondering what all the rest of the world was doing ... and I had some idea that being a simple shepherd was not to be my occupation through life'* [53].

One simply does not know how many Warton children also fought through to wider fields; nor indeed whether, like Simpson, they had some regrets. In describing his struggles after he reached London, he says:

> *'but many times I sighed to be with my sheep again, however there was no returning home to join that quiet occupation tho' well remembered with pleasure by me'.*

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1 Environmental Health Department, Morecambe Town Hall, *'Lancaster Rural District, Medical Officer of Health reports 1889- 1899'*

2 *Lancaster Guardian,* April 19th, 1845, p.3, c. 6-7.

3 J.D. Marshall, *The Lake Counties from 1830 to the mid-twentieth century,* p15

4 Nancy Thomas, *'Literacy in Warton parish in the 18th century',* Mourholme Magazine of Local History, Vol I.3, 1983, p.10.

5 *A resident in Silverdale, who does not wish to be named, was sent an edited version of part of this diary by a relation living in Australia.* We have been given kind permission to quote from it here.

6 William Farrer ed. *Victoria History of the County of Lancaster Vol.8,* (Constable 1914), p. 182.

7 PP. Vol. XLI, 1835 *'Report of the 1834 Parliamentary Commission on the State of Education'.*

8 T.G. Goodwin, *'Provision for elementary education and the growth of literacy in Lonsdale 1834-1884',* Lancaster MA dissertation, 1970.

9 PP. 1835, *ibid* p.464.

10 Report of the Charity Commissioners 1826. Quoted in the 1899 Reports made to the Charity Commissioners...*'into Endowments, subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts 1853-1894.'*

11 Lancashire Record Office, PR3332 Acc.5192 location 2/708/5 *Records of Archbishop Hutton's School'*

[12] Lancashire Record Office, *ibid.*
[13] Lancashire Record Office, *ibid.*
[14] Lancashire Record Office, *ibid.* Entry for December 12th 1835.
[15] Lancashire Record Office, *ibid.*, Entry for July 2nd, 1837
[16] From a translation of the founding charter made by John Blundell (Oxford, 1991) Mr M. Dilley, former head master of Archbishop Hutton's School, kindly presented a copy to the Mourholme Local History Society.
[17] *Lancaster Guardian,* September 18th, 1854.
[18] Lancashire Record Office, PR3332 Acc.5192 *op.cit. Entry for October 4th,1846.*
[19] 1899 Reports made to the Charity Commissioners *op.cit*
[20] Lancashire Record Office, FRL 8/1/1/1 *Yealand Preparative Meeting.* 1709-1795
[21] Lancashire Record Office, *ibid., entry for January 29th, 1729*
[22] 1899 Report to the Charity Commissioners, *op. cit.*
[23] Lancaster Public Library, *'Sale Notices'.*
[24] David Peter, *Round and about Silverdale* (Lunesdale Publishing, 1984) p.58.
[25] Mourholme Local History Society, *How it Was* (Kendal 1998), p.177
[26] David Peter, *op. cit.*, p.58.
[27] Lancashire Record Office, *op. cit., entry for July 4th, 1853.*
[28] 1899 Reports made to the Charity Commissioners *op. cit.,*
[29] T.G. Goodwin, *'Provision for elementary education and the growth of literacy in Lonsdale 1834-1884'*, Lancaster MA dissertation. 1970.
[30] Joan Clarke, *'In the very Heart of Dissent'*, Mourholme Magazine of Local History, 2001-2002, No.2. p.2.
[31] 1899 Reports made to the Charity Commissioners *op. cit.*
[32] *Lancaster Gazette,* April 10th, 1841.
[33] *Lancaster Gazette,* April 23rd, 1843.
[34] 1899 Reports made to the Charity Commissioners, *op. cit.*
[35] 1899 Reports made to the Charity Commissioners, *op. cit.*
[36] Guy Woolnough, *'Schools in Carnforth 1840- 1902, Information on Carnforth elementary school'*, (Carnforth High School 1987) a pamphlet for GCSE History prepared for pupils at Carnforth High School. Mr Woolnough kindly presented abridged version (1989) to the archives of the Mourholme Local History Society.
[37] *Lancaster Gazette,* January 21st, 1826.
[38] Edward Baines, *History, Directory & Gazeteer of the County of Lancaster, (1825) Vol II, p.665.*
[39] *Lancaster Gazette,* December 2nd 1842
[40] George Crabbe, *The Borough,* 1810.
[41] Mrs Ford, *Sketches of Yealand reprint of articles in Lancaster Gazette 1911,* (Atkinson & Politt, Kendal, 1931), p.13
[42] Lancashire Record Office, *op. cit.*
[43] Michael Winstanley, *Working Children in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Lancashire County Books, 1995), pp. 6-8.

[44]PP 1868/9 Vol. XIII, *'Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young persons and Women'*, p.155.
[45]S.J. Curtis, *History of Education in Great Britain* (University Tutorial Press, 1965), p.242.
[46]2nd Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners 1836, p. 454.
[47]*Lancaster Gazette*, May 28th, 1834.
[48]Nicholas Carlisle, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of Lancashire and Yorkshire*, (1818, reprinted1974).
[49]A.L. Murray, *The Royal Grammar School Lancaster: a history* (Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, nd.), p. 143.
[50]John Findlater, *'Warton Parish Charities'* Mourholme Magazine of Local History, 1998- 9, Vol.2, pp. 6-8.
[51]Lancaster Public Library File. *'Mechanics' Institute'*.
[52]Dorothy Marshall, *Industrial England 1776-1851*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 159-161.
[53]See note 5

Chapter Fifteen.

ENTERTAINMENT, Badger Baiting, Wrestling and Sunday School Outings.

How much time for enjoying themselves had the ordinary man, woman or child in the early nineteenth century? The whole notion of leisure time was so different then that it is hard to get the picture. Holidays were a matter, not of legislation, but of long-standing custom. There were no public bank holidays (the Bank of England treated itself to them, but that was a purely internal matter). Nor was there any notion of a general entitlement to a certain number of days off a year, still less days off with pay. Sunday was by tradition a day of rest or, as stricter people thought, rather a day when one should think of higher things than work, and attend divine service. Two pieces of information suggest that Sunday did not conform to this pattern. First, according to the religious census of 1851, only about half the population went to any form of divine service on the given Sunday. The second was the setting up of the Lord's Day Observance Society that suggests a felt need for its campaign against work (and a good deal of play) on Sundays. Further it is known that public transport continued on a Sunday. Canal packet boats ran on a Sunday[1] and so, later on, did trains. Nevertheless the nineteenth century ideal of Sunday has left an indelible mark and then it was more strictly seen as different from other days. The habit of taking St. Monday off as well still lingered and, after such a weekend, as one exasperated employer said of his employees:

'...when they come in they are not fit for their work'[2].

That, however, was in the industrial towns. In Warton parish agricultural demands inevitably had priority. All, both those who worked their own small family farms and those employed on bigger farms, would know that some work must go ahead, Sunday or no; that lambs would get themselves born at unsociable hours and, come harvest, everyone must work from first light to dark to beat the weather. In domestic service Sunday off was also a privilege, not a right. A good employer might be expected to see that her servants went to church or chapel, but not necessarily to allow them other time off. Half-holidays and holidays were settled by custom (which presumably reflected the balance of the supply and demand for the work). It seems to have become customary in the nineteenth century for servants to have a half-day a week (commonly on Sunday afternoon, when dinner had been served and cleared away).

In 1880 Mrs Beeton, in her Domestic Service Guide, thought that in the country it was:

> *'customary for servants to have a week allowed them once a year'.*

She thought they should not expect any further holiday, even though few people would deny *'a day to an industrious willing servant'* [3]. There were two sets of persons in the parish who must have had a rather different view of holidays. The gentry, particularly the ladies of the family might, if contemporary novels are to be trusted, have more leisure than they quite knew what to do with. They were the people, one supposes, to which advertisements of parlour games were addressed in the newspaper; advertisements such as:

> *'Misses Charlton ... respectfully announce to the Ladies of Lancaster Instruction in Velvet Painting and Japanning... elegant and useful accomplishment'* [4], or *'J. Colles. Magical Dancing Figures. Lessons given in highly fashionable Legerdemain'*[5].

Unlike these fashionable young ladies, the wives of agricultural labourers with large families, probably never had a holiday at all.

One other major factor influencing all leisure activities in the countryside must be borne in mind. There was almost nowhere to meet under shelter (unless a farmer lent his barn) except in inns and public houses. Apart from those there was the vestry (for parish meetings) and the schoolroom. Until Yealand School was opened in 1842 that meant the cramped accommodation at Archbishop Hutton's. Inns would have been very obviously more attractive, offering warmth, light, food and drink. Warton Manor Court sensibly always held its sessions at the Malt Shovel.

Warton parish was well supplied with places to drink. At the mid-century, as can be found by consulting directories and the 1851 census, there were at least eleven to choose from: three in Carnforth (the Golden Ball, the Joiner's Arms and the Malt Shovel); two in Priest Hutton, (Longlands Inn, and Longlands Beerhouse); four in Warton, (the Red Lion, the Bull, the Malt Shovel and the Britannia Inn in Lindeth); two in Yealand Conyers, (the New Inn and the Coach and Horses down on what is now the A6 at Holmere). A twelfth inn, the Victoria in Silverdale, run by a Mr Airey, opened at some date round about the end of the mid-century. It was mentioned in a newspaper report in 1850[6], but it does not feature (at least not recognisably) in the 1851 census.

A licence to keep an inn had to be obtained from a magistrate (who was supposed to check on the applicant's suitability), but licensing hours were non-existent apart from the ancient prohibition on serving drinks during the hours of divine service. From 1830 on, any householder could open a *'beerhouse'* (that is a drinking place not selling spirits) by paying a fee of two guineas to the Customs and Excise. No license was needed, but Beerhouses did have restricted hours of a sort. They might not sell their beer before five o'clock in the morning or after eleven at night, and the restrictions were tighter on Sundays. How far even these minimum laws could be enforced by the tiny police force of the time is doubtful.

Is it possible to find what the people of the parish did do with such spare time as they could afford from work? One source of information on pastimes is newspaper notices recording what had happened or announcing future events. The entries are usually brief, but do allow some estimate of the pattern of entertainment in Warton parish. The impression is that three things still dominated: the agricultural year, the church year, and the pursuit and killing of birds and animals.

The Church Year

Christmas (viewed in its secular aspect), though not the bonanza it has become today, was a time for eating and drinking, making merry and giving gifts. Even Scrooge gave his clerk that one-day off in the year. It was also a time for what might be called conspicuous benevolence. A newspaper article in 1834 said it was the season when:

> *'the poor and the needy, according to custom, are partakers of public and private benevolence',*

adding that the inhabitants of the work house got roast beef, plum pudding and ale. The prisoners in the Castle only got bread and cheese, but they did get their pint of ale (half a pint for women and children)[7]. In 1841 Mr George Marton of Capernwray Hall was described as making his:

> *'usual Christmas distribution of food and clothes to the poor'* [8].

All the same, Christmas was not an obligatory holiday. It has been said that domestic servants were particularly unlikely to be given Christmas day off and if they were given a holiday it was more likely to be on Boxing Day after all the extra work of Christmas Day was over.

To be done before the day off?

Easter-tide was marked by the custom of Pace-egging in its various forms - rolling eggs down hill, decorating them, cracking them together to see whose egg was toughest - was undoubtedly popular all over Lancashire[9]. Only one very small reference has so far been found for Warton parish, and that for a little later in the century. In 1867 a number of children were marked as absent from school *'collecting pace eggs'* [10]. Weddings seem to have still had some of the more public quality of an earlier day. Mr Erving, an in-comer from Rochdale, whose invaluable notebook has been mentioned in earlier chapters, thought it of interest enough to record in 1854 that in Warton parish it was customary:

> *'...to give young men who usually call after a wedding 7/6 to 20/- and throw some 5/- in copper amongst children at the Church Gates'*[11].

Saint's days, as local holidays, were tending to fade away. August 5th, the day of Warton's own saint, St Oswald, was no longer marked by the fun of Rush Bearing, which had been such an occasion in the seventeenth century[12]. The tradition lingered on in something called the *'Warton Feast'*, which took place in August each year. At the feast in 1811 there was a trail hunt in the morning, horse and pony racing on the sands in the afternoon *'... with carts upset, unhorsed equestrians ...'*, and in the evening:

> *'balls and assemblies as usual at the different inns'.*

There were also:

> *'... several F.O. tables adjoining the churchyard, and Miss-my-legs and other gaming apparatus'*[13].

The churchyard is in italics in the original article, suggesting that the journalist was somewhat shocked. It seems probable that F.O. was a variety of E.O, an early form of roulette (and perhaps it would be better not to enquire what *'Miss-my-legs'* was).

The horse racing was a central part of the feast. A newspaper article in 1837 described it then as:

> *'... occupying the breathing time between hay harvest and harvest'* and said that *'... the rustics in the neighbourhood generally attend in considerable force'.*

The *'fair sex'* arrived in *'shandrys'* (a light trap) or cart. The races were held on the sands below the Crag. The reporter seems to have been a little surprised that the first race was actually a serious one. It was run between a thoroughbred mare, Saccharina, who had previously won a second place in the Lancaster Moor races, and a bay filly *'by Comus, nearly if not quite thorough bred'* (what had Comus been up to?). Saccharina won. More usually, the report said, the contestants for the principal prize were wagon horses. The races were followed in the evening by a ball:

> *'at Mr Jenning's, the principal inn'* and there were also *'minor dances at the lesser houses of public entertainment'*[14].

By 1846 the Lancaster Gazette was dismissive of the Warton races.

> *'These annual sports took place on Monday ... but really, with every desire to preserve to the labouring classes their amusements, we can have no pleasure in recording the recurrences, seeing that they one and all end in drunkenness and debauchery'*[15].

An unfortunate girl, Margaret Yates, who had gone to the sports to sell oranges, was attacked on her way home, *'beaten up in a savage manner and robbed'*. She was knocked *'insensible'* but when the article was written she was getting better[16]. The *Lancaster Guardian* was less dismissive than the *Gazette* and a notice in 1852 shows that the races still kept some sort of formality. Contestants were required to put forward a subscription matched to the type of horse: £2 for a horse that had never won stakes worth more than £50 and £1 for carthorses. A good time was to be had by all, finishing up with a quoiting match and wrestling for men of all weights[17]. That however is the last notice found in either paper.

The Agricultural Year

Farming ruled the pattern of holidays perhaps even more noticeably than the church year. The custom of hiring servants for six months at a time meant that twice a year farm hands had the possibility of a break from work. There is no reason to suppose that people thought of going away for the holiday (the heyday of the sea-side was yet to come, though the movement was beginning as the development of Blackpool and Morecambe shows). However the week's break would have allowed visits to relatives even at some distance, though all one hears of is the drinking and the shows and the stalls available at the fair itself.

Agricultural shows and ploughing matches have been described in a former chapter. Quite early in the nineteenth century horticultural shows took their place alongside these. Gardening, in the sense of tending cottage gardens where flowers grew amongst useful vegetables and herbs, goes much further back in time, but gardening as big business, with the importation of exotic plants and the publication of magazines to help the amateur, really took off in the nineteenth century. A column of hints to gardeners was a regular feature of the local newspapers. In 1843 the Burton Floral and Horticultural Society staged a show at the Royal Oak Inn. It sounds very like a flower show to day, with impressive flower arrangements, a miniature garden (with statuary) and prizes for the best flowers, fruit and vegetables. The difference was that almost all the contestants were either gentry or, more often, their gardeners. Yealand prize winners were Mr James Scott, gardener to Mr Ford of Yealand Manor (for fuchsias and salvias), and Mr Helme, gardener to William Waithman, Esq. (for potatoes). There was one small entry in the prize list labelled *'Cottagers'*. Mr John Hargreaves of Kendal won all the prizes[18].

Swimming, boating and skating

Regattas seem to have been in fashion. All the seaside settlements ran *'regattas'* (though not, it seems, Warton itself whose coast line was perhaps not

very suitable). The regatta at Milnthorpe in 1843 can serve as an example. Unlike the Burton flower show in the same summer it seems to have been a democratic occasion. Only one contestant, J. Reddick, had *'esquire'* after his name (a title meticulously given to gentlemen in all reports). When the rowing and the sailing matches were over, thirty young men put their names in for the wrestling contest. Then there were foot races and dog races. After that there was a sack race. There was *'much mirth'* when someone referred to as Royal Tom blacked his face and powdered his hair and was conveyed to the starting point in a wheelbarrow. Finally everyone went to *'the dancing room where they kept up the dancing till a late hour'*[19]. Swimming seems to have been just a question of larking about in some convenient stretch of water and only reached the papers when there was an accident. Two youths were drowned in 1846 while bathing in the river at Warton and there was another drowning in there in 1851; it was always a boy who drowned. It seems likely, from reports from elsewhere, that swimming would have been in the nude and so closed to girls. There was skating too, but at what level of sophistication is not known. The only reference found suggests opportunism. In February 1842:

'river and canal were hard frozen and skating was extensively enjoyed' [20].

Presumably this meant that frosts were frequent enough for people to have skates, though at that time this did not mean special skating boots, only runners made by the blacksmith that could be strapped onto one's ordinary boots.

Competitive Sport

Football was played by Archbishop Hutton's boys in the seventeenth century, though from the description it sounds to have been little more than a free-for-all up and down Main Street[21]. No further local references have been found until the founding of Carnforth's Football Club in 1877[22]. It would have been rugby they played, but it seems to have been customary to use the term football, whichever game was played. It is highly probable that some form of rough and ready football was played before the founding of Carnforth's club, since football was an extremely popular sport in the north, but if there were informal games they have left no record. The same goes for cricket.

No immediately local report of it has been found until a match between Carnforth and Cartmel was reported in 1869[23]. It was certainly played in the vicinity. Kirkby Lonsdale had the first meeting of its Cricket Club in 1840[24].

Wrestling was, of course, long established in Westmorland and Cumberland, where a good match could attract many thousands. It had developed rules and a vocabulary of its own different from wrestling elsewhere[25]. It is to be supposed that the wrestling in Warton parish was of this type, but the advertisements in the newspapers very reasonably held that readers would know what to expect without being told. A match was reported at the Shovel Inn at Warton in 1855. It was more than a purely local affair for one of the wrestlers, Peter Moore, came from Lancaster and the other, James Hodgson, from Hutton Roof. It was to be *'for £5 aside'* (considerably more than five weeks wages for even a well-paid agricultural labourer) and there were lesser prizes for all-comers to compete for[26]. It is likely that wrestling was a more popular pastime than the relatively infrequent notices of matches in the newspapers suggest. It keeps on surfacing as part of any amusement that was going on, such as the Warton races and the Milnthorpe regatta. Moreover word of mouth may have seemed a more appropriate way of letting the interested know. It was not that people could not read, as has been said literacy seems to have been high in Lonsdale; the problem was rather that, as was noted in the last chapter, newspapers were so costly.

Racing did not find a permanent local home. There was, it seems, a race course down on the marshes at Milnthorpe early in the nineteenth century[27], but the only horse racing in Warton parish seems to have been the rather less than serious races on the sands at the Warton Feast. For more serious racing it was necessary to travel elsewhere, and this became increasingly possible with the coming of the railways. Already in 1848 there were special trains running from Carnforth and Yealand for the Lancaster Races. There was plainly plenty of interest, for the local newspapers reported regularly not only on the Lancaster races, but on more distant ones too.

Hunting, Shooting and Poaching

'If it moves shoot it', was probably still the usual attitude to wild life. It was becoming easier too. Older guns had been slow to load, and liable to fail in the wet. By 1821 a new system had been designed, still the basis of to-day's cartridges, whereby a copper cap containing fulminate of mercury was hit by the trigger, causing a flash through to the main charge, a mechanism not likely to be affected by the weather.

There is one improbable sounding testimony to early nineteenth century guns:

> *'On Tuesday last, a servant belonging to Mr Wilson, farmer of Warton Lane Ends, brought down twenty-six curlews at one shot'* [28].

The notice is perhaps more valuable as a testimony to a certain social attitude at the time, and that is the casual way in which a servant is said to *'belong'* to his master.

Hunter & Hounds

There were other attitudes to animals coming in. In 1822 the eccentric Irish MP, Richard Martin (*'Humanity Dick'*) managed to steer an act through Parliament which was intended to limit cruelty to cattle, and the act was the forerunner of other acts protecting animals. In 1824 the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded. Local references to its activities have not so far been found. There were, on the other hand, plenty of newspaper references to the game laws, game licences and all the ritual of the preservation of game. Regular reports on the prospects for shooting appeared; for instance, in 1827 there was *'an extraordinary number'* of every species of game about[29]; in 1833 the birds, *'although small and wild'*, were abundant[30]; between these dates birds were said to have been scarce in numbers, many having perished during the severe weather. In 1809 a licence to shoot game cost £3-3s-0d[31]. By October 1850 game licences had gone up to £4.0.10 for a year. It would have been an expensive sport for a labourer; even supposing a mere labourer had been eligible to apply for a licence though he was not. Game was strictly for landowners and their exclusive rights were protected by fierce game laws; laws which the local gentry took pains to enforce. Nor was there any let up in the strictness of preservation at any time till the end of the nineteenth century, indeed they were toughened up. The battle between the preserving gentry and ordinary people who also saw killing game as a sport (as well as a way of feeding the family) has been described in an earlier chapter.

Merely owning a gun did not require a licence. Anyone might own a gun and go out shooting provided the sportsman was careful what he shot (quite apart that is from the man who aimed at a rabbit and unfortunately hit a donkey)[32]. Any creature that counted as game would have to be avoided and it would probably have been unwise to take a gun for any purpose on preserved

land. Two rather sad stories confirm that guns were commonly kept for sport. In 1859 Henry Erving, the son of the James Erving who has featured so often in this book, went out early to shoot rabbits on a neighbour's land. He took a double-barrelled gun with him and it seems that in loading the second barrel he accidentally fired the first barrel. His body was not found for two days[33]. His young wife had recently died and possibly the death was not accidental. However a fairly careful examination of the corpse was made and the findings were consistent with accident. In any case that is not the point being considered here, only that his possession of a gun was not questioned. In 1867 John Walling left his home in Silverdale early to shoot ducks. He was found that evening, near Gibraltar Farms, dead of a gunshot wound. It was thought he may have stumbled while getting over a wall and his gun accidentally went off. At the inquest no questions were asked about his possession of a gun

In the first half of the century a new use for guns that could not in any sense contravene the game laws had been found. Pigeons had always been shot (and were considered a very tricky target), but these new pigeon shoots were different. It was still live pigeons that were shot (clay pigeons did not come in till later), but they were captives, specially released to be shot. The first pigeon-shooting club is said to have met in London at *'The Old Hats Tavern'* (so called, it is claimed, because hats were used as the traps to hold the pigeons before release. In 1835 there was a shoot in Ulverston. The newspaper report makes it clear that the pigeons were being deliberately released in this sort of way. Each contestant was allowed:

'three birds at 21 yards from the trap' [34].

Probably the contest at Carnforth, which also took place in that year, was run on the same lines, though we only learn that Mr Gardner and Mr H. Raithmel had a contest in which the latter killed seven birds and Mr Gardner only four[35]. A match was held at the Victoria Hotel in Silverdale in 1850. We are told that:

'there was a fair gathering of the crack shots from the lake neighbourhood'

and that eight competitors shot at a hundred birds, killing almost all of them. The shooting distance was again 21 yards[36].

There are plenty of newspaper notices of hunting for foxes and hares in the first half of the century. Unfortunately the notices seldom give more than the day and place of the meet and sometimes what was killed.

A Hunt in Progress

It is impossible to tell from these notices at what level of organisation the hunts took place, how exclusive they were, or indeed what happened at all. Fox hunting seems to have had a certain cachet. There are notices of a Mr Machell staying at Leighton Hall before meets as the Lancaster Gazette put it:

> *'Mr Machell with his splendid pack of fox hounds who have been staying at R. Gillow's Esq. at Leighton Hall ...'* [37],

Which rather suggests that the hounds were the more important guests. Mr Machell and his pack of hounds get a number of mentions, but always very brief, like the notice in 1844:

> *'Mr Machell's hounds threw off at Warton on Monday but the fox took to earth ... there was to have been a throw off at Silverdale yesterday, but we assume the drenching rain that fell prevented it'*[38].

Harrier hunting for hares is more frequently mentioned. The Lancaster Harriers were often reported as meeting in the Carnforth area, though they also hunted over a wide area extending down to Condor Mill and Overton. They met from November to March, but that is about all the information in the newspapers. The notices do not even reveal whether the hunting was on foot, on horseback or a mixture of both, nor is the breed of hound mentioned. Why should it be? Everyone knew.

The early nineteenth century was not squeamish in its amusements but, unlike hunting which was almost universally accepted, some of the crueller sports were beginning to be considered undesirable by many and were gradually made illegal. Badger baiting, dogfights and rat-hunts are not reported in the papers, but there is no reason to suppose that the people of Warton, like their contemporaries elsewhere, did not enjoy them. Word of mouth was presumably found a more suitable way of advertising them. Cock fighting does get a mention at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was then a legal (or at any rate widely condoned) sport popular with both high and low society. In 1812 it was announced that:

> *'a main of cocks will be fought during Lancaster races with prizes of 5 guineas a battle and 100 guineas the main'*[39].

A main was a match between a certain agreed number of cocks, fought out in battles between pairs, till the outright winner was found. The cocks were armed with sharp metal blades on their spurs, and fights often ended in the death of the vanquished. Whether the old cock-fighting ring above the church in Warton was in use in the nineteenth century is not known. It had probably, as attitudes changed, become rather too public a venue, being plainly visible from the road. By 1832 cock fighting was not only definitely illegal, but also heavily frowned on. It was reported that two men from Over Kellet were fined £9 for:

> *'keeping a barn ... for the purpose of fighting cocks'*

and the article concluded with the hope that:

> *'this conviction will operate as a warning to all followers of this brutal and demoralising pastime of cock fighting'* [40].

However there were still prosecutions in the 1850s. A labourer of Skerton, John Wilson, was accused of allowing cock fighting in his house. Constable Pye spied it through a window. John Wilson was fined 5/- plus 14/- costs even though he claimed he and his friends were only betting in which cock had the finest appearance. And anyway Pye could not have seen in because the *'shut was closed'* and there was a counterpane over the window as well[41]

Entertainments.

What else was there which might correspond to to-day's multifarious forms of public entertainment? One can suppose that the *'well-to-do'* dined in each others houses, went in their carriages to the theatres and concerts in Lancaster (and many of the great names in theatre including Mrs Sarah Siddons performed there). perhaps they went to dances in the Lancaster Assembly Rooms or impromptu dances in their own homes. A Mr Winter of Lancaster at least

thought it worth while to advertise that he would be opening his dancing schools *'for the season'* in Kirkby Lonsdale as well as in Lancaster[42]. In 1850 Mr Holmes held a juvenile ball at the Shovel Inn at Warton[43]. In 1856 Mr Cookson gave a juvenile ball for his pupils in Mr Miller's barn in Carnforth (it was August, so the barn would have been warm enough one hopes). His pupils gave a display of quadrilles, polkas and Spanish, French and Scottish dances. They also acquitted themselves well in the hornpipe and:

> *'after the close the lads and lasses of Carnforth and the neighbourhood enjoyed themselves to a merry dance until a late hour*[44].

I hope I'm not Looking Ridiculous

What else did people do? They went to the pub is the simple answer, but it would be wrong to think of village life as purely alcohol-based. The pubs also hosted more serious and sober social events. Unfortunately the notices in the newspapers, the only local source of information, are very minimal. The Friendly

Societies had their annual dinners; firms gave their employees Christmas dinners. Societies for *'mutual improvement'* (that very Victorian notion) were already meeting, though they did not reach their full flowering round here till later in the century. By 1852 Carnforth had a Lyceum Society. It had been founded to:

'promote the moral and social conditions of the young men of Carnforth'[45].

There was a tea party for 150 after the meeting that was held in the schoolroom (presumably in the new Carnforth elementary school) and the tea was followed by singing and recitations. A Miss Butterworth *'officiated'* at the Seraphim (a portable harmonium). Carnforth's Lyceum was part of a wider movement founded by a Manchester businessman. It had the laudable aim of improving relationships between the classes. There were many other well-meaning attempts to provide uplift and entertainment for the workingman and his wife. They were promoted especially by Temperance advocates, but their history, in Warton at least, largely belongs to the second half of the century. Or, to be perfectly exact, can more easily be traced in the second half since only then are references found in the newspapers. In the same way it can probably be concluded that the parish teas, bazaars and Sunday school outings so plentifully recorded in later years had already begun. At any rate in 1851 Milnthorpe was having its annual *'pic-nic'* on Beetham Fell, with coffee and currant buns for the children[46].

Special Occasions

In 1831 the coronation of William IV was being celebrated. The parish of Warton:

'displayed a feeling of affection and loyalty on the occasion' [47].

72 children belonging to Yealand Sunday School received each a testament, a medal and a bun. 120 men and 50 boys from three villages had bread and cheese and ale distributed to them[48]. In Warton 250 children were supplied with 700 buns and sixty gallons of coffee (It was always coffee the children were given, despite the commonly held belief that the English drank only tea). perhaps fortunately for them the children did not drink all the coffee supplied, for afterwards:

'as many of the inhabitants as chose, partook of the same refreshments'[49].

The whole affair seems to have been gentry led, with the vicar leading the procession, and flags on the big houses.

There were celebrations for the christening of the Prince of Wales in 1841. At Carnforth a subscription was raised by the inhabitants and all the poor were supplied with a *'plentiful repast of bread and cheese'*. The Sunday School children had coffee (as usual) and buns. A search of the papers for 1805 and 1816 has not revealed any similar festivities for the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo, except that a Mr Newton sang a special victory song for the latter at Lancaster's theatre and the church bells were rung[50]. perhaps the dreadful casualty lists that accompanied accounts of the battle of Waterloo dampened ardour.

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[28] *Lancaster Gazette*, February 12th, 1831.
[29] *Lancaster Gazette*, July 21st, 1827.
[30] *Lancaster Gazette*, August 8th, 1835.
[31] *Lancaster Gazette*, September 16th, 1809.
[32] *Lancaster Guardian*, September 22nd, 1860.
[33] *Lancaster Guardian*, November 11th, 1859.
[34] *Lancaster Gazette*, August 15th, 1835.
[35] *Lancaster Gazette*, October 29th, 1835.
[36] *Lancaster Guardian*, December 28th, 1850.
[37] *Lancaster Gazette*, November 23rd, 1842.
[38] *Lancaster. Gazette*, November 16th, 1844.
[39] *Lancaster Gazette*, 1812.
[40] *Lancaster Gazette*, January 2nd, 1832, p.2, c.3.
[41] Lancaster 50 Years ago: extracts from the Lancaster Guardian (Lancaster 1906), p.25.
[42] *Lancaster Gazette*, October 1811.
[43] *Lancaster Guardian*, November 30th, 1850, p.5.
[44] *Lancaster Gazette*, August 16th, 1856.
[45] *Lancaster Guardian*, January 1st, 1852, p.5.
[46] *Lancaster. Gazette*, June 14th, 1851, p.3.
[47] *Lancaster Gazette*, September 24th, 1831, p.3.
[48] *Lancaster Gazette*, September 9th, 1831, p.2.
[49] *Lancaster Gazette*, September 9th, 1831, p.2.
[50] *Lancaster Gazette*, July 8th, 1815.

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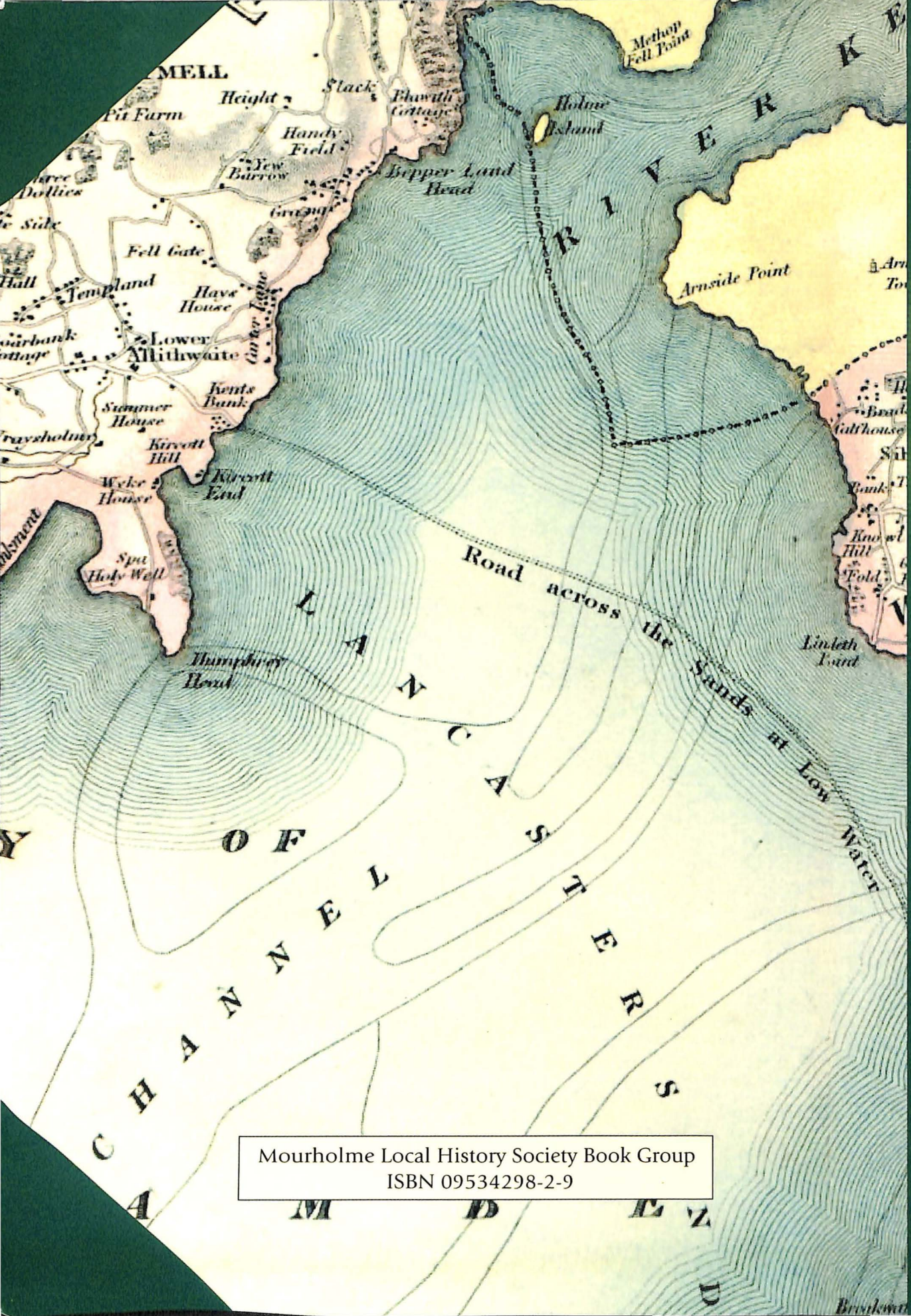

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