

**DIFFERING RESPONSES TO AN INDUSTRIALISING ECONOMY:
OCCUPATIONS IN RURAL COMMUNITIES IN THE HEART OF ENGLAND
FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE RAILWAY AGE (c. 1660 - c. 1840)**

**(MALE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE IN THE HINTERLAND OF THE
MARKET TOWN OF ALCESTER, WARWICKSHIRE)**

by

RICHARD ALLEN CHURCHLEY

A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

**School of History and Cultures
College of Arts and Law
The University of Birmingham
February 2010**

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

This is a study of male occupational structure in the hinterland of the market town of Alcester, Warwickshire, c.1660 – c.1840. Various primary sources are used including the 1841 census, probate records, marriage licences and parish registers in order to compare occupations in thirty-six rural parishes centred on Alcester. The investigation focuses on various themes such as the changing interplay between agriculture and manufactures, specialisation and diversification by individuals and communities and the different economic paths taken by neighbouring settlements. The changing role of the market town and of the larger villages is discussed as some settlements become more industrialised and urbanised, while others stagnate and de-industrialise. To a large extent the economic development of the study area mirrors what was happening elsewhere in the nation, with an early growth in secondary occupations and a growth of tertiary occupations as the primary sector retreated. However, the unique feature of the study area is the rapid growth of the manufacture of needles and fish-hooks, firstly in the countryside, but later concentrating more on centres such as Redditch, which grew from a hamlet into a manufacturing town during the study period, eventually outgrowing the ancient market town of Alcester.

This thesis is dedicated to four people: my parents, Dennis and Joyce Churchley, and also to the late Margaret Mabey and the late G. Edward Saville, all of whom stimulated my interest in my surroundings and in people of past times.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the help of many people during my research for this thesis, especially my supervisor Dr. Leonard Schwarz and also all the staff at libraries and record offices, who were so helpful and patient with me in my unending quest for information.

Contents

	<i>page</i>
Chapter One - Introduction: the Aims, Area and Period of Study	<i>1</i>
Chapter Two - Sources and Methodology	<i>8</i>
Chapter Three – Population	<i>48</i>
Chapter Four – Zone A: Alcester, the market town	<i>68</i>
Chapter Five – Zone B: The Southern (Champion) Country	<i>139</i>
Chapter Six – Zone C: The Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	<i>188</i>
Chapter Seven – Zone D: The Northern (Needle) District	<i>239</i>
Chapter Eight - General Conclusions and Pointers to Further Research	<i>338</i>
Appendix 1 Parish Gazetteer	<i>370</i>
Appendix 1a Map of parishes in the Study Area	<i>386</i>
Appendix 2 Occupational groupings and descriptors	<i>388</i>
Appendix 3 Probate inventory values	<i>395</i>
Appendix 4 1801 census: summary of occupational information	<i>396</i>
Appendix 5 1811, 1821 and 1831 census: summaries of occupational information	<i>396</i>
Appendix 6 1811, 1821 and 1831 census: occupational information by zone	<i>397</i>
Appendix 7 1831 census: information on percentages of females and males and also on labourers	<i>397</i>
Appendix 8 Harvington Collection upon Brief 1695	<i>400</i>
Appendix 9 1608 Muster: occupational information for four Gloucestershire parishes	<i>401</i>
Appendix 10 Bidford occupational structure in baptisms 1813 to 1840 and in the 1831 and 1841 censuses	<i>402</i>

Appendix 11 Comparison of adult males in 1851 census with fathers in baptism registers 1813 to 1840 for parishes of the Alcester Registration District	403
Appendix 12 Markets	405
Appendix 12a Market map	407
Appendix 13 Fairs	408
Appendix 14 Carrying network	411
Appendix 15 Turnpike roads and coach routes	413
Appendix 15a Stage-coach routes through Alcester 1829 and 1835	417
Appendix 16 Navigable rivers and canals	418
Appendix 17 Mills	419
Appendix 18 Parishes with quarries and brickmakers	420
Appendix 19 Parishes with schools before 1800	421
Appendix 20 The needle industry and associated trades: Division of labour and counties where these trades were carried out in England and Wales	422
Appendix 21 Example of record in the database	424
Appendix 22 Multiple occupations	425
Appendix 23 Inland revenue apprenticeship books	430
Appendix 24 Land tax returns 1798	433
Appendix 25 Alcester and Redditch in trade directories	436
Appendix 26 Comparison of occupational structure in different zones	437
Sources and Bibliography	441

Abbreviations

ADLHS = Alcester and District Local History Society

Ag. Hist. Rev. = Agricultural History Review

Arch. = Archaeological

Econ. Hist. Rev. = Economic History Review

Glos. = Gloucestershire

GlosRO = Gloucestershire County Record Office

HeRO = Herefordshire County Record Office

MSS = Manuscripts

OP = Occasional Paper

PCC = Prerogative Court of Canterbury

QS = Quarter Sessions

RC = Roman Catholic

SCLA = Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive,
Stratford upon Avon

TNA = The National Archives

Trans. = Transactions

Soc. = Society

UBD = Universal British Directory

VCH = Victoria County History

WaRO = Warwickshire County Record Office

Warks. = Warwickshire

Worcs. = Worcestershire

WoRO = Worcestershire County Record Office
and History Centre

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE AIMS, AREA AND PERIOD OF STUDY

The aim of this thesis is to examine the occupational structure of certain rural communities in the heart of England from 1660 to 1840, a period chosen for two main reasons. Firstly, the time-scale is long enough to detect occupational change as Britain metamorphosed from a mainly agricultural society in the early modern period into the world's leading industrial nation in the nineteenth century. Secondly, sufficient records are extant and accessible from this period to allow such a study.

According to Wrigley 'the character of a country's economy at any point in time and the nature of any changes taking place over time are necessarily reflected in its occupational structure.'¹ To what extent are the huge national changes reflected in the occupational structure of the study area, which in Victoria's reign was very different both socially and economically from the same area in the days of Charles II?

Is there evidence that 'in the traditional economy, industry was a widespread activity in the countryside'?² If so, did early industrialisation lead to a more concerted industrialisation?³ Do certain parishes de-industrialise, while others industrialise or urbanise? Can we find reasons for the location of certain industries in certain parishes? Or was it serendipity rather than suitability which changed the local economic scene? Did some settlements continue to be dominated by agriculture while their neighbours embraced a certain industry?

¹ E. A. Wrigley, *Poverty, Progress and Population*, (Cambridge, CUP, 2004), p. 129.

² D. Mills, ed., *English Rural Communities: The Impact of a Specialised Economy*, (London, Macmillan, 1973), p. 13.

³ See Chapter 2 for a discussion of proto-industrialisation.

My investigation focuses on a swathe of thirty-six parishes straddling the Worcestershire-Warwickshire border in the hinterland of the ancient market town of Alcester and the emerging industrial town of Redditch. The occupational structure of these communities has been analysed in order to address the questions above.

In seeking the answers to these questions themes such as industrialisation, urbanisation and specialisation will be examined. How far does the tide of industrialisation spread, and can its ebb and flow be traced in the changing occupations of the inhabitants? Can we detect diversification and specialisation in different trades and communities? What are the roles of the market town compared with large and small villages? Do occupational descriptors change over time, and, if they do, do these changes in terminology merely follow fashion or reflect real changes within certain trades and professions and the way they operated?

Space in this survey does not allow an in-depth study of other themes, but some are mentioned in passing. For example, what evidence can be found that the inhabitants of the study area had trading connections with other local towns or places further afield or with entrepreneurs such as the iron-making Foleys or innovative men such as members of the Lunar Society? How widely do patterns of mobility differ in various occupational groups and trades, and what evidence is there of dual or multiple occupations? How did different tradesmen fit into the social structure? Although available records dictate that the main focus is necessarily on the role of men, can we find clues concerning the role of women and children in the local economy?

It is also to be hoped that in using a myriad of primary sources to complete this in-depth study I may be able to find information about the occupational structure of the study

area to complement that found by the likes of Jones and Martin.⁴ Where appropriate, comparisons are made with the national scene and with studies of towns, villages and industries nearby.⁵

Although occupational structure is a wide focus, I have tried not to lose sight of individuals in a sea of statistics. Individual people and their families and trades have been examined to ascertain how they were affected by changing circumstances.

The geographical area

The study area, comprising thirty-six contiguous ecclesiastical parishes around the small market town of Alcester, Warwickshire, stretches from the metal-working, urban-industrial Birmingham and the Black Country in the north to the predominantly rural-agricultural lands of the Vale of Evesham and Cotswolds in the south.⁶

Immediately to the north-west of the study area lies the market town of Bromsgrove, which changed its emphasis from cloth production in the seventeenth century to nailmaking in the nineteenth century. Also to the west lay Droitwich, with its well-established salt industry, and Worcester, which was a county town and an important ecclesiastical and market centre, also famed for its production of gloves and, later, porcelain.

⁴ S. R. H. Jones, 'The development of needle manufacturing in the West Midlands before 1750', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 31, (1978), J. M. Martin, 'The parliamentary enclosure movement and rural society in Warwickshire', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 15, (1967), J. M. Martin, 'The rise in population in eighteenth-century Warwickshire', *Dugdale Soc.*, OP23, (1976), J. M. Martin, 'The social and economic origins of the Vale of Evesham market gardening industry', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 33, (1985) and J. M. Martin, 'Village traders and the emergence of a proletariat in South Warwickshire, 1750-1851', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 32, (1984).

⁵ For example, the Black Country in M. Rowlands, 'Continuity and change in an industrialising society: the case of the west midlands industries', in P. Hudson, ed., *Regions and Industries*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1989), p. 103.

⁶ Stock and Bradley was actually a chapelry of Fladbury parish rather than a separate ecclesiastical parish. A short summary of each of the parishes included in this survey with essential information to help place the various communities in their correct context is found in Appendix 1: Parish Gazetteer. See also Appendix 1a: Map of Parishes in the Study Area.

To the south and east market centres such as Evesham, Stratford-upon-Avon, Chipping Campden, Henley-in-Arden and the county town of Warwick were home to organic-based industries such as malting and production of textile and leather.⁷

I chose to study this particular swathe of rural communities around Alcester for a variety of reasons. It is the area in which I live, and I have become familiar with its historical sources. The majority of the records pertaining to the area are kept in local repositories, easily accessible for my researches.⁸ Although short histories of individual parishes have been compiled in the past, to my knowledge no study has been made of this area's occupational structure.

Some of the settlements in the south of the area of this study are mentioned in an old rhyme sometimes (surely erroneously?) attributed to William Shakespeare:

'Piping Pebworth, dancing Marston,
Haunted Hillborough, hungry Grafton,
Dodging Exhall, papist Wixford
Beggary Broom and drunken Bidford.
Dirty Dorsington, sober Cleeve,
Lazy Littleton, I believe.'⁹

⁷ General information on surrounding market towns can be found in T. Slater, *A History of Warwickshire*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 1997), D. Lloyd, *A History of Worcestershire*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 1993), A. Jones, *The Cotswolds*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 1997) and the *Victoria County Histories of Warwickshire and Worcestershire*.

⁸ The principal record offices visited are listed here together with their abbreviations used in my references. Warwickshire County Record Office (WaRO), Worcestershire County Record Office and History Centre (WoRO), Gloucestershire County Record Office (GlosRO), The Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive at Stratford upon Avon (SCLA) and The National Archives (TNA).

⁹ J. Matthews, *'Dancing Marston'*, (Long Marston, J. Matthews, 2001).

Although the precise meaning behind the different descriptions contained in the rhyme is not always clear to the modern reader, it does highlight that even adjacent settlements often have their own individual characteristics. Despite the compactness of the study area, many factors caused the development of one particular community to take a different course from its neighbours. 'Lazy Littleton' falls just outside the study area, but the occupants of my three dozen parishes were far from lazy, turning their hand to a multitude of different jobs in order to earn an honest crust.

The area contains some open and some closed villages, some woodland parishes (particularly north of Alcester, where the Arrow separated the ancient forests of Arden and Feckenham) and others more like the predominantly arable Feldon parishes of south Warwickshire. The pattern of occupational development of each parish and the availability of an industrial workforce were also likely to have been influenced by various other factors, such as differing agricultural practices, different types of land tenure, early or late dates of enclosure, contrasting acreages of waste or commonland and the presence or absence of dominant landlords or gentry. Accessibility of different building materials led to an abundance of stone buildings in some parishes contrasting with the traditional half-timbered homes in the forest and the early use of brick and tile where clay was readily available. Proximity of roadways, rivers and canals and the gravitational pull of other nearby towns or cities such as Birmingham and Worcester also influenced the contrasting development of the various communities. Differences in administrative allegiance, both civil and ecclesiastical, also created subtle contrasts between neighbouring villages.

Alcester was the only town in the chosen area at the start of the period, (and most likely the only parish with more than one thousand inhabitants), but Redditch grew

dramatically on the northern fringe of the area, particularly in the nineteenth century. Some of the villages also grew considerably over the two centuries of this study sharing certain town-like characteristics such as a wide range of occupations and a high proportion of the population involved in industry or commerce. Some parishes remained mainly agricultural throughout the period while others respond in different ways at different times. In short, although each community shared many features with its neighbours, certain factors caused intriguing contrasts in their paths of development. No two parishes took exactly the same path, but patterns do emerge highlighting similarities and enabling us to group parishes according to various characteristics.¹⁰

In view of the study area's situation in the heart of England, it is to be hoped that, despite its local focus, this intensive study, in adding a further piece (however small) to the regional or national jigsaw, may provide a useful comparison with developments in occupational structure in other localities.

No area is a homogenous entity. The study area was partly selected to illustrate different spheres of influence and how these affected the inhabitants and their trades. The kaleidoscope of these three dozen parishes was forever shifting, refocusing and being shaken up by different factors such as the closure of a market, the profitability of a certain industry or the opening of a new transport link.

Data for each parish has been compiled separately, but, in order to make the data viable and to compare trends in the workforce of different communities, parishes are grouped together geographically in four zones, as explained in the next chapter. In order to demonstrate continuity or change over the two centuries of this study I have also divided the study period into four smaller periods, again explained in Chapter 2, which

¹⁰ See Appendix 1: Parish Gazetteer and Appendix 1a: Map of parishes in the Study Area.

also describes the sources and methodology used in this study. Chapter 3 looks at the population of the study area and its constituent parts. Chapters 4 to 7 discuss the occupational structure of the four zones in turn, while Chapter 8 concerns my conclusions and investigates other themes. It is also to be hoped that the appendices will help to provide useful background information of relevance to the understanding of this study.

CHAPTER TWO SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

Can occupational structure be used to indicate changes in the economy over the two centuries? Wrigley believes that ‘One aspect of change which, given suitable sources, is in principle quantifiable, was that reflected in the occupational structure of the country.’¹ However, ‘Occupational statistics on any considerable scale are, before the nineteenth century, scarce.’² Glennie qualifies this by stating that incidental information about occupations is prodigious, but, compared with the detailed censuses from the mid-nineteenth century, no earlier source comes close in its consistency and completeness for the historian who wishes to build up a picture of occupational structure.³ In order to glean information about occupations in the study area many sources have been consulted. The jigsaw puzzles portraying each zone’s occupations in any given period are incomplete, as so many workers are omitted from the records, but by judicious use and analysis of various sources, the occupational jigsaws, albeit incomplete, can be meaningfully compared zone by zone and period by period.⁴

The main advantages and disadvantages of each type of record as a source of occupational information are discussed below. However, some general points are made here regarding who is likely to be present or absent from the records. Labourers and poorer folk will be much less likely to figure in probate records and property deeds, although they and their families are more likely to be mentioned in records of overseers

¹ Wrigley, *Poverty, Progress and Population*, p. 129.

² A. Tawney and R. Tawney, ‘An occupational census of the seventeenth century’, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 5, (1934), p. 25.

³ P. Glennie, ‘Distinguishing Men’s Trades: Occupational Sources and Debates for Pre-Census England’, *Historical Geography Research Series*, 25, (1990), p. 1.

⁴ Computer technology has enabled easier analysis of occupational structure as undertaken nationally by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, (henceforth referred to simply as ‘the Cambridge Group’). My study differs from theirs in using many sources to examine a small area in detail.

of the poor and lists of parish apprentices. Although women may figure in probate and property documents and parish registers, they are often referred to by their marital status rather than their occupations. To a lesser extent this also applies to unmarried men, often referred to as bachelors, their trade going unrecorded. The occupations of children and adolescents are also largely absent from the historical record apart from apprentice lists. Thus the focus is inevitably on adult male workers.

Different records present a different occupational bias. For instance quarter sessions records may give the names and occupations of criminals (often poorer folk), and in the late seventeenth century papists and dissenters too figure prominently in such records. Some occupations are well represented in the records, for instance there are lists of licensed victuallers in the quarter sessions records, and clergy appear in all manner of documents. So the historian's quest for occupations is rather like a naturalist's search for different birds. Some, such as priests and publicans, proclaim themselves loudly from the archival treetops, while others, such as cobblers and carpenters, often lurk, hidden in the dense, documentary undergrowth. These biases are taken into account when discussing the statistics. Birds which change their feather also create problems of identification: folk who pursued more than one trade certainly complicate analysis of occupational structure.

Spreadsheets and database

Though many sources were trawled for occupational information, the only local records found to be consistent enough for analysis across all parishes from 1660 to 1840 were probate records, marriage licence allegations and (from 1813) baptism registers. The parishes have also been compared using the 1841 census. Spreadsheets have been

compiled for each parish using probate data for each year from 1660 to 1858.⁵ Similar spreadsheets have also been compiled using information from marriage allegations for selected years in each period, and also using data from the 1841 census and from baptism registers 1813-1840 (and earlier parish registers where they give occupational information). Despite their shortcomings (discussed below) these four sources are at least good pointers to the presence of certain occupations, and they thus form the basis for discussion of occupational structure. However, spreadsheets have also been made using other sources.⁶

A database was also compiled taking information from all sources.⁷ The principal purpose was to chart the development of industry and commerce and the role of individuals therein, so all occupations are recorded in the database except gentry, domestic servants, farmers, labourers and other agricultural workers. The inclusion of individuals in these occupations would have rendered the database too unwieldy.⁸ As it is there are more than 22,000 individuals listed from 1660 to 1860.⁹

Below is a commentary on the sources used in this survey and their strengths and weaknesses.

⁵ Using Microsoft Excel.

⁶ For example, trade directories, inland revenue apprenticeship returns and census data.

⁷ Using Microsoft Access I have logged each individual's forename, surname, parish, address, dates when first and last mentioned in the records, dates of birth and death, father's name, place of birth, sources of information, gender and any other information of note, for example cross references to other family members, aliases, maiden names, alternate spellings of surnames. See Appendix 21.

⁸ However, the numbers (rather than names) of people involved in each of these excluded occupations are of course included in the spreadsheet analysis mentioned above.

⁹ Some 5100 females and 16,900 males. Some individuals appear in many sources, others in only one. Of the 22,000 some 1600 were known to have started work before 1699, 2100 started work between 1700 and 1749 and 2800 between 1750 and 1799. More than 15,500 names are from the nineteenth century. Although my survey ends c. 1840 individuals were logged in the censuses and trade directories up to 1860 in order to follow their working career.

Probate records

Although probate records provide occupational evidence throughout the whole study period, this source is biased towards richer inhabitants. ‘The church courts were responsible for overseeing the disposal of deceased persons’ personal estates only, that is their moveable goods, credits and leasehold property.’¹⁰ Although church courts dealt with personal estates worth less than £5, they probably discouraged such dealings, as they were not allowed to charge a fee.¹¹ Thus, labourers and poorer craftsmen are less likely to be mentioned in the probate records. Occupations of females are difficult to trace from probate documents, as women are usually referred to according to their married status, even if they were running a business. Nevertheless, much can be gleaned from the probate records.¹²

The majority of probate records from 1660 to 1858 for the nineteen Warwickshire parishes and the twelve Worcestershire parishes in the study area were consulted at Worcestershire Record Office, while the probate records for the five ex-Gloucestershire parishes were viewed at Gloucestershire Record Office.¹³ Several hundred wills for people of the study area which were proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC) were also consulted in microform at the National Archives at Kew. Those who qualified for probate at the PCC included people with personal estates worth £5 in more than one

¹⁰ T. Arkell, et al, eds., *When Death Do Us Part*, (Oxford, Leopard’s Head Press, 2000), p.7.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 12. They charged a set fee of 3s. 6d. for personal estates of between £5 and £40 and 5s. for those over £40.

¹² For example, information on literacy, wealth, working practice, status and familial, social and geographical networks including the occupations of friends and family.

¹³ At WoRO the main series of probate documents were viewed on microfilm. Extra ‘miscellaneous probate’ documents at WoRO, (BA3585, ref. 008.7), (available as original documents), were also included in the data. Other additional probate documents were consulted, including the Greenbank collection at WoRO, but these were sometimes found to be earlier wills of deceased persons or copies of wills used at probate and so to avoid duplication were not used in the spreadsheet analysis. Only wills up to 1858 were consulted. (From 1858 probate was dealt with by the state, and documents are held in London.) At GlosRO some probate records were available in microform, others, (including 12 items listed as ‘additional probate’), were available as original documents.

diocese.¹⁴ Thus, many of the PCC wills concerned richer businessmen and gentry, but were nevertheless useful as their listed investments provided a grander economic backdrop to the local occupational scene.¹⁵

The probate documents consulted include wills and, secondly, (largely for those who died intestate) probate administrations, where the next of kin or chief creditor was granted probate, and, thirdly, (until the 1770s) inventories of the goods of the deceased.¹⁶ Altogether probate documents for 5709 individuals have been analysed, of whom 1125 were female and 4584 male.¹⁷

Probate inventories of the deceased's personal estate must be treated with care.¹⁸ Appraisers were not uniform in their approach. Some were interested parties, such as relatives and creditors, some were neighbours. Each brought his own agenda and knowledge to the task of appraisal. Sometimes expert opinion was brought in, so that appraisers of a certain tradesman may well include another man of the same trade to value the specialist goods. Other inconsistencies concern the inclusion or otherwise of real estate, debts and certain types of agricultural produce. Some appraisers included the value of all types of leases held by the deceased, some did not. Copyhold and freehold property is usually not included, which distorts any interpretations regarding wealth. Similarly, different types of debts owed to the deceased are not treated consistently. Certain agricultural produce is supposed to be included, such as crops planted by man

¹⁴ J. and N. Cox in Arkell, *When Death Do Us Part*, p. 16. Perhaps the study area has a high number of people whose probate was dealt with at the PCC because it is near the boundaries of three dioceses: Worcester, Lichfield and Gloucester

¹⁵ Perhaps the study area has more than its fair share of PCC probate documents as it is close to diocesan boundaries. Unfortunately, inventories do not survive to accompany PCC wills and administration documents.

¹⁶ In some dioceses probate accounts are also available, but, for Worcester and Gloucester these are sadly lacking, though a handful were found amongst the 'miscellaneous probate documents' at Worcester.

¹⁷ The spreadsheet of occupations in probate only analyses males whose occupations are given in the probate documents.

¹⁸ J. and N. Cox in Arkell, *When Death Do Us Part*, pp. 29-34 and Arkell, *ibid.*, pp. 72-102.

and harvested by cutting, whereas flax and hemp (harvested by pulling), grass, growing timber and root crops are not generally included. Using only probate inventories a farmer who specialised in root crops or flax would appear less wealthy than his arable colleague, and indeed, the absence of references to flax and hemp could lead to incorrect assumptions regarding the proportions of land given to certain crops and to the source of local raw materials for linen-weavers and ropemakers.

In the seventeenth century, when people had fewer possessions, each item was often included as the house was examined room by room. By the mid-eighteenth century possessions were less likely to be itemised in detail, and, although inventories were perhaps still compiled, the number of inventories retained amongst probate records fell dramatically. The inventories of the 1750s and 1760s tend to include much less, and by the 1770s inventories are quite rare amongst local probate records.¹⁹

Despite problems with interpreting values, inventories have been used as a crude indicator of changing fortunes in the different sub-districts over the period 1660 to 1760. Altogether some 2400 inventories (some 2000 male and 400 female) were found.²⁰ Inventories were used to provide information regarding working practices, for instance the number of looms owned by a weaver, but space did not allow a more detailed analysis

¹⁹ A few inventories for the study area survive post-1780 including one from the 1840s.

²⁰ These were entered on spreadsheets for each parish in twenty-year periods. The numbers involved are as follows: 521 from 1660-79; 590 from 1680-99; 523 from 1700-1719; 641 from 1720-39; 130 from 1740-59 and 42 from 1760-79. In practice the inventories after 1760 often seem of little use.

of inventories in this study.²¹ Particularly frustrating for the historian is the lack of inventories after 1780, which, if they existed, could help to answer various questions.²²

Another drawback with probate documents (and other sources too) is that rich craftsmen are sometimes referred to as yeomen or gentlemen, with no reference to their trade.²³ Dual occupations are also more likely to be hinted at than made explicit by appraisers and testators. For the purposes of analysis in the spreadsheets for probate analysis I was very strict in allocating individuals to different categories. The occupation referred to in the will, administration or inventory was the one used to allocate them to an occupational category, even if other sources show that the individual also pursued a different occupation or their probate documents hinted at an additional means of earning their living. If two occupations for the same individual were mentioned in the probate records, these were each entered as 0.5 in the statistics. Spreadsheets have been compiled showing occupations of the deceased in probate records in each parish for each decade over the whole period 1660-1858. Analysis of the probate records has been made and comparative tables drawn up comparing the four zones.²⁴

Although my analytical tables only list the occupations of the deceased, many other individuals and their occupations are mentioned in the probate wills, inventories and administrations, which have proved useful in providing background to inform us

²¹ Studies which make successful use of probate inventories include L. Shaw-Taylor, 'The nature and scale of the cottage economy' on www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk, M. Overton, 'Probate inventories and the reconstruction of agricultural landscapes' in M. Reed, ed., *Discovering Past Landscapes*, (London, Croom Helm, 1984), M. Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1996) and M. Overton et al, *Production, Consumption in English Households 1600-1750*, (London, Routledge, 2004). M. Overton, *A Bibliography of British Probate Inventories*, (Newcastle, University of Newcastle, 1983), lists other studies which made use of probate inventories.

²² For example, are there signs of a declining number of domestic spinning wheels after the introduction of the spinning jenny or signs of specialisation as rural craftsmen ceased to be involved in farming?

²³ For example, GlosRO, probate of John Ward, Welford, yeoman, 1670, includes 'his weaving loome and the geers and warping trough'.

²⁴ These tables are integrated in the text in Chapters 4 to 8.

about the family and businesses of the deceased. For example, who were their relations and how far did their business networks reach? Such individuals who are mentioned in other people's probate were entered in the general database, but not in the analytical tables.

The bias of probate is well known. As mentioned above, few poorer labourers and craftsmen left probate documents, so percentages of such workers in the probate analysis is misleading. Nevertheless, where parish registers before 1813 fail to give occupational information, probate is one of the most consistent sources for indicating which trades are present and for comparing different communities and different periods. The bias of probate records compared with other sources is examined at the end of this chapter.

Marriage bonds, allegations and licences

Although much used by family historians, these documents are probably underused as a source for historians seeking occupational data.²⁵ The Worcester diocese marriage allegations for those intending to marry by licence proved to be a useful source. Not only were the occupations and parish of the would-be groom and his guarantor (or bondsman) usually given, but also the age of the bride and groom. As the parties were required to sign or make their mark, these documents also provide clues to the literacy of individuals.²⁶ As with probate records, it must be borne in mind that those marrying by licence are not proportionally representative of the whole workforce. Those applying for

²⁵ Information on this source can be found in J. S. W. Gibson, *Bishop's Transcripts and Marriage Licences, Bonds and Allegations*, (Bury, Federation of Family History Societies, 1997) and in M. Heber, *Ancestral Trails*, (Stroud, Alan Sutton, 1997).

²⁶ Better in this respect than wills, where, when a testator made a mark, it may have been because he or she was too ill to sign, rather than illiterate.

licences include the more wealthy members of society, those who had previously been married or who desired a speedy wedding for whatever reason and those where there was a noticeable discrepancy in age or status between the groom and the bride. There was also a tendency for non-conformists and Roman Catholics to marry by licence. The marriage allegations under-represent labourers and poorer craftsmen, but they do mention many local individuals who chose to be married outside the study area, the marriage therefore not appearing in the register of the expected parish. So, although the marriage allegations are not a comprehensive guide to occupations in the area, they do provide information about certain individuals not found in other records.

However, the reference to occupations is patchy at certain periods in the Worcester diocese records, particularly the late 1660s. The Worcester diocese marriage allegations (available on microfilm in date order) have been consulted for the period 1660-1837. In Gloucester diocese the marriage allegations are not so easy to use.²⁷ For this reason I have not studied the allegations for Gloucester diocese parishes for the whole study period, but certain periods have been selected for comparative purposes.²⁸ The Gloucester marriage allegations from 1660-1700 and the Worcester allegations from 1731-54 are available in printed form.²⁹ I have chosen four periods for analysis of the marriage licence records, (namely 1680-1699, 1737-1754, 1780-1799 and 1810-1837), using years where occupational information is readily available in both dioceses and

²⁷ They have not been filmed and have only been indexed by surname, not parish.

²⁸ There is also a printed selection of earlier licences: WoRO, L929.34244, 'Marriage licences in the diocesan registry at Worcester, 1446-1725'. In my footnote references I use the short-hand 'marriage licence' to also cover bonds or allegations, which are grouped together.

²⁹ B. C. Frith, ed., 'Gloucestershire marriage allegations, vol. 1, 1637-1680/1 and vol. 2, 1681-1700', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., Records Branch*, 2, (1954), and WoRO, L929.34244, 'Diocese of Worcester marriage licences, vol. 1, 1731-40', (1992) and 'vol. 2, 1740-54', (1994).

allowing comparison between the different periods. The bias of marriage licences compared with some other sources is quantified at the end of this chapter.

Parish registers

Tate states that parish registers offer ‘very real possibilities’ for demographic study, but are patchy in their relevance to an occupational study.³⁰ All the Anglican parish registers for baptisms, marriages and burials for the study area during the period 1660 to 1840 have been trawled for occupational information.³¹

Occupations of fathers are generally given in baptism registers from 1813; these have been analysed in spreadsheets.³² Earlier parish registers do not usually provide occupational information, but half a dozen parishes do so for certain (usually short) periods, and it is fortunate that two adjacent parishes, (Studley and Coughton), contain such information for much of the eighteenth century.³³

The use of Church of England parish registers as a source of information has its disadvantages, as non-Anglicans, although sometimes mentioned, will be under-

³⁰ W. E. Tate, *The Parish Chest*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 1983), p. 83.

³¹ WoRO holds the extant parish registers for all the Worcestershire parishes in the study area, (including Pebworth, transferred from Gloucestershire). WaRO holds all the registers for the other parishes, except for the Dorsington Marriage Register from 1837 which was consulted at the house of the present incumbent.

³² Occupations of mothers are not usually recorded except (sometimes) those of unmarried mothers. Unmarried mothers are not included in the analysis in my spreadsheets, but their occupations (if given in the register) are mentioned in the text. Where a baptism takes place in a parish other than that where the family resided, I have included it in the data for the parish of residence. Only a small percentage of baptisms took place outside the parish of residence, but I have adjusted figures accordingly as it is more important to know where they worked at a certain trade rather than where they baptised their children. This is possible with a local study such as this, but would not be possible in a more extensive study.

³³ Parish registers in the study area with occupational information before 1813 are analysed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, as appropriate. Parish registers which do not record occupations have still proved useful in providing extra information about individuals whose occupation is known from other sources. There is a discussion of early parish registers with occupational information, (P. Kitson, ‘The recording of occupations in the Anglican baptism registers of England and Wales, 1690-1799’), on the Cambridge Group website. (www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk, 20 Aug. 2008).

represented. This has to be constantly borne in mind when discussing the data. Moreover, certain occupational groups, such as independent craftsmen, were perhaps more likely to turn to non-conformist sects, than were yeoman farmers, who considered themselves much more as stakeholders in the traditional parish structure. For reasons of convenience rather than deep conviction others would attend a non-conformist chapel rather than the distant parish church.³⁴ There were also many Roman Catholics in the study area, particularly in those villages held by the Throckmorton family of Coughton Court.³⁵ Non-conformist and Roman Catholic registers have also been trawled to find information.³⁶ However, these records are not consistent enough across time and space to be used to make meaningful spreadsheets. Many individuals appear in both non-conformist and Anglican registers, and births and burials of ‘papists’ are frequently recorded in Anglican registers.³⁷

Despite the drawbacks mentioned here the Anglican baptism registers from 1813 are the most comprehensive source for occupational information before the 1841 census. Labourers and poorer craftsmen are well-represented in the registers (unlike probate and marriage licence records). For the most part local baptism registers do not distinguish between agricultural and other labourers, but in the tables of baptism data in Chapters 4 to 8 I have allocated labourers according to the 1831 census. There is no suggestion that

³⁴ For example, in the needle-making colony at Astwood Bank the Baptist chapel was established in the eighteenth century, whereas the new Anglican church was not built for another hundred years.

³⁵ Many local Roman Catholics appear in WaRO, MI163, Coughton RC register. R. Probert and L. D’Arcy Brown discuss this register from 1758-1795: ‘Catholics and the Clandestine Marriages Act of 1753’, *Local Population Studies*, 80, (2008), pp. 78-82.

³⁶ Other registers consulted include: TNA, RG4/3280, Redditch circuit Wesleyan Methodist register, TNA, RG6/230, Worcester Society of Friends register, TNA, RG8/96 and RG4/3367, Alcester Presbyterian registers, TNA, RG4/2016, 2067, Alcester and Astwood Bank Baptist Chapel registers, and TNA, RG4487, Redditch Independent Congregational register.

³⁷ V. T. J. Arkell, ‘An enquiry into the frequency of the parochial registration of Catholics in a seventeenth century Warwickshire parish’, *Local Population Studies*, 9, (1972), discusses the under-recording of Catholics in the Anglican registers of Rowington, a parish near the study area.

the ratio of agricultural to non-agricultural labourers was static over time, but this approach at least reflects a more likely scenario than allocating all the many labourers in baptism data to the primary sector.

I have also used baptisms (from Elizabethan times where available) to supplement information regarding the population of each parish. The analysis of baptism numbers for this purpose is discussed in Chapter 3. At the end of this chapter there is a discussion of the occupational bias of parish registers compared with some other sources.

Other parish and ecclesiastical records

Where available and appropriate, use has been made of other Anglican parish records such as churchwardens' presentments, settlement certificates and examinations, parish apprentice indentures, vestry minutes and accounts of the overseers of the poor and the churchwardens. Published monumental inscriptions for local churchyards and cemeteries of all denominations have been consulted and also diocesan records.³⁸ These are not consistent enough to be used for analysis, but have helped to provide more information on individuals and trades. In Harvington's parish register there is a list of those who paid towards a collection by brief in 1695, which contains occupational information. This is analysed in Appendix 8.

Quarter Sessions records

Quarter Sessions records have proved a patchy seam of source material for the purposes of this study. In general it is rather fortuitous who appears in these records and who does not. If you were a miscreant, a recusant, a victim of a crime, a licensed

³⁸ Diocesan records such as bishop's transcripts, visitation books and subscription books. If cited, these appear in Sources and Bibliography.

victualler or a juror, then you and perhaps your occupation may have been mentioned in these records.³⁹ Surviving documents and in particular references to occupations are not consistent for all parishes, so this source has been used to add colour to the picture in the text rather than as a framework for analysis.

Militia records

Although Glennie makes use of this source, militia records giving occupational information for the study area do not survive in any number.⁴⁰

Trade directories

‘For the community historian, trade directories are the most accessible of the relevant sources of information.’⁴¹ However, directories have their drawbacks as a source for occupational structure. They can be very inconsistent in their inclusion of individual tradesmen and craftsmen. In any case the directories will generally only list the head of each business, rather than the employees. Use of the directories alone would skew the statistics: for example, a needlemaster listed in the directory may have employed hundreds, whereas a shoemaker may have employed one apprentice or worked alone.

Different directories also vary in their format and what they include, so one has to tread carefully when making comparisons between them. Their treatment of dual or

³⁹ However, K. Buchanan, ‘Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries, 1600-1650’, *Trans. of Worcestershire Arch. Soc.*, 17, 18 and 19, (1940-2), states that the Worcestershire Quarter Sessions documents for 1600-1650 yielded more industrial workers than did probate.

⁴⁰ Glennie, ‘Distinguishing men’s trades’, pp. 46-64. SCLA, ER42/1, 2 and 3 have about 30 names (with occupations) for Warwickshire parishes within the study area for 1807/8.

⁴¹ D. Mills, *Rural Community History from Trade Directories*, (Aldenharn, Local Population Studies, 2001), pp. 10-11.

multiple occupations is also inconsistent.⁴² Unfortunately, trade directory coverage of the parishes in the study area is uneven.⁴³ However, directories have provided background information on individuals found in other sources and have proved useful in highlighting the part played by female business owners who go largely unnoticed in many other records. Directories also throw light on carriers' networks and coach routes showing how the study area fitted into its regional setting.⁴⁴ Selected data from the trade directories of 1792 (for Alcester) and 1835 (for Alcester and Redditch) has been used to compile tables to allow comparisons between the two places.⁴⁵

Censuses

The censuses of 1841 and especially 1851 provide a more complete record of people's occupations than other sources, but even these were compiled rather subjectively. For example, dual occupations are not consistently noted, and the 1841 census is inferior to its successor as a source for occupations of women and children. Details of individuals have been extracted from the enumerators' returns for the whole study area for both these years and added to the database in order to illuminate individual careers.⁴⁶ The occupational structure of all parishes in the 1841 census has been analysed in tables in Chapters 4 to 7. Goose, Shaw-Taylor and others comment on the under-recording of women's (and children's) occupations in this census, especially if their work

⁴² Sometimes many occupations are listed next to one person's name, while in other directories the same name appears under lists of different trades thus making it unclear whether it is indeed the same person pursuing more than one trade or two or more people with the same name.

⁴³ Directories consulted are listed in Sources and Bibliography. Only Alcester is covered before 1800. *Lewis's Worcestershire Directory* of 1820 covers small villages in 1820, while Warwickshire and Gloucestershire villages are not covered until 1845 and 1856 respectively. Eighteenth century directories of Birmingham and Worcester include references to carriers from the study area.

⁴⁴ See Appendices 14 and 15.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 25. These directories refer to Alcester and Redditch.

⁴⁶ Some individuals have also been traced in the 1861 census.

was undertaken on a temporary, part-time or casual basis.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the censuses have proved useful for speculation about their part in the economy. Certain parishes in the 1851 census have also been analysed separately for comparative purposes in order to provide a broad-brush background to the occupational structure.⁴⁸ A comparison between the 1841 census and some other sources is to be found at the end of this chapter.

Although the censuses from 1801 to 1831 are of questionable accuracy for occupational data, they have been used to provide background information.⁴⁹ The 1831 returns for Tardebigge, Bidford and Oversley survive, giving names of heads of household and (in Tardebigge and Bidford) their occupations.⁵⁰ Population tables for each parish have also been compiled using nineteenth century censuses and earlier sources such as ecclesiastical censuses.⁵¹

Inland revenue apprenticeship books

At the National Archives there is a collection (coded IR1) which lists (for tax purposes) apprenticeships between 1710 and 1811. These are divided into two series, one dealing with apprenticeships where the tax was paid in London (city or town registers, IR1-40), and the other dealing with country apprenticeships. I have consulted all the country apprenticeships (IR1/41-72) for the study area, and these are analysed in

⁴⁷ For example, N. Goose in N. Goose, ed., *Women's Work in Industrial England*, (Hatfield, Local Populations Studies, 2007), p. 22, and L. Shaw-Taylor in *ibid.*, pp. 32-42.

⁴⁸ Government-published statistics have been used to compile spreadsheets analysing occupations of men over 20 and women over 20 for the Alcester enumeration district and the surrounding districts, which include some of the parishes in the study area. See Appendix 11.

⁴⁹ E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited*, (London, University of London, 2005) and D. Gatley, *An Introduction to the 1831 Census*, (Stafford, Staffordshire University, 2003) have proved useful in understanding and interpreting the censuses and their strengths and weaknesses.

⁵⁰ WaRO, DR734/40, Oversley 1831 census, and HR71/43, Bidford, 1831 census. WoRO, BA8552, (ref. 850), Tardebigge and Redditch 1831 population account. DR734/40 (Oversley) does not give occupations of individuals and with BA8552 (Tardebigge) it is difficult to ascertain exactly which areas of the parish are covered, but in the case of Bidford I have compiled a table comparing the 1831 and 1841 censuses (for males over 20) and baptism data. See Appendix 10.

⁵¹ These are discussed in Chapter 3.

Appendix 23.⁵² These documents record the names of the masters and the apprentices and usually list their parish, their occupations and the fee paid. Some of the lists (especially the early ones) also give the names (and perhaps occupations) of the apprentices' parents. Certain occupations (such as farming) appear rarely in these documents, but nevertheless this source throws light on the occupational structure of different places. (For example, the apprentice books highlight the presence and growth of needlemaking in some parishes and its absence in others.)

Other primary sources

Manorial records have been used selectively. The records from some manors are readily available, others have few, if any, surviving records. In any case extant local manorial documents are often pre-occupied with land transfers and general bye-laws, and therefore provide little evidence regarding occupations. However, those for the manor of Alcester are a little more useful, often dealing with regulations of trade in the market town. Estate records have also been used to flesh out the bones, particularly in the late seventeenth century.

Other local sources, which have provided background information, include tax returns, enclosure awards and tithe maps, Ordnance Survey and other maps, plans and surveys. The extant Worcester newspapers from 1712 to 1800 have yielded much interesting (if sporadic) background colour. Although time did not allow study of all the private papers and property deeds for the study area deposited in libraries and record offices, the on-line indexes for the a2a (Access to Archives) website have proved useful.

⁵² In practice references to apprenticeships from the study area cease circa 1804. Some local apprentices or masters may be mentioned in the London series, but it was not practical to consult that series as well.

Local and family historians have also given useful information from property deeds and company and family papers, which would not have been publicly available.

Land tax returns for 1798 were consulted at the National Archives in order to give background to the landholding in each manor and in conjunction with other sources can show which tradesmen owned or farmed land.⁵³

Secondary sources

Reference has also been made to published local histories and national studies of certain trades and occupations, as well as background information about English society and its economic development during the study period. Studies of industries in other British communities, both urban and rural were consulted for comparative purposes.⁵⁴ Published local histories from the eighteenth century to the present vary enormously in their aims and their usefulness for this study, but have provided detail regarding people and places. In setting my findings in a national framework I have also benefited greatly from correspondence and meetings with members of the Cambridge Group, whose published works have been an inspiration.⁵⁵

Local history studies which have proved particularly useful include the books and occasional papers produced by the Alcester and District Local History Society.⁵⁶ The study of needlemaking before 1750 by S. Jones provided a useful starting point for

⁵³ See Appendix 24.

⁵⁴ The bibliography at the end of this thesis has been divided into general works and articles cited and books and articles cited concerning places in Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. Many other books were consulted for background information, but if not cited, do not appear in the bibliography.

⁵⁵ Some of their publications are in book form, others on their website: www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk (See Sources and Bibliography).

⁵⁶ Many were written by G. E. Saville. See sources and bibliography.

surveying occupations in the Needle District,⁵⁷ while various articles by Martin about the Vale of Evesham and south Warwickshire parishes have also been informative.⁵⁸ Buchanan's survey of Worcestershire industries in the seventeenth century gave insight into the local geography of early industrialisation, while books by Court, Rowlands, Hopkins and Peter Jones amongst others help to set my study area in a regional context.⁵⁹

Many books dealing more generally with industrialisation, urbanisation and rural society have proved useful including those by Crafts, Clark, Clarkson, Hudson, Berg, Zell and Thirsk.⁶⁰ Studies of particular industries have also provided a useful background to this study, for instance Clarkson on the leather industry and De L. Mann on the cloth industry.⁶¹ Similarities to or contrasts with the findings of these studies are commented on in Chapters 4 to 8, as relevant.

⁵⁷ S. R. H. Jones, 'The development of needle manufacturing in the West Midlands before 1750', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 31, (1978)

⁵⁸ J. M. Martin, 'The parliamentary enclosure movement and rural society in Warwickshire', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 15, (1967), 'The rise in population in eighteenth-century Warwickshire', *Dugdale Soc.*, OP23, (1976), 'The social and economic origins of the Vale of Evesham market gardening industry', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 33, (1985), and 'Village traders and the emergence of a proletariat in South Warwickshire, 1750-1851', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 32, (1984).

⁵⁹ For example, K. Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries, 1600-1650', *Trans. of Worcestershire Arch. Soc.*, 17, 18 and 19, (1940-2), W. Court, *The Rise of the Midland Industries, 1600-1838*, (Oxford, OUP, 1938), M. Rowlands, *Masters and Men in the West Midland Metalware Trades before the Industrial Revolution*, (Manchester, MUP, 1975), E. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, (Stroud, Sutton, 1998), and P. M. Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment*, (Manchester, MUP, 2008).

⁶⁰ N. Crafts, *British Economic Growth during the Industrial Revolution*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985), P. Hudson, ed., *Regions and Industries*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1989), P. Clark, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2, (Cambridge, CUP, 2000), P. Clark, ed., *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800*, (London, Hutchinson, 1984), L. A. Clarkson, *Proto-industrialization: The First Phase of Industrialization?*, (London, Macmillan, 1985), P. Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution*, (London, Edward Arnold, 1992), M. Berg, *The Age of Manufactures 1700-1820*, (London, Routledge, 1994), M. Zell, *Industry in the Countryside*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1994), J. Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640*, vol. IV, (Cambridge, CUP, 1967), and J. Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1640-1750*, vol. V, (Cambridge, CUP, 1985).

⁶¹ For example, L. A. Clarkson, 'The leather crafts in Tudor and Stuart England', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 14, (1966), and J. de L. Mann, *The Cloth Industry in the West of England*, (Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1987).

Occupational Groupings and Descriptors

Data for the spreadsheets was collected under more than a hundred different occupational headings. In some cases it is realistic to discuss each occupation on its own.⁶² However, at other times it is more realistic to group occupations together, for example according to the raw materials used. More general analysis was also made allocating occupations to primary, secondary or tertiary categories, as advocated by the Cambridge Group.

The Cambridge Group's PST classification and more specific occupational groupings

For analytical purposes in this study I have used the Cambridge Group's classification of occupations into Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary. Primary includes agriculture, fishing, quarrying and mining, Secondary embraces manufactures, while Tertiary includes professionals, dealers, retailers and the service sector.⁶³

The distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary occupations seems clear-cut, but individual people fulfilled complex roles. For example, a so-called shoemaker may have had more money tied up in farming than in his trade and may have sold products made by others, and a yeoman farmer may have produced malt or beer or financed business ventures for his neighbours. In reality both individuals worked partly in each of the three groupings, but, despite this complexity, the yeoman is allocated to the primary group and the shoemaker to the secondary. Comparisons of data between zones

⁶² For example needlemakers, who tend to either be present or absent in different parishes in the study area, and where present, appear in numbers large enough to make observations meaningful.

⁶³ For a full explanation of the PST system see the Cambridge Group's website:
www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/categorisation

and periods therefore have to be treated with some caution. Nevertheless, much can be deduced from the occupational descriptors used.

In all analytical tables I have omitted gentlemen, gypsies, travelling folk and men of unspecified occupations, so that the analysis in the tables is of those with known occupations only. In all probate and marriage licence analysis I have allocated all labourers to the Primary sector. Sources show that the majority of labourers locally did in fact work in agriculture, so for the most part this will not skew the statistics greatly, besides which labourers do not feature very strongly in these sources. In my PST tables for these sources I have usually shown Primary with and without labourers.

In analysis of most of the parish registers which show occupations before 1813 I have treated labourers as described above, but for all baptism registers from 1813 to 1840 I have separated the labourers (between Primary and Secondary) according to the ratios shown in the 1831 census for each parish, as explained above.⁶⁴ There is no suggestion that the ratio of agricultural to non-agricultural labourers was static over time, but this is probably the best way to allocate labourers in the study area before the Victorian censuses.

Labourers are also separated between the primary and secondary sectors in analysis of the 1841 census. Apart from labourers I have not split any trade between different sectors. For instance all chandlers have been allocated to Tertiary even though they may have made their own candles as well as dealing in other people's produce. The descriptor 'stonemason' in the quarrying parishes of the study area denotes a man who quarries stone, deals in stone and builds with stone. Despite his feet being in three camps

⁶⁴ As Coughton and Studley were strong in secondary occupations in the eighteenth century, for the analysis of their eighteenth century parish registers in Chapter 7 I have also allocated labourers to the primary or secondary sectors according to the 1831 census.

I have allocated the mason to Secondary. In non-quarrying parishes masons were indeed probably involved in the building trade alone.

In addition to the Cambridge Group's PST system I have also analysed occupations according to my own groupings based on factors such as raw materials used. Such occupational groupings and also problematic occupational descriptors are explained in detail in Appendix 2, but some observations on this subject are made here. Some workers could fit into more than one category, for example, carpenters could be classed with other woodworkers or with building trade workers. In effect I have listed carpenters as a separate category as they are numerous and ubiquitous enough to afford this treatment. Similarly, blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers and publicans are listed separately in the tables, as generally they are among the most likely tradesmen to be present in each community.

The Division of the Study Area into Sub-districts

Although the data was collected in individual parishes, some of them are too small to make analysis meaningful. In order to analyse and compare the data parishes were grouped together geographically, as explained below.

Alcester was large enough to allow analysis of its occupational data separately, whereas analysis for smaller parishes is more meaningful when information from neighbouring parishes is combined. Throughout the period the occupational structure of parishes in the south was different from those in the north, but where to draw the dividing line? It would be possible to divide the study area into many different sub-districts, but to avoid too much complication, it was decided to discuss Alcester as Zone A, unique in

enjoying its status as a market town, and to group the other parishes into three further zones.⁶⁵

Ten parishes near the river Avon comprise the north-eastern extension of the Vale of Evesham, famed for its fertile land. Traditionally these parishes shared the mainly arable, ‘champion’ characteristics of the Vale and of the South Warwickshire Feldon district further east. For this reason this zone will be called Zone B, the Southern (Champion) Country.⁶⁶ During the period of this study some of this zone’s parishes were in the county and diocese of Gloucester, while the other parishes were in Worcester diocese and either in Worcestershire or Warwickshire.⁶⁷

All the parishes further north could be categorised as wood-pasture, but it was decided to divide them into two further groups. Nineteen parishes lying in the Warwickshire Forest of Arden and the Worcestershire Feckenham Forest will be referred to as Zone C, the Central (Wood-Pasture) Belt. Six parishes in the extreme north of the study area became the focus of needlemaking. For this reason this sub-district will be called Zone D, the Northern (Needle) District.⁶⁸

Populations for each parish and zone are discussed in Chapter 3, and Chapters 4 to 7 provide commentaries on the occupational structure of each of the Zones A to D respectively. Although these subdivisions were chosen with some deliberation, there is

⁶⁵ To avoid confusion the term ‘area’ will be used to refer to the whole study area, while the smaller groupings of parishes will be referred to as ‘zones’, ‘sub-districts’ or ‘sub-divisions’. The word ‘region’ will refer to the west midlands region of which the study area forms a part. See Appendix 1 and Appendix 1a.

⁶⁶ The distinction between champion and woodland landscapes in the west midlands appears in many works, e. g.: J. A. Yelling, ‘Livestock numbers and agricultural development, 1540-1750: a study of East Worcestershire’, in T. Slater and P. Jarvis, eds., *Field and Forest, an Historical Geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire*, (Norwich, Geo Books, 1982), p. 283.

⁶⁷ Appendix 1 and Appendix 1a give detailed information about all the parishes zone by zone.

⁶⁸ The term ‘Needle District’ has been used by other writers in the past to include a wider area including parishes outside my study area: for example the directories known as the Needle District Almanacs produced in the nineteenth century.

no suggestion that the boundaries between them are definitive, or that all parishes within a zone are identical in their economic development.

In Chapter 8 parishes are grouped together in other ways (for example according to size) in order to make comparisons and observations. Such groupings will only be discussed if they are considered relevant. The aim is to make realistic observations rather than trying to fit the statistics to a pre-conceived pattern.

Evidence from many sources from 1660-1840 suggests that, as may be expected, most familial and business links were local, often with contiguous parishes or at least those within twenty miles. However, there were several connections with places in neighbouring counties (especially the towns), and many families had cousins in the capital and the home counties. Surname evidence suggests that for the most part those working in the study area had not moved far from their native home. Certain occupations were forced to move further afield in search of limited work opportunities, but in general those who enjoyed wider social and economic horizons were wealthy or educated. Mobility of people in certain trades is commented on, as appropriate, in Chapters 4 to 8.

The Division of the Study Period into Smaller Periods

In order to detect continuity or change, the two centuries covered by this study have been broken down into four separate periods. Period A refers to the years 1660-1699, Period B 1700-1749, Period C 1750-1799 and Period D 1800-1840. Although in the spreadsheets parish register data was entered for individual years and probate and marriage licence data in decades, it was more meaningful to discuss data over these longer periods. There is no suggestion that there was a sudden change between the end of one period and the start of another. For example, the occupational structure in 1699

was of course very similar to that in 1700. As with groupings of parishes and occupations, I have tried to maintain a commonsense approach to discussion of the data of different periods, at once flexible but methodical. Apparent discrepancies between sources may highlight that a certain age group or gender group is predominant in a certain trade at a given time. Different sources mainly deal with different age-groups. Some bridegrooms in marriage allegations in Period A are the same as those leaving wills in Period B.⁶⁹ Change from one period to another is discussed and, where significant, important years within a certain period are noted; for example, war years or times of great mortality, which may skew the statistics. Data for each period has been treated as a snapshot rather than using moving averages within the periods.⁷⁰ In discussing Period A I will also refer to what was happening before 1660, while in Period D I also refer to probate up to 1858 and to observations from the 1841 and 1851 censuses, where relevant.⁷¹

Chapter 8 serves as an overview of the whole study period and also considers some of the themes and more general issues mentioned in Chapter 1, such as dual occupations and the role of women and children.

Different sources are used in order to shed light on the occupational structure of the study area from different angles. To a lesser or greater extent the occupations of the rich, the poor and the middling are revealed. In the text dealing with each zone (in Chapters 4 to 7) if one source is biased and omits or understates the presence of certain

⁶⁹ In discussing Period A I will also refer to what was happening before 1660.

⁷⁰ The exception to this is in Chapter 3 where moving averages are used for numerical data from baptism registers.

⁷¹ As explained above, marriage licences from 1737 to 1754 for Worcester diocese have been published, which makes them easier to use and so these years were chosen as one of the periods for analysis. For all intents and purposes I count them as Period B even though these years actually straddle Periods B and C. The shorter periods analysed from marriage licence data perhaps help to highlight changes which are smoothed out in the continuous analysis of probate, as discussed in Chapter 8.

occupations I try to make amends by referring to other sources, although a realistic quantification of percentages working in different occupational sectors is rarely possible before the nineteenth century.

In order to give some context to my study I set the scene here with a brief discussion of how the national and regional economy changed over the four periods of this study and include observations on which primary sources are available to the historian in each period.

Period A: 1660-1699

The late seventeenth century was pivotal in the economic development of the west midlands. The metal industry's powerful tide was spreading through Birmingham, South Staffordshire and North Worcestershire and lapping at the northern margins of the study area. The income from staple products of the organic economy, such as wool and corn, was not as reliable as heretofore. As Rowlands comments, 'Although the forms of the manorial economy remained, a recognisably industrial society was emerging' in Birmingham's hardware district.⁷² Between 1560 and 1660 midland towns as a group show demographic growth of about 50%, while, more specifically, the population of Birmingham and the Black Country doubled, and some of its industrial villages increased fourfold.⁷³

⁷² M. Rowlands, 'Society and industry in the West Midlands at the end of the seventeenth century', *Midlands History*, 4, (1977), p. 58.

⁷³ A. Dyer, 'Small market towns 1540-1700', in P. Clark, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2, (Cambridge, CUP, 2000), p. 428, and M. Rowlands, 'Continuity and change in an industrialising society', in Hudson, *Regions and Industries*, p. 103.

Buchanan has shown that to a large extent the localised patterns of Worcestershire's industries were already moulded by 1600 - for example, metal trades in the extreme north of the county, and leather, specialist woodcrafts and textiles in the East Worcestershire woodland parishes of the study area.⁷⁴ Various factors could have caused the study area (particularly parishes in Zone D) to follow a developmental path similar to that of the Black Country. However, Large comments that, after the disafforestation of Feckenham Forest, 'the emergence of intensive farming restricted the nascent rural industries'.⁷⁵ The industrial tide was checked, and, in response to the growing demand for food from the metalware district and the burgeoning national population, agriculture regained ground.

Since the development of industry in these rural parishes is a central theme in this study, it may be apposite here to discuss opinions on early industrialisation and the model of 'proto-industrialisation'. Various writers have noted the spread of industrial pursuits in the countryside. Zell discusses this phenomenon in his study of the Weald in the sixteenth century, where the iron industry and cloth-making were important.⁷⁶ He notes that the decline of both industries in the seventeenth century caused de-industrialisation. By contrast other writers have noted that elsewhere early industrial by-employments sometimes grew into full-fledged industrialisation.

⁷⁴ Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries'.

⁷⁵ P. Large, 'Economic and social change in North Worcestershire during the seventeenth century', *PhD thesis, University of Oxford*, (1980), p. i.

⁷⁶ M. Zell, *Industry in the Countryside*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1994), pp. 228-246.

Mendels amongst others advocated the model of proto-industrialisation.⁷⁷ There is insufficient room here to go into the detail of Mendels' model, but Clarkson summarises some of its main attributes.⁷⁸ Firstly, the existence of industries in the countryside could comprise the first phase of industrialisation, leading on to the factory system. Alternatively, like Zell's Wealden communities mentioned above, some places might de-industrialise. The artisans involved in proto-industrial activities typically also farmed. With few overheads the items made by these independent farmer-manufacturers, often for national or international markets, were produced relatively competitively. Following the proto-industrial model through, the final stage of factory-type industrialisation often led to proletarianisation of the workforce and perhaps immiseration as they transformed into wage-workers. The structure of settlements and households changed as a more mature type of industrialisation was achieved.⁷⁹

Zell summarises various factors which often influenced the appearance of industries in the countryside including topography and soil type, date of permanent settlement, type of agrarian regime, pattern of landholding and settlement type, prevailing inheritance customs, local availability of labour for non-agrarian employment, population growth, natural resources, access to markets and the availability of capital to finance rural

⁷⁷ F. Mendels, 'Proto-industrialization: the first phase of the industrialization process', *Journal of Economic History*, 32, (1972), pp. 241-261. Other useful discussions of proto-industrialisation can be found in M. Berg, *The Age of Manufactures 1700-1820*, (London, Routledge, 1994), L. A. Clarkson, *Proto-industrialization: The First Phase of Industrialization?*, (London, Macmillan, 1985), S. Ogilvie and M. Cerman, *European Proto-industrialization*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1996) and D. Coleman, 'Proto-industrialization: a concept too many', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 36, (1983).

⁷⁸ L. Clarkson, *Proto-industrialization: the First Phase of Industrialization?*, (London, Macmillan, 1985), pp. 9-10.

⁷⁹ This may have happened in the needlemaking communities in Zones A and D, discussed in Chapters 4 and 7.

industry.⁸⁰ Some of these factors are relevant to the economic story of the study area and are discussed below in Chapters 4 to 8.

In the early modern period ‘proto-industrial’ settlements often sprang up in wood-pasture areas such as West and South Yorkshire, the clothing region of East Somerset, West Wiltshire and parts of Gloucestershire, and the Black Country.⁸¹ In the study area Zones C and D were both wood-pasture areas, but of these only Zone D can be said to have industrialised to any extent.⁸²

The study area, like much of the kingdom, was badly affected by dearth and war in the mid-seventeenth century, which created pressures on the regional and national economy?⁸³ During the Civil War many local families must have lost possessions and breadwinners and many employers their labour force. Although the study area (unlike London) did not suffer badly from the 1665 plague, unfortunately, just as the economy was picking up, the population was hit by an epidemic in the mid-1680s.⁸⁴ Thereafter it appears that the area’s economy settled and thrived (for the most part) until the next great epidemic of the late 1720s.

In Period A probate and marriage licences have been used for analysis; other primary sources available for reference include property deeds, quarter sessions records, estate accounts, manor records and from 1695 a handful of parish registers which give

⁸⁰ Zell, *Industry in the Countryside*, p.229.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁸² These zones are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

⁸³ P. Tenant in R. Bearman, ed., *The History of an English Borough – Stratford upon Avon, 1196-1996*, (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1997), p. 119, discusses the frequency of troop movements in the area. S. Hindle, ‘Dearth and the English revolution: the harvest crisis of 1647-50’, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 61, (2008), discusses poor harvests and consequent dearth in the period 1647-50, e.g. in Gloucestershire, p. 65 and Worcestershire, p. 67.

⁸⁴ This can be seen from the increased number of probate documents at the time. E. A. Wrigley in R. Floud and P. Johnson, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, vol. 1*, (Cambridge, CUP, 2004), p. 64 shows a fall in the national population between 1681 and 1686.

occupational information. Probate inventories at this period furnish much useful background information.

Period B:1700-1749

Despite claims that Manchester's hinterland was 'the first industrial region',⁸⁵ the Birmingham region was a strong economic force in the nation at the start of the eighteenth century. 'New discoveries in metals, mines and minerals, new undertakings in trade, engines, manufactures in a nation pushing and improving as we are' wrote Defoe in 1720, '...make England especially shew a new and differing face in many places....'⁸⁶ The west midlands contained many such places, and in its own humble way so did the study area, especially the Needle District.

The demographic history of the west midlands region and the study area is consistent with areas of fast but essentially localised growth, as discussed in Chapter 3. Gooder, whose population study includes Alcester, suggests a correlation between bad harvests and the mortality crisis of 1727-30.⁸⁷ Be that as it may, harvest success or failure had other effects, as discussed by Hoskins, who catalogues the good and bad years.⁸⁸ Although Hoskins describes 1740 as a 'dearth' year, many years from 1730 to 1750 enjoyed good harvests. Consequently, grain and bread prices fell, good news for the consumer, if not for those involved in farming. Lower cost of living prices may have led to more spending on leisure, luxuries and non-food items, which in turn stimulated trade.

⁸⁵ Stobart, *The First Industrial Region*.

⁸⁶ D. Defoe, *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, cited by Berg, *The Age of Manufactures*, p. 34.

⁸⁷ A. Gooder, 'The population crisis of 1727-30 in Warwickshire', *Midland History*, 1, (1972), pp. 1-22.

⁸⁸ W. G. Hoskins, 'Harvest fluctuations and English economic history, 1620-1759', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 16, (1968), pp. 15-31.

Yelling has shown that in both the champion parishes and woodland parishes of East Worcestershire from 1700 until the 1740s there was a general increase in the numbers of cattle, sheep, pigs and horses kept by farmers.⁸⁹ This was in part to keep up with the demand for food from the manufacturing towns of the west midlands, which also received supplies of fruit and vegetables from the Vale of Evesham market gardeners.⁹⁰ As always, the west midlands farmers were adapting to changing times, which was also achieved by the adoption of more modern farm practices with greater use of leys, turnips, clover and ryegrass.⁹¹ As if bad harvests and population crises were not enough, local farmers also had to endure the distressing consequences of cattle plague, which struck from 1742.⁹² Corn prices fluctuated, and although meat prices were a little steadier, periods such as the early thirties saw falling prices in most agricultural produce.⁹³ Such uncertainty in farming led landowners to seek alternative sources of income and led farmers (especially smallholders) to maintain another string to their bow. As Sharpe has intimated, there may have been a decrease in the amount of farm-work undertaken by women in the eighteenth century.⁹⁴ The consequent fall in family income was partly offset by a lower cost of living in mid-century, but this trend would free women to work in industrial by-employments, where these were on offer.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ J. Yelling, 'Livestock numbers and agricultural development, 1540-1750: a study of East Worcestershire', in Slater, *Field and Forest*, p. 281.

⁹⁰ Martin, 'The social and economic origins of the Vale of Evesham market gardening industry', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 33, (1985).

⁹¹ J. Yelling, 'Changes in crop production in East Worcestershire 1540-1867', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 21, (1973), pp. 18-34.

⁹² J. Broad, 'Cattle plague in eighteenth-century England', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 31, (1983), pp. 104-5. This may explain why Yelling's livestock numbers decline slightly in the 1740s.

⁹³ C. Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763*, (London, Longman, 1965), p. 243.

⁹⁴ This decrease in women's involvement in farm-work may have started during this period and continued into the next.

⁹⁵ P. Sharpe, 'The female labour market in English agriculture during the Industrial Revolution: expansion or contraction?', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 47, (1999), p. 180-1.

Little is of the view that ‘the period 1725 to 1750 witnessed a check, a pause, or at best retarded economic advance’, while Ashton catalogues the economic crises of that time.⁹⁶ Perhaps they are mainly discussing the national or London-centred economy, but what was the effect on industry and commerce in the west midlands during this bumpy, uneven ride towards industrialisation? Rowlands states that between 1710 and 1760 ‘demand for the traditional products of the region increased both at home and abroad’ and ‘opportunities opened up in supplying fashion goods to new classes of consumer’.⁹⁷ She also shows that the increased labour force was mainly recruited from within the region. As markets developed at home and abroad more men specialised in the sales side of the trade, leaving others to organise workers, such as the nailmakers. Most metalware items were still produced by family units, with fathers and sons often working in the same workshop. (The extent of women’s and younger children’s involvement in the production process at this period is unclear.) The metalworkers of the midland hardware district enjoyed a degree of social independence, owning their tools and homes and regulating their day’s work. Some prospered while others ‘lived permanently on the edge of want’.⁹⁸

Frost shows that, as the amount of commonland decreased, as early as 1720 the metalsmiths in South Staffordshire were less likely to participate in the dual economy practised by their ilk in the previous century. Agricultural and industrial occupations ‘were becoming increasingly divorced from each other and a vista of increasing independence on a cash income from forge products was opening up.’ Frost paints a less

⁹⁶ A. J. Little, *Deceleration in the Eighteenth Century British Economy*, (London, Croom Helm, 1976), p. 10, and T. S. Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800*, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1990).

⁹⁷ M. Rowlands, *Masters and Men in the West Midland Metalware Trades before the Industrial Revolution*, (Manchester, MUP, 1975), p. 125.

⁹⁸ Rowlands, *ibid.*, pp. 39, 52.

rosy picture than Rowlands of the metalworker's lot in the first half of the eighteenth century. She suggests that the metalworkers' concentration on their trade and loss of commonland and consequent loss of income from farming caused them to lose their earlier security. They became more vulnerable to falling piecework rates and commenced the downward journey into the poverty and squalor noted by Engels a hundred years later.⁹⁹

The sources available in the previous period are still available in Period B, but are now joined by newspapers, inland revenue apprenticeship books and an increasing number of parish records relating to apprentices, settlement and the poor. Occupational information is consistently given in the registers of a handful of parishes up to 1708 and in Studley and Coughton registers to 1769. Probate inventories continue throughout this period, but by the final decade are becoming less detailed and less consistent and therefore less useful to the historian.

Period C: 1750-1799

This period includes what used to be regarded as the take-off point for the classic years of the Industrial Revolution. Although the industrial workforce had been well-established and growing in earlier periods, in the second half of the eighteenth century sustained population growth, a more developed infrastructure, commercial enterprise and other factors allowed the national industrialisation process to move up a gear.¹⁰⁰ Commerce thrived as better communications spread. The cross-fertilisation of ideas was

⁹⁹ P. Frost, 'Yeomen and metalsmiths: livestock in the dual economy in South Staffordshire 1560-1720', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 29, (1981), p. 41.

¹⁰⁰ J. Mokyr in Floud and Johnson, *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, vol. 1, pp. 1-27.

enhanced through newspapers and books, while an improved transport network of turnpikes and navigations eased commercial activity. Solo entrepreneurs and groups of interested parties, (such as turnpike trusts and those petitioning for enclosure), moved the economic climate along apace. Adam Smith championed the free market and advocated the gains in profitability from better organisation and work practices. Though concepts such as division of labour were not new, the ideological climate of industrial enlightenment was conducive to their dissemination.¹⁰¹

However, Berg points out that the ‘uneven and unbalanced nature of industrial growth was above all a discontinuous transformation of different parts of the country.... Before the eighteenth century pre-industrial regions were relatively cut off from one another, their communications networks oriented to the metropolis or international ports. From the mid-eighteenth century these were displaced by internally integrated regions concentrating on an interrelated set of industries.’¹⁰² Hudson also stresses the variation in growth in different regions at this time.¹⁰³

The study area was an adjunct of the increasingly influential west midlands region, which was ‘fast becoming capable of sustaining its own independent development and of setting the pace for the rest of the country.’¹⁰⁴ The region was gaining a distinct commercial identity and attracting thinkers, engineers and businessmen from elsewhere, such as various members of the Lunar Society.¹⁰⁵ Transport links from Birmingham and Worcester to London were still vital and indeed improving, but contemporary local newspapers give weight to Berg’s comments regarding increasingly important links with

¹⁰¹ Mokyr in Floud and Johnson, *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, vol. 1, pp. 1-27.*

¹⁰² Berg, *The Age of Manufactures*, p. 27

¹⁰³ Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 101.

¹⁰⁴ J. Money, *Experience and Identity: Birmingham and the West Midlands 1760-1800*, (Manchester, MUP, 1977), p. 24.

¹⁰⁵ J. Uglow, *The Lunar Men*, (London, Faber and Faber, 2002), and M. Dick, ed., *Priestley and Birmingham*, (Studley, Brewin Books, 2005).

other regions, for instance Manchester and ‘the North’, and Bristol, that dynamic gateway to overseas markets.

Daunton states: ‘The emergence of an integrated national economy meant that signals were transmitted to all regions, but their response differed.’¹⁰⁶ As Smith noted, a larger market and better communications enabled people and places to specialise in what they produced, increasing efficiency. ‘In every improved society the farmer is generally nothing but a farmer; and the manufacturer nothing but a manufacturer.’¹⁰⁷ Many specialised in agriculture, perhaps concentrating on corn, meat or dairy products. Daunton feels that agriculture made its greatest gains in efficiency before 1750, but there were continued developments in this period such as parliamentary enclosure, changes in land-holding and other ‘improvements’, such as selective breeding of animals and more emphasis on crop rotation.¹⁰⁸

If Britain’s economic growth and the march towards industrialisation were not evenly spread in geographic terms, neither was this progress even in chronological terms. The growth is all the more remarkable in that it was checked by wars, extreme weather conditions and many poor harvests.¹⁰⁹ The west midlands was indeed affected by such problems. Cattle distemper was still prevalent in the early 1750s,¹¹⁰ and protests about rising prices of grain and butter were a recurring theme in local newspapers, as in autumn 1756.¹¹¹ Ten years later a crowd of a thousand men gathered in Coughton. They

¹⁰⁶ M. Daunton, *Progress and Poverty*, (Oxford, OUP, 1995), p. 16.

¹⁰⁷ A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, (London, Penguin, 1982), pp. 111, 121-3.

¹⁰⁸ Daunton, *Progress and Poverty*, pp. 25-57.

¹⁰⁹ For example, poor weather in 1783 after a volcanic eruption. Habakkuk, ‘English population in the eighteenth century’, highlights poor harvests in 1793-5 and 1798-1801. Hoskins, ‘Harvest fluctuations and English economic history, 1620-1759’, p. 15, suggests that 12 harvests out of 41 were deficient in the years 1760-1800.

¹¹⁰ Mentioned for example in *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 24 Jan. 1750/1 and 29 March 1753.

¹¹¹ For instance, *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette*, 15 Nov. 1756 and *Berrows Worcester Journal* 18 and 25 Nov. 1756.

continued 'traversing from one market town to another, doing incredible mischief wherever they come; the reason they allege for their assembling in this manner is the farmers send their new corn to Bristol for exportation, which has raised its price.... If some speedy method is not found out to relieve the distresses of the people, there is no knowing where this will end.'¹¹² Flour was distributed to the poor at Beoley the following year, and profiteering by millers acting as 'common buyers of corn' was still a concern in 1783.¹¹³

During this period Britain moved from being a net exporter to a net importer of grain.¹¹⁴ Food riots were symptomatic of rapid population growth, periodic shortages of work or food and economic slumps. The debate continues about the effects of enclosure and industrialisation on the poor.¹¹⁵ In the 1790s Malthus and his contemporaries expressed their concerns about population growth and the problems of the poor.¹¹⁶ By contrast, Solar has suggested that the old poor law itself contributed positively to England's economic development.¹¹⁷

Malthus believed that increased demand for labour, offering possibilities of work for women and children, (as in industrialising communities), may have led to earlier

¹¹² *Adam's Weekly Courant* 14 October 1766 quoted in C. Mossley, *News from the English Countryside 1750-1850*, (London, Harrap, 1979), p. 57.

¹¹³ Barnard, 'Some Beoley parish accounts 1656-1700', p. 39, regarding a decision of 20 April 1767. *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, June, July and September 1783 concerning millers.

¹¹⁴ Daunton, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 45.

¹¹⁵ For example L. Shaw-Taylor, 'Access to land by labourers in eighteenth century England', in B. van Bavel and P. Hoppenbrouwers, eds., *Landholding and Land Transfer in the North Sea Area*, (Turnhout, Belgium, Brepols Publishers, 2004), pp. 265-281. Martin, 'The parliamentary enclosure movement and rural society in Warwickshire', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 15, (1967), pp. 19-39.

¹¹⁶ Indeed two parishes in the study area, Alcester and Inkberrow, were included in Eden's *State of the Poor*, (discussed below).

¹¹⁷ P. Solar, 'Poor relief and English economic development before the industrial revolution', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 48, (1995), pp. 1-22.

marriage and larger families, but population growth was also influenced by many other factors.¹¹⁸

Probate inventories become scarcer and unreliable in this period, disappearing almost entirely by the 1770s. Unfortunately, occupational information in Coughton and Studley parish registers ceases around the same time. However, Alcester features in the Universal British Directory (UBD) of 1792, and other new sources include jurors' lists, land tax returns, enclosure awards, lists of users of weights and measures and the returns of mills and cart-owners.¹¹⁹ The inland revenue apprenticeship books and Worcester and Birmingham newspapers also continue through this period.

Period D:1800-1840

Between 1801 and 1841 the regional and national population growth was dramatic. Population growth in the Study Area as a whole was more modest, but certain parishes grew rapidly, as demonstrated in Chapter 3. Regional specialisation, technological innovation and improved transport furnished food and fuel, cheaper clothing and other items to meet the needs of a growing population with changing tastes.¹²⁰ Some areas prospered while others stagnated or declined, 'causing dislocation

¹¹⁸ Habbakuk, 'English population in the eighteenth century', p. 129.

¹¹⁹ There were 538 male inventories in 1720-39, 114 in the period 1740-59 and only 37 between 1760 and 1779. The average (mean) amount also dropped in mid-century perhaps reflecting a change in use of inventories rather than a real drop in personal wealth for the population as a whole. WaRO, QS76/3/1, Jurors' lists give occupations of jurors for the Warwickshire parishes in the study area from 1772. WaRO, CR114A/226, 1798 Return of mills, carts, etc., and WaRO, QS89/2, 1796 List of users of weights and measures.

¹²⁰ J. Kennedy, 'Observations on the Influence of Machinery upon the Working Classes of the Community', (Manchester, 1829) quoted in N. Tranter, *Population and Industrialization*, (London, Black, 1973), p. 207. Berg, *The Age of Manufactures*, p. 135, stresses that women's wants and desires helped drive the Industrial Revolution.

of labour and communities'.¹²¹ The transformation of English society did not progress smoothly. The Napoleonic Wars, food shortages, social unrest and bank failures caused periodic checks to the accelerating drive towards urbanisation and industrialisation.

In the west midlands region large and small firms introduced similar technologies, thus restructuring the labour process and increasing the intensity of labour, 'which provoked major unrest in the 1830s and 1840s.'¹²²

The early nineteenth century saw an increase in sources of use to the historian. Although probate inventories are not available for this period, other records allow us to build up a much more accurate picture of occupational structure, at least among adult males. Alcester was the only parish covered by a trade directory in the previous period, but all Worcestershire parishes are covered by Lewis's 1820 Directory, and Warwickshire parishes by the PO Directory of 1845.¹²³

The use of probate and marriage licence data allows comparison with earlier periods, but from 1813 until 1840 baptism registers (now furnishing occupations of fathers for all parishes) provide by far the most comprehensive source for male occupational information so far. The information about labourers in the 1831 census is projected on to the baptism data to allow us to surmise the relative share of agricultural and non-agricultural labourers in the workforce from 1813.

General occupational information from the censuses of 1801 to 1831 is used to provide a background to the occupational picture from other sources. The 1841 census, despite its limitations, reveals information hidden in earlier sources, for example the role

¹²¹ Berg, *The Age of Manufactures*, p. 282.

¹²² Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 126.

¹²³ Some Warwickshire parishes apart from Alcester are referred to in earlier directories, but we have to wait until the 1850s for coverage of the Gloucestershire parishes. Trade directories consulted for this study are shown in Sources and Bibliography.

of women and children in the economy. As a source of occupational data the 1851 census is more complete than its predecessors. Although this census comes after my study period, I make reference to it, where appropriate, in Chapters 3 to 8 and in Appendix 11. Other sources such as property deeds, enclosure and tithe awards, newspapers, tax lists and court papers are also referred to where they shed light on occupational structure or economic organisation.

Bias of sources used in the analytical tables

As discussed earlier in this chapter, although various sources have been used to glean occupational information, before 1813 the most universal and consistent in the study area for adult males are probate and marriage licence data. From 1813 the baptism registers provide a more comprehensive picture and the 1841 census is again more inclusive. Although probate and marriage licences are a useful indicator of the presence of different industries and occupations, their bias must always be borne in mind. Before 1813 it is difficult to show their bias, but the table below compares these sources in the early nineteenth century with contemporary baptisms and the 1841 census to allow a quantification of the differences between sources and comment on some of the reasons for these differences.

Table 2.1 Comparison of male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) in the 1841 census, baptisms 1813-1840, probate data 1800-1858 and marriage licence data 1800-1837 in the whole study area (as % of males with known occupations) showing the bias of other sources compared with the 1841 census

	Adult Males 1841 Census	Baptisms 1813-1840	Ratio Baptisms to Census	Probate 1800-1858	Ratio Probate to Census	Marriage licences 1810-1837	Ratio Marriage licences to Census
Primary	45.8	52.6	1: 0.87	52.3	1: 0.88	58.3	1: 0.79
Secondary	41.8	41.8	1: 1.00	31.7	1: 1.31	27.3	1: 1.53
Tertiary	12.4	5.7	1: 2.18	16.0	1: 0.78	14.4	1: 0.86

Some differences can be explained because of the different time scale used in the sources, but the nature of the sources themselves also dictates a certain bias. For example, the 1841 census data shown here includes all males of 20 years and over, while the baptism records only include fathers. Many male domestic servants were often young and unmarried, so appear in the census but not in baptisms. Consequently, the tertiary figure in baptisms is consistently lower than in the 1841 census. Although the tertiary figure in probate and marriage licences is closer to that in the census, the occupations behind the figures are different. The percentage for domestic servants amongst males over 20 in the 1841 census is 5.3%, which contrasts with the 0.7% in baptisms, 0.4% in probate records and 0.6% in marriage licences.

In the study area the primary sector is made up almost entirely of workers in agriculture. The figures shown in the 1841 census and in baptisms of course include many agricultural labourers, whereas labourers in probate and marriage licence data are few and far between. So it is fortunate coincidence that the percentages for the primary sector in baptisms and in probate are very similar. Probate and marriage licences are

sources often favoured by the wealthier stratum of society, which of course included many farmers and yeomen, hence their impressive showing in these records.

The bias shown for different nineteenth century records (shown in Table 2.1) was not the same in each zone in the study area. The different nature of their economies led to a different bias. In Zones B and C the figures for the secondary sector did not differ greatly between sources, but in Zone A and particularly in Zone D the secondary figures in probate and marriage licences were much less than those in the census and in baptisms. This may partly be explained by proletarianisation in the needle industry, which was prevalent in Zones A and D, where there were many poorer employees not likely to feature in probate or marriage licences. For this reason I have shown the different bias in nineteenth century records in each zone in Chapters 4 to 7.¹²⁴ In Coughton and Studley parish registers between 1695 and 1769 there is a large enough body of data to compare bias between the registers and probate and marriage licences for this earlier period. This bias is quantified in Chapter 7.¹²⁵

Although the bias of various records is constantly referred to in my analysis and discussion of the different zones in Chapter 4 to 7, it does not seem realistic to try to weight the statistics from probate or marriage licences to reflect this bias, as such a weighting would be speculative and perhaps highly inaccurate due to the changes in bias in different zones at different times.

¹²⁴ See Tables 4.9, 5.10, 6.10 and 7.23.

¹²⁵ See Table 7.24.

CHAPTER THREE POPULATION

In the previous chapter I established the zones into which I divide my study area. Before looking at the occupational structure a brief survey of population change may be informative. Where the population of certain parishes grew dramatically at certain periods, other places stagnated or shrank. To a great extent such population changes reflect each community's economy.

Before 1801 attempts at calculating local population figures are problematic. Some surveys may omit statistics for certain settlements or list numbers of houses, households, families or communicants rather than inhabitants. Different interpretations of these numbers produce widely ranging population estimates. For example, Schurer and Arkell demonstrate the differences between figures for the Hearth Tax 1670-1674 and the Compton Census of 1676 in selected parishes in the Warwick deanery including some in the study area.¹ The most complete set of information before 1801 for my parishes is the Compton Census, so that is analysed below for comparison with the nineteenth century censuses. The Compton census of 1676 was taken conveniently close to the commencement of my study period so it provides a useful starting point in looking at demographic change over the two centuries. Some of the tables below also refer to the Hearth Tax and to surveys circa 1730 and 1780, but this information is not available for all parishes.² To supplement these sources of information baptism figures are also used in this chapter to confirm demographic change.

¹ K. Schurer and T. Arkell, eds., *Surveying the People*, (Oxford, Leopard Head's Press, 1992), p. 115.

² The multipliers used to obtain population estimates are discussed below.

Table 3.1 Population of Whole Study Area in censuses 1676-1861

1676 (low)	1676 (high)	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861
8129	11726	17479	19386	22372	24640	26732	28616	28904

Totalling figures for the Compton census we obtain a population figure between 8129 and 11726 for the whole study area in 1676.³ The mean (average) figure of 9929 in 1676 almost trebled to 26732 in 1841 and continued to grow thereafter. However, population growth was uneven in both time and space, as demonstrated below.

To set the population figures of the study area and its component parts in context it may be useful to refer to national and county population numbers and also to population studies of nearby places undertaken by other historians. Wrigley shows that the national population grew from some 5,109,000 in 1681 to 8,671,000 in 1801, a growth of some 69.7%.⁴ Breaking this down into shorter periods there was growth of a mere 1.9% between 1681 and 1701, followed by growth of 13.6% from 1701 to 1751.

However, the growth within different regions was not uniform. The study area straddles three counties, which grew at or above the national rate. From 1700-1750 Worcestershire probably grew at approximately the national rate, while Warwickshire and Gloucestershire both grew by an impressive 48%.⁵ Within these counties there were hot-spots of growth such as Birmingham and the Black Country and certain parishes in the study area.

³ Figures for the Compton Census quoted in this chapter are from Dr Peter Kitson of the Cambridge Group and also from A. Whiteman, ed., 'The Compton Census of 1676, a critical edition', *Records of the Social and Economic History Soc., New Series*, 10, (Oxford, OUP), (1986). The low figure for 1676 is obtained using a multiplier of 4 and the high figure a multiplier of 5. The mean (average) figure is thus based on a multiplier of 4.5. Various writers including Hey, Arkell, Eversley and Dyer advocate using different multipliers to convert numbers of families or households into population estimates at different periods, but they usually come within the range 4 to 5, which serves my purpose here.

⁴ Wrigley, in Floud, and Johnson, *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, pp. 64-5.

⁵ I am indebted to Prof. Sir Tony Wrigley for county population estimates.

Eversley detected a population increase of ‘a phenomenal 17.7%’ in the first ten years of the eighteenth century in twelve Worcestershire parishes.⁶ Martin argued that parishes in the Forest of Arden and in the Arrow and Avon valleys (including several in the study area) increased at a faster rate than the parishes in the East Felden, and more generally that population growth in ‘different localities, and even individual parishes, displayed a marked variability, even within a narrow geographical compass.’⁷

Much of the study area suffered high mortality in the period 1727-30, which Martin describes as ‘the most fearsome mortality crisis to show up in many ecclesiastical registers since the sixteenth century.’⁸ He demonstrates that Bidford took a long time to recover from this ‘Great Death’ as it had earlier with the high mortality of the mid-1680s. In both periods the crisis years reduced the numbers of marriageable adults for decades to follow. In Eversley’s parishes the period 1725-9 is the only quinquennium in the period 1690-1794 in which burials exceed baptisms – ‘the most startling feature of the whole eighteenth century’. However, he portrays a time of opportunities for young adults after the crisis, with more marriages and a younger, more dynamic population.⁹ Parish registers and probate records reveal other smaller population crises which affected the study area from 1710-12 and in 1744.

⁶ D. Glass and D. Eversley, eds., *Population in History*, (London, Edward Arnold, 1965), p. 406. Eversley’s study is of twelve parishes centred on Bromsgrove (adjoining my Zones C and D).

⁷ Martin, ‘The rise in population in eighteenth-century Warwickshire’, *Dugdale Soc.*, OP23, (1976), pp. 12-13. Martin, whose data was less complete than Wrigley’s, suggests a rise of only 28% for Warwickshire’s population in the first half of the century.

⁸ Martin, ‘The rise in population in eighteenth-century Warwickshire’, p. 30. He attributes the deaths to a combination of smallpox which killed many children and fever which killed many adults. On p. 28 he states that mortality in Stratford upon Avon, (bordering the Study Area) was noticeably higher than in the impoverished North Warwickshire colliery parish of Bedworth during this period.

⁹ Glass and Eversley, *Population in History*, pp. 408-410.

Between 1751 and 1801 the population of England increased by some 46.4% from 5,922,000 to 8,671,000.¹⁰ Over the same period Gloucestershire increased by some 25%, Worcestershire by 29% and Warwickshire by 75%.¹¹ Of course, as noted for the earlier period, population growth was not uniform within these counties.¹² The likes of Birmingham and Coventry attracted many outsiders, but even in the ‘rather stagnant’ country town of Stratford-upon-Avon 27.4% of its families were incomers in 1765.¹³ Martin’s study of Bidford exemplifies some of the complex factors affecting population change.¹⁴

Between 1801 and 1841 both regional and national population growth was dramatic. Wrigley puts the population of England at some 8.67 million in 1801 and 14.94 million in 1841, (a growth of some 72 %).¹⁵ The comparative statement from the 1841 census shows county population growth between these two dates as follows: Worcestershire from 139,333 to 233,484 (68%), Gloucestershire from 250,809 to 431,307 (72%) and Warwickshire from 208,190 to 402,121 (93%).¹⁶ Population growth in the Study Area was more modest at this time, growing by 52.9%, as seen in Table 3.14 below, but some parishes grew at above the national rate.

An examination of each zone’s population in turn will demonstrate the striking differences between zones. For most parishes in the study area information on

¹⁰ Wrigley in Floud and Johnson, *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, p. 57.

¹¹ E. A. Wrigley, ‘English county populations in the later eighteenth century’, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 60, (2007), p. 60. N. B. The figures differ slightly in Wrigley’s article of the same title on www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk (10 a.m., 12 Aug. 2008) which shows rises in Gloucestershire (approximately) 24%, Worcestershire 30% and Warwickshire 71%.

¹² E. A. Wrigley, ‘Mapping the geography of English population growth 1761-1841’ on www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk shows that the hundreds in the study area were in the group which grew between 0% and 50% between 1761 and 1841.

¹³ Martin, ‘The rise in population in eighteenth-century Warwickshire’, p. 20.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 27, 33, 36. Whereas the average age for first marriage by males went up between 1750 and 1799, the reverse was true for females. Bidford’s baptism aggregates rose after 1770 and mortality of infants and of children up to the age of fourteen declined.

¹⁵ Wrigley, in Floud, and Johnson, *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, pp. 64-5.

¹⁶ www.histpop.org.uk (4.45 p.m., 19 Aug. 2008).

population, (or at least on households or families) is available for 1563, the 1670s, c.1730 and c.1780, as explained below. These are therefore the years used to compare the population of the different zones.

Table 3.2 Population estimates for Zone A, Alcester 1563 to 1780

	Acreage	1563 lower	1563 higher	1670s lower	1670s higher	c. 1730 lower	c. 1730 higher	c. 1780 lower	c. 1780 higher
Zone A, Alcester	1758	528	660	1080	1485	1372	1715	988	1235

The 1563 Bishop’s Census gives a count of 132 families in Alcester.¹⁷ From that figure we can estimate a population of between 528 and 660 souls.¹⁸ The town’s population probably doubled in the next hundred years. By the 1670s there were between 1080 and 1485 living in the parish.¹⁹ The majority of parishioners lived in the town itself, with another cluster of houses at Kings Coughton to the north and also scattered settlements on Alcester Heath and the Ridgeway.

Assessing Alcester’s population from the 1670s to 1801 is problematic. If it was in the range 1080 to 1485 in the 1670s, it must have declined (at least temporarily) after the epidemic which hit this area in the mid-1680s. However, the period from 1685 to 1720 seemed to be a boom time for the town, with many people settling there and an increase in personal wealth, as described in Chapter 4. Around 1710-1712 another epidemic struck, followed by the great epidemic of 1725-30. Gooder suggests that

¹⁷ Commentary on the accuracy and use of the 1563 bishops’ census can be found in A. Dyer and D. Palliser, eds., ‘The diocesan population returns for 1563 and 1603’, OUP/British Academy, *Records of Social and Economic History, New Series*, 31, (2005), and in D. Palliser and L. J. Jones, ‘The diocesan population returns for 1563 and 1603’, *Local Population Studies*, 30, (1983), and in A. Dyer, ‘The bishops’ census of 1563: its significance and accuracy’, *Local Population Studies*, 49, (1992).

¹⁸ Figures for the 1563 bishops’ census quoted in this chapter are from Dr. Peter Kitson of the Cambridge Group using a multiplier of 4 for the lower estimate and 5 for the upper estimate.

¹⁹ The Hearth Tax for 1670 records 270 households, while the Compton Census of 1676 appears to list 280 conformist, 3 papist and 16 non-conformist households respectively, (a total of 297 households). The lower estimate for the 1670s is obtained by multiplying 270 households by 4, the higher range by multiplying 297 households by 5.

Alcester fared particularly badly in the year 1730.²⁰ The count of houses in Dugdale circa 1730 totals 343, (176 houses which paid to the church and poor rates and 167 which did not pay). From this we can calculate that Alcester's population circa 1730 lay in the range 1372 to 1715.²¹

So, the population may have expanded rapidly in the first quarter of the century, but by the 1780s the town's population had dwindled to between 988 and 1235 according to 'The State of the Bishopric of Worcester 1782-1808'.²² This approximates to the figure for Alcester in Eden's report on the State of the Poor in 1797, when he reckoned the population at 'about a thousand'.²³ If accurate, this fall in population suggests a decline in Alcester's fortunes after the mortality of 1725-1730. The town may have lost its way in the second quarter of the century and then waited a long time before rallying near the end of the century. Even if we disregard the figures for 1730 and 1780 as too speculative, the percentage growth from the 1670s to 1801 is less than for the other three zones.²⁴

Table 3.3 Baptism numbers in Alcester parish register 1575-1810

Baptisms (9 year moving average)	1575	1675	1710	1735	1760	1780	1810
Zone A, Alcester	19.7	40.2	29.6	33.1	28.7	35.6	50.7

²⁰ Gooder, 'The population crisis of 1727-30 in Warwickshire', p. 3.

²¹ W. Thomas, ed., *William Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated*, (London, Osborn and Longman, 1730). Perhaps the houses were counted before the epidemics of 1725-30. In any case, as the count was of houses not people, perhaps his figure was not affected by the epidemic, whereas my estimate of population from his number of houses would be affected depending when the count took place. Again I use multipliers of 4 and 5 for the lower and higher population estimates respectively.

²² M. Ransome, ed., 'The State of the Bishopric of Worcester', *Worcestershire Historical Society, New Series*, 6, (1968).

²³ A. and L. Rogers, eds., *The State of the Poor (by Sir Frederic Morton Eden)*, (London, Routledge, 1928), p. 325.

²⁴ See Table 3.14 below.

As population estimates before 1801 are speculative, further evidence has been sought in the form of baptism totals for each parish for selected dates, where available, using nine-year moving averages.²⁵ The figures for Alcester in Table 3.3 corroborate the assumed growth of population from Elizabethan to late Stuart times, followed by stagnation in the eighteenth century. Wrigley also found unusual patterns in Alcester's eighteenth century baptism registers. 'In 1730-9, 330 baptisms occurred in reconstituted Alcester families. Thereafter the decadal figure fluctuated but tended to sag, falling to 268 in 1780-9, and 304 in 1790-9, an unusual feature in the later eighteenth century, when, in general, the number of baptisms was rising rapidly.'²⁶

Table 3.4 Population totals for Zone A, Alcester from censuses 1801-1861

Year	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861
Zone A, Alcester	1625	1862	2229	2405	2399	2378	2128

The baptism figure for 1810 in Table 3.3 suggests strong population growth again in the early nineteenth century. From 1801 we are on more certain ground with population figures in the form of the censuses. Table 3.4 demonstrates Alcester's population increasing up to 1831 and then stagnating before falling away in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁷ In each of the censuses (1801 to 1831) there are more females than males in Alcester, suggesting employment opportunities for females in the town's needle trade and retail and service industries.

²⁵ All baptisms in the registers are shown in the data (including those with fathers from outside the parish and also unmarried mothers). Baptisms were chosen rather than marriages as several local parishes were havens for clandestine marriages for couples from outside the parish.

²⁶ E. A. Wrigley, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1729*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1997), p. 32. Wrigley thought these baptism figures so unusual as to be untrustworthy, but other sources do suggest this population fall.

²⁷ See Tables 3.14, 3.15 and 3.16 for comparison with other zones.

Taking a mean average figure of approximately 1283 inhabitants for the 1670s living in Alcester's 1758 acres gives a population density of 0.72 persons per acre at that time.²⁸ In 1801 the density had increased to 0.92 persons per acre and by 1841 this had become 1.36 people to every acre. The occupational structure of Zone A, Alcester, is analysed in the next chapter, which also contains commentary on its economy, giving some rationale for these population figures.

Table 3.5 Population estimates for Zone B, The Southern (Champion) Country 1563 to 1780

	Acreage	1563 lower	1563 higher	1676 lower	1676 higher	c. 1730 lower	c. 1730 higher	c. 1780 lower	c. 1780 higher
Bidford-on-Avon	3311	324	405	621	932	672	840		
Cleeve Prior	1518	72	90	129	194			240	300
Dorsington	974	56	70	61	92	*90	*90	*90	*90
Harvington	1348	80	100	71	107			180	225
Long Marston	1573	76	95	60	90	*200	*200	*199	*199
Pebworth	3086	160	200	230	345	*250	*250	*436	*436
Salford Priors	4808	268	335	572	715	524	655		
Weethley	642	32	40	48	72	56	70		
<i>Bickmarsh/Little Dorsington</i>						16	20	10	10
<i>Welford-on-Avon (remainder)</i>	3130	168	210	240	360	250	250	*440	*440
Welford-on-Avon, (Glos. & Warks.)				240	360	*266	*270	450	450
<i>Milcote</i>								10	10
<i>Weston-on-Avon (remainder)</i>				39	59			*70	*70
Weston-on-Avon, (Glos. & Warks.)	1560	36	45	39	59	70	80	80	80

Population estimates for Zone B are shown in Table 3.5.²⁹ In most of the zone's parishes, where the Compton Census figures for 1676 appear to show the number of inhabitants or the number of adults, my population estimates are derived by multiplying by 1 for the lower estimate and 1.5 for the higher. However, the 1676 figure for Salford

²⁸ Unless stated otherwise parish acreages used in this study have been made available to me by the Cambridge Group, to whom I am very grateful. In any case their acreages approximate to those given in the *VCH* for Worcestershire and Warwickshire.

²⁹ As in the tables for other zones, the 1563 population estimates were obtained by using multipliers of 4 and 5 respectively for the lower and higher figures. Acreages are from the Cambridge Group. *VCH Warwickshire* breaks down Weston on Avon's acreage into its constituent parts (Milcote 609 acres and the rest of Weston 917) - a total of 1526, slightly less than the Cambridge Group's figure.

Priors (143) appears to record the number of households rather than adults, so I have used multipliers of 4 and 5 for that parish's population estimates.³⁰

Before 1801 evidence regarding population numbers has to be approached with caution. However, it appears that numbers in this zone had grown significantly between 1563 and 1660, followed by stagnation in certain parishes some time before 1730. No figures are available in 1730 for Worcestershire parishes, but for those in Warwickshire we can use Dugdale.³¹ The 1730 figures for the Gloucestershire parishes (marked * in Table 3.5) are actually from Bishop Benson's diocesan survey of 1735.³²

Sir Robert Atkyns in his *The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*, published in 1712, gives rounded numbers of houses and inhabitants for the Gloucestershire parishes circa 1700 as follows: Dorsington 20 houses and 100 people, Long Marston 40 and 190, Pebworth 95 and 400, Welford on Avon 98 and 450, Weston on Avon 14 and 60.³³

The figures included under 1780 for Gloucestershire parishes (marked *) are actually circa 1779 from Rudder, whose estimates Gowing generally considers to be

³⁰ The 1670 Hearth Tax lists 133 households for Salford Priors. Numbers of households known for other parishes in the 1670 Hearth Tax are as follows: Bidford 168 and Weethley 15. C. Elrington, 'Survey of Church Livings in Gloucestershire 1650', *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, 83, (1964), p. 89, records the number of families in Dorsington (22), Long Marston (38) and Pebworth (75) in 1650.

³¹ The number of houses multiplied by 4 and 5 for lower and higher estimates.

³² J. Fendley, ed., 'Bishop Benson's survey of the diocese of Gloucester 1735-1750', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc., Record Series*, 13, (2000). This survey gives rounded population figures.

³³ R. Atkyns, *The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire* 1712, (Wakefield, EP Publishing, Wakefield 1974), pp. 550-808. The numbers of houses and inhabitants given in Atkyns circa 1700 suggests that multipliers between 4 and 5 are in the right range. T. Rudge, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Gloucester*, (R. Phillips, London, 1807), pp. 354, 356, also quotes the figures for c. 1700 from Atkyns. Circa 1700 Chancellor Richard Parsons states that Dorsington had 16 families, Welford on Avon 107 families (including 4 in Little Dorsington), and the hamlet of Milcote (in Weston on Avon) had 13 families. (J. Fendley, ed., 'Notes on the Diocese of Gloucester by Chancellor Richard Parsons c.1700', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., Record Series*, 19 (2005)).

sound.³⁴ The figures circa 1780 for Worcestershire and Warwickshire parishes are from Ransome.³⁵ Table 3.5 suggests that population growth was very small or uneven in most parishes between 1676 and 1780.

Table 3.6 Baptism numbers in parish registers in Zone B, The Southern (Champion) Country 1575-1810

Baptisms (9 year moving average)	1575	1675	1710	1735	1760	1780	1810
Bidford-on-Avon		26.7	19.8	26.1	22.2	24.6	38.2
Cleeve Prior		5.7	8.0	11.9	6.9	9.3	7.7
Dorsington		2.7	3.1	3.3	2.4	4.7	3.4
Harvington			5.4	7.4	6.1	5.8	7.0
Long Marston				6.9	6.1	8.2	7.7
Pebworth		*13.1	11.1	13.6	14.0	14.8	19.9
Salford Priors	13.3	11.9	12.9	14.8	10.1	19.1	21.1
Weethley							2.2
Welford-on-Avon		8.3	13.0	11.9	*10.9	15.3	17.4
Weston-on-Avon			0.9	2.1	4.3	3.7	2.8

* See footnote for explanation³⁶

For most parishes the baptism numbers shown in Table 3.6 confirm that there was uneven growth before 1780 and more pronounced growth thereafter.

³⁴ S. Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire (1779)*, (reprinted Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1977), gives population figures rather than houses or families hence no difference is shown between higher and lower estimates in Table 3.5. D. Gowing, 'The population geography of Samuel Rudder's Gloucestershire', *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, 101, (1983). Rudge, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Gloucester*, pp. 354, 356, also quotes these 1779 figures. A. Percival, 'Gloucestershire village populations', *Local Population Studies*, 8, (1972), summarises sources from 1551 to 1801. Percival's figures for 1779 agree with Rudge except that she appears to include the Warwickshire portions of the parishes of Welford and Weston. In Table 3.6 I have included 10 for Bickmarsh and 10 for Milcote accordingly.

³⁵ Ransome, 'The State of the Bishopric of Worcester', pp. 88, 99. Unfortunately, the numbers of families in Bidford, Salford Priors and Weethley were not supplied in the original survey.

³⁶ Pebworth's figure for 1675 was actually based on 1674, Welford's figure for 1760 was actually based on 1758, while Weston's figure for 1810 was actually based on 1809.

Table 3.7 Population totals for Zone B, The Southern (Champion) Country from censuses 1801-1861

Year	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861
Bidford-on-Avon	928	1006	1219	1268	1567	1537	1565
Cleeve Prior	287	322	343	368	366	329	340
Dorsington	100	103	121	122	141	115	118
Harvington	262	260	353	318	347	360	452
Long Marston	242	253	272	264	337	332	371
Pebworth	579	591	620	578	829	737	736
Salford Priors	758	817	813	899	865	862	858
Weethley	51	55	54	62	57	48	33
<i>Bickmarsh, Warks.</i>		21	61	65	130	54	50
<i>Welford-on-Avon, Glos.</i>		477	641	604	608	605	
Welford-on-Avon, (Glos. & Warks.)	516	498	702	669	738	659	627
<i>Milcote, Warks</i>	21	16	14	15	25	33	50
<i>Weston-on-Avon, Glos</i>	118	96	93	93	79	82	87
Weston-on-Avon, (Glos. & Warks.)	139	112	107	108	104	115	137
Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country	3862	4017	4604	4656	5351	5094	5237

By 1801 the population of this zone had grown to 3862 persons. It then increased by some 38.6% from 1801 to 1841, before stagnating. Apart from tiny Weston, each parish's population grew over this period, but the bigger villages such as Bidford, Pebworth and Welford showed the most growth.³⁷ In 1841 the enumerator recorded that Pebworth's numbers had been increased since 1831 by 24 men and 26 women who had settled in the village 'under the allotment scheme'.³⁸ Perhaps that scheme had also encouraged others to stay in the parish.

This zone comprised some 21950 acres. In 1676 the population was between 2071 and 2966 persons. Taking the mean average figure of 2519 persons gives a population density of 0.11 persons to every acre. By 1801 this had changed to 0.17

³⁷ For a comparison of Bidford's occupations in the 1831 and 1841 censuses see Appendix 10.

³⁸ GlosRO, 1841 census, Pebworth. The same census also records one person in a barn at Pebworth and boatmen on their boats at Bidford.

person to every acre and by 1841 0.24 persons to every acre.³⁹ The occupational structure of this zone, the Southern (Champion) Country, appears in Chapter 5.

Table 3.8 Population estimates for Zone C, The Central (Wood-pasture) Belt 1563 to 1780

	Acreage	1563 lower	1563 higher	1676 lower	1676 higher	c. 1730 lower	c. 1730 higher	c. 1780 lower	c. 1780 higher
Abbots Morton	1463	84	105	100	150			160	200
<i>Arrow</i>		64	80			156	195		
<i>Oversley</i>						132	165		
Arrow & Oversley	4087			382	573	288	360	276	345
Aston Cantlow	4966	212	265	484	605	572	715	504	630
Billesley	841	4	5			12	15	8	10
Binton	1284	132	165	76	114	100	125	120	150
Dormston	828	72	90	57	86			64	80
Exhall	833	76	95	60	75	56	70	(156)	(195)
Great Alne	1697	76	95	165	248	124	155		
Haselor	2250	124	155	140	175	240	300	224	280
Inkberrow	6847	516	645	761	1142			889	889
Kington	1036	56	70	116	174			108	135
Kinwarton	500	32	40	48	72	52	65	16	20
Morton Bagot	1129	92	115	84	126			160	200
Oldberrow	1215	40	50	62	93			108	135
Rous Lench	1426	48	60	67	101			160	200
Spennall	1060	48	60	78	117	72	90	80	100
Stock & Bradley	*1151	80	120	100	150			124	124
Temple Grafton	2054	76	95	113	170	160	200	156	195
Wixford	569	48	60	104	130	92	115		

Table 3.8 shows population estimates for Zone C.⁴⁰ For 1563 multipliers of 4 and 5 were used to obtain a population estimate. As explained above, for most parishes a multiplier of 1 or 1.5 is used for the 1676 Compton census, but for Aston Cantlow, Exhall

³⁹ See Tables 3.14, 3.15 and 3.16 for comparison with other zones.

⁴⁰ Acreages are mainly from the Cambridge Group, but that for Stock and Bradley is from *VCH Worcestershire*. *VCH Warwickshire* breaks down the constituent parts of Arrow as follows: Oversley 1478, rest of Arrow 2634, a total of 4112.

and Wixford multipliers of 4 and 5 seemed more appropriate.⁴¹ The figure circa 1780 for Exhall includes the chapelry of Wixford, while for Inkberrow and Stock and Bradley the number of inhabitants was given as well as the number of families.⁴² As in Zones A and B, these figures suggest uneven growth or stagnation in many parishes between 1676 and 1780.

Table 3.9 Baptism numbers in parish registers in Zone C, The Central (Wood-pasture) Belt 1575-1810

Baptisms (9 year moving average)	1575	1675	1710	1735	1760	1780	1810
Abbots Morton				4.6	5.4	5.4	4.4
Arrow (with Oversley)		6.6	9.8	9.0	5.9		10.7
Aston Cantlow		*13.3	21.1	17.4	15.4	24.3	23.4
Billesley							*0.4
Binton		3.9	4.4	4.6	4.6	6.3	6.6
Dormston					3.7	2.6	6.7
Exhall (with Wixford)			4.2	4.2	2.0	*5.9	7.4
Gt Alne					5.3	8.3	8.7
Haselor			6.9	8.0	7.6	9.0	11.4
Inkberrow		*25.8	22.0	29.6	29.7	34.2	49.2
Kington		4.3	6.4		3.4	3.8	5.3
Kinwarton	*2.0	*2.4		*5.3	0.7	0.4	1.9
Morton Bagot			3.9	5.1	3.3	6.2	4.6
Oldberrow		*1.9	3.0	3.8	3.4	5.2	6.3
Rous Lench	5.2	4.8	6.1	5.7	7.2		5.8
Spernall		2.2	2.8	3.7	3.6	1.6	3.2
Stock & Bradley	7.6	6.0	5.2	4.2	4.2	6.2	9.3
Temple Grafton						7.7	6.6

* See footnote for explanation ⁴³

⁴¹ Figures for Billesley were not available for 1676. In order to obtain an overall figure for this zone's population in 1676 (used in Table 3.14 and 3.15) an estimate was used for Billesley of between 10 and 15. The number of households in the 1670 Hearth Tax (where known) are as follows: Arrow (with Oversley) 60, Aston Cantlow 105, Exhall 15, Great Alne 53, Haselor 58, Kinwarton 14, Morton Bagot 40, Spernall 16, Temple Grafton 47, Wixford 23.

⁴² For each parish the figure c. 1780 is from the number of families in Ransome 'The State of the Bishopric of Worcester' multiplied by 4 and 5 respectively. Inkberrow had 889 inhabitants and 215 families, Bradley had 124 inhabitants and 28 families. According to Eden, *The State of the Poor*, pp. 803-804, (<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco>, 3.30 p.m., 22 Feb. 2010), in 1761 Inkberrow had 214 families and 947 inhabitants, in 1770 215 families and 889 souls (as in Ransome), and 300 families returned to Bishop North in 1776. Inkberrow's population was thought to have grown further to 1795, as confirmed in Table 3.10.

⁴³ 1675 figures for Aston Cantlow are based on 1677, for Inkberrow on 1680 and for Oldberrow on 1679. Kinwarton's figures before 1760 probably also include Great Alne. Exhall's parish register also contains Wixford. The 1780 figure for Exhall is actually based on 1781. The first available figure for Billesley is based on 1822 not 1810.

The baptism numbers in Table 3.9 confirm the uneven growth or stagnation in most parishes between the 1670s and 1780s. The baptism numbers for four parishes decrease between 1780 and 1810, but for most this appears to be a time of growth. Although Table 3.8 shows little or no growth for Inkberrow between 1676 and 1780, the baptism figures from 1780 to 1810 suggest greater growth than for many villages. This may be explained by the spread of needlemakers into the outskirts of the parish at this time.

Table 3.10 Population totals for Zone C, The Central (Wood-pasture) Belt from censuses 1801-1861

Year	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861
Abbots Morton	191	231	236	233	234	235	245
Arrow	245	218	290	287	301	308	295
Oversley	143	188	211	179	242	337	295
Arrow & Oversley	388	406	501	466	543	645	590
Aston Cantlow	721	744	877	940	1089	1111	1055
Billesley	27	31	26	24	31	41	35
Binton	217	207	232	277	269	219	230
Dormston	85	87	113	157	115	109	97
Exhall	129	167	209	241	207	208	203
Gt Alne	290	254	317	343	404	391	347
Haselor	306	346	387	349	360	380	355
Inkberrow	1335	1489	1667	1734	1809	1711	1573
Kington	110	134	148	153	151	153	172
Kinwarton	26	45	41	40	67	79	64
Morton Bagot	194	155	168	170	170	150	139
Oldberrow	113	120	102	65	63	56	52
Rous Lench	231	235	258	251	280	277	306
Sperrall	90	91	113	95	107	106	91
Stock & Bradley	181	227	208	236	251	208	310
Temple Grafton	216	254	336	374	401	403	403
Wixford	116	105	110	108	121	117	123
Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	4966	5328	6049	6256	6672	6599	6390

From 1780 to 1801 the zone's population grew. It then increased by some 34.4% between 1801 and 1841 before declining again. Apart from Morton Bagot and

neighbouring Oldberrow, each parish showed growth over this period, especially the quarrying parishes such as Aston Cantlow and Temple Grafton.⁴⁴

The population of this Central Belt in 1676 was between 3007 and 4316. Taking a mean average figure of 3662 living in this zone's 35236 acres gives a population density in 1676 of 0.10 persons to the acre. By 1801 this had changed to 0.14 persons to every acre and by 1841 it was 0.18 persons per acre.⁴⁵ This zone's occupational structure is discussed in Chapter 6.

Table 3.11 Population estimates for Zone D, The Northern (Needle) District 1563 to 1780

	Acreage	1563 lower	1563 higher	1676 lower	1676 higher	c. 1730 lower	c. 1730 higher	c. 1780 lower	c. 1780 higher
Beoley	4713	256	320	135	203			400	500
<i>Coughton</i>		140	175			128	160		
<i>Sambourne</i>		48	60			184	230		
Coughton & Sambourne	4263	188	235	398	597	312	390	577	577
Feckenham	6929	544	680	591	887			1316	1645
Ipsley	2677	192	240	115	173	196	245	200	250
Studley	4322	200	250	349	524	360	450	616	770
<i>Bordesley/ Redditch</i>		56	70	62	93				
<i>Tardebigge, Worcs.</i>		520	650	321	482				
<i>Tutnall & Cobley, Warks</i>						204	255		
Tardebigge, (Worcs. & Warks.)	9555	576	720	383	575			1200	1500

According to the Compton census the population of this zone in 1676 probably totalled between 1971 and 2959.⁴⁶ Estimates for individual parishes within the zone are

⁴⁴ The enumerator for Morton Bagot in 1841 notes that 22 extra people were present at the time of the census for Morton Wake, so the total for that year was inflated.

⁴⁵ See Tables 3.14, 3.15 and 3.16 for comparison with other zones.

⁴⁶ No separate total is available for Tutnall and Cobley for 1676. As it was part of the ecclesiastical parish of Tardebigge, it is assumed here that it is included in Tardebigge's total. As for the other zones, multipliers of 4 and 5 are used to obtain the lower and higher estimates for 1563, 1730 and 1780 shown in Table 3.11. Multipliers of 1 and 1.5 were used for each parish for 1676. Figures available for the 1670 hearth tax show that Coughton (with Sambourne) had 94 households, Studley 111 and Ipsley 56.

shown in Table 3.11.⁴⁷ The apparent decrease or stagnation in population in certain parishes between 1563 and 1676 may be surprising, but Large suggests that the disafforestation of Feckenham Forest circa 1630 did restrict in-migration and cause some out-migration for instance in Feckenham and Tardebigge.⁴⁸ Between 1676 and 1730 epidemics may have caused some depopulation, but thereafter the zone's population grew as the needle trade expanded.⁴⁹

Table 3.12 Baptism numbers in parish registers in Zone D, The Northern (Needle) District 1575-1810

Baptisms (9 year moving average)	1575	1675	1710	1735	1760	1780	1810
Beoley		11.8	*11.6	13.4	12.7	15.1	18.9
Coughton (with Sambourne)			15.4	21.7	16.9	20.7	23.0
Feckenham	23.6	29.3	34.3	46.0	41.9	59.6	67.2
Ipsley		6.9	*9.7	9.0	7.0	8.2	*15.0
Studley		12.8	13.6	20.8	20.2	28.7	26.7
Redditch/Bordesley				13.3	*13.7	27.0	*85.3
Tardebigge	*19.3	22.1	20.7	*22.4	25.3	30.7	42.8
Tardebigge & Redditch	*19.3	22.1	20.7	35.7	39.0	57.7	128.1

* See footnote for explanation.⁵⁰

Baptism numbers show a fall between 1735 and 1760 in all this zone's parishes except Redditch and Tardebigge. Otherwise the baptisms show a story of growth, with the increase in Redditch and Tardebigge between 1780 and 1810 particularly noticeable.

⁴⁷ Acreages in Table 3.11 are from the Cambridge Group. Acreages in *VCH Warwickshire* and *VCH Worcestershire* differ slightly. *VCH* shows the constituent parts of parishes: Coughton 2000, Sambourne 2218, (combined 4218); and for Tardebigge: Bentley 1688, Redditch 2040, Webheath 2210, Tutnall & Copley 3511, (combined 9449).

⁴⁸ P. Large, 'Economic and social change in North Worcestershire during the seventeenth century', p. 138.

⁴⁹ No estimates are available for the Worcestershire parishes for 1730. The figures from c. 1780 are from Ransome 'The State of the Bishopric of Worcester', calculated as in other zones. However, for Coughton (with Sambourne) we have the number of inhabitants (577) as well as the number of families (140).

⁵⁰ Where available, nine-year moving averages were based on the years shown in the table. Any deviation from this practice (because of deficient registers) is explained here. Tardebigge's figure for 1571 is actually based on 1579 and the Tardebigge figure for 1735 is actually a seven-year average based on 1736. Before 1730 Tardebigge's figure probably included the chapelry of Bordesley which served the hamlet of Redditch. Redditch's figure for 1760 is actually based on 1763 and for 1810 is based on 1812. Beoley's figure for 1710 is based on 1705. Ipsley's 1710 figure is actually based on 1708 and its 1810 figure is based on 1812.

This was a time of expansion in the needle trade in the Redditch area, as explained in Chapter 7.

Table 3.13 Population totals for Zone D, The Northern (Needle) District from censuses 1801-1861

Year	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861
Beoley	630	671	640	673	657	654	682
<i>Coughton</i>	203	204	273	316	293	274	248
<i>Sambourne</i>	526	588	653	694	662	658	635
Coughton & Sambourne	729	792	926	1010	955	932	883
Feckenham	1830	2135	2383	2762	2800	3254	3217
Ipsley	478	727	745	830	1029	1099	1127
Studley	1037	1083	1338	1903	1992	2183	2230
<i>Bentley</i>					238	241	238
<i>Redditch</i>	(1400)				3314	4802	5441
<i>Webheath</i>					792	888	823
<i>Tutnall & Cobley, Warks</i>	400	342	460	518	533	492	508
Tardebigge, (Worcs. and Warks.)	2322	2771	3458	4145	4877	6423	7010
Zone D, Northern (Needle) District	7026	8179	9490	11323	12310	14545	15149

From 1676 to 1801 the population of this zone grew much faster than other zones though growth was uneven in time and place.⁵¹ Table 3.14 shows a dramatic growth of 185% for the Needle District over this period. Redditch itself was growing rapidly and transforming from hamlet to manufacturing town. The delineation between Redditch and the rest of the parish of Tardebigge was always a little hazy before 1841, but Tardebigge (including Redditch) grew by 385% between 1676 and 1801 and then by 110% between 1801 and 1841. The portion of the parish comprising Redditch may have grown by a phenomenal 1695% from a mean (average) of 78 souls in 1676 to 1400 in 1801 and then

⁵¹ See Tables 3.14 and 3.15 below for comparison with other zones.

by a further 136.7% to 1841.⁵² Other parishes also grew on the back of the needle trade, but not to the same extent.⁵³

By 1801 the population of the Needle District stood at 7026 and then grew by a further 75.2% up to 1841.⁵⁴ Unlike other zones in the study area, the population of this zone continued to grow after 1841.

Taking a mean average of 2465 people in the zone's 32459 acres in 1676 gives a population density of 0.07 persons to every acre. By 1801 this had changed to 0.22 persons per acre and by 1841 it had become 0.38 persons to every acre.⁵⁵ The Needle District's occupational structure is discussed in Chapter 7.

Table 3.14 Population growth 1676 to 1801 and 1801 to 1841 in the different zones

	Population Growth 1676 to 1801	Population Growth 1801 to 1841
Zone A, Alcester	26.7%	47.7%
Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country	53.3%	38.6%
Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	35.6%	34.4%
Zone D, Northern (Needle) District	185.0%	75.2%
Whole Study Area	76.0%	52.9%
National (England) *	69.7%	72.3%

* See footnote for explanation.⁵⁶

⁵² Ransome, 'The State of the Bishopric of Worcester', p. 54, states that Redditch had upwards of 1400 inhabitants; the year (some time between 1782 and 1808) is unclear, but perhaps refers to 1801. Redditch Library, *A Description of Redditch 1776*, (copy of a MS by Joseph Monk), is a useful source. Monk retrospectively describes the houses, people and occupations in the Redditch of his childhood c. 1776.

⁵³ The uneven spread of the local needle trade is discussed in Chapter 7.

⁵⁴ The enumerators for the 1841 census do not record any unusual circumstances to cause higher population totals. The enumerator for Tutnall (in Tardebigge parish) does record several people living on their canal boats, but also notes that one person had emigrated from the parish to the colonies since December 1840.

⁵⁵ See Tables 3.15 and 3.16 for comparison with other zones.

⁵⁶ The English population is from Wrigley, in Floud, and Johnson, *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, pp. 64-5. The first column for English population growth is actually from 1681 to 1801.

Table 3.14 demonstrates the uneven growth in the different zones and compares them with national growth.⁵⁷ Alcester was the zone which showed the least growth before 1801 but then, as it embraced the needle industry, its growth rate was greater than Zones B and C after 1801. As Zone D industrialised, its dramatic growth both before and after 1801 is clear to see. Between 1676 and 1801 Zone D's population grew at almost three times the national average, while for the period 1801 to 1841 it grew at just above the national average. The other (less industrial) zones grew at well below the national average both before and after 1801.

Surveys by other historians suggest that rates of population change in different places imply different economic paths, with the greatest growth occurring hand in hand with industrial development. For example, in Smith's survey of Nottinghamshire market towns from 1680 to 1840, she remarks that the more rural parishes experienced less demographic growth.⁵⁸ Smith also observes that towns demonstrated most rapid physical growth when they had industries catering for national and international rather than purely local markets.⁵⁹ The parishes in the Needle District here provide a case in point.

In addition to demographic growth, comparisons of population density at a given point in time also imply the presence or absence of industrial development. Gowing demonstrates this in his commentary on eighteenth century population in Gloucestershire where population density hot-spots can be seen in mining and cloth areas as well as in the towns.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Population growth is shown for each zone from 1676 which is near the start of the study period and for which figures are available for every parish except tiny Billesley. The years 1730 and 1780 are not shown in this table as data was incomplete for these years.

⁵⁸ C. Smith, 'Population growth and economic change in some Nottinghamshire market towns, 1680-1840', *Local Population Studies*, 65, (2000), p. 33.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁶⁰ Gowing, 'The population geography of Samuel Rudder's Gloucestershire', *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, 101, (1983), p. 151.

Table 3.15 Population densities 1676, 1801 and 1841 in the different zones

	1676 acreage per person	1801 acreage per person	1841 acreage per person	1676 people per acre	1801 people per acre	1841 people per acre
Zone A, Alcester	1.37	1.08	0.73	0.72	0.92	1.36
Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country	8.71	5.68	4.10	0.11	0.17	0.24
Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	9.62	7.10	5.28	0.10	0.14	0.18
Zone D, Northern (Needle) District	13.17	4.61	2.64	0.07	0.22	0.38
Whole Study Area	9.21	5.23	3.42	0.11	0.19	0.29

The differing population densities of the four zones are shown in Table 3.15.⁶¹ As may be expected, the densest population was in Zone A, the parish of Alcester, which comprised the market town and its surrounding farmland. A striking change in population density can clearly be seen in Zone D as it industrialised over time. Population densities in 1801 for individual parishes are shown in Appendix 24.

Table 3.16 Population of the different zones in 1676, 1801 and 1841 as % of the population of the whole study area in those years

	1676	1801	1841
Zone A, Alcester	12.92%	9.29%	8.97%
Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country	25.37%	22.09%	20.01%
Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	36.88%	28.41%	24.96%
Zone D, Northern (Needle) District	24.82%	40.19%	46.04%
Whole Study Area	100%	100%	100%

Another way of highlighting the different rates of population growth is shown in Table 3.16. As Zone D industrialised, it almost doubled its share of the study area's population between 1676 and 1841, while the percentages for the other zones all decreased. Having briefly examined the demographic progress of each zone over the two centuries of this study, the economic stories behind these population changes are now traced zone by zone in Chapters 4 to 7.

⁶¹ The whole study area consisted of 91,403 acres. The 1676 density was obtained by adding the mean (average) population estimates for each zone.

CHAPTER FOUR

ZONE A: ALCESTER, THE MARKET TOWN

Camden says of Alcester: ‘from a very great town, ‘tis reduc’d to a small market’, while an ecclesiastical terrier in 1707 described Alcester as ‘a very populous, great and large market town’.¹ Camden may be overestimating Alcester’s past glories while the ecclesiastical terrier inflates its contemporary importance, but after the Restoration, albeit only a minor market town when compared with Birmingham, Bromsgrove and other rivals, Alcester appears to have been a busy local centre, processing local agricultural produce and catering for the retailing needs of the farming folk of the hinterland.

Like the neighbouring market towns of Evesham and Stratford, Alcester lies between the wood-pasture area to the north and the champion area to the south, a strategic position for the exchange of produce from the varying economies. Alcester, like many a small market town, was inextricably intertwined with its rural surroundings, depending on the ‘seasonality, economy, employment and environment’ of the agrarian life.² ‘In the predominantly agrarian economy of sixteenth and seventeenth century England, the most important industries were those associated with agriculture.’³ Alcester had its own farming folk and workers in the leather and textile trades dependent on local agricultural produce, but it also had a place in the mineral economy, with an established and growing band of metalworkers. With its concentration of innkeepers, retailers, manufacturers and craftsmen, Alcester could be considered urban, when compared with the surrounding villages. Smith notes that during the period of urbanisation from the

¹ W. Camden, *Britannia*, (London, Times Newspapers, 1971), p. 505. This is a reproduction of the 1695 edition, edited by Gibson. The 1707 reference is from D. M. Barratt, ed., ‘Ecclesiastical terriers of Warwickshire parishes, vol. 2’, *Dugdale Soc.*, 27, (1971), p. 194.

² The quotation is from H. R. French, ‘Urban agriculture, commons and commoners in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the case of Sudbury, Suffolk’, *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 48, (2000), p. 171.

³ L. A. Clarkson, ‘The leather crafts in Tudor and Stuart England’, *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 14, (1966), p. 25.

seventeenth to the nineteenth century, we know little about the development of ‘towns lower down the urban hierarchy’.⁴ As Patten states: ‘In pre-industrial England the relations of rural and urban settlements to one another and their individual characteristics are often far from clear.’⁵ Examination of the occupational structure of the town and its surrounding villages, throws some light on the development of the town and its complex relationship with its hinterland.

As may be expected of the market town, Alcester’s population density was always greater than that of the other, more rural zones during the period of study.⁶ As discussed in Chapter 3, Alcester’s population probably doubled between 1563 and 1676, but then stagnated in the early eighteenth century.⁷ In 1676 its population lay in the range 1080 to 1485, growing by 26.7% to a total of 1625 in 1801.⁸ As it wholeheartedly embraced the needle trade in Period D, its population grew by a rate of 47.7%, (second only to that of Zone D), ending the period with a figure of 2399 in 1841, before declining again in the mid-nineteenth century. Despite its belated growth spurt, Alcester’s share of the study area’s population decreased over the period of study.⁹

Economic change goes hand in hand with the population figures. Major factors, which affected the town in the eighteenth century, include the turnpike improvements in the 1750s and 1760s and parliamentary enclosure in the 1770s. The problem of the poor was ever-present in Alcester as elsewhere. Alcester was one of the places described in Eden’s report ‘The State of the Poor’. The poor were relieved in their own houses as long as they could be satisfied with 1s. 6d. per week each. If that was not sufficient they

⁴ C. Smith, ‘Population growth and economic change in some Nottinghamshire market towns, 1680-1840’, *Local Population Studies*, 65, (2000), p. 31.

⁵ J. Patten, ‘Village and town: an occupational study’, *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 20, (1972), p.1

⁶ See Table 3.15 in Chapter 3.

⁷ See Tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 in Chapter 3.

⁸ See Table 3.14 in Chapter 3.

⁹ See Table 3.16 in Chapter 3.

were taken to the workhouse, established in 1774. This had brought about significant savings, but the total amount paid weekly to the out-poor averaged £5, ‘a very heavy expense for out-poor in a parish of about a thousand inhabitants’. Eden praises the diet offered in Alcester’s workhouse, where the average number of poor was twenty-five, chiefly infirm old people and very young children. They were mainly employed in carding and spinning, ‘but their earnings are too inconsiderable to make any difference.’¹⁰

In this chapter and in the three following chapters the occupational structure of each zone is examined using tables showing data from probate, marriage licences, parish registers and the 1841 census.¹¹ After discussion of the tables, the body of the chapter comprises text organised in sections according to occupational groupings. In the text information from other sources is used to supply a fuller picture of the town’s economy.

Using probate data as a very approximate guide to occupational variation Table 8.9 in Chapter 8 shows that the market town of Alcester (as expected) had a wider range of occupations than the other (more rural) zones until the nineteenth century when urbanisation in Redditch and Studley caused Zone D to overtake Alcester in this respect. Within Alcester itself the number of occupations stayed similar though there were many differences in the actual occupations between periods.¹² The fact that Alcester’s range of occupations did not grow as much as that of Zone D, combined with findings from other

¹⁰ Rogers, *The State of the Poor* (by Sir Frederic Morton Eden), p. 325. Alcester’s treatment of its poor was also discussed in *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 28 Jan. 1796 and 7 April 1796 where Alcester was held up as a good example with local worthies forming a Bread Committee to supply good wholesome brown bread to the town’s poor.

¹¹ The merits and drawbacks of these sources are discussed in Chapter 2, but are also examined in Table 4.9 below. Appendices also provide data from sources such as trade directories, where available.

¹² The number of occupations in probate data in Alcester were as follows: Period A: 35, Period B: 37, Period C: 34 and Period D: 34. This can only be used as a rough guide as the amount of probate data available for Alcester and the other zones differed over time. See Table 8.9 and also discussion of changes and comparison between parishes in Chapter 8.

sources such as smaller population growth, demonstrate Alcester's relative stagnation as a market town over the study period. This contrasts with Smith's findings for the Nottinghamshire towns in her study, which, 'irrespective of size, supported a considerably increased range of trades and services' between 1680 and 1840.¹³

Appendix 3 shows that the average (mean) value of male probate inventories in Alcester fluctuated over time, but were for the most part higher than those of the surrounding countryside.¹⁴ If any significance is to be read into these values, it suggests that Alcester may have prospered from 1680 until the early 1720s.¹⁵ However, in the period 1720-39, Alcester's average inventory value fell dramatically and became significantly smaller than the value for the other zones. Many of those leaving probate no doubt died prematurely in the epidemic circa 1730 before building up their personal wealth, but the town's commercial activities would also have been adversely affected both by any general slow-down in the economy and by the hardships suffered by its customers from the town and its hinterland during the epidemics circa 1730. Although the numbers of inventories after 1740 are small, they suggest that personal wealth in Alcester may have shown signs of recovery in mid-century.

¹³ C. Smith, 'Populations growth and economic change in some Nottinghamshire market towns, 1680-1840', p. 39.

¹⁴ Although PCC wills have been included in the study area's probate statistics, accompanying probate inventories do not survive, so potentially high value inventories are missing. Alcester's (average) mean values are higher than for any of the other zones in the study area at the time and provide an interesting comparison with Stratford (average £153 from 1660-79 and £168 from 1680-99). Figures for Stratford mentioned here are taken from J. Jones, ed., 'Stratford upon Avon inventories, 1538-1699, vol. 2, 1626-1699', *Dugdale Soc. Publications*, 40, (2003), which lists 29 different occupations in Stratford's probate inventories from 1660-1699.

¹⁵ Ripley, 'Village and town: occupations and wealth in the hinterland of Gloucester, 1660-1700', p.178, shows that mean personal wealth in probate in the city of Gloucester at this period was £244, in market towns around Gloucester £154 and in the countryside £137. By comparison, mean personal wealth in Alcester 1660-99 was £168 and in the villages of the study area £111.

Table 4.1 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from probate data in Zone A, Alcester, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Primary	17.5	16.4	20.2	22.5
Primary without labs.	16.3	14.7	19.1	22.5
Secondary	59.6	60.3	51.1	46.2
Tertiary	22.9	23.3	28.7	31.3
Total males with known occupations (n)	83	116	89	91

Percentages in probate suggest a market town economy, but farming activity is under-represented in the figures, as many tradesmen also farmed, (especially in Periods A and B), but were not referred to as yeomen or husbandmen. As to be expected, Table 4.1 suggests that Alcester has a smaller percentage involved in primary occupations and a higher percentage in secondary and tertiary when compared with its rural hinterland.¹⁶ This table suggests a swing back towards the primary sector in Period C.¹⁷ The secondary sector remains the largest of the three throughout, but declines comparatively after 1750. Tertiary grows steadily throughout the study period.¹⁸

¹⁶ See Chapters 5, 6 and 7 for information on the other zones and Chapter 8 for a comparison of all zones.

¹⁷ This is discussed below in the agriculture section. The periods referred to in discussion of the data, (as explained in Chapter 2), are as follows: Period A: 1660-1699, Period B: 1700-1749; Period C: 1750-1799 and Period D: 1800-1840.

¹⁸ For comparison with other zones see Appendix 26.

Table 4.2 Males in probate in specific occupational groupings in Zone A, Alcester, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	16.3	14.7	19.1	22.5
Labourers	1.2	1.7	1.1	0.0
Extractive	0.0	0.9	1.1	2.2
Building (excl. carpenters)	2.4	1.7	1.1	5.5
Tailors/bodice makers	4.8	6.9	1.1	2.2
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	6.0	6.9	3.4	1.1
Shoemakers/cordwainers	2.4	3.9	3.4	4.4
Other leather, horn and tallow	14.5	16.8	6.7	1.6
Carpenters/joiners	2.4	3.4	3.4	4.4
Other woodworkers	4.8	4.3	1.1	2.2
Blacksmiths/farriers	1.2	0.9	0.0	1.1
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	7.2	4.3	3.9	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	0.0	0.0	4.5	5.5
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	6.0	6.9	9.0	12.6
Other food, retail, service, dealing	26.5	19.0	32.0	27.5
Domestic servants	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Professional	3.0	7.8	9.0	7.1
Total males with known occupations (n)	83	116	89	91

Table 4.2 confirms the increased share in agriculture in Period C. Other notable features of this table are the decline in the leather and textile trade in Period C and the corresponding growth in the needle trade.¹⁹ In the tertiary sector the increase in the percentage of innkeepers and retailers after 1750 may reflect the improved transport links to the town and perhaps its recovery as a centre for servicing its hinterland.²⁰

Table 4.3 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary, tertiary) from marriage licence data in Zone A, Alcester, 1680-1837 (as % of grooms with known occupations)

	1680-99	1737-54	1780-99	1810-37
Primary	14.3	13.1	35.2	22.5
Primary (without labs.)	14.3	8.2	26.1	17.5
Secondary	65.7	75.4	51.1	50.0
Tertiary	20.0	11.5	13.6	27.5

¹⁹ These are discussed below in the relevant section.

²⁰ Though this is not shown in the marriage licence data below.

Total males with known occupations (n)	35	61	44	40
---	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------

Table 4.3 highlights the swing of the pendulum back towards agriculture in Period C and the corresponding dramatic drop in the share of secondary sector males marrying by licence at that time. The figures in this table do not tally exactly with those in probate above, but figures for secondary in Periods C and D tell the same tale. As the town grew in the nineteenth century, the percentage in the primary sector did indeed fall, as suggested here. The percentages for tertiary in this table do not reflect the steady growth exhibited by probate figures above.²¹

Table 4.4 Bridegrooms in specific occupational groupings from marriage licence data in Zone A, Alcester, 1680-1837 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1680-99	1737-54	1780-99	1810-37
Agriculture (excl.labourers)	14.3	8.2	26.1	17.5
Labourers	0.0	4.9	9.1	5.0
Extractive	0.0	1.6	4.5	0.0
Building (excl.carpenters)	2.9	11.5	2.3	2.5
Tailors/bodice makers	8.6	6.6	2.3	0.0
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	5.7	3.3	2.3	2.5
Shoemakers/cordwainers	0.0	8.2	2.3	10.0
Other leather, horn and tallow	22.9	9.8	2.3	2.5
Carpenters/joiners	0.0	6.6	4.5	7.5
Other woodworkers	5.7	6.6	2.3	0.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	0.0	1.6	0.0	2.5
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.0	3.3	4.5	5.0
Needles/hooks/pins	0.0	3.3	13.6	10.0
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.0	1.6	2.3	5.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	32.9	19.7	12.5	15.0
Domestic servants	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Professional	7.1	3.3	9.1	12.5
Total males with known occupations (n)	35	61	44	40

Table 4.4 confirms the trend towards more farmers in Period C, but also shows an increase in labourers and brickmakers. The building industry appears to have peaked in

²¹ The short periods used in the marriage licence data analysis in Periods B and C may reflect temporary difficult times in the town's role as a service provider.

the mid-eighteenth century, and most other manufacturing industries show a decline, as in the probate data. The exception is of course the needle trade, which shows a four-fold increase in Period C before falling back somewhat in Period D. Within the service sector innkeepers grow while dealers and retailers marrying by licence decrease before a final rally. The figure for professionals shows growth from 1750 onwards.

Table 4.5 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from Anglican baptism registers in Zone A, Alcester 1813-40 (as % of entries showing fathers' occupations)

	1813-40	1813-20	1821-30	1831-40
Primary including labourers *	17.6	20.8	18.0	14.7
Primary without labourers	2.1	2.8	1.3	2.4
Secondary including labourers *	65.9	65.8	62.8	69.0
Secondary without labourers	52.8	50.6	48.7	58.6
Tertiary	16.5	13.3	19.2	16.3
Total baptisms (n)	1692	472	607	613

* *Labourers allocated to primary or secondary sectors using information from the 1831 census.*

From 1813 we have occupational data in Alcester's baptism register, a truer reflection of male occupational structure than probate and marriage licences. In Table 4.5 tertiary is almost as large as primary, while secondary, with some two-thirds of the workforce, rallies further in the final decade helped by expansion in the needle industry.

Table 4.6 Male occupational structure in specific groupings from Anglican baptism registers in Zone A, Alcester 1813-40 (as % of entries showing fathers' occupations)

	1813-40	1813-20	1821-30	1831-40
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	1.9	2.1	1.2	2.4
All labourers	28.5	33.3	30.8	22.7
<i>Agricultural labourers *</i>	15.5	18.1	16.7	12.3
<i>Non-agricultural labourers *</i>	13.0	15.2	14.1	10.4
Extractive	0.8	1.7	0.5	0.3
Building (excl. carpenters)	6.0	6.1	6.6	5.4
Tailors	3.3	1.5	3.5	4.6
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	2.2	3.4	2.3	1.1
Shoemakers/cordwainers	6.4	3.8	6.1	8.6
Other leather, horn and tallow	2.1	3.0	2.0	1.5
Carpenters/joiners	3.5	4.2	3.5	2.8
Other woodworkers	2.1	2.8	1.5	2.3
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.3	2.1	1.8	2.9
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	1.1	1.5	1.0	1.0
Needles/hooks/pins	16.3	14.2	14.2	20.1
Transport	1.4	1.1	1.0	2.2
Innkeepers/victuallers	5.1	6.6	4.9	4.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	13.4	11.2	14.3	14.3
Domestic servants	0.4	0.0	0.7	0.3
Professional	3.2	1.5	4.2	3.6
Total baptisms (n)	1692	472	607	613

*Labourers allocated using information from the 1831 census.

Table 4.6 shows a decreased share for labourers as the needlemakers's share grew. The increased share for tailors and shoemakers may reflect the growing market for their goods in the town and its hinterland.²²

²² Perhaps female family members' increased involvement as wage-earners in the needle industry allowed less time to make and mend clothing.

Table 4.7 Occupational structure in the 1841 census in Zone A, Alcester (primary, secondary and tertiary) shown as % of those with known occupations in each group

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Primary with agricultural labourers	13.1	1.1	0.9	3.4
Primary without labourers	4.2	1.1	0.9	0.0
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers	65.4	54.2	76.4	27.0
Secondary without labourers	54.6	53.7	70.9	27.0
Tertiary	21.5	44.7	22.7	69.7
Total (n)	538	190	110	89

The 1841 census figures for males over 20 are broadly similar to those for fathers in baptisms in the decade 1831-1840.²³ The figures for females reflect their involvement in domestic service and retailing (despite much under-recording of female employment), while males under 20 are proportionately involved more in the secondary sector than older males.²⁴

²³ The larger figure for tertiary and smaller figure for secondary in the census may reflect an upsurge in the tertiary sector circa 1840.

²⁴ For comparison with other zones see Appendix 26.

Table 4.8 Occupational structure in specific groupings in the 1841 census in Zone A, Alcester shown as % of those with known occupations in each group

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	4.2	1.1	0.9	0.0
All labourers	19.7	0.5	5.5	3.4
<i>Agricultural labourers</i>	8.9	0.0	0.0	3.4
<i>Non-agricultural labourers</i>	10.8	0.5	5.5	0.0
Extractive	0.9	0.0	0.9	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	5.8	0.0	6.4	0.0
Tailors/dressmakers	4.1	10.0	6.4	4.5
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	1.9	5.8	3.6	0.0
Shoemakers/cordwainers	7.6	0.5	5.5	0.0
Other leather, horn and tallow	1.9	5.8	0.9	1.1
Carpenters/joiners	2.2	0.0	1.8	0.0
Other woodworkers	4.6	0.5	0.0	0.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.4	0.0	1.8	0.0
Metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	2.6	0.0	1.8	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	14.1	23.7	40.9	21.3
Transport	3.3	0.5	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	3.4	2.1	0.0	1.1
Other food, retail, service, dealing	12.6	7.9	3.6	0.0
Domestic servants/charwomen/nurses	2.4	36.3	17.3	67.4
Professional	6.1	5.3	2.7	1.1
Total (n)	538	190	110	89

Table 4.8 confirms the involvement of females in service and also highlights the employment of males under 20 in such roles. If the growth of the needle industry was evident in figures for fathers in baptisms, this table highlights the important part played by females and young males in that trade.

In 1792 for the first time Alcester appears in a surviving trade directory, (but not the other parishes in the study area). As may be expected, no labourers or domestic servants appear in the directory, and most entries must be considered to show the master or owner of the business listed. Although occupational data from trade directories is necessarily less accurate than the census or baptism data, it nevertheless sheds light on the economic situation in the town.

For comparative purposes data from the directories of Alcester for 1792 and 1835 are included in Appendix 25 along with the directory of Redditch for 1835.²⁵ More Alcester businesses advertised in 1835 than 1792. Perhaps there were indeed more businesses, but also the use of provincial directories was becoming more established and so more business-owners were likely to advertise in 1835 than previously. Appendix 25 only shows the males who advertised, but the number of women-led businesses dropped slightly from 1792 to 1835.²⁶ Further research would be needed to ascertain whether this was significant or not.

The absence of labourers in directories is to be expected, but for some reason no farmers advertise as such in 1835; some perhaps appear under the gentry, (not included in the tables in Appendix 25). Hence the primary sector is vastly under-represented. The growth in tertiary from 1792 to 1835 is to be expected, while the number of heads of businesses in Alcester's secondary sector stays constant.

Appendix 25 suggests an increase in businesses amongst tailors and shoemakers. Maybe such small concerns were more likely to advertise in 1835 than in 1792, but baptism data above confirms the increase of these trades. Although the percentage of needlemaking businesses falls in the directories, this hides the hundreds of employees who worked for those businesses. Other sources suggest that the needle industry increased its share of the workforce in Period D.²⁷

²⁵ For commentary on the different nature of the two towns in 1835 see Chapter 7.

²⁶ In addition to the figures shown in Appendix 25 *UBD 1792* also included 24 businesses run by women, and *Pigot's Warwickshire Directory 1835* listed 21 run by women. Such businesswomen are discussed below in the text, but in order to be consistent with most other sources the tables in Appendix 25 show male-led businesses only.

²⁷ As revealed by the 1841 census and Alcester baptisms.

As the eighteenth century progressed some light is shed upon the employment situation within the town by other sources. Jurors' lists exist from the 1770s and Alcester's parish apprenticeship indentures exist in greater numbers for this period than earlier. Although findings from these are discussed in the text where relevant, numbers were not sufficient to warrant statistical analysis. However, inland revenue apprenticeship books for Alcester exist from 1710 to 1804 and are shown in Appendix 23.²⁸ Some trades made little or no use of official apprenticeships, so these figures have to be treated with some caution. However, Appendix 23 does show the growth of the needle trade and the tertiary sector and the decline of the leather industry in the town.

Table 4.9 Comparison of male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) in the 1841 census, baptisms 1813-1840, probate data 1800-1858 and marriage licence data 1800-1837 in Zone A, Alcester (as % of males with known occupations) showing the bias of other sources compared with the 1841 census

	Adult Males 1841 Census	Baptisms 1813-1840	Ratio Baptisms to Census	Probate 1800-1858	Ratio Probate to Census	Marriage licences 1810-1837	Ratio Marriage licences to Census
Primary	13.1	17.6	1: 0.74	22.5	1: 0.58	22.5	1: 0.58
Secondary	65.4	65.9	1: 0.99	46.2	1: 1.42	50.0	1: 1.31
Tertiary	21.5	16.5	1: 1.30	31.3	1: 0.68	27.5	1: 0.78

Table 4.9 shows the ratio of data in other sources to the 1841 census figure. The 1841 census may be regarded as the most accurate source for adult male structure for that year. As may be expected, the baptism figures are closest to those in the census. While some differences between the census figures and those in other sources can be explained by the different time scales involved, the bias in probate and marriage licence data is also evident. The secondary sector is understated in both probate and marriage licence data, while these sources both exaggerate primary and tertiary compared with the census data.

²⁸ TNA, IR1. These returns have been divided into three periods to show any change.

In comparison with probate data the percentages in marriage licence data are slightly closer to those in the census. Such biases are likely to be the case to a lesser or greater extent in earlier periods too, so they have to be borne in mind during the discussion which follows, where references are to raw data in the various sources.²⁹

In the text below Alcester's changing occupational structure is discussed in specific occupational groupings, as explained in Chapter 2. I make reference to data in the above tables where relevant, but sometimes do not quote exact figures for certain occupations as the size of samples and bias of sources (especially probate and marriage licences) may cause inconsistencies in these exact figures. Where relevant, explanations of such inconsistencies are discussed, but generally I note the general trends exhibited and look for corroboration from various other sources in order to make observations about whether different occupations were present or absent, and increasing or decreasing in this zone at different periods. Where appropriate, comparisons are made with other zones in the study area and also with studies of places elsewhere by other historians.

Agriculture

The importance of agriculture in Alcester's parish economy is shown by Tables 4.2 and 4.4 above. The parish contains keuper marl with some alluvial deposits along the river valleys. Saville notes that Alcester's seventeenth century agricultural economy (according to probate inventories) was 'almost equally divided between the growing of crops and the rearing of animals'.³⁰ The main crops were wheat and barley, but oats, pulses, flax and hemp were also grown. Pastoral farming was also important, especially

²⁹ As explained in Chapter 2, it was not thought meaningful to weight data from other sources by the factors shown in the table as they may not apply in all periods or places. Bias in the whole study area is discussed in Chapter 2.

³⁰ G. E. Saville, ed., *Alcester – a History*, (Studley, Brewin Books, 1986), p. 41.

for cheese production.³¹ Both animal and vegetable produce also provided raw materials for many of the manufactures discussed below.

Until the Enclosure Award of 1771 Alcester still had its medieval open fields - one serving the town itself and two for the hamlet of Kings Coughton.³² However, the system had been modernised to a large extent before 1600 by consolidation of the strips, enabling the land to be farmed more economically.³³ Those who farmed Alcester's open field actually lived in the town. Individual houses had been notionally connected with certain strips, but by 1600 some houses had as many as 15 strips while others had none. This not only indicates a rationalisation of the way the land was farmed, but also that many Alcester folk had yielded their strip in favour of earning a living entirely from non-agrarian pursuits. Nonetheless, several tradesmen had agricultural implements and produce in their probate inventories and tradesmen also figured in documents relating to agricultural land, whether leased in their own right or sub-let from others.³⁴ Other tradesmen let their land out, an indication of the slow shift towards specialisation whereby tradesmen gradually left off their farming activities.³⁵

Just as the arable field had been rationalised piecemeal over the centuries, so had the wasteland. By 1660 there were many small enclosures, although other commoners still had rights to graze their cattle from Lammastide (early August) to early spring on such 'Lammas land' held by others.³⁶ The common rights were no doubt used in various

³¹ N. Alcock, *People at Home: Living in a Warwickshire Village 1500-1800*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 1993), pp. 191-2, discusses the national popularity of Warwickshire cheese c. 1700.

³² Saville, *Alcester - a History*, p. 43.

³³ Saville, *ibid.*, p. 44.

³⁴ WaRO, CR1886/BL, and DR360, Alcester property deeds.

³⁵ For example, in WoRO, probate of Stephen Fisher, Alcester, saddler, 1746, the testator mentions his arable lands which are used by someone else.

³⁶ Saville, *Alcester - a History*, p. 45. Similar arrangements occurred in places such as Walsall, Staffordshire, cited by French, 'Urban agriculture, commons and commoners in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', p. 173.

ways by different townsfolk: to graze sheep, cattle or draught animals or to let out as a source of income.³⁷

Probate inventories before 1760 reveal mixed farming and in some cases suggest a possible sideline in horse-dealing.³⁸ In addition to labourers, yeomen and husbandmen, a couple of gardeners and warreners also appear in local records before 1750.³⁹ The term 'gardener' is an ambiguous descriptor. Alcester's gardeners may have been market-gardeners or the servants of one specific employer, or self-employed men who gardened for many clients.⁴⁰

A swing back towards agriculture in the mid-eighteenth century is suggested by Tables 4.2 and 4.4. The improved road network would ease the movement of agricultural produce to lucrative west midlands markets. Alcester farmers perhaps also exported their corn via Bristol for example in 1766, when Alcester market was visited by a crowd protesting against corn prices.⁴¹ Although probate inventories cease to be kept at this time, we can tell that fewer of the town's tradesmen were involved in farming. The practice of letting their land out to farmers increased, and the enclosure award of 1771 consolidated land tenure still further.⁴² There were six farms after enclosure, although in

³⁷ French, 'Urban agriculture, commons and commoners', pp. 197-8.

³⁸ For example, WoRO, probate of William Dewes, senior, husbandman/yeoman, 1718, £540. His inventory includes malt, wheat, barley, oats, peas, clover, ryegrass, cows and sixteen geldings, mares and colts. P. Edwards, 'The horse trade of the Midlands in the seventeenth century', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 27, (1979), discusses the extensive midlands horse-trade. TNA, IR23/91, Alcester Land Tax returns from 1798 list a piece of land called the Hopyard, suggesting the cultivation of hops. Flax and hemp were also grown, (see the textile section below).

³⁹ WaRO, Coughton burials, 1721, 1722, mention warreners on Alcester Heath.

⁴⁰ For example, WaRO, N1/95, 96, 97, Napton-on-the-Hill parish records, in 1693 refer to George Smith, Alcester, gardener. The extensive market gardening industry associated with the Vale of Evesham is discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

⁴¹ *Adam's Weekly Courant* 14 October 1766.

⁴² Saville, *Alcester – a History*, pp. 44-5, states that the estate map of 1754 already shows evidence of several strips in the open field being combined in larger blocks. Some 74 proprietors pre-enclosure were reduced to fewer than 40 after enclosure. Martin, 'Village traders and the emergence of a proletariat in South Warwickshire, 1750-1851', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 32, (1984), p. 185, states that many smaller holders in Alcester sold up between the act and the award.

1792 only four farmers advertised.⁴³ The land formerly in Alcester's open field was divided into small and medium holdings, probably used by butcher-graziers and market-gardeners.⁴⁴ At least three gardeners were independent businessmen; one of these was also a seedsman.⁴⁵ After enclosure arable land was concentrated in the north of the parish. This rationalisation of land-use no doubt enabled higher productivity, so that grain, market-garden produce and meat could be sent to markets such as Birmingham in greater quantities. In common with many places in the county Alcester's enclosure took place during a period of prolonged 'upward movement of all food prices'.⁴⁶ How the humble labourer was affected by the changes in Alcester's agriculture at this time is not clear. In the short term enclosure may have provided some extra work such as fencing and draining, but in the long term Lane suggests that 'both the independent labourer and lesser craftsman lost status'.⁴⁷

The land tax return of 1798 shows that Alcester still had many more owners of property than its more agrarian neighbours, perhaps reflecting its market town status.⁴⁸ Although no farmers advertise in the 1835 directory, the 1831 census shows that there were eight occupiers of land who employed labourers and six who did not. In Period D a husbandman and a handful of yeomen are listed in probate, but the term 'farmer' had

⁴³ *Universal British Directory (UBD) 1792*. Two farmers appear in the jurors' lists 1772-1799, (WaRO, QS76/3). Perhaps other farmers rented their land and were not eligible for jury service.

⁴⁴ Saville, *Alcester – a History*, p. 50. No new farm-houses were built on the former open field. In *UBD 1792* of two graziers, one was also a butcher. One grazier appears in the jurors' lists 1772-1799, (WaRO, QS76/3).

⁴⁵ Three gardeners advertised in *UBD 1792*. Also two gardeners appear in the jurors' lists 1772-1799, (WaRO, QS76/3).

⁴⁶ Martin, 'The parliamentary enclosure movement and rural society in Warwickshire', p. 24.

⁴⁷ J. Lane, 'Apprenticeship in Warwickshire, 1700-1834', *PhD thesis for University of Birmingham, (1977)*, (also quoted by Martin in 'Village traders and the emergence of a proletariat in South Warwickshire 1750-1851', p. 186).

⁴⁸ See Appendix 24: 1798 land tax. The biggest property owner in Alcester contributed 37.54% of the total tax. There were 112 or 113 owners altogether - many more than parishes which paid a similar total of tax such as Studley, Salford Priors and Aston Cantlow.

gained currency in non-legal parlance. Allied occupations in Period D include pig-dealers, graziers and seedsmen cum gardeners.⁴⁹

For the first time the 1831 census allows us to divide labourers into agricultural and non-agricultural. The split in Alcester was fairly even, with 57 labourers in agriculture (54.3%) and 48 in other work (45.7 %).⁵⁰ Non-agricultural labourers probably included general labourers and those in the building and brickmaking trades.

Extractive industries and building

In Period A Alcester's many half-timbered buildings with thatched roofs survived, but re-building and re-facing with brick and re-roofing with tile had begun and continued throughout the eighteenth century.⁵¹ Despite the many thatched roofs in Period A, references to thatchers are rare, although they occur in various sources until the end of the eighteenth century. Thatching was also undertaken by others, for example labourers or carpenters.⁵²

According to Clarkson, the building industry vied with the leather trade as the second or third most important industry in England in the seventeenth century.⁵³ However, references to building sector workers in Alcester are relatively few before the censuses. Table 4.4 suggests a temporary increase in the mid-eighteenth century and many sources suggest an increase in the percentage of building workers in the final

⁴⁹ Milksellers and veterinary surgeons are discussed below.

⁵⁰ This split has been used to allocate labourers in baptism data, as in Table 4.6. Perhaps surprisingly, Table 4.8 (1841 census) shows no young males as agricultural labourers. Perhaps the needle and building trades paid better. If the descriptors in the 1841 census are accurate, non-agricultural labourers now outnumber those in agriculture amongst all males.

⁵¹ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, pp. 10-12, discusses many buildings in the town. For example, Churchill House near the church, has a fine red-brick front of 1688.

⁵² See the extractive and building section for Zone D in Chapter 7. Although the number of thatched roofs on houses in Alcester no doubt decreased in the eighteenth century, outlying farm buildings and also ricks would still have been thatched.

⁵³ Clarkson, 'The leather crafts in Tudor and Stuart England', p. 25.

period, but probate only provides two masons, both before 1800. One such, George Whissell, died in possession of several houses.⁵⁴

Masons and carpenters from nearby villages also served the town. In the 1730s the mason, Richard Eglington, is described as a 'sojourner'.⁵⁵ On the other hand, Alcester's building workers would also work outside the parish and turn their hand to different building tasks. In 1736 the Alcester mason, Thomas Wormington, thatched the roof and daubed the (wattle) walls at a cottage in nearby Coughton, where such building styles were still in vogue.⁵⁶

Before 1800 throughout the study area builders are generally referred to as masons or carpenters, the term 'bricklayer' being rarely used, and 'builder' not at all.⁵⁷ However, in Period D in the general building sense the term 'mason' gives way to the more modern term 'builder'.⁵⁸ This latter descriptor often implies the master of a business, whereas his underlings were termed 'bricklayer' or 'carpenter', but there was much overlap in usage. Members of the Franklin family were builders, carpenters, joiners, cabinetmakers and ironmongers, and one also found time to act as parish-clerk.

⁵⁴ WoRO, probate of George Whissell, Alcester, mason, 1789. (N. B. For explanation of references to probate records see Sources and Bibliography at the end of this thesis.) Four masons advertised in UBD 1792, one of whom was also a victualler. In probate records there were also 3 bricklayers and 1 builder (all after 1800) and 4 painters/plumbers/glaziers. Carpenters are dealt with in the woodworking section below.

⁵⁵ WaRO, Alcester baptisms 1730. WoRO, marriage licence of Anthony Benton, Rous Lench, day-labourer, Oct. 1735 is witnessed by Richard Eglington, Alcester, mason.

⁵⁶ WaRO, CR3434, Coughton overseers of the poor accounts, 1736.

⁵⁷ The term 'freemason' also occurs. SCLA, BRT/198/25 records the apprenticeship of poor boy, Nathan Cooper of Stratford, to John Toplis, Alcester, freemason, 1711.

⁵⁸ This is the impression obtained from various sources.

In Period A glaziers benefited from the increasing popularity of glazed windows in domestic houses, and they also undertook glazing and leadwork in the church.⁵⁹ In this early period references to glaziers were more common than to plumbers or painters, although throughout the period of study all three jobs were often undertaken by the same people. Of the three plumbers who advertised in 1792 one also kept a pub.⁶⁰ By the nineteenth century there were several plumbers, glaziers and painters, one of whom, James Fryer, advertised as an ‘ornamental painter’.⁶¹ Other workers in the building trade include three plasterers.⁶²

The handful of ‘stonemasons’ and ‘stonecutters’ must have used stone quarried elsewhere; some were probably monumental masons.⁶³ Stone, not readily available in the parish, was generally used sparingly for foundations and the like,⁶⁴ but throughout the study period brickmakers and tilemakers extracted clay and made their bricks, generally in outlying parts of the parish.⁶⁵ In the first half of the eighteenth century the Fulford family, prospered from the trend to use brick and tile, which they made at their kiln on commonland at Alcester Heath, where they leased rights to dig clay and to set up huts.⁶⁶ Amongst the handful of brickmakers working in the parish in Period C one

⁵⁹ G. E. Saville, ‘Look at Alcester, no. 2’, *ADLHS*, OP10, (1979) shows that in the first half of the seventeenth century glass windows were so new that they were listed in inventories. WaRO, DR360/63, Churchwardens’ accounts, refer to glazing and lead-work in church, e.g. 1658, 1661, payments to Thomas Litherland.

⁶⁰ *UBD 1792*. WaRO, jurors’ lists, 1772-1799, QS76/3, contain two mason/bricklayers and one glazier.

⁶¹ *West’s Warwickshire Directory 1830*.

⁶² All after 1750.

⁶³ These were all after 1800.

⁶⁴ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 9, states that the lower storey of the market house was built of stone c. 1618, but the upper storey was of timber, c. 1641. One house on the High Street was known as the Stone House, showing that it was unusual.

⁶⁵ G. E. Saville, *King’s Coughton: a Warwickshire Hamlet*, (Kineton, Roundwood Press, 1973), p. 29. And see Appendix 18.

⁶⁶ Various sources including WaRO, CR1886/BL/1890.

prospered well enough to own three freehold houses.⁶⁷ In Period D brickmakers were more numerous in the records than in earlier periods; at least one still combined brickmaking with building.⁶⁸ The 1841 census shows the important role of young adult males in the building and brickmaking trades.⁶⁹

Textiles, clothing and paper

Knitting had been an important source of employment for Alcestrians before the Civil War.⁷⁰ It is uncertain what exactly had been knitted, but probably the knitters produced items such as stockings either by hand or using a primitive framework-knitting machine. How many townfolk had been employed in this way is not clear, but it was obviously a significant enough number to merit concern by the overseers of the poor, who regretted the collapse of the trade. Perhaps, as noted in other areas, ‘cloth production created a peculiar and proletarianised social order’ reflected in ‘higher levels of poverty than surrounding, non-industrial settlements’.⁷¹ Maybe the retreat of the knitting industry from Alcester heralded more geographical specialisation in manufacturing, as the east midlands, Worcester and Tewkesbury were able to stifle Alcester’s competition.

The most important industry in Stuart England ‘was the woollen textile industry’.⁷² What part did Alcester play in this vital trade? Despite the disappearance of

⁶⁷ WoRO, probate of Joseph Ankers, Alcester, brickmaker, 1775. WaRO, Alcester apprenticeship indentures, DR360/79/72 shows that William Hiam was apprenticed to his own father to learn brickmaking in 1789. WaRO, QS76/3, 1799 jurors’ list includes William Anker, brickmaker. No brickmakers appear in *UBDI792*.

⁶⁸ See the discussion of masons in other zones who were both quarrymen and builders.

⁶⁹ Table 4.8 (1841 census) shows 6.7% of adult males and 7.3% of males under 20 in either the building or extractive industries. As expected, no women were listed in these sectors.

⁷⁰ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 13.

⁷¹ French, ‘Urban agriculture, commons and commoners’, p. 180.

⁷² Clarkson, ‘The leather crafts in Tudor and Stuart England’, p. 25.

the knitters, other occupations in the textile trade were still in evidence in the late seventeenth century,⁷³ but Table 4.2 shows the town's involvement in textiles dwindling in Periods C and D. Table 4.4 suggests that the decline amongst male workers of marriageable age in textiles had set in before the mid-eighteenth century, while Table 4.6 indicates that the town's already shrunken textile sector continued on its downward path in the nineteenth century. The 1841 census shows 6% of adult males in textiles or clothing manufacture, but the figures for women (15.8%) and for young males (10%) show their important roles in these sectors.⁷⁴

Throughout the study period various processors of wool are recorded in the town, no doubt dealing as middle men between sheep-farmers and weavers as well as sorting and processing the wool.⁷⁵ Robert Weigham, woolwinder, was worth some £57 when he died in 1710.⁷⁶ Some wool-merchants also doubled as fellmongers and skinner.⁷⁷ Long-established in the town, wool-dealing at Alcester market was traditionally supervised by a manor court official, the wool-weigher.⁷⁸

To support the wool-merchants there must have been a considerable number of weavers, but records reveal few in Alcester. In the whole study period only one weaver featured amongst Alcester's testators, namely Francis Browne, who possessed five

⁷³ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 13, states that of those contributors to the 1663 Hearth Tax whose occupations can be traced a quarter worked in 'some branch of the cloth trade'.

⁷⁴ Table 4.8.

⁷⁵ Various described as woolcombers, woolwinders, woolmen and woolstaplers, they appear in larger numbers before 1750 than later.

⁷⁶ WoRO, probate of Robert Weigham, Alcester, woolwinder, 1710, £57-5-6. Another woolman, Abraham Clark, also described as a skinner, is discussed below in the section on leather.

⁷⁷ For example, William Hawthorn alias Phillips, is described in various records between 1658 and 1689 as fellmonger, glover, woolman, maltster. (SCLA, DR165/1247/5-8, WaRO, CR1886/416/47/2, etc.). WoRO, probate of William Hawthorn alias Phillips, Alcester, maltster, 1689, includes £150 of wool. WoRO, probate of Abraham Clark, Alcester, maltster and skinner, 1702. H. C. Johnson et al, eds., *Warwick County Records*, (Warwick, E. Stephens, 1936-1964), 8, pp. 85, 133, (quoting quarter sessions 1684-5, for non-attendance at church), mentions Abraham Clark, woolman and skinner. Two woolstaplers appear in Alcester's probate records (both before 1800).

⁷⁸ G. E. Saville, 'The story of Alcester market', *ADLHS*, OP26, (1982), p. 8. (There are references to Alcester's wool trade at least as far back as 1570 in Saville, *Alcester – a History*, p. 76).

looms, one twisting-mill and other tools worth £10-6-8.⁷⁹ Other weavers were present, but, at the poorer end of the spectrum, did not figure prominently in the records.⁸⁰ Alcester, like many market towns of the time, perhaps also supplied yarn to the weavers of its hinterland, and then finished, dyed and marketed their cloth.

Where the textile industry of Alcester and its hinterland fitted into the bigger picture is not clear. Some Arden parishes may have had more connections with the Coventry trade, making cloth called ‘tammies’. The Champion Country parishes may have made ‘Gloucester whites’ and marketed them through the Gloucestershire textile centres. The weavers to the west of Alcester may have been bound up in the Worcester trade, making use of finer wools from the Cotswolds and the Marches. Alcester itself may have had a role as an entrepot in any of these different textile markets.⁸¹

In the first half of the eighteenth century Alcester was still attracting migrant textile workers, such as threadmen and feltmakers, from nearby towns.⁸² It is not clear whether the threadmen made woollen or flaxen thread or both. Felt, worsted, jersey and perhaps other woollen cloths were manufactured in the town, giving rise to a variety of specific occupations, such as shearmen, clothworkers, feltmakers, jersey-weavers and

⁷⁹ WoRO, probate of Francis Browne, Alcester, weaver, 1707, £88-13-0.

⁸⁰ In 1662 the manor rolls mention ‘all the weavers’ (WaRO, CR1886/1315), but none appears in probate records until Francis Browne in 1707. Edward Abraham is referred to as a ‘webster’ in 1662 (WaRO, DR360/86/3).

⁸¹ Buchanan, ‘Studies of the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries’, 18, p. 34, describes an Inkberrow man in Quarter Sessions claiming to have bought wool at Alcester at 10d. a pound. The type of wool was not considered to be the sort purchased from a glover, but we do not know what sheep and wool were prominent in the area. J. de L. Mann, *The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1640 to 1880*, (Oxford, OUP, 1971), pp. 17-42, indicates that much cloth marketed through Worcester and Gloucester was dependent on the Levant trade.

⁸² For example, WaRO, DR360/80/ 13, 21 and 33, Alcester settlement papers of James Harris, from Warwick, ‘thredman’, 1700, Christopher Chambers from Bromsgrove 1711, feltmaker, and William Alexander from Stratford 1719, feltmaker. (Some feltmakers including Alexander were alternatively called hatters. No doubt hat-making was one of the principal uses of felt). WaRO, DR360/65, records the settlement of Charles Hawker from Childswickham, Worcestershire, in 1707. He is variously described as (jersey-)weaver and jersey-comber. TNA, IR1/42, 45 and 46 show that he was taking on apprentices.

dyers.⁸³ Some Alcester weavers may have worked with coloured ('dyed in the wool') yarn. Others wove uncoloured cloth and then dyed it 'in the piece' after completion, as the 'weaver of Alcester', who was paid for 'colouring thirty-three yards of jarsey'.⁸⁴ Perhaps some weavers specialised in one type of cloth, worsted, woollen or linen, but some may have switched according to demand, or combined two materials.⁸⁵

There was no distinct demarcation between various roles, with weavers dyeing cloth, and dyers acting as clothiers, supervising the finishing process. Dyers were often substantial men. One gentleman dyer invested in Spernall fulling-mill, while John Bovey had extensive premises for cloth finishing, including a kalendarhouse, presshouse and dyehouse.⁸⁶ The dyer, Timothy Howes, lived in a house with seven domestic rooms, a shop and dyehouse with shears, vats, furnaces, kalendar, presses and other tools for dyeing and clothworking.⁸⁷ Some dyers, such as Thomas Clarson, bordered on gentry status.⁸⁸ Another dyer, Edward Morgan, also managed a mercer's shop at the market place, indicating his role as a dealer in both outward and inward-bound textiles within an

⁸³ WoRO, probate of Nicholas Leake, Alcester, hatter, 1681, £23-7-10, including stocks of men's and women's hats. WoRO, marriage licence of Richard Jesson, Arrow, Oct. 1662, witnessed by Nicholas Leake, Alcester, feltmaker. (N. B. For explanation of references to marriage licence records see Sources and Bibliography at the end of this thesis.) Worsted cloth was probably also made in the town, though specific references first emerge in the early eighteenth century.

⁸⁴ WaRO, CR1998/26, Throckmorton MSS, 1673.

⁸⁵ Local records do not usually specify the type of weaver, with the exceptions discussed above. J. de L. Mann, *The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1640 to 1880*, pp. xi-xiv, discusses different types of cloth made at this period, some of which had warp and weft of different materials, such as worsted and woollen.

⁸⁶ Saville, *Alcester - a History*, p. 42, refers to dyers as far back as 1232. WoRO, probate of John Bovey, Alcester, dyer, 1689, £276-11-1, and WoRO, probate of Richard Christopher, Alcester, gentleman, 1720, £66-19-0. From 1660 no-one in Alcester was described as a clothier, although some appear to fulfil that role.

⁸⁷ WoRO, probate of Timothy Howes, Alcester, dyer, 1710, £82-12-0. It also included 'wadd' (woad?) worth £12. As in the previous period, no Alcester men are described as clothiers, but the dyers and wool-merchants co-ordinated the town's textile-trade. Howes, also described as a jersey-weaver, (and Weigham, mentioned below) may have died prematurely during the high mortality of 1710-11.

⁸⁸ TNA, PCC probate of Thomas Clarson, Alcester, dyer, 1738. Later family members were described as gentlemen. Stephen Cheston, another dyer, was also of a substantial family with money to invest. Other members of his family were tanners and gentlemen.

extensive network, linking local consumers and artisans with the supra-regional and international trade.⁸⁹

Although no weaver appears in probate in Period C or in the 1792 directory, the odd weaver appears in other records. Three members of the Clarson family advertise in 1792; two were hosiers and one a dyer. They were men of capital and status, sometimes referred to as gentry, and it is likely that they employed several people in their businesses.⁹⁰ Maybe some work was put out to workers in local villages, but, if the Clarsons' employees were in Alcester, they go unmentioned in the records. The poor in the workhouse were employed in carding and spinning in a small, unprofitable way, while the 1792 directory lists one wool-carder.⁹¹

By Period D weavers as such seem to have now almost vanished from the town's records.⁹² However, in 1835 Thomas Hooper advertised as a worsted manufacturer, and various sources indicate the continued presence of a handful of male textile workers such as a wool-stapler cum skinner and a spinner.⁹³ But the town's textile industry was not what it was in earlier times.

Before 1800 the textile trade was well supported by womenfolk spinning yarn (both flaxen and woollen), as is evident from probate inventories. Occasionally, references to women spinning are more specific: in 1694 Ann Lowder was apprenticed

⁸⁹ Edward Morgan, dyer, mercer and gent, is mentioned in many property deeds: WaRO, CR1886/BL/1873, 417/50 and 417/A/150/1 and SCLA, ER3/4132, 4150.

⁹⁰ *UBD 1792*. Thomas and Robert Clarson are the only persons involved in textile manufacture who appear in the jurors' lists for Alcester from 1772-1799. (WaRO, QS76/3).

⁹¹ Rogers, *The State of the Poor*, p. 325. *UBD 1792* lists Philip Hooper, wool-carder. According to WoRO, probate of Philip Hooper, Alcester, woolcomber, 1799, he owned property in the town. Local records do not explain to what extent flax, hemp, wool and the yarn made from them were used by families to make their own clothes (as remained usual in the north of England in the late eighteenth century) or were supplied to dealers or clothiers for money. See J. Styles, *The Dress of the People*, (London, Yale University Press, 2007), p. 149.

⁹² Only one weaver appears in this period (WaRO, Alcester baptisms 1837, John Hill).

⁹³ WaRO, Alcester baptisms 1837 for Richard Pritchard, spinner.

‘to learn the art and mystery of a spinster’.⁹⁴ The 1841 census still reveals a few females in the textile trade: for example, a wool-carder and an eighty year-old spinner, but they belonged to a dying breed of domestic textile workers hereabouts.⁹⁵

Despite the rarity of references to flax and hemp in probate inventories, they were grown in the parish.⁹⁶ Throughout the two centuries of this study Alcester had its own rope-makers, hemp-dressers and flax-dressers. In 1698 the flax-dresser Joseph Alcox dealt over a wide area, with stores of flax as far away as Dudley.⁹⁷ Another flax-dresser cum hemp-dresser, William Edkins, had a good supply of hemp and flax in his warehouse and shop. He also owned two houses in Bleachfield Street, which lay away from the town centre with access to the river and may be where he retted his flax and hemp.⁹⁸

In the 1750s one ropemaker doubled as a sacking-weaver, while Joseph Tilsley advertised that he ‘makes and mends all kinds of netts’.⁹⁹ In 1830 Thomas Averill, rope and twine manufacturer and flax-dresser, also dealt in cotton, worsted and lamb’s wool,

⁹⁴ WaRO, DR360/79/15, Alcester apprentice indenture of Ann Lowder, 1694, to Henry Harbach, Alcester, shoemaker. Presumably to learn from Harbach’s wife.

⁹⁵ The lace-maker, Phoebe Day, was not born in Warwickshire; she may have learnt her trade where lace-making was more widespread, for instance in Bedfordshire. The 1851 census lists a female brace-maker and another lace-maker.

⁹⁶ Hemp was often grown in small plots, known locally as plecks. There are several references to ‘hemplecks’ which may suggest cultivation of hemp, but could be a corruption of ‘hen-pleck’. Although regulations required certain crops to be mentioned in probate inventories, flax and hemp did not have to be listed. However, WoRO, probate of Thomas Green alias Lyes, Alcester, flax-dresser, 1700, £81-10-0, does mention twenty acres of flax growing (£80).

⁹⁷ WoRO, probate of Robert Matthews, Alcester, hempdresser, 1662, £16-10-0, and of Joseph Alcox, Alcester, flax-dresser, 1698, £228-6-6, who had flax stored at many places and also some ‘rye hemp’.

⁹⁸ WoRO, probate of William Edkins, Alcester, flax-dresser/hemp-dresser, 1729, £118-10-9. J. Gover, et al, eds., *The Place-Names of Warwickshire*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1970), p. 194, explains one of Alcester’s street-names, Bleachfield Street, as a place where linen was left out to be bleached by the sun in medieval times, suggesting the town’s long association with the linen industry. The Arrow and its tributary the Alne were probably both used for retting flax and hemp.

⁹⁹ WaRO, DR360/79/27 describes Thomas Nicholls as a sacking weaver, while WoRO, marriage licence of Thomas Nicholls, July 1750, describes him as a ropemaker. He presumably utilised the same raw material, hemp, for both sacks and ropes. He also kept a public house. Joseph Tilsley, barber and perukemaker, advertised in *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 10 February 1757 when he was moving his business from Alcester to Evesham. It is not clear whether he meant all types of hair-nets or nets for other purposes too.

yarn, etc.¹⁰⁰ There were also a couple of other rope-spinners, flax-dressers and a sack-maker in records at this time, some of whom may have been Averill's employees.¹⁰¹

Although the flax and hemp industry were never huge employers, references to flax-dressers abound in Alcester compared with other parishes, suggesting its importance in processing local flax (and hemp). This industry provided employment for women, not only in spinning yarn, but also in pulling the crop.¹⁰²

There is no evidence of papermaking in Alcester. The card-maker in 1674, William James, most likely made wire cards for use in the textile trade.¹⁰³ The ragman and a rag-gatherer who emerge from the records in Period D probably supplied paper-mills in nearby villages.¹⁰⁴

Alcester was home to several tailors, some of whom were also described as bodice-makers. 'A parcel of bodices' valued at £24-17-6 in the shop of John Taft, bodicemaker, comprised more than a quarter of his total personal effects.¹⁰⁵ It may be that Alcester's bodicemakers enjoyed the same 'widely flung markets' as their Evesham and Pershore counterparts.¹⁰⁶ However, after Taft's death in 1729 the descriptor 'bodice-maker' is not found, as the garments or the need for a local specialist maker

¹⁰⁰ *West's Warwickshire Directory 1830.*

¹⁰¹ WaRO, Alcester 1851 census lists a male sackmaker and also a female flax-spinner.

¹⁰² Sharpe, 'The female labour market in English agriculture during the Industrial Revolution: expansion or contraction?', p. 168. Hemp was used by the likes of Thomas Nicholls, sacking-weaver and ropemaker, described in Period C.

¹⁰³ WoRO, marriage licence of Timothy Collit, May 1674, witnessed by William James, Alcester, card-maker.

¹⁰⁴ WaRO, Alcester 1841 census and Alcester baptisms 1823. Paper mills at Beoley, Bidford and Aston Cantlow, see below.

¹⁰⁵ WoRO, probate of John Taft, Alcester, bodicemaker, 1729, £81-5-3.

¹⁰⁶ Martin, 'The social and economic origins of the Vale of Evesham market gardening industry', pp. 44, 49, describes Pershore and Evesham's hosiers and bodicemakers exporting to Germany, etc. As noted in the previous chapter, Alcester's involvement in the knitting industry had collapsed.

thereof must have gone out of fashion.¹⁰⁷ From the 1780s the descriptor ‘staymaker’ makes an appearance, followed by ‘habit-maker’ from the 1830s.¹⁰⁸

After 1750 Tables 4.2 and 4.4 both show an apparent decline in the percentage of the workforce working as tailors. Perhaps tailors became less numerous as they concentrated on a purely local market rather than the more extensive market hinted at above. This possible reversal in the market may have caused a decline in wealth for tailors and their consequent absence from probate records.¹⁰⁹ Baptism records (in Table 4.6) show that tailors were still plying their trade and were indeed on the increase in Period D.¹¹⁰ In the latter period it was increasingly likely that tailors retailed items made elsewhere.

Musson points out that most clothing was bespoke before 1700, but even at this early period some garments, especially hats, were stocked ready-made.¹¹¹ In addition to the hatter cum feltmaker mentioned above, there was always enough call in the town for at least one hat-maker. From the probate of the hat-maker William Alexander in 1767, it is clear that he was a cut above most of the tailors, with two houses and land in the common field, mainly sub-let to others.¹¹² Alexander was followed in the hat trade by Thomas Osborn and Joseph Wilks.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ The term bodicemaker was not found in any parish apart from Alcester, where it occurred from 1676 until 1729.

¹⁰⁸ For example, staymakers in WaRO, DR360/79/49 dating from 1780 and *UBD 1792*. WaRO, Alcester 1851 census lists a handful of female staymakers. Two male habitmakers cum tailors appear in Alcester’s apprenticeship records from 1830s. (For example, WaRO, DR360/79/291). ‘Habitmakers’ also appear in Redditch and Bidford at this time.

¹⁰⁹ However, several tailors appear in other sources and as witnesses in marriage bonds and beneficiaries in probate.

¹¹⁰ *UBD 1792* lists 4 tailors and *Pigot 1835* lists 12.

¹¹¹ Musson, *The Growth of British Industry*, p. 49.

¹¹² WoRO, probate of William Alexander, Alcester, hatmaker, 1767. His brother was also a hatmaker in Warwick.

¹¹³ *UBD 1792*. The directory does not reveal the type of hats being made.

The couple of hosiers and half dozen hatters, who appear in Alcester's archives in Period D, may have made stockings and hats of various types, but probably also retailed items made elsewhere.¹¹⁴ Records from the 1820s to 1851 reveal the manufacture of straw hats or bonnets. The employers include males and females whereas the employees were mainly female, maybe working at home.¹¹⁵

Of the twenty-four women who advertised in the town in 1792, ten were milliners or mantua-makers. Though missing from many of the sources consulted, women had run businesses making and repairing clothing in earlier times too. The seamstress Elizabeth Harper and the mantua-maker Hannah Ashmead took on female apprentices in 1723 and 1779 respectively.¹¹⁶

Milliners were scarce in local villages, so Alcester's milliners (mainly female) must have served the ladies of the hinterland.¹¹⁷ Many milliners also doubled as dressmakers, who, along with seamstresses, are fairly numerous in the 1841 and 1851 censuses. The household of Mary Whissell, milliner, in 1841, included two other milliners and four apprentices. However, milliners' businesses in 1835 were not so numerous as in 1792 and the term 'mantua-maker', in evidence from 1779, becomes redundant after 1830.¹¹⁸

With the advent of censuses and directories the important role of women in the textile and clothing trade, only fortuitously glimpsed in earlier records, becomes more

¹¹⁴ For example James and Joyce Whittingham, hosiers, were also haberdashers and shopkeepers.

¹¹⁵ One firm of straw-hat manufacturers was run by two women from Aylesbury.

¹¹⁶ TNA, IR1/48 and IR1/61.

¹¹⁷ The only instance of a male milliner is John Potts, who takes on a female apprentice in 1778. (TNA, IR1/60, apprentice records). Female milliners appear in records from 1774.

¹¹⁸ There were 10 mantua-makers or milliners in 1792 and only 3 milliners in 1835.

apparent.¹¹⁹ If they were added to the male-only figures in the tables above, the clothing trade would feature more prominently in the data.

The female lace-maker (not born in the county), the male silk-twister (born in Coventry) and the male stocking-weaver (born in Tewkesbury) are isolated examples of specialist trades from other parts. However, continued links with their places of birth are implied, either to source raw materials or to market their finished products.¹²⁰

Leather, horn and tallow

Clarkson stresses the importance of the leather industry in Stuart England. ‘Contemporaries usually took the leather industry for granted...’, but it was ‘second or third only to the manufacture of woollen cloth as an industrial occupation.’¹²¹ The leather trade was found in the countryside, but was even more concentrated on market towns, where the raw products were available from the butchers.¹²² The triangle between Bristol, Oxford and the Mersey was particularly significant for leather production and there was a certain symbiosis between the leather and metal trades. Bark used in tanning was a by-product of the felling of timber for iron-working, and the harness industry of Walsall and Birmingham ‘created a joint demand for leather and metal goods’.¹²³ Since Alcester is a market town within this pastoral triangle and near to the midland hardware district, it is not surprising that references to leatherworkers are abundant in Alcester in Stuart times. The processing of leather played a significant role in the town’s economy.

¹¹⁹ The 1851 census lists a female mop-maker. It is not known what material was used for the head of the mop.

¹²⁰ The lace-maker in the 1841 census, the others in 1851.

¹²¹ Clarkson, ‘The leather crafts in Tudor and Stuart England’, p. 25. The building trade was its rival for second or third place.

¹²² Clarkson, *ibid.*, p. 26.

¹²³ Clarkson, *ibid.*, pp. 27, 29 and 30.

An official leather-sealer was appointed to oversee the lively trade in leather, skins and hides at Alcester market, which attracted many outside dealers.¹²⁴

Although Tables 4.2 and 4.4 do not paint exactly the same picture, they do show that shoemakers were present in the town throughout the study period with an increase during Period D, corroborated by baptisms and the 1841 census.¹²⁵ For other leatherworkers it is a story of two halves with the leather trade prominent in the town's economy before 1750 and declining thereafter.¹²⁶

Tanners needed capital both to set up business and to tide them over months without income as the tanning process was notoriously long-drawn out and needed a sizeable property for the tan-pits and storage space. Consequently, tanners were amongst the wealthier residents and were often also yeomen-farmers.¹²⁷ Tracing tanning-trade workers apart from the business-owners themselves is difficult, the employees probably being described as 'labourers'.¹²⁸ Tanners usually concentrated on the production of heavier leather from cattle-hides, produced locally or imported from Ireland. Their markets were mainly local rather than national.¹²⁹

Alcester's gentlemen tanners often held property in both town and countryside. Perhaps some tanning operations were carried out in the countryside, where more space was available, while finishing, marketing and the purchase of hides were based in

¹²⁴ Saville, 'The story of Alcester market', pp. 2, 7.

¹²⁵ *UBD 1792* lists six shoemakers, one of whom doubled as a broker. In 1841 7.6% of adult males were shoemakers.

¹²⁶ Table 4.4 suggests that the decline started in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Table 4.8 (1841 census) shows only 1.9% of adult males in leather trades apart from shoemakers.

¹²⁷ *WoRO* probate of Simon Bellers, Alcester, tanner, 1670, £221-13-0 and of Thomas Savage, Alcester, tanner, £453-19-4. They deal with all types of hides, including boarskins and calfskins and also horns and tails. Savage has a lease of bark, (used in the tanning process), in nearby Arrow Wood.

¹²⁸ This also artificially inflates the perceived wealth of those in the tanning trade.

¹²⁹ Clarkson, 'The leather crafts in Tudor and Stuart England', p. 29.

town.¹³⁰ Although in Period C the Cheston family of gentlemen-tanners were relatively well-off with a freehold house and tanhouse in the town,¹³¹ various sources show the decline in the town's tanning trade.¹³² The continuing struggle for provincial tanners may be exemplified by the bankruptcy in 1836 of Martin Charles, who later avoided tanning and made a living as a general dealer.¹³³

Although tanners were plentiful in the hinterland, curriers and fellmongers were more the preserve of the market town. Alcester records reveal a handful of curriers, who were relatively wealthy, including Thomas Jowling, who had family connections with the Wyre Forest, perhaps one source of bark and hides.¹³⁴ In Period C the currier, William Haines, held property including dwelling houses and a malthouse. The trade continues into the next generation as he leaves his son the 'tools and tables of a currier'.¹³⁵ In the nineteenth century Susan Haines combined her business as a currier and leather-cutter with malting and baking.¹³⁶

Skinner and glovers dealt in wool and skins and made gloves from various types of light, dressed leather, particularly calf, sheep and lamb skins. Clarkson states that 'glovers and leather-dressers of western England supplied a national market'.¹³⁷ Although he stresses Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire gloves, Alcester and its hinterland may have played a part in this national trade, perhaps marketing their gloves

¹³⁰ WoRO, probate of John Matthews, Alcester, tanner, 1713, £155-3-11. Also the Cheston family.

¹³¹ WoRO, probate of Thomas Cheston, Alcester, tanner, 1781 and UBD 1792. He leaves an annuity to the minister of the congregation of protestant dissenters, a £200 bequest to his son John and the bulk of his estate to his son Thomas who continues the business. The Chestons are the only tanners in the jurors' lists 1772-99, (WaRO, QS76/3).

¹³² For example, in probate there were 2 tanners in Period A, 2 in Period B, but only 1 in Period C and 1 in Period D.

¹³³ *PO Warwickshire Directory 1845*.

¹³⁴ WoRO, probate of Thomas Jowling, Alcester, currier, 1745, no inventory. Another currier's probate was dealt with at the PCC. (TNA, PCC probate of Richard Walter, Alcester, currier, 1739.)

¹³⁵ WoRO, probate of William Haines, Alcester, currier, 1780; also in jurors' lists, (WaRO, QS76/3).

¹³⁶ *Pigot's Warwickshire Directory 1835* and *PO Warwickshire Directory 1845*. Maybe a widow carrying on the business of Henry Haines.

¹³⁷ Clarkson, *ibid.*, p. 28.

through Worcester. The gloving trade in the study area may have originated because of easy access to skins, (for instance sheepskins from the Cotswolds) and suitable water for seasoning the leather, but by the seventeenth century the local glovers may have supplemented their local supply with skins from Ireland, as their counterparts did in other parts of the 'leather triangle'. The proximity of the study area to Worcester would enable glovers to access skins imported up the Severn. Clarkson notes that the social structure of the pastoral west 'favoured the development of a local [gloving] industry', but that those involved in gloving were generally poor'.¹³⁸

In Alcester the terms fellmonger, skinner and glover seem to be synonymous. Generally less wealthy than curriers and tanners,¹³⁹ some boosted their income as maltsters and publicans.¹⁴⁰ One fellmonger cum glover, dealt in wool and linen and may have sold his wares beyond the hinterland.¹⁴¹ As the eighteenth century progressed the term 'glover' was giving way to 'breechesmaker' in local records, perhaps indicating a shift in priorities, although perhaps both gloves and breeches were still produced.¹⁴² The

¹³⁸ Clarkson, *ibid.*, p. 29.

¹³⁹ WoRO, probate of John Jennings, Alcester, skinner, 1679/80, £78-15-2, and of Richard Jennings, Alcester, skinner, 1679, £30-0-0, and miscellaneous probate (794/163) of Arthur Cawdry, Alcester, glover, 1662, £56-0-4. No doubt their products included the new gloves that were traditionally stipulated in wills for funeral-goers. Members of the Jennings family are also described as glovers, woolmen, staplers, etc.

¹⁴⁰ WoRO, probate of Abraham Clarke, Alcester, maltster/skinner, 1702, £259-10-6.

¹⁴¹ WoRO, probate of Samuel Sandells, Alcester, fellmonger/glover, 1727, £51-2-4. His considerable stock included more than 200 pairs of different types of gloves and mittens for men, women and children and breeches of various styles including some made of fish-skin (possibly shark-skin, presumably brought in from the coast). N. B. The principal creditor of his brother, William, (another glover), was a Warwick fellmonger, suggesting that they accessed skins there. (WoRO, probate of William Sandells, Alcester, (no occupation given), 1744.)

¹⁴² WoRO, probate of Richard Parsons, Alcester, glover, 1729. He made bequests of wool, gloves and breeches. Stephen Hyam is described as glover in 1745 and then as breechesmaker in 1767. WoRO, marriage licence of Stephen Hyam, Alcester, glover, November 1745. WoRO marriage licence of Anthony Mills, Alcester, gardener, April 1767 is witnessed by Stephen Hiam, Alcester, breechesmaker. (Hiam witnesses several marriage licence documents probably in his capacity as parish clerk. A curate's note in the Alcester parish register at WaRO, explains that Stephen Hyam, the parish clerk, had lost the parish register of 1745-7.)

UBD contains no glovers, but one fellmonger cum breechesmaker and two other breechesmakers.¹⁴³

In Period D the town was still home to the odd fellmonger, a skinner cum woolstapler and Josiah Wright who was a leather-cutter, leather-seller, shoemaker and pawnbroker. Only one male glover appears in this period, but Mary Hemming, who advertised as a glove manufacturer in 1830, may have employed a handful of female glovers, though those in evidence in the 1841 and 1851 censuses were perhaps employed sewing gloves as outworkers for Worcester manufacturers.¹⁴⁴ The apprenticeship of Katherine Allen to an Alcester glover in 1729 hints that females were always involved in the gloving industry, though generally hidden from view before the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁵

The abundance of shoemakers or cordwainers in the study area from Alcester northwards, suggests that they sold over a wide area, perhaps finding a market in more arable regions.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps more substantial shoemakers also acted as factors for their colleagues. Local customers could presumably order and buy shoes direct from the makers, some of whom were situated centrally in the town in Shoprow. For the most part Alcester's shoemakers probably used leather produced locally (from local or Irish hides). Some of the town's shoemakers pursued other occupations too, including farming, malt-making and inn-keeping, while others served as parish or manor officials. Their wealth and status ranged from that of illiterate Richard Harris, who made shoes on

¹⁴³ *UBD 1792*. The family of Joseph Watts, breechesmaker ran the aptly named public house, the Buck and Breeches. Presumably Alcester's breechesmakers were making breeches from leather as some of them were also fellmongers or glovers. All references to breechesmakers occur in the period 1750 to 1820 suggesting that this was the period when leather breeches were in vogue for certain classes of men. Within the study area leather breeches were almost exclusively made in Alcester.

¹⁴⁴ *West's Warwickshire Directory 1830*.

¹⁴⁵ TNA, IR1/49. William Greenhill takes her as apprentice, perhaps to sew gloves as females did in Period D.

¹⁴⁶ The terms shoemaker and cordwainer seem interchangeable throughout the study period. Areas such as Zone B have fewer shoemakers.

Alcester Heath, to that of literate Joseph Chellingworth, who owned an estate in Welford and whose probate was proved at the PCC. However, for the most part shoemakers ranked amongst the poorer tradesmen.¹⁴⁷

Specialisation within the trade at different times may be demonstrated by the odd heel-maker, clog-maker and patten-maker, while in 1680 Clement Swan was described as a 'translator'.¹⁴⁸ The role of women in the shoemaking trade remains largely hidden, but female shoe-binders do appear in nineteenth century censuses.

Although not as numerous as shoemakers, for the two centuries of this study the (horse-)collarmakers, harnessmakers, saddlers and whittawers seemed to be concentrated in Alcester rather than the villages around. These four descriptors seem interchangeable, but it could be that some family members specialised in making one item rather than another.¹⁴⁹ In status saddlers generally ranked alongside shoemakers and glovers rather than tanners. Despite their modest status, some served the community in various capacities, while others had family links with London and Bristol.¹⁵⁰

In the eighteenth century some saddlers doubled as ironmongers and one such was also involved in the 'bagging trade'.¹⁵¹ Other saddlers supplemented their income by

¹⁴⁷ WoRO, probate of Richard Harris, Alcester, cordwainer, 1755, £12-13-6 and TNA, PCC probate of Joseph Chellingworth, Alcester, 1764. Two shoemakers are listed as jurors, (WaRO, QS76/3).

¹⁴⁸ WaRO, DR360/86/10, Coughton settlement papers, records the settlement in 1666 of John Bromley, of Coughton, heelmaker, in Alcester. WoRO, marriage licence of Joseph Wilkes, Alcester, shoe-heelmaker, June 1742. It is not known whether their shoe heels were made from wood or leather. WaRO, 1841 census lists Isaac Newton, patten-wood maker, while WaRO, Alcester baptisms 1830s mentions William Heywood, clog and patten-maker. J. Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, vol. 6, (Oxford, OUP, 1961), p. 222, defines 'translator' as cobbler, mender of shoes. Maybe he adapted shoes for a new owner? Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 6, p. 170, (QS Epiphany 1680), mentions Clement Swan, Alcester, translator, reputed papist.

¹⁴⁹ WoRO, probate of Nicholas Bolton, Alcester, saddler, 1684, £49-12-5 and of John Bolton, Alcester, whittawer, 1673. Other members of the family are described as collarmakers. The term 'whittawer' ceases to be used after 1720.

¹⁵⁰ WoRO, probate of Edward Hiorne, Alcester, whittawer, 1717, £93-1-6, and WoRO, probate of John Cox, Alcester, saddler, 1711, £14.

¹⁵¹ WoRO, probate of John Hanbury, Alcester, saddler, 1732, £350-4-9. The 'bagging trade' presumably means the making of (leather?) bags. His bagging trade stock comprised one fifth of his inventory total. *UBD 1792* lists two collarmakers; one is also described as saddler and ironmonger.

making malt, while the Harris family who served the town from the 1670s to 1810 pursued various by-employments.¹⁵²

Butchered beasts yielded more than meat and hides. Tallow-chandlers used animal fat (and beeswax) in the manufacture of candles. Alcester's chandlers were also general store-keepers, estate agents and ironmongers cum builders' merchants, stocking items as diverse as candles, bricks, tiles, honey, wax and methaglin (from their own bees), hops, treacle, tobacco, malt, fish, tar, raddle, oil, pitch, starch, thread, earthenware, glass, rakes and other implements.¹⁵³ Generally literate and often protestant dissenters, many chandlers served as office-holders and ranked amongst the town's more substantial citizens with extensive trading links.

In the 1680s Alcester was served by John Whissell, horner and comb-maker.¹⁵⁴ Another family member continued the business into the next period, but after 1750 references to horners or comb-makers cease.¹⁵⁵ Chandlers and horners probably employed few workmen and most likely catered for a local market. Chandlers are still in

¹⁵² For example, the last of the line, William Harris was a seedsman, ironmonger and agent for the Worcester Fire Office. In 1760 their business was run by a woman, Ann Harris. (TNA, IR1/54)

¹⁵³ WoRO, miscellaneous probate (815/2877) of Stephen Wade, Alcester, tallowchandler, 1667, £330-12-8 and WoRO, probate of Edward Johnsons, Alcester, chandler, 1682/3, £410-16-0. WoRO, probate of Thomas Beesley, Alcester, chandler, 1714, £36-17-9, and probate of James Walker, Alcester, chandler, 1711, £176-3-2. Beesley was also a grocer, while Walker stocked besoms, earthenware, drinking glasses, soap, oil, pitch, tar, nails, powder and shot, ink, tobacco pipes, linen cloth, ink, thread and pins.

¹⁵⁴ WoRO, probate of John Whistle, Alcester, (no occupation given), 1686, £201-14-6, including '1000 of horns'. Horns were used for cups and lanterns as well as combs. He was also a victualler (WaRO, QS35/1/2). Amongst the by-products, hoofs were fed to the Throckmortons' hounds. (WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26).

¹⁵⁵ WoRO, probate of John Price, Alcester, gunsmith, 1707, mentions William Whissell, combmaker. WoRO, marriage licence of Joseph Kiffin, Jan. 1705/6 was witnessed by William Whissell, Alcester, horner. Whissell was literate and probably also a publican and exciseman. WaRO, DR360/79/27, Alcester apprentice records, mention Samuel Smith, combmaker, father to Benjamin who was apprenticed in 1749. Smith and Whissell were the only horners or combmakers in Alcester's records at this period. They probably made combs of horn, but may have made metal combs for woolcombing.

evidence right through to Period D albeit in reduced numbers, while one bone-collector is recorded in 1820.¹⁵⁶

Wood and charcoal

References to charcoal-burners in Alcester are completely lacking. Many inventories mention ‘coals’, but it is unclear whether this means charcoal or ‘pit-coal’. Maybe the townsfolk used charcoal from local parishes and coal imported by barge and cart from the Black Country or the Forest of Dean.

Although carpenters and other woodworkers were present in Alcester, records suggest that they were always few in number. Perhaps, as suggested above for the building trade, the town was served by such workers from the nearby villages where they seem relatively numerous.¹⁵⁷ Table 4.2 suggests a relatively stable core of carpenters over time with an increase in Period D. By contrast Table 4.6 suggests that carpenters formed a decreasing share of the workforce during Period D. Tables 4.2 and 4.4 both suggest a decrease in the percentage for other woodworkers after 1750.

Among the town’s carpenters and joiners, some individuals were described as both, while others specialised in larger work (carpenters) or smaller work (joiners). William Roberts made (or stocked) all manner of wooden goods, including wooden utensils, chairs, birch-brooms and basketwork.¹⁵⁸ In Period C carpenter Isaac Green served as Alcester’s high bailiff and owned at least two properties, while his son, John,

¹⁵⁶ WaRO, CR1596/85/12. It is not known to whom he supplied bones.

¹⁵⁷ Villages in Zones C and D, such as Arrow, Feckenham, Coughton and Haselor.

¹⁵⁸ WoRO, probate of William Roberts, Alcester, joiner, 1749, £65-7-5. There were several members of this family in the carpentry and joinery trade over generations. He also leased a crabmill, suggesting that he dabbled in the manufacture of verjuice, used to treat animals. Several inventories list verjuice which may also have been used for cooking/drinking. WoRO, probate of Elisha Wright, Alcester, wheelwright, 1719, £51-9-0, shows that he also had a crabmill.

served as a juror and occupied his own pew in the parish church.¹⁵⁹ Some joiners in this period were also described as cabinetmakers, a term not found in earlier periods.¹⁶⁰ The 1835 directory lists half a dozen carpenters, some of whom doubled as joiners, builders or cabinetmakers.

In the 1740s John Harris was described as a timber-merchant, a term not in vogue earlier. His timber dealing, supplemented by malting and brewing, afforded him a relatively good life-style, with large premises including a saw-pit and several outbuildings.¹⁶¹ In the next period the town's timber-merchants were father and son, both called Thomas Harbridge.¹⁶²

Other woodworkers in the town throughout the study period include coopers, sawyers, wheelwrights, plough-wrights and turners - always in modest numbers. In 1707 William Wigan, wheelwright, had a large stock of timber and vehicle parts spilling over into the street as well as timber in nearby villages.¹⁶³ Two coopers in Alcester probate records in Period B apparently lived modestly and were both financially indebted to people in surrounding parishes.¹⁶⁴ Although Alcester was not a principal centre of the woodworking trade, demand was sufficient to attract specialist woodworkers to the town,

¹⁵⁹ WoRO, probate of Isaac Green, Alcester, joiner, 1754 and of John Green, Alcester, joiner, 1777. WaRO, QS76/3, jurors' lists.

¹⁶⁰ In *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 18 May 1786 Arthur Stiles of Alcester advertises that he performs all sorts of carpentry, joinery and cabinetmaking in 'the best and newest manner' and also has a good stock of foreign timber. WaRO, DR360/65, (Alcester settlements), shows that another joiner cum cabinetmaker, Thomas Vincent, moved to Alcester from London in 1766, no doubt bringing knowledge of the latest fashions.

¹⁶¹ WoRO, probate of John Harris, Alcester, timber-merchant, 1746, £619-12-0.

¹⁶² WoRO, probate of Thomas Harbridge, senior, Alcester, timber merchant, 1767. Thomas Harbridge, junior, was also a publican (UBD 1792) and a juror, (WaRO, QS76/3). William Ordway, carpenter, and Edward Ladbury, wheelwright, made good career moves by marrying Harbridge girls.

¹⁶³ WoRO, probate of William Wigan, Alcester, wheelwright, 1706, £130-0-11. Several woodworkers also made malt. Generally, wheelwrights appeared slightly better off than carpenters.

¹⁶⁴ WoRO, probate of John Asprey, Alcester, cooper, 1723, £6-10-0. (His estate was mortgaged to William Harvey of Redditch.) WoRO, probate of William Huband, Alcester, cooper, 1747, £39-19-10; his probate administration was transferred from his wife to his principal creditor, John Hayward, butcher of Salford Priors.

whether for career or family reasons. These included a millwright and a turner.¹⁶⁵ The sawyer, Christopher Johnsons, rented premises in Bleachfield Street on the edge of town, with enough space for his saw-pit and timber-yard.¹⁶⁶

Millwrights performed a vital service in keeping the machinery of local industry moving (literally and figuratively), for example Walter Moore's family, who serviced local malt-mills and corn-mills for many years.¹⁶⁷ In 1792 John and Edward Scambler were listed as turners; Edward was also a clockmaker and the parish-clerk.¹⁶⁸ In Periods C and D the Spooner family were described as basketmakers and sieve-makers.¹⁶⁹ The 1841 census also lists a handful of chairmakers, a hoop-maker and an upholsterer.¹⁷⁰

Metal

Table 4.2 suggests that the blacksmiths' share of the workforce changed little over time, while by 1841 blacksmiths/farriers comprised some 2.4% of the adult male workforce.¹⁷¹ Needlemakers show an increase after 1750 in Table 4.2 which is even more dramatic in Table 4.4. Needlemakers comprised some 14% of fathers in baptisms 1813-1840 with a rise to 20% in the 1830s.¹⁷² The story for other metalworkers is contradictory over time, but Table 4.8 gives a figure of 2.6% in 1841.

¹⁶⁵ WaRO, DR360/80, Alcester settlements 1718, 1721, 1722 and 1730,

¹⁶⁶ WaRO, CR1886/BL/1827, lease of cottage in Bleachfield Street, lately built on the waste, 1681. WoRO, probate of Martha Coles, Alcester, widow, 1709, witnessed by Christopher Johnsons, Alcester, sawyer.

¹⁶⁷ Millwrights no doubt had to make adjustments to stone and metal items as well as wooden ones, but are always discussed in the Wood and Charcoal section. WoRO, probate of Walter Moore, Alcester, millwright, 1670/1, £38-2-10. He set up the new malt mill at Coughton Court in the 1660s. (WaRO, CR1998/LCB/40).

¹⁶⁸ *UBD 1792*. John Scambler, turner, appears in the jurors' lists, WaRO, QS76/3).

¹⁶⁹ *UBD 1792* and *Pigot's Warwickshire Directory 1828-9*.

¹⁷⁰ WaRO, 1841 census, lists 2.2% of men over 20 as carpenters or joiners and 4.6% as other woodworkers. The 1851 census for Alcester also records a male match-maker.

¹⁷¹ Table 4.8 (1841 census) compares closely with the 2.3% of fathers in baptisms 1813-1840 (Table 4.6).

¹⁷² Table 4.6. Figures from the 1841 census are discussed below.

Throughout the study period Alcester was home to various types of non-ferrous metalworkers, presumably making products for local customers. As well as glaziers and plumbers mentioned above, there were whitesmiths, pewterers, tinmen and braziers (all in small numbers). Alcester's braziers' trade in brass, pewter, copper, 'blackware', 'sadware' and all manner of vessels from kettles to chamber pots could bring substantial wealth.¹⁷³ The gentry ironmonger family called Horniblow had connections with Cornwall, which may have been an important source of lead or tin.¹⁷⁴ In 1835 two braziers, tinmen or tin-plateworkers advertised, while at this period we also find a couple of 'brightsmiths' or 'whitesmiths'.¹⁷⁵ No Alcester watch or clockmakers appear in probate, but from the 1790s other sources show their presence in the town.¹⁷⁶

Just as non-ferrous metals had to be imported into the study area, so did iron.¹⁷⁷ The town's handful of blacksmiths and farriers were typically literate and of middling status amongst the town's craftsmen. An exception was Thomas Lucas, blacksmith, ironmonger, maltster and gentleman, who became a substantial townsman and left money for almshouses. He was able to afford a substantial, stylish brick-faced house on the

¹⁷³ WoRO, probate of Richard Parshouse, Alcester, brazier, 1684, £735-5-0. His widow and son continued the business. G. E. Saville, 'Seventeenth century inventories of Alcester, Warwickshire', *ADLHS*, (1979), p. 15, states that Parshouse was an official examiner of pewter for the county authorities. (QS). Later braziers and tinmen apparently did not enjoy the high status of the Parshouse family.

¹⁷⁴ William Horniblow of Gerrans, Cornwall, owned property in Alcester. (WoRO, 899.749/8782 /59/22).

¹⁷⁵ WaRO, *Pigot 1835*. WaRO, Alcester baptisms 1813-1840 list William Watson as blacksmith and whitesmith. WaRO, 1841 and 1851 census list William Sorrell as brightsmith and whitesmith. The term 'brightsmith' is rare in the town. 'Whitesmith' is more commonly used. 'Tinman' and 'brazier' seem interchangeable, while 'tin-plate worker' seems to be used only after 1800. In local records the term 'tinker' implies a travelling mender of pots and pans. WaRO, Alcester 1851 census also records a button-maker, who had previously been a brass-caster.

¹⁷⁶ For example, WaRO, *Pigot 1835* shows two. The town was served earlier by clockmakers living in nearby villages. (See Chapters 5 and 6.) Also blacksmiths and gunsmiths may have made and repaired clocks, as Edward Waldron mentioned below.

¹⁷⁷ Iron may have come from The Forest of Dean and, for specific purposes, from overseas, e.g. Sweden or Russia. (See Chapter 7).

market place. As well as retailing ironmongery, he acted as factor for metal-ware craftsmen such as nailmakers, rather like his Black Country counterparts.¹⁷⁸

More typical of blacksmiths perhaps was John Raboll, who stipulated ‘my funeral be only such as becometh a person of my degree.’¹⁷⁹ Openings for blacksmiths were few, and the job was skilled, so it is not surprising that the town’s smithies attracted sons of blacksmiths from surrounding villages. One such was John Willis, also a maltster and the town’s baptist minister.¹⁸⁰

In Period C probate data and marriage licence data show no blacksmiths in the parish, but this paints a false picture. In 1770 Joseph Jones, a Tardebigge blacksmith, settled in Alcester, and by 1792 the town was home to four blacksmiths including James Pettipher, who was also a dealer in bar-iron.¹⁸¹ Growing horse-traffic may have called for more shoeing-smiths, while iron was increasingly used for other purposes.

The 1835 directory lists three blacksmiths; while another at this period, James Pettepher, was described as a farrier.¹⁸² Perhaps in addition to shoeing horses this indicates his role as an animal doctor, maybe employed by some of the old timers in preference to William Allsop, veterinary surgeon, who moved his business from Birmingham to Alcester at this period.¹⁸³

Nailmakers, locksmiths and cutlers were always rare in Alcester. One family of cutlers, the Felsteeds, made and repaired items such as knives, scissors and swords in

¹⁷⁸ WoRO, probate of Thomas Lucas, Alcester, gent, 1707, £960-18-2 and of Richard Harrison, Alcester, nailer, 1696; Harrison, who called Thomas Lucas ‘my master’, had family connections with Birmingham. Rowlands ‘Continuity and change in an industrialising society’, in Hudson, *Regions and Industries*, pp. 120, shows that focus for ironmonger-factors shifted to Birmingham in the eighteenth century. Lucas lived in Churchill House, re-built in 1688.

¹⁷⁹ WoRO, probate of John Raboll, Alcester, blacksmith, 1733, £37-0-0.

¹⁸⁰ WaRO, DR360/86/1 and DR360/80/23, Alcester poor records and settlements, 1656 and 1717. WoRO probate of John Willis, Alcester, maltster, 1706, £258-15-0. Saville, *Alcester – a History*, p. 61. Henry Bellamy, who settled from Redditch in 1717, was of a family of blacksmiths..

¹⁸¹ *UBD 1792*. WaRO, DR360/65, Alcester settlement certificates, 1771.

¹⁸² WaRO, Alcester baptisms 1818.

¹⁸³ WaRO, Alcester baptisms and *Pigot’s Warwickshire Directory 1835*.

their shop near Alcester church. Not only did they have to bring in the metal for their blades, but also the ivory for their ‘elephant hafted knives’. They also dealt in various commodities made from horn.¹⁸⁴

The making of clocks, locks, nails and knives appears to have continued in a very small way in Alcester in the early eighteenth century. By and large these commodities were supplied from outside the town or produced as a sideline by craftsmen such as blacksmiths or gunsmiths, but records in Period B reveal one locksmith, one cutler cum shoemaker and one nailer cum cutler.¹⁸⁵ The town’s cutlery and nailmaking trade apparently dwindled after 1730.¹⁸⁶

In 1661 Edward Waldron was paid for ‘boaring and stocking musquetts’ and is elsewhere described as a blacksmith and locksmith; he also supplied rings, keys and nails and mended the church clock.¹⁸⁷ The town’s gun-trade was probably an off-shoot of the Birmingham trade, which in 1680 secured a contract to make guns for the Board of Ordnance.¹⁸⁸

In the first half of the next century gun-making became a significant factor in Alcester’s economy. From a handful of gunsmiths in Restoration Alcester the number in

¹⁸⁴ WoRO, probate and miscellaneous probate (800/843) of Job Felstead, Alcester, cutler, 1667, £32-3-6. WaRO, CR1886/BL/1791,1860, property deeds.

¹⁸⁵ WaRO, DR360/80/17, Alcester settlements, 1704. WoRO, probate of John Farr, Alcester, nailer, 1730, £206-8-7. Thomas Felstead alias Cutler, cutler and shoemaker, followed his father in the cutler’s shop near the church (see Chapter 2). A couple of gunsmiths double as locksmiths and clockmakers.

¹⁸⁶ The terms, ‘nailer’, ‘nailsmith’ and ‘nailmaker’ seem to be interchangeable locally. Only two nailmakers appear in the town’s records for Period C. (WoRO, marriage licence of William Wheatley, Alcester, nailer, July 1783, and UBD 1792. One of these nailmakers was also a shopkeeper.) WaRO, 1851 census, Alcester, reveals only one nailmaker and two cutlers. (One cutler was born in Sheffield, the other in Bristol.) There were no cutlers mentioned in Alcester from 1730 to 1851.

¹⁸⁷ WaRO, DR360/92, Alcester constables’ accounts, 1661/2. Another gunsmith, Nicholas Hawes, was also paid for work on the church bells at this time and was also describe as a ‘jackmaker’ in WaRO, WaQS for 1661.

¹⁸⁸ C. Upton, *A History of Birmingham*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 1993), p. 31. Buchanan, ‘Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries’, 19, p. 50, shows that guns were also made in rural locations such as Eldersfield, Tenbury and Witley in west Worcestershire.

the records grew to more than a score in the early eighteenth century.¹⁸⁹ Joseph Higgins, who died in 1718, left tools, iron, steel, two guns, a (gun) barrel, a pistol and 418 pounds of lead (presumably to make ammunition). He also had steel and files in Birmingham, which underlines the link with that town, while other Alcester gunsmiths shared surnames with known Birmingham gunsmiths.¹⁹⁰

In the early eighteenth century several factors enabled Alcester to play its part in the west midlands gun trade. Alcester had skilled metal workers and was able to source iron brought up the Severn and Avon, or perhaps from the local forges such as Forge Mill in Redditch.¹⁹¹ At the start of the century charcoal was easily accessible from nearby woodland, and Alcester was able to export guns through Worcester and the Severn, or to tap into Birmingham's own trade links in the gun-trade. Settlement certificates show a degree of mobility for gunsmiths both to and from Alcester.¹⁹²

Some of those in Alcester's gun trade were substantial men in the town, holding office, investing their profits in local land and lending money. Nathan Haines, (whose tools, iron, steel, five guns, and a quantity of gunlocks and jacks were valued at £131-12-0), was probably awaiting payment for guns, which he had supplied: debts due to him comprised more than half of his inventory total.¹⁹³ Another gunsmith, Thomas Willis, valued at a mere £18, may well have been an employee, for no distinction is made, 'gunsmith' being used as a descriptor for masters and their men.¹⁹⁴ Only one

¹⁸⁹ It is likely that many more apprentices and employees were present, but not recorded.

¹⁹⁰ For example, Harper, Jordan and Howel. They may have been relatives, or, alternatively, Alcester's guns may have been registered as if made in Birmingham.

¹⁹¹ Some specialist iron and steel may have been imported up the Severn from Sweden and Russia, as described by C. Evans, et al, 'Baltic iron and the British iron industry in the eighteenth century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 55, (2002).

¹⁹² WaRO, DR360/80, Alcester settlements. Places include Stratford and Rowley Regis.

¹⁹³ WoRO, probate of Nathan Haines, Alcester, gunsmith, 1728, £354-17-10.

¹⁹⁴ WoRO, Bx1B3/76/788(iii)/76, (Greenbank collection) probate of Thomas Willis, Alcester, gunsmith, 1739.

apprenticeship in Alcester's gunmaking industry has come to light.¹⁹⁵ It may be that gunsmiths jealously guarded their trade, not wishing to train up someone who may later compete for work when times were hard, for the gun trade was particularly prone to slumps created by international politics. Many of Alcester's gunsmiths kept the trade within the family.

The gunlocks in Haines's inventory are a precursor of a growing trend towards specialisation within the trade. From the 1720s to 1760s we find specific references to gunlock-makers in Alcester. Presumably Alcester gunlocks were sent to Birmingham to be assembled with other parts made elsewhere in the west midlands. The first quarter of the eighteenth century was certainly a boom time for Alcester's gunsmiths, but references to those in the trade after 1730 become forebodingly less frequent.

The reasons for this decline are not explicit, but bar-iron was no longer forged at nearby forges, and the supply of local charcoal may have been running low, so the town could not compete with gunsmiths in Birmingham and the Black Country who enjoyed a more accessible (and therefore cheaper) supply of iron, steel and pit-coal. Perhaps some of Alcester's gunsmiths relocated there, but James Whissell left Alcester for the capital, where he worked in H. M. Gunsmiths' Office in the Tower of London, returning to Alcester to die in 1792. In 1748 he had been a gunlock-maker in Alcester. Smithian division of labour is also exemplified by John Jennings, described as a gunlock-filer.¹⁹⁶ Other Alcestrian gunsmiths may have switched their metal-working talents to other products. Another James Whissell advertises in 1792 as a toyman, perhaps suggesting

¹⁹⁵ TNA, IR1/47 records John Burford, Alcester, gunlock-maker, taking on an apprentice.

¹⁹⁶ TNA, PCC probate of James Whissell, late of HM Gunsmith's Office, now of Alcester, 1789, and WoRO marriage licence of George Whissell, Alcester, mason, 1748 and WaRO, DR360/141, a deed regarding the sale of Jennings's house to the parish for the use of the poor in 1762.

close links with that other important Birmingham trade.¹⁹⁷ In Alcester's baptisms from 1813 to 1840 only one gunsmith appears.¹⁹⁸

In Restoration Alcester the needle industry's important role in the town's later economic history, could not be foreseen, when only three needlemakers emerge from Alcester's records, all no doubt closely linked with the burgeoning trade in the Needle District to the north.¹⁹⁹ In Period B a mere half-dozen needlemakers appear in the archives, only one of whom left probate.²⁰⁰ However, there are signs that Alcester's interest in the industry starts to grow in the second quarter of the century, when John Archer forsook his father's flax-dressing trade to make needles and to gear up mills on the River Arrow for needle-scouring.²⁰¹

In Period C the needle industry perhaps attracted workers who would previously have entered the gun trade. In the UBD the following Alcester needlemaking businesses are advertised, all partnerships: Archer and Mascal, Cheston and Morralls and Joseph and Thomas Scriven.²⁰² These firms employed many townfolk of both sexes and all ages, no doubt some as outworkers and others in workshops and in two water-mills, one converted from a corn-mill the other specifically built for needle-scouring. The Scrivens went bankrupt in 1799, which demonstrates that, although the needle industry was

¹⁹⁷ *UBD 1792*.

¹⁹⁸ WaRO, Alcester baptisms 1813-1840. James Taylor, gunsmith, also lived in Birmingham and Redditch at different times.

¹⁹⁹ SCLA, DR333/49/6, 7, deeds, 1697, mention James Canning, Alcester, needlemaker. WoRO, marriage licence of Samuel Morris, Alcester, bodicemaker, July 1692, witnessed by Richard Wilson, Alcester, needlemaker. For Richard Badson, needlemaker, see Zone D.

²⁰⁰ WoRO, probate of John Canning, Alcester, (no occupation given), 1728.

²⁰¹ J. G. Rollins, *The Needle Mills*, (London, Soc. for Protection of Ancient Buildings, 1970), pp. 10-11. The mills converted to needle-making were probably all in Zone D at this period.

²⁰² *UBD 1792*. John Archer was the only metalworker to feature in the jurors' lists at this period, (WaRO, QS76/3).

spreading fast, profitability was not guaranteed.²⁰³ Increasingly workers specialised in certain processes, the needle industry closely mirroring Adam Smith's classic division of labour within the pin-trade.²⁰⁴ In Alcester the Scrivens scoured the needles, while George Pardoe was a needle-pointer and 'hard straightener'.²⁰⁵ By the 1790s the needle industry was probably the town's biggest source of employment.

The town's involvement in the needle-trade continued to grow in the first half of the nineteenth century. Surname evidence shows that members of local families involved in other trades moved into the needle industry.²⁰⁶ The structure of the industry at this period was a mixture of large and small production units.²⁰⁷

Although only a handful of needlemaking businesses advertise in the directories,²⁰⁸ one fifth of the fathers in baptisms 1831 to 1840 are in the needle-trade. By the 1841 census there are 74 male needlemakers over 20 years of age. The enormous part played by women and children is of course hidden by most sources, but in the 1841 census we find 50 male needlemakers under 20 years, 39 female needlemakers over 20 and 18 female needlemakers under 20.²⁰⁹ The census is quite likely to have under-recorded child and women workers especially if they were casual workers in the trade. Child needlemakers may have been an important contributory factor to Alcester District's

²⁰³ WaRO, DR360/79 shows that in the first decades of the next century several of the parish's poor children were apprenticed to the town's needlemakers. Also see G. E. Saville, ed., 'Needlemakers and Needlemaking of the Alcester, Sambourne and Studley Area', *ADLHS*, OP24, (1981), pp. xv, xvi.

²⁰⁴ Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, pp. 109-110.

²⁰⁵ WaRO, DR360/79, Alcester apprenticeship indentures, 1776 and 1780. Division of labour is discussed further under Zone D, The Needle District.

²⁰⁶ For example, the basketmaking Spooner family. (WoRO, probate of Thomas Spooner, Alcester, basketmaker, 1831.)

²⁰⁷ For more detail see Zone D Metal section below.

²⁰⁸ *Pigot's Warwickshire Directory 1828-9* lists 5, *West's Warwickshire Directory 1830* lists 9, *Pigot's Warwickshire Directory 1835* lists 3 (including a father and son concern) and *PO Warwickshire Directory 1845* lists 10 (including 2 partnerships).

²⁰⁹ See Table 4.8 above.

low school attendance in the 1851 census.²¹⁰ On the other hand two Alcester needle-masters were ‘leaders in paying juvenile indentured labour’.²¹¹

The total number in the trade in 1841 was 181 (out of a total population of 2399),²¹² and by 1851 this had risen to 274 (out of a total population of 2378). The 1841 census provides evidence of those specialising in different needlemaking processes, but, unlike some other parishes to the north, there is no evidence of fish-hook or pin manufacture at this time.

Charles Smith, described as an engineer in the 1841 census, appears to be a man who moved with the times. Earlier he had been a wheelwright and millwright before opening an agricultural machine manufactory on the outskirts of town. He is also referred to as a machine-maker and a machinist.²¹³ A lone spectacle-maker appears in the 1841 census, but he may have been a visitor to the town.²¹⁴

The town apparently always boasted two or three ironmongery businesses.²¹⁵ For many years women ran such businesses in the town. Two of the three ironmongers in 1792 were women, (widows carrying on their husbands’ businesses), while one of three

²¹⁰ School attendance in Alcester District was lower than in all other Warwickshire districts except Coventry.

²¹¹ Lane, ‘Apprenticeship in Warwickshire’, p. 236.

²¹² WaRO, Alcester 1841 census, including 7 apprentices living with needlemakers and assumed to be needlemaking apprentices. (The figure of 500/600 needlemakers in Alcester given in J. Aston, *Dugdale’s Topography of Warwickshire*, (Coventry, J. Aston, 1817), pp. 479-490, is likely to include surrounding villages.)

²¹³ Although Charles Smith worked with wood and metal, he and machine-makers and engineers in other zones are discussed in the Metal section.

²¹⁴ His name was not recorded, his age 15 and his place of birth, Ireland. He has not been found in the 1851 census.

²¹⁵ Ironmongers often combined their trade with other jobs in Alcester. At different times they double as gentlemen, maltsters, whitesmiths, braziers, nail-factors, saddlers, chandlers, plumbers and glaziers.

ironmongers in 1835 was female.²¹⁶ Ironmongers, like Thomas Lucas, mentioned above, tended to be wealthy and influential.²¹⁷

Transport

Alcester had been an important local Roman centre and lay at the crossroads of two Roman roads which still served the area in the seventeenth century, but before 1750 the main coach routes (such as that from London to Shrewsbury) bypassed the town, thus depriving Alcester's tradesmen of potential custom. When compared with nearby Stratford or Evesham, which both lay on the navigable Avon, Alcester was also at a disadvantage regarding water transport.²¹⁸ Although a good source of fish, water-power for mills and raw material for various industrial processes, the two minor rivers which join at Alcester, (the Alne and the Arrow), were too shallow to support anything other than the smallest boats.

Despite the rapid development of the turnpike system in other parts of the west midlands from 1710 to 1730, Alcester was neglected in this respect until 1754. Local records yield only one carrier before 1750. He was illiterate and probably from the lower echelons of town society.²¹⁹ However, the town was probably also served by carriers from the Vale of Evesham en route to Birmingham and from Stourbridge and Feckenham

²¹⁶ *UBD 1792. Pigot 1835.* WoRO, probate of John Brandis, Alcester, ironmonger and tallow chandler, 1790, and of William Simes, Alcester, (no occupation given), 1782.

²¹⁷ WoRO, probate of William Ashmead, Alcester, ironmonger, 1767, and of Thomas Beesley, Alcester, ironmonger, 1770. In addition to their Alcester possessions William Ashmead owned property in Tewkesbury while Thomas Beesley owned five houses in Worcester.

²¹⁸ Its nearest access to a navigable river was at Bidford some four miles south. See Appendix 16.

²¹⁹ WoRO, marriage licence of Ralph Morton, Alcester, mason, Oct. 1695, witnessed by John Burrowes, Alcester, carrier.

Forest en route to London, as well as by local tradesmen or farmers carrying as a sideline.²²⁰

In 1754 an Act was passed to turnpike the road from Stratford to Alcester and thence to Bromsgrove via Sperrall Ash. The same trust also operated a road from Alcester to Bradley Green on the Droitwich road, a route which enabled access to the Severn. By 1779 there was also a turnpike to Worcester.²²¹ The road from Sperrall Ash to Birmingham was turnpiked in 1767, an important development for Alcester and also for the Vale of Evesham market-gardeners and stockings.²²² The route south of Alcester was turnpiked to Norton, near Evesham in 1777 followed by proposals for turnpiking the road to Bidford and Chipping Campden.²²³ The advent of the turnpike road brought a new occupation to the parish: tollgate-keeper. At first the keepers apparently handed over all the tolls to the turnpike trust, but from the 1760s gates were farmed out to the highest bidders.²²⁴

By 1792 the vital route from Stourbridge and Bromsgrove to London saw three of Rufford's stage-wagons passing through Alcester each week.²²⁵ Alcester now enjoyed regular carrying services to the Black Country, Birmingham, Worcester, Coventry, Evesham, Stratford and London.²²⁶ Although Alcester had been by-passed by coaches in

²²⁰ Feckenham Forest's carriers are discussed in Chapter 7.

²²¹ *Worcester Royal Directory 1790*. See also Appendix 15.

²²² Slater, *A History of Warwickshire*, p. 95, shows that the turnpike Evesham to Alcester was turnpiked in two stages, in 1756 and 1777. Three carriers from Birmingham to Alcester advertised in *Sketchley's Birmingham Directory 1767* and two in *UBD 1792*. See also Appendix 14.

²²³ See Appendix 14.

²²⁴ WoRO, probate of Edward Swann, Tardebigge, yeoman, 1794, refers to Edward Bate of Kings Coughton, Alcester, toll-gatekeeper. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 4 June 1795 asks for bidders for Alcester Gate, which in the previous year had made £342 profit on tolls 'above the expenses in collecting them'.

²²⁵ *UBD 1792*. John Crukshanks of Alcester, book-keeper to the London carrier, advertised in the *UBD*.

²²⁶ Appendix 14.

earlier times, by the 1790s coaches on the north-south route and the east-west route may have called at Alcester.²²⁷

Although the town was never linked to the canal network, when the Stratford to Birmingham Canal reached Hockley (approximately twelve miles away) in 1796 and the Worcester and Birmingham Canal reached Hopwood (also about twelve miles away) in 1797, the cost of coal carriage to Alcester probably fell. However, although the canal may have been used to carry Alcester's agricultural and industrial produce, costs were more favourable for farmers and manufacturers in parishes nearer the canal.²²⁸

In Period D the number of workers in this sector remained small, but most sources suggest an increase to 1840. Directories show that the variety and frequency of coaches and carriers serving the town increased at this period, though only a few carriers or coachmen were based in Alcester.²²⁹ Some publicans also benefited from the increased traffic, while the keepers at Alcester's tollgates continued to make income from the tolls, sometimes combining this occupation with farming or labouring. Associated trades included horse-keepers, while one blacksmith was also a road-mender.²³⁰

Alcester was linked to the waterway network by road carriers.²³¹ The railway did not come to the town until the 1860s, but the railway age altered Alcester's road traffic in various ways. Income for turnpike gatekeepers was affected. Whereas the bid for Alcester's gate was £300 in 1789 and had risen to £371 in 1816, the coming of the railways to Bromsgrove and Leamington in the early 1840s changed the finances

²²⁷ Although there is no written evidence of coaches stopping in Alcester until *Wrightson's Birmingham Directory 1812*, *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 25 July 1799 mentions a coach from Birmingham to Evesham and Tewkesbury; this probably went via Alcester. See Appendix 15a for later coach routes.

²²⁸ A. White, *The Worcester and Birmingham Canal*, (Studley, Brewin Books, 2005), pp. 43, 48.

²²⁹ See Appendices 14 and 15.

²³⁰ Horsekeepers cum ostlers appear in Alcester's 1841 and 1851 census, which also reveal members of the Ward family in Kings Coughton as roadmen or road-menders. Joseph Ward was also a blacksmith.

²³¹ *Robson's Birmingham and Sheffield Directory 1839* gives Alcester as a destination for goods transported by canal.

dramatically. By 1846 nine turnpike gates together were auctioned for only £1050.²³² In the 1840s and 1850s carriers and coachmen busied themselves with linking the town to the nearest railheads; their journeys were shorter but more frequent.

Marketing, dealing, retailing and food and drink

The network of market centres generally evolved rationally to avoid market day clashes between neighbouring towns. However, Alcester's market day, Tuesday, was shared with various local towns.²³³ This competition no doubt limited Alcester's importance as a market, although Camden had stated that it was 'noted for all sorts of grain'.²³⁴ Nevertheless, in Restoration Alcester market day was a busy time, when, in addition to animals and agricultural produce, manufactured items were also sold. Indeed, Alcester market was an important outlet for the produce of many craftsmen who lived in remote hamlets with few customers on hand and little passing trade.

Ever since its inception in medieval times Alcester's market was under the control of the court leet. In the mid-seventeenth century the value of the tolls suggests a busy market, but the court leet's grip on the market was already declining at this period and continued to do so later.²³⁵ To supplement its weekly market Alcester also held several fairs throughout the year for the sale of animals, the hiring of servants and other purposes.²³⁶ The influx of farming folk and craftsmen on a Tuesday was not only a

²³² G. E. Saville, 'Roads of the Alcester Area', *ADLHS*, OP8, (1978), p. 8.

²³³ Bromsgrove, Kineton, Pershore and Moreton-in-Marsh. The county town, Warwick, also held one if its two markets on a Tuesday. See Appendix 12 and 12a.

²³⁴ Camden, *Britannia*, p. 505.

²³⁵ Saville, 'The story of Alcester market', pp. 8-9. As markets throughout the country lost their monopoly on dealing, independent dealers and factors became both more numerous and more important. However, we have to wait until later periods for specific references to dealers.

²³⁶ See Appendix 13: Fairs.

source of income for the court leet, but also a boon to Alcester's abundant retailers and innkeepers.

As the influence of the manor court declined, Alcester's market probably loosened its grip on local trading, both agricultural and industrial.²³⁷ Defoe notes the general trend towards dealing outside the official markets in the early eighteenth century, as the countrywide importance of corn factors, graziers and their ilk was in its ascendancy.²³⁸ In order to stimulate trade, from 1765 the lord of the manor ceased to charge tolls at Alcester's fairs and markets except on the sale of horses.²³⁹ However, Alcester market was still noted for its trade in corn at this time. In autumn 1766 it was visited by a large crowd protesting about food prices.²⁴⁰ A few weeks later there is evidence of farmers selling corn by sample, (a practice frowned upon by some), rather than taking the whole load to market.²⁴¹ In the nineteenth century Alcester's market declined further; though corn was traded in sufficient quantities to merit the construction of a Corn Exchange in the 1850s, it was never successful.²⁴²

In the seventeenth century bull-baiting took place in the high street bull-ring, not only providing entertainment, but also tenderising the meat ready to be sold by the butchers in the nearby shambles.²⁴³ Distinct areas were also allocated for the sale of

²³⁷ Saville, *Alcester – a History*, p. 38. By the next period the corn market was more prominent than the trade in other commodities.

²³⁸ For example, corn factors, quoted by R. Allen, in Floud and Johnson, *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, vol. 1, p. 107.

²³⁹ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 10 Oct. 1765. Other local markets and fairs were also becoming toll-free at the time. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 27 Aug. 1752 shows that, in common with many other towns, Alcester decided to change the date of its fairs in line with New Style. (For example, the great October fair moved from the week beginning 6 October to the week beginning 17 October.)

²⁴⁰ *Adam's Weekly Courant* 14 October 1766.

²⁴¹ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 11 December 1766.

²⁴² Saville, 'The story of Alcester market', p. 10, describes how the Corn Exchange soon became a social centre and the weekly market itself fell into abeyance before 1888.

²⁴³ Saville, 'The story of Alcester market', p. 7.

sheep and pigs. After the slaughter of the animals, the butchers could sell hides, skins, fleeces and horns to those who required them for industrial purposes.

Butchers, who were mostly wealthy, literate, influential individuals, played a prominent part in Alcester life.²⁴⁴ Many of them also farmed, for example renting meadowland for fattening cattle. Some of these prominent butcher-graziers ranked alongside the town's gentry, valued at several hundred pounds with money to spare for financial investments. At his death Thomas Round owned many cattle and sheep and also ten horses (worth £50), which suggests involvement in the horse-trade.²⁴⁵ However, not all butchers were wealthy: John Gillson was only valued at £4-18-0.²⁴⁶

Stobart suggests that butchers and food-retailers were on the increase in the eighteenth century.²⁴⁷ In probate Alcester's butchers show an increased share in Period C before falling back in Period D.²⁴⁸ However, directories suggest that the number of butchers doubled from 1792 to 1835.²⁴⁹

Like the butchers, Alcester's bakers tended to be better off than most petty tradesmen. Bakers included prominent townsmen, such as John Alcocks, who belonged to a family of millers.²⁵⁰ Although their occurrence in various records fluctuates, bakers

²⁴⁴ Butchers' inventories range from WoRO, miscellaneous probate (797/438) of John Walderne, Alcester, butcher, 1663, £16-16-4, to WoRO, probate of William Winslow, Alcester, butcher, 1694, £439-8-0. Cornelius Cox, butcher, was also described as a gentleman, and is referred to below. WoRO, probate of William Winslow, Alcester, butcher, 1722, £482-18-0 and WoRO probate of Thomas Round, Alcester, butcher, 1717, £672-17-11. Many were from families which included other high ranking townsmen, such as chandlers and maltsters.

²⁴⁵ Edwards, 'The horse trade of the Midlands in the seventeenth century', pp. 96-7, states that it was quite common for butchers to be involved in the horse trade.

²⁴⁶ WoRO, probate of John Gillson, Alcester, butcher, 1720, £4-18-0. However, he held land on the edge of the Cotswolds.

²⁴⁷ J. Stobart, 'Food retailers and rural communities: Cheshire butchers in the long eighteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, 79, (2007), pp. 34-5.

²⁴⁸ Butchers: Period A: 6, Period B: 6, Period C: 9 and Period D: 2. Graziers: Period A: 0, Period B: 0, Period C: 3 and Period D: 1.

²⁴⁹ *UBD 1792* lists 4 and *Pigot 1835* lists 8. WaRO, Alcester 1841 census lists 13 butchers (all male, 12 of them over 20 years old).

²⁵⁰ WoRO, probate. Bakers' inventories range from Thomas Watton alias Hitchens, Alcester, baker, 1740, £44-17-0 to John Alcocks, Alcester, baker, 1719, £184-0-0.

apparently increased through the study period.²⁵¹ Although Alcester had two mills, the bakers also utilised flour produced in the mills of surrounding parishes.²⁵² Millers also doubled as flour-dealers, and in 1744 William Sands was described as an oatmealman.²⁵³ The miller, Edward Crow, also made malt, again underlining the interconnections of those dealing in grains of various sorts.²⁵⁴

In common with nearby Stratford, Alcester boasted a plethora of maltsters, who, like the tanners, needed a certain amount of capital and space to carry out the malting process. Townsfolk with suitable premises for a couching floor and kiln made malt, often combining malting with totally unrelated jobs.²⁵⁵ Malting was capital-intensive but not labour-intensive, allowing maltsters time to pursue other interests. Sometimes such people are described as maltsters, but are often referred to by their other occupations.²⁵⁶ Although maltsters were of necessity men of capital, Thomas Laughher owed money to many townsmen for various services and also to ‘the king for malt tax’. We gain a rare glimpse of lowly servants as Laughher’s probate indicates that he owed his man for one

²⁵¹ In probate we find: Period A: 6 bakers, Period B: 3, Period C 2 and Period D: 6. *UBD 1792: 5, Pigot 1835: 9*. WaRO, Alcester 1841 census lists 12 male and one female baker.

²⁵² Peter Allen, an Alcester baker, was also associated with Hoo Mill in Haselor parish. (For example in *Pigot 1828*.) Millers in Alcester’s probate: Period A: 0, Period B: 1, Period C: 0 and Period D: 2. *UBD 1792: 1 and Pigot 1835: 2*. WaRO, Alcester 1841 census lists four millers.

²⁵³ WoRO, marriage licence of William Sands, Alcester, oatmealman, March 1743/4. It is not known whether he processed oatmeal or merely sold it; perhaps it was mainly fodder for horses.

²⁵⁴ WoRO, probate of Edward Crow, Alcester, miller, 1706, £159-14-0, including barley, malt and a malt kiln.

²⁵⁵ Tradesmen of many occupations, (such as glazing, carpentry, shoemaking and gloving), have malt and malting equipment amongst their assets.

²⁵⁶ Maltsters with dual occupations in probate documents include William Haines and Abraham Clark. WoRO, probate of William Haines, Alcester, maltster/cordwainer, 1730, £84-1-0, and of Abraham Clark, Alcester, maltster/skinner, £259-10-6. See also John Willis, blacksmith, mentioned above in the Metal section.

and a half years' wages (£6-15-0) and his maid for half a year (£1-2-6).²⁵⁷ Malting remained an important part of Alcester's economy throughout the study period.²⁵⁸

If dual occupations are associated with maltsters, this is also the case with the town's licensed victuallers, who turned their hand to a score of other jobs. Of some twenty-one victuallers advertising in 1792 eleven also practised another occupation.²⁵⁹ Alcester was well-blessed with inns, and sources suggest that the number grew over the two centuries.²⁶⁰ Though some victuallers were of fairly low status, others ranked amongst the higher status townsfolk with wider horizons.²⁶¹

Women played a significant (albeit often hidden) part in retailing and innkeeping.²⁶² Women do appear in the licensed victuallers' lists, especially widows who took over their husbands' businesses. In reality many women must have run the pub while their husbands were busy in their alternative occupations.²⁶³

²⁵⁷ WoRO, probate of Thomas Laughler, Alcester, maltster, 1754, £574-5-3.

²⁵⁸ Numbers of those described as maltsters include in probate: Period A: 5, Period B: 6, Period C: 10, Period D: 5. *UBD 1792*: 5, *Pigot 1835*: 7. WaRO, Alcester 1841 census lists 3. TNA, IR23/91, Alcester land tax return, lists 3 malthouses, although there may have been others not listed separately in the return.

²⁵⁹ *UBD 1792*. Trades combined with victualling are: mason, glazier, baker, peruke maker, miller, butcher, shopkeeper, timber merchant, dealer, salt dealer and blacksmith.

²⁶⁰ In probate we find Period A: 5 victuallers, Period B: 8, Period C: 8, Period D 12. In WaRO, QS35/1/2, licensed victuallers' recognisances, 1673, there were 26 victuallers (including 4 women). TNA, WO30/48 also lists 27 guest beds and stabling for 150 horses in Alcester at this period. In 1735 there were 27 (WaRO, QS35/1/4). *UBD 1792* lists 21, *Pigot 1835* lists 19 and 4 beer retailers. WaRO, Alcester 1841 census, lists 19 male publicans and 5 female publicans.

²⁶¹ WaRO, QS35/1/2, licensed victuallers' returns, 1673, mention Thomas and Maria Round. A token was also issued 'Stephen Round at the Grayhounds Head in Alsester', cited in G. E. Saville, 'A history of the public houses of Alcester', *ADLHS*, OP25, (1981), p. 9. Often members of this family were referred to as 'gentlemen'. WoRO probate of John Farr, Alcester, victualler, 1788, shows that he had a £100 share in the turnpike road from Birmingham to Spennall Ash.

²⁶² C. Wiskin in J. Stobart and N. Raven, eds., *Towns, Regions and Industries*, (Manchester, MUP, 2005), pp. 63-79.

²⁶³ The role of women as publicans may be exemplified by Mary Perks. John Bovey passed the Swan on to his daughter Mary, wife of Henry Perks. Mary continued at the helm even after the death of her husband (WoRO, probate of John Bovey, Alcester, innholder, 1730, £41-10-0, and of Henry Perks, Alcester, innholder, 1733/4, £228-0-0. WaRO, QS35/1/4, licensed victuallers, 1735-40.) Six of the twenty-two victuallers licensed in the parish in 1772 were women. (WaRO, QS35/2/Box20, licensed victuallers' returns, 1772.)

The only brewer described as such in the whole study area for Period B was William Gould of Alcester, but the presence of brewhouses and brewing implements in inventories indicate that many people, especially publicans, did brew their own beer. The town also boasted a couple of distillers during the Georgian period.²⁶⁴

In 1792 a liquor merchant cum mercer advertised, and Alcester's many pubs catered for the growth in passing traffic.²⁶⁵ In Period D specialist brewers and wine and spirit merchants remained a rarity, but the innkeepers and victuallers are joined by beer-retailers or beer-sellers after the 1830 Beerhouse Act.²⁶⁶ The majority of beer and cider consumed was likely to be brewed on the premises or sourced locally. Records now reveal the odd barmaid and ostler and also lodging-house keepers in the poorer parts of the town.²⁶⁷

In addition to the craftsmen-retailers such as shoemakers, tailors and chandlers, discussed above, the town boasted many other retailers of various sorts, and, although figures vary in different sources, the impression is that the number of shops increased during the study period. The retail businesses included grocers, mercers and general stores. The term 'shopkeeper' seems to imply lower status than 'grocer' or 'merc',

²⁶⁴ Records do not reveal the type of spirit produced, nor the raw materials used. Perhaps Alcester, in a small way, was following London fashion 'at the height of the gin-drinking mania', as described by H. J. Habakkuk, 'English population in the eighteenth century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 6, (1953), p. 126. B. Trinder, 'Food in probate inventories 1660-1750', *Local Historian*, 38, (2008), p.45, suggests that distillers were making a type of English whisky.

²⁶⁵ *UBD 1792*. No doubt much of his mercery and liquor came from distant places.

²⁶⁶ The term 'publican' was apparently not in use until the nineteenth century. Earlier the normal description was 'innholder', 'innkeeper' or 'victualler'. In QS in Period A victuallers are also called 'alehouse-keepers' or 'tipplers', and their premises are usually referred to as 'inns' or 'alehouses', not 'pubs' or 'public houses'.

²⁶⁷ For example, in WaRO, Alcester 1841 and 1851 censuses.

however, James Archer, shopkeeper, did own a freehold house in the town.²⁶⁸ The shopkeeper, Elizabeth Bumford, had a variety of goods in her shop including tobacco, snuff, and material such as silk, tustin and holland.²⁶⁹ Both grocers and shopkeepers were on the increase after 1750.²⁷⁰ There must also have been many men and women running lower status shops, (perhaps as a sideline), which go unnoticed in the records.

In Period A the town was also home to ten families of mercers who were amongst the most wealthy, well-connected and influential Alcestrians. They were typically literate, sometimes described as gentry, and had capital to invest in property and to finance others and often enjoyed links with more distant places.²⁷¹ The items sold by the mercers indicate a growing demand by local consumers for more luxurious and sophisticated products. This trend is borne out by the presence of other retailers in late Stuart times including haberdashers, a bookseller and a tobacconist.

The term 'haberdasher', little used in Alcester records, could mean a dealer in small items such as ribbons, and tapes, but was also used in a looser sense. Robert Ingram, described both as a 'haberdasher' and 'haberdasher of hats', was a substantial man, who served as overseer of the poor and held land in the area. Although his father

²⁶⁸ WoRO, probate of James Archer, Alcester, shopkeeper, 1795. Some shopkeepers catered for the growing demand for food and drink from less wealthy customers, including tea and coffee as these drinks became more accepted lower down the social scale, as described by A. McCants, 'Poor consumers as global consumers: the diffusion of tea and coffee drinking in the eighteenth century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 61, S1, pp. 172-200, (2008). Other shops perhaps supplied cheap clothing as women moved into wage labour in the needle industry rather than making their family's clothing. See Styles, *The Dress of the People*, p. 149.

²⁶⁹ WoRO, probate of Elizabeth Bumford, Alcester, widow, 1751, £34-4-0.

²⁷⁰ Probate records reveal no shopkeepers in Periods A and B and 1 each in Periods C and D. *UBD 1792* lists 1 shopkeeper and *Pigot 1835* lists 3. WaRO, Alcester 1841 census, reveals 4 male and 1 female shopkeeper. In probate grocers first appear in Period C when there is 1, followed by 4 in Period D. *UBD 1792* lists 2 grocers and *Pigot 1835* lists 3. WaRO, Alcester 1841 census, lists 7 male grocers and 1 female grocer.

²⁷¹ Inventory values range from WoRO, miscellaneous probate (796/376) of Joseph Dewes, Alcester, mercer, 1662, £176-14-2, to WoRO, probate of William Reynolds, Alcester, mercer, 1668, £1743-18-4. For example Matthew Crabb, mercer and gent, dealt with land in Great Alne, Fulke Emes issued his own tokens and Joseph Dewes had connections with Lancashire and Derbyshire.

was also a haberdasher, his mother was of a gentry family.²⁷² This places Ingram in the same sociological grouping as Alcester's mercers, for instance the Pickard and Round families. The probate of Thomas Pickard the elder included £619 in bonds and mortgages which hints at his role as a financier.²⁷³ Another influential mercer was Stephen Hobbins, who wished his wife to continue his mercery and drapery business after his death.²⁷⁴ With large sums of money involved the mercery business was not always secure.²⁷⁵ Some mercers also advertised as grocers and drapers.²⁷⁶ The use of the term 'draper' appears to grow in the nineteenth century as the term 'mercier' recedes, some drapers specialising in either linen or wool. Drapers cum mercers apparently increased in numbers over the study period.²⁷⁷

Other descriptors in this sector include one cowkeeper and one greengrocer (both in Period D) and pawnbrokers, general dealers and dealers in coal, hay, corn, horse-corn, cheese, tea, salt, china, glass, and earthenware (all in Periods C and D). In Period D as well as the more general food-dealers we find: cake-seller, confectioner, pastry cook, cooker, milk-seller and milkman. The term 'dealer' or 'merchant' had a whole gamut of meanings including wholesale and retail sales and local or wider trading.²⁷⁸ John

²⁷² References include SCLA, DR134/31/4 and ER3/464.

²⁷³ WoRO, probate of John Round, Alcester, mercer, 1716, £279-8-0 and of Thomas Pickard the elder, Alcester, mercer, 1699-1700, £808-17-0 and of Thomas Pickard junior, Alcester, mercer, 1701, £935-7-6.

²⁷⁴ TNA, PCC probate of Richard Jew, Alcester, mercer, 1774, shows that he owned much property and wished to pay for his nieces to attend a good boarding school. Also WoRO probate of Stephen Hobbins, Alcester, mercer, 1798.

²⁷⁵ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 25 June 1795 carries a notice that John Haines, Alcester, mercer, has assigned his estate to an Alcester schoolmaster and to James Crosland, a Huddersfield clothier, for their benefit and that of other creditors. It was hoped that he could pay at least 15s in the pound to his creditors. Crosland was probably the source of some of Haines's stock.

²⁷⁶ *UBD 1792*.

²⁷⁷ Taking mercers and drapers together: Probate reveals Period A: 5, Period B: 5, Period C: 4 and Period D: 1. *UBD 1792* lists 4 and *Pigot 1835* lists 7. WaRO, Alcester 1841 census, lists 6 (all male). None of these sources lists a haberdasher in any period.

²⁷⁸ In probate there were 3 dealers (all in Period D) and *UBD 1792* had 3 and *Pigot 1835* had 1 and 3 coaldealers. WaRO, Alcester 1841 census, lists 9 male dealers of various sorts and 1 female dealer.

Scambler, an Alcester merchant of the 1760s, traded in London and was regarded as ‘quite the beau’.²⁷⁹

An increasing emphasis on literacy, record keeping and exchange of commercial ideas, (at least in certain sectors of society), is in evidence. From the 1780s Messrs Johnson and Hemming appear to be the town’s first printers, while nineteenth century directories advertise more printers, a circulating library, booksellers and stationers, one of whom also dealt ‘in fancy articles’.²⁸⁰ Alcester also had a stamp office and a post office to keep it in touch with the outside world and postboys to deliver the mail.²⁸¹

Baptism data from 1813-1820 show 18% of Alcestrian fathers working in either the pub trade or in retail, food sales, dealing or service industries, while 1841 census figures show 16% of men and 10% of women in these two sectors.²⁸² There must have been many female shop assistants and barmaids, while directories list women in charge of a variety of businesses.²⁸³ As described above many men in the retail sector were men of substance. The jurors’ lists include the following occupations: maltster, baker, grocer, mercer, draper, victualler, butcher, shopkeeper and dealer.²⁸⁴

One service provider, the chimney sweep, (frequently a lowly itinerant), was often absent from contemporary documentation. The first we find is in 1764, but we know little about him or his *modus operandi*.²⁸⁵ Seven sweeps emerge from Alcester’s records

²⁷⁹ WoRO, marriage licence of William Chatterly, Coughton, wheelwright, April 1767, witnessed by John Scambler, Alcester, merchant. Also *Redditch Indicator* 22 Dec 1860. Scambler may also have been a turner.

²⁸⁰ *UBD 1792*. Members of the Hemming family were schoolmasters, mercers, drapers, printers and book-sellers. Johnson was also a schoolmaster.

²⁸¹ Information about the post office is given in Appendix 14.

²⁸² Tables 4.6 and 4.8. The 1841 census figures given here are for men and women over 20.

²⁸³ For example, *UBD 1792* and TNA, IR1, inland revenue apprentice returns, show female innkeepers, ironmongers, mantua-makers, milliners, shopkeepers, grocers, mercers, butchers, bakers, confectioners and a postmistress.

²⁸⁴ WaRO, QS76/3, jurors’ lists, 1772-99.

²⁸⁵ WoRO, marriage licence of John Glover, Alcester, chimney sweep, 1764.

in the first half of the nineteenth century suggesting that the town was a base from which they served the surrounding area.²⁸⁶

In Period D male hairdressers were based in the town, while many laundresses, washerwomen and charwomen appear in the 1841 census.²⁸⁷ Some hawkers were resident in Alcester, such as Anthony Wright, earthenware-dealer cum ‘packman’, and Hugh McEvoy, convicted for hawking without a licence.²⁸⁸

Professionals, gentry, domestic servants and others

Alcester had only one Anglican church, so Church of England clergy were not as numerous as in larger towns. Typically the rector and his curate were resident in the town, the curate sometimes doubling as a schoolmaster at the Newport Free School, (the local grammar school), which had been in existence since the fifteenth century.²⁸⁹ Perhaps schoolmasters also served as relief ministers in surrounding parishes. Certainly the masters were mainly Church of England clergymen.²⁹⁰ In the eighteenth century the established church grew in strength, at least as far as parish governance was concerned, with the vestry taking on some of the manor court’s functions. However, some men who served in such roles as overseers of the poor were protestant dissenters, which may have led to conflict with the three long-serving rectors who were in post during the first half of

²⁸⁶ This is more than for all the other parishes combined. One Alcester sweep, James Hurst, has children baptised in Pershore as well as in Alcester, suggesting the nomadic nature of the job. (WaRO, Alcester baptisms 1822 and Alcester 1841 census. WoRO, Pershore Holy Cross baptisms 1820.)

²⁸⁷ Before 1800 the term ‘hairdresser’ was not in evidence; hair-care, wig-care and shaving was undertaken by the barber-surgeons mentioned in the next section.

²⁸⁸ WaRO, Alcester baptisms 1838, 1840, mention Wright. WaRO, QS17, king’s moieties for convictions of unlicensed pedlars, hawkers and stage-coaches, 1829, refers to McEvoy.

²⁸⁹ Saville, *Alcester - a History*, p. 55.

²⁹⁰ For much of its time the grammar school seemed to employ two masters simultaneously. For example, WoRO, BA2697, (ref.716:051), diocesan subscription book, lists Richard Jennings and John Gibbons for 1703. WoRO, Worcester diocesan visitation book BA2951 (ii) and churchwardens’ presentments, BA2289/1, mention Samuel Case, ‘ludimagister’, for non-attendance at church; he preferred to attend conventicles. He probably taught in Alcester, but lived in nearby Arrow.

the eighteenth century. Two of these rectors demonstrate the clergy's interest in financial investments; one leased the Greyhound's Head, while both held land locally and in other counties, and their probate was handled by the PCC.²⁹¹

Various dissenting ministers are in evidence in Restoration Alcester, including the Presbyterian, Samuel Tickner, who had been the Anglican rector from 1648 until his ejection in 1662. Tickner continued to preach privately, and even after his death the presbyterians continued to thrive.²⁹² Alcester had become something of a dissenting hotbed during the Civil War and the Commonwealth.²⁹³ Meetings were set up by quakers and anabaptists as well as presbyterians. Many families involved in these sects were influential in the town's economy and no doubt developed strong links with fellow sectarians elsewhere, which helped their business networking. One baptist minister, John Willis, was also a blacksmith and maltster.²⁹⁴ In the nineteenth century the town's Anglican clergy competed with ministers of the baptist, wesleyan and unitarian persuasion, while quakers from the area still worshipped at the town's Society of Friends meeting house.²⁹⁵

Over time the choice of schooling within the town increased.²⁹⁶ In 1792 a schoolmistress advertises alongside the schoolmasters, while in Period D as well as the

²⁹¹ TNA, PCC probate of Timothy White, Alcester, clerk, 1713 and PCC probate of Thomas Jowling, Alcester, rector, 1745.

²⁹² Saville, *Alcester - a History*, p. 59.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁹⁴ Alcester was a thriving centre for baptists, and from 1688 had an offshoot in nearby Henley in Arden according to W. Cooper, *Henley in Arden*, (Birmingham, University of Birmingham, 1946), p. 85.

²⁹⁵ Ransome, 'The State of the Bishopric of Worcester 1782-1808', p. 188, lists 247 families, 15 of whom were papist, 20 anabaptist, 11 presbyterian and 1 quaker.

²⁹⁶ Those listed as schoolmasters in probate were as follows: Period A: 0, Period B: 2, Period C: 1 and Period D: 1, but 5 males and 11 females involved in education were listed in the 1841 census.

grammar school, directories now list a private boarding school and a girls' school. Alcester's National School opened in 1843.²⁹⁷

Before 1800 the health of Alcester and its hinterland lay in the hands of apothecaries and barber-surgeons. John Yarnold, apothecary, owed money to a Worcester grocer and a London druggist, from whom he no doubt sourced some of his wares. Yarnold held land in three counties and acted as a banker and mortgage supplier. Debts due upon bond amounted to some £390, which indicate that he may have forwarded loans to a large number of people including the likes of Thomas Quinton who stood in debt to him for a £5 mortgage.²⁹⁸ The Yarnolds had run an apothecary's shop in the town since the 1640s, and other medical providers too belonged to long-lasting family businesses, such as the Jennings and Brandish families, which included both apothecaries and barber-surgeons. Barber-surgeons probably also supplied wigs, a speciality of Stephen Round, 'peruke-maker'.²⁹⁹ Like the Yarnolds, peruke-makers, barber-surgeons and apothecaries were typically from respected families in the town, related to mercers, clergy and gentry.³⁰⁰ In the nineteenth century medical needs were catered for by the

²⁹⁷ G. E. Saville, 'A short history of Alcester's schools, 1490-1912', *ADLHS*, OP7, (1978), p. 9, and *UBD* 1792.

²⁹⁸ WoRO, probate of John Yarnold, Alcester, apothecary, 1707, £633-11-8 and of Thomas Quinton, Alcester, joiner, 1702, £71-5-7.

²⁹⁹ WoRO, probate of Stephen Round, Alcester, perukemaker, 1735. Another barber cum peruke-maker was Joseph Tilsley, also a netmaker, mentioned above in the textile section.

³⁰⁰ WoRO, probate of Richard Brandish, Alcester, apothecary, 1748, and of Joseph Brandis, Alcester, surgeon, 1742, £1552-9-10, (of which £1500 was in the form of debts due to him). N. B. The name was spelt both Brandis and Brandish. WoRO, probate of William Jennings, Alcester, surgeon, 1729, £115.

town's surgeons, chemists and druggists, the term 'apothecary' now becoming outmoded along with the barber-surgeons and peruke-makers of yesteryear.³⁰¹

The herald's visitations of 1682 describe Dr Jackson as a physician and clergyman,³⁰² while diocesan records reveal various surgeons and midwives from the Restoration through to the end of the eighteenth century.³⁰³ Two midwives compete for business via newspaper advertisements in the 1750s,³⁰⁴ while Sarah Moore was described as a 'midwoman'.³⁰⁵ The UBD's 'physic' section listed a druggist cum apothecary and two surgeons, one of whom was also a 'man midwife'.³⁰⁶ The role of many women who nursed children or the sick and elderly goes largely unnoticed in the archives.³⁰⁷

In Restoration Alcester many other professionals were simply referred to as 'gentlemen', so attorneys, land-agents and the like are not always easy to find amongst the archives.³⁰⁸ However, members of the presbyterian Bridges family had fought for

³⁰¹ Among the chemists who advertised in the nineteenth century we find (in *West's Warwickshire Directory 1830*) Charles Wilson, dealer in patent medicines and agent to the Atlas Fire Office. In probate the number of barber-surgeons were as follows: Period A: 1, Period B: 3. Surgeons in probate in Period C: 1 and in Period D: 2. Barbers in probate in Period C: 2 and in Period D: 1. In the 1841 census 6 were involved in medical practice (all male) and 4 barbers or hairdressers (all male). Apothecaries or chemists in probate: Period A: 2, Period B: 3, Period C:1 and Period D: 2. There were 3 chemists/druggists in the 1841 census (all male).

³⁰² P. Styles, *Studies in Seventeenth Century West Midlands History*, (Kineton, Roundwood Press, 1978), p. 120. Dr Jackson of Kings Coughton, Alcester, mentioned in herald's visitations, 1682.

³⁰³ For example, WoRO, BA2951 (ii), Worcester diocesan visitation book 1679, mentions Benjamin Jennings, surgeon, and Mrs J. Jones, 'obstetrix'. WoRO, BA2697, ref. 716:051, diocesan subscription book, lists the midwives Rebecca Ewins (in 1719) and Elizabeth Asprey (in 1722). Both were illiterate. The latter may have been related to the barber-surgeons, Thomas and William Asprey.

³⁰⁴ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 25 Oct. 1750. Margaret, wife of Clement Hall, Alcester, surgeon, informs the public that she has 'lately gone through a course of lectures on midwifery' in London. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 8 Nov. 1750: John Lardner, Alcester, surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife 'will deliver any poor woman for half a guinea'.

³⁰⁵ WaRO, MI163, Coughton RC burials 1783. She was widow of Bradford Moore, maltster and tallow chandler.

³⁰⁶ *UBD 1792*. One surgeon also features in the jurors' lists, (WaRO, QS76/3).

³⁰⁷ WaRO, Alcester 1841 census lists 2 female nurses.

³⁰⁸ Although Alcester was served by various attorneys, (also known from the late eighteenth century as solicitors), only 1 is described as such in Probate. He died in Period D.

Lord Brooke of Warwick's parliamentary cause and also acted as stewards for his many properties in Alcester and elsewhere.³⁰⁹

In the eighteenth century the growing emphasis on the written word increased the demand for lawyers for all manner of legal documents including those dealing with the transfer of land as the customary manor courts lost their influence. The attorneys increasingly acted as stewards and estate agents, and, along with scribes such as Richard Attwood, were kept busy drawing up mortgages and bonds (including marriage bonds). One attorney, Charles Magennis, had Irish connections. His father, Constantine Magennis, was associated with the family at nearby Ragley Hall and may have been brought over from their estates in Ireland to act as steward here. This exemplifies the mobility of this class, as the law provided an alternative source of employment for gentlemen's sons apart from the army, the navy and the church.³¹⁰

As the eighteenth century progressed, the change in the sale of land and property is shown by the emergence of auctioneers and newspaper advertisements of property for sale (with details available from certain Alcester traders and attorneys).³¹¹ Even the humble attorney's clerks begin to leave proof of their existence in surviving

³⁰⁹ Saville, 'Look at Alcester, no. 2', p. 11, informs us that Matthew Bridges was steward and had been captain and then major in the parliamentary army. His father Colonel John Bridges was also a steward.

³¹⁰ TNA, PCC probate of Constantine Magennis, Arrow, gentleman, 1702. He held land in Warwickshire and County Down.

³¹¹ *UBD 1792* and for example *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 25 January 1776. Saville, *Alcester – a History*, p. 38, shows how the manor court had declined. Though temporarily revived in 1785, it was without true legal authority and land transfer was increasingly in the hands of lawyers.

documents.³¹² Attorneys, Walter Jones and John Showel, also advertised as masters of chancery.³¹³

As society modernised in the nineteenth century, demand grew for professional services. Attorneys, or ‘solicitors’, as they were often now called, and also their clerks are ever more evident in the records, as are land-surveyors and accountants.³¹⁴ Banking facilities were provided by the likes of Hartland and Co., an outlet for the Tewkesbury and Evesham Bank.³¹⁵ Amongst the town’s auctioneers was John Radbone, who was also a broker, upholsterer, shoemaker and needle manufacturer. The town’s insurance agents generally had another line of business too.

In earlier times many wealthy townfolk also acted as early, unofficial bankers backing local businesses, large and small, lending money and supplying mortgages.³¹⁶ The term ‘gentleman’ covered a multitude of sins, being used in different ways according to circumstance or purpose; some referred to as ‘gentlemen’ in certain documents are obviously successful tradesmen, such as Cornelius Cox, butcher.³¹⁷ Holderness highlights the importance of credit in the rural economy, both in the form of sales credit, evident in the probate of many Alcestrian artisans, but also the more substantial type of

³¹² For example, J. Clark, clerk to Mr Showel, witnessed the apprenticeship papers for Joseph Williams in 1780 (WaRO, Alcester apprentices, DR 360/79/49).

³¹³ *UBD 1792*. (*Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 1 Aug 1799 reports that John Showel has been found guilty of forgery.) The term ‘solicitor’ begins to be used in newspapers, for instance in connection with turnpike trusts or associations for the prosecution of felons, as Walter Jones in *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 8 April 1784. Some attorneys, such as Richard Attwood, are also called ‘scriveners’, and many are more usually referred to a ‘gentlemen’.

³¹⁴ WaRO, Alcester 1841 census lists 10 males in these professional roles.

³¹⁵ *West’s Warwickshire Directory 1830*.

³¹⁶ For example, WoRO, probate of Elizabeth Gittins, Bidford, widow, 1690, names Richard Beal, Alcester, mercer, as principal creditor.

³¹⁷ WoRO, probate of Cornelius Cox, Alcester, butcher/gent, 1680/1, £537-6-0. In Period A gentlemen’s inventory values ranged from WoRO, probate of John Bovey, King’s Coughton, Alcester, gent, 1674, £7-13-4, to that of Daniel Grove, Alcester, gent, 1682, £647-3-4. Those termed ‘gentlemen’ or ‘esquires’ in probate include 12 in Period A (9.4% of males), 16 in Period B (9.5%), 5 in Period C (4%) and 21 in Period D (15%). (Gentlemen are not included in my analysis of those with known occupations in the tables above.) In the 1841 census there were 23 males and 41 females listed as gentry or independent or annuitants or pensioners.

credit furnished by gentlemen and gentlewomen before the era of provincial bankers.³¹⁸ Members of the influential Dewes family may serve as examples.³¹⁹ In addition to buying land Alcester's wealthier inhabitants contributed to capital deepening by investing their money in industry.³²⁰ The 1831 census records that Alcester, (as one may expect of a market town), had a much higher percentage of capitalists, bankers, professionals and educated men than the other zones.³²¹

Men from the upper strata of town life played a part in the running of the town as officials appointed by the manor court or (increasingly) by the parish vestry. Typically, Alcester's high bailiff (the equivalent of a mayor) and his deputy, the low bailiff, were from amongst the town's influential business families. Lesser roles such as overseer of the highways, overseer of the poor, constable and ale-taster were often carried out by men from the next stratum of society. These often burdensome jobs were generally held for one year, with no payment apart from expenses. So amateurs were carrying out important roles which in the nineteenth and twentieth century would be transferred to paid professionals.

Perhaps from the lower end of the middling sort, the parish-clerk received meagre payment, possibly holding the job for many years, if not life. Those who served the town in this capacity in the first half of the eighteenth century were all literate, and included a

³¹⁸ Holderness, 'Credit in English rural society before the nineteenth century, with special reference to the period 1650-1720', pp. 99-105.

³¹⁹ WoRO, probate of William Dewes, Alcester, gentleman, 1717, £1298-16-6 (of which £830 was in bonds and other debts due to him). WoRO, probate of Jane Dewes, Alcester, widow, 1719, £166-7-0. (of which 85% was in the form of bonds.)

³²⁰ Local 'gentlemen' and 'esquires' invested in land, canals, turnpikes and in the larger factories or workshops in the needle trade from 1780. Compare with J. Attack, et al, 'Capital deepening and the rise of the factory', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 58, (2005).

³²¹ See Appendices 5 and 6. Table 4.8 (1841 census) shows the important role of women in this sector, for instance as governesses and schoolmistresses.

chandler, a tailor, and a glover cum breeches-maker.³²² Reference to Samuel Morris, crier, reminds us that, despite the ascendancy of the written word, news and orders were still also communicated orally.³²³

In Period C various parish officials from dog-whippers to churchwardens are in evidence, while Alcester's parish workhouse, founded in 1774, was managed by a governor until the union workhouse was built in neighbouring Oversley in the mid-1830s.³²⁴ Influential townsmen featured as jurors and as members of the Association for the Prosecution of Felons.³²⁵ In 1802/3, threatened by French invasion and perhaps fearing unrest at home, twelve Alcester men were appointed as special constables for the Alcester Division of Barlichway Hundred. The town's two ordinary constables, still appointed each year by the court leet, were responsible for law and order until the Warwickshire County Constabulary was formed in the 1850s.³²⁶ Alcester's fire-brigade was founded some time before 1850.³²⁷

Certain individuals performed important functions within friendly or benefit societies, recreational clubs or in the Alcester Volunteers.³²⁸ The town also boasted professional musicians, one of whom built and tuned organs as a sideline. Although probably not permanent residents, three families of comedians, (the contemporary term

³²² WoRO, BA2697/1, Worcester diocesan subscription books. The chandler and tailor shared the same surname.

³²³ WoRO, marriage licence of John Layt, Inkberrow, besom-maker, Feb.1699/1700, witnessed by Samuel Morris, Alcester, crier. Morris may also have been a bodicemaker.

³²⁴ Rogers, *The State of the Poor (by Sir Frederic Morton Eden)*, p. 325, describes the workhouse, the inmates' diet and the methods of out-relief. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 15 Jan. 1784 carries an advertisement for a new, experienced governor willing to live on the premises.

³²⁵ WaRO, QS76/3, Jurors' lists. The Alcester, Arrow and Oversley Association for the Prosecution of Felons was founded on 24 March 1773, is mentioned in *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, for example 8 April 1784, 1 April 1790.

³²⁶ G. E. Saville, 'Alcester Constabulary', *ADLHS*, OP27, (1982), p. 6.

³²⁷ A. Griffin, *This Noble Duty, A History of Fire-fighting in Warwickshire*, (Warwick, Feldon, 1989), p.13, suggests that Alcester's brigade may have been founded because of the incendiaries who were active locally circa 1830. The firemen must have been part-time and therefore listed in censuses under other occupations.

³²⁸ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 22 Jan. 1807 reports the promotions of officers in the Volunteers.

for actors), baptised children in Alcester.³²⁹ Although by no means a typical incomer, the presence of a foreign artist as early as 1703 reflects external influences in commerce and culture, which played an increasingly important part in Alcester's development.³³⁰

Many Alcestrians must have fought during the Civil War, largely on the side of parliament, but, as they settled down to civilian life, there is little mention of soldiers after the Restoration. In Period B only two soldiers are known from local sources, both based at Alcester in the 1740s,³³¹ while records in Period C reveal a number of soldiers, (particularly in the last decade of the century), and one mariner.³³² The one soldier and one Irish seaman caught in the 1841 census may have been merely passing through the town.³³³

Alcester had a succession of excisemen ensuring that the government received its dues, but at least one of these had conflicting interests, for William Whissell combined his role as excise-officer with that of publican.³³⁴ Such tax collectors are joined in the service of central government from 1801 by census enumerators and from 1837 by the registrar of births, marriages and deaths.

Gypsies and travelling folk occasionally receive a mention, for example in Alcester's parish registers, but contemporary documentation does not do justice to their role in the economy. Domestic servants are largely absent from the records before the

³²⁹ Fenton, Jones and Rogers families in WaRO, Alcester baptisms 1813-1826. They also baptised children elsewhere.

³³⁰ WoRO, marriage licence of Anthony Vandersauren, (or Van der Schuren), Alcester, 'pictor' and 'limner', (painter and woodcraftsman), 1703; presumably from the Low Countries.

³³¹ WoRO, marriage licence of Alexander Larrymour, Alcester, soldier, Sept. 1745, and of John Tibbetts, soldier in the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons, now at Alcester, April 1741.

³³² Also *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 4 June 1772 mentions Captain Bartlam of Alcester, but it is not clear whether he was in the army or navy.

³³³ WaRO, Alcester 1841 census.

³³⁴ WoRO, marriage licence of George Churchlee, Alcester, glazier, Nov. 1712, witnessed by William Whissell, innkeeper, and marriage licence of John Perkins, Studley, excise officer, May 1722, witnessed by William Whissell, excise officer. Only one excise officer appears in Alcester's probate (in Period C).

1841 census, but many must have served in Alcester's households. As Laslett explains, a large proportion of these would have been adolescents.³³⁵ In early periods male servants may have comprised a higher share of the workforce than in the nineteenth century, but evidence is lacking. Schwarz discusses problems of quantifying servants and suggests the feminisation of domestic service before the nineteenth century.³³⁶ Certainly by the time of the 1831 census Alcester had 110 female servants, who comprised some 8.6% of total females in the parish, and only 19 male servants over twenty years old and 14 under twenty.³³⁷

Summary for Alcester, the market town 1660-1840

As Table 4.1 demonstrates, Alcester's occupational structure changed over the two centuries. The tertiary sector was always important and grew in probate data from a fifth to a third of adult males. Secondary remained the largest sector, but in the second half of the eighteenth century the primary sector regained ground. Although Alcester was not highly urbanised, it was more than a large village. The town was the economic, religious and social focus for its hinterland and a nucleated settlement where 'a majority of households supported themselves from non-agrarian activity'³³⁸ Alcester's tailors, cordwainers, saddlers, victuallers and shopkeepers serviced the surrounding countryside, and its maltsters, curriers, tanners and others processed the area's agricultural produce.

³³⁵ P. Laslett, *The World We Have Lost - Further Explored*, (London, Routledge, 1994), p. 4. Apprentices and journeymen are sometimes mentioned in local records. If their trade is known, they are included in discussion under the appropriate heading.

³³⁶ L. Schwarz, 'English servants and their employers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 52, (1999), pp. 236-256.

³³⁷ The figures for domestic servants in the 1841 census are shown above in Table 4.8. Of females whose occupations were listed in 1841 more than a third of adult women and two-thirds of those under 20 were in domestic service.

³³⁸ A. Dyer, 'Small market towns 1540-1700', in Clark, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2, p. 427.

More hidden was the part played by Alcester's gentry and professionals in local ventures. In return, farmers from local villages, and country tradesmen such as carpenters, millers and masons, served the townspeople.

In the late seventeenth century textiles and shoes were probably produced for marketing outside the study area, as were guns and needles. Alcester had to be adaptable. The collapse of the knitting trade in the mid-seventeenth century was to be the first of many downs in Alcester's roller-coaster ride from early modern times to the twentieth century. Its occupations were diverse, and at this period no trade dominated its economy as knitting may have done previously and as the needle-trade would do in the nineteenth century.

In the first half of the eighteenth century the town's retailers and tradesmen did their best to keep abreast of the times in supplying their customers with more exotic imports and luxuries from fish-skin breeches to sugar and spices. Alcester's involvement in the gun-trade probably indicates that in a small way it played its part in the slave triangle, perhaps exporting its guns and receiving foreign goods in return. However, Alcester fared badly during the epidemic of 1725-1730. Thereafter the trade in guns, textiles, leather and horn declined. In the mid-eighteenth century the town survived as a market centre, but was not enjoying the most flourishing chapter of its history.

After 1750 Alcester saw many changes: turnpike roads, enclosure, the decline of the manor court (and its short-lived revival). Alcester increasingly embraced the needle trade, which was already flourishing in many villages north of the town. At the end of the century Alcester's commitment to the needle-trade became more pronounced with utilisation of water-power and division of labour.

In the nineteenth century Alcester, with more than its share of shopkeepers, sweeps, saddlers, flaxdressers and milliners, maintained a modest role as a service and retail centre for its hinterland. In common with much of England, Alcester's tertiary sector was now very different from that of earlier periods with increasing use of professionals and middlemen. The town was now adequately served by coaches and road-carriers, but its development was retarded by its distance from waterways. Nor did this situation improve in the railway age, when the town was bypassed by main lines and only connected by branch lines in the 1860s. In this era the needle industry was the town's biggest employer, but Alcester was never the centre of this trade.

Over two centuries Alcester had adapted and changed its priorities, floundering as the tide of modern commercial pressures engulfed it. Alcester's up and down economic fortunes were reflected by its uneven population growth. Smith noted that her Nottinghamshire towns grew most rapidly when they embraced manufactures with a national and international market.³³⁹ This also applied to Alcester, as it became more heavily involved in needlemaking from the end of the eighteenth century. However, as we leave it in 1840, it was on its way down as a market centre, overshadowed by bright new manufacturing towns such as Redditch, which was the focal point of the needle trade and now outgrowing Alcester in both size and influence.

³³⁹ C. Smith, 'Population growth and economic change in some Nottinghamshire market towns', pp. 31-34.

CHAPTER FIVE

ZONE B: THE SOUTHERN (CHAMPION) COUNTRY

As defined in Chapter 2, this zone, consisting of the five former Gloucestershire parishes, three Warwickshire parishes and two Worcestershire parishes, lay along the River Avon and was traditionally characterised as ‘champion’ country with less woodland than the zones to the north.¹ Throughout the study period the Avon formed an important artery linking this sub-district with the outside world and also provided a source of power, fish, osiers and reeds.

In the late seventeenth century this zone was (fractionally) more densely populated than Zones C and D, but in the eighteenth century it was overtaken in this respect by the industrialising Needle District.² In 1676 the Champion Country’s population lay between 2071 and 2966 souls, maybe growing by 53.3% to a figure of 3862 in 1801. In Period D it grew further, by 38.6%, reaching a total of 5351 in 1841 before decreasing thereafter.³ Table 3.16 in Chapter 3 shows that, like Zones A and C, this zone’s share of the study area’s population decreased over the two centuries as the Needle District’s share grew relentlessly and rapidly. The possible economic reasons behind the Champion Country’s demographic development are discussed later in this chapter.

In 1660 Bidford, an entrepot on the Avon and small market centre, was in decline probably caused in part by the improvement of the Avon Navigation in 1637, which

¹ See Appendix 1: Parish Gazetteer, Appendix 1a: Map of parishes in the Study Area and the section ‘The Division of the Study Area into Sub-districts’ in Chapter 2.

² See Table 3.15 in Chapter 3.

³ See Tables 3.5, 3.7 and 3.14 in Chapter 3.

allowed bigger boats to proceed further upstream to Stratford-upon-Avon.⁴ However, Bidford and also Welford and Pebworth continued as service centres for their lesser neighbours throughout the study period.⁵ By contrast, although Salford Priors was a large parish, it remained largely agricultural. The size and characteristics of each parish are reflected in the number of male occupations present in probate over the two centuries of this study and also in their different population densities.⁶ Taking this zone as a whole probate reveals fewer occupations than in other zones.⁷ No doubt the residents of the Champion Country looked to Stratford, Evesham and Chipping Campden as well as Alcester for some of their needs.

Appendix 3 shows the values of male probate inventories and allows a comparison with other zones. The value for males in this zone average £129 in 1660-79, falling dramatically to £92 in 1680-99. This may well reflect the fall in corn prices at the time, which perhaps reduced the wealth of the many farmers hereabouts. In the years 1720-39 this zone was the only one to show an increase in personal wealth. Maybe it was less affected by epidemic and slump than the other zones.

As with Alcester in Chapter 4, an analysis of the Champion Country's occupational structure follows using probate, marriage licences, parish registers and censuses, supplemented by additional information from other sources, where relevant.⁸

⁴ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 50, and C. Hadfield and J. Norris, *Waterways to Stratford*, (London, David & Charles, 1962), pp. 15-21. However, *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 49, quotes Sir Simon Archer who says that Bidford's market cross was 'all downe and ruinated' as early as 1639. (Bidford's status as a market centre is not clear. See Period C.) Average (mean) probate values for Bidford males are among the lowest in the Study Area at this period: 1660-79: £94; then 1680-99: £98.

⁵ Bidford's nineteenth century occupational structure is examined in Appendix 10.

⁶ For example, the contrasting neighbouring parishes of Weston and Welford. See Tables 8.10 and 8.14 in Chapter 8 and Appendix 24 for more detail.

⁷ A characteristic of Champion country compared with towns or wood-pasture villages.

⁸ The various sources and their uses are discussed in Chapter 2.

Table 5.1 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from probate data in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Primary	72.9	70.3	60.0	53.8
Primary without labs.	69.7	67.4	53.6	48.3
Secondary	21.5	22.8	30.9	31.1
Tertiary	5.7	6.8	9.1	15.1
Total males with known occupations (n)	158.5	168.5	110	162.5

As noted in Chapter 2, probate data is biased; richer inhabitants are more likely to be included than labourers or poor craftsmen. However, in the absence of less biased sources before Period D, it at least allows a comparison between zones and periods.⁹ As may be expected, probate suggests that the workforce hereabouts is made up quite differently from that of Alcester. More than seventy percent of males in probate worked in the primary sector in Periods A and B, though this fell later. The secondary sector grew with a noticeable rise in Period C, while tertiary grew steadily throughout.¹⁰

⁹ See Tables 5.10 below for an analysis of probate bias compared with other sources for this zone. The periods referred to in discussion of the data, (as explained in Chapter 2), are as follows: Period A: 1660-1699, Period B: 1700-1749; Period C: 1750-1799 and Period D: 1800-1840.

¹⁰ For comparison with other zones see Appendix 26.

Table 5.2 Males in probate in specific occupational groupings in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	69.7	67.4	53.2	48.3
Labourers	3.2	3.0	6.4	5.5
Extractive	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	2.5	3.0	4.1	5.8
Tailors/bodice makers	3.2	1.2	0.0	0.6
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	2.5	3.9	4.1	3.1
Shoemakers/cordwainers	0.0	2.4	3.6	1.8
Other leather, horn and tallow	1.9	1.2	0.0	0.0
Carpenters/joiners	3.2	1.8	1.8	3.7
Other woodworkers	1.9	2.4	2.7	1.8
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.5	3.0	4.5	3.7
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Needles/hooks/pins	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	1.9	1.8	2.7	4.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	4.4	5.3	13.6	14.2
Domestic servants	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Professional	3.2	3.9	2.7	5.5
Total males with known occupations (n)	158.5	168.5	110	162.5

The analysis of specific occupational groupings confirms that the occupational structure was very different from that of the market town. Details are discussed below in the relevant sections, but the supremacy of agriculture in this zone is evident as is the rise of retailers and dealers in Period C.

Table 5.3 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary, tertiary) from marriage licence data in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country, 1680-1837 (as % of grooms with known occupations)

	1680-99	1737-54	1780-99	1810-37
Primary	74.5	69.4	65.8	67.2
Primary (without labs.)	74.5	59.7	57.0	58.2
Secondary	21.4	16.7	27.8	19.4
Tertiary	4.1	13.9	6.3	13.4
Total males with known occupations (n)	98	72	79	67

In Table 5.3 marriage licence data are used for certain years in each period to enable comparisons between zones and periods and to back up the data from probate.¹¹ Although the figures in Table 5.3 do not correspond with those for probate above, they confirm the predominance of the primary sector.¹²

Table 5.4 Bridegrooms from marriage licence data in specific occupational groupings in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country, 1680-1837 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1680-99	1737-54	1780-99	1810-37
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	74.5	59.7	55.7	58.2
Labourers	0.0	9.7	8.9	9.0
Extractive	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	2.0	2.8	7.6	3.0
Tailors/bodice makers	3.1	1.4	0.0	0.0
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	3.1	4.2	5.1	0.0
Shoemakers/cordwainers	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other leather, horn and tallow	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Carpenters/joiners	4.1	0.0	1.3	4.5
Other woodworkers	2.0	4.2	5.1	1.5
Blacksmiths/farriers	1.0	2.8	1.3	3.0
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.0	2.8	1.3	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	3.1	2.8	7.6	11.9
Domestic servants	0.0	5.6	3.8	1.5
Professional	3.1	4.2	1.3	7.5
Total males with known occupations (n)	98	72	79	67

Table 5.4 highlights the paucity of workers in metal or leather in this zone, while confirming the importance of agriculture.¹³

¹¹ These marriage data samples are not as extensive as the probate data, so may well be less consistent. Like probate they are also biased; for example, only a small proportion of labourers marry by licence. For the most part they may also reflect the occupations of younger males than probate.

¹² In other zones marriage licences tend to give a greater figure for secondary than probate does. This is not the case in this zone.

¹³ The figures for different occupational groupings are discussed in the text below, where relevant.

Table 5.5 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from Anglican baptism registers in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country 1813-40 (as % of entries showing fathers' occupations)

	1813-40	1813-20	1821-30	1831-40
Primary including labourers *	78.2	79.1	78.3	77.4
Primary without labourers	13.3	13.4	14.6	11.9
Secondary including labourers *	18.5	17.7	18.6	19.1
Secondary without labourers	16.5	15.6	16.5	17.0
Tertiary	3.3	3.1	3.2	3.5
Total baptisms (n)	3877	1087	1360	1430

** Labourers allocated to primary or secondary sectors using information from the 1831 census.*

From 1813 information from baptism registers provides a more inclusive picture of adult male occupational structure. The inclusion of agricultural labourers in Table 5.5 confirms the dominance of the primary sector.

Table 5.6 Male occupational structure in specific groupings from Anglican baptism registers in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country 1813-40 (as % of entries showing fathers' occupations)

	1813-40	1813-20	1821-30	1831-40
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	9.5	9.0	10.4	9.1
All labourers	67.0	67.8	65.7	67.6
<i>Agricultural labourers *</i>	64.9	65.7	63.6	65.5
<i>Non-agricultural labourers *</i>	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.1
Extractive	3.7	4.4	4.2	2.8
Building (excl. carpenters)	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.4
Tailors/bodice makers	0.9	0.6	0.5	1.4
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	1.1	1.7	1.0	0.6
Shoemakers/cordwainers	3.5	3.3	3.5	3.5
Other leather, horn and tallow	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2
Carpenters/joiners	2.7	2.8	3.1	2.4
Other woodworkers	1.7	1.6	1.3	2.2
Blacksmiths/farriers	1.6	1.0	1.6	2.1
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.3
Needles/hooks/pins	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transport	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.9
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.6
Other food, retail, service, dealing	3.9	4.0	4.5	3.3
Domestic servants	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3
Professional	1.3	1.7	1.2	1.2
Total baptisms (n)	3877	1087	1360	1430

**Labourers allocated using information from the 1831 census.*

Table 5.6 confirms the low numbers of workers in metal and leather suggested in probate and marriage licences. Despite rare references to needlemakers in other sources this table confirms that this southern zone never really embraced the needle trade.

Table 5.7 Occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from the 1841 census in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Primary with agricultural labourers	63.8	26.5	29.6	1.9
Primary without labourers	10.7	4.6	2.5	0.0
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers	25.9	14.8	20.1	1.0
Secondary without labourers	21.8	11.2	15.7	1.0
Tertiary	10.4	58.7	50.3	97.1
Total (n)	1280	196	159	103

When compared with the baptism data in Table 5.5 the pattern for the 1841 census suggests a continuing increase in the secondary and tertiary share of the adult male workforce into the 1840s. Despite the under-recording of females and adolescents in the census, Table 5.7 highlights the expected contrast in the occupational structures of the four age and gender groupings within this zone. More specific analysis of such differences is given below.¹⁴

As expected, the Champion Country's economy differs greatly from the picture of the market town's economy in 1841 shown in Chapter 4 (Table 4.7). In all four age/gender groupings the secondary sector share in this zone is much smaller than that of the needlemaking market town. The primary sector is of course much more dominant in the Champion Country's occupational structure for all males and for adult females than in Alcester, while the tertiary sector is more prominent in this zone than in Alcester for all females and for males under 20.

¹⁴ For comparison with other zones see Appendix 26.

Table 5.8 Occupational structure in specific groupings from the 1841 census in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	10.3	4.6	2.5	0.0
All labourers	57.3	25.5	31.4	1.9
Agricultural labourers	53.1	21.9	27.0	1.9
Non-agricultural labourers	4.1	3.6	4.4	0.0
Extractive	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	5.5	0.0	3.8	0.0
Tailors/bodice makers	1.7	4.1	2.5	1.0
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	0.6	1.0	0.0	0.0
Shoemakers/cordwainers	3.0	0.0	2.5	0.0
Other leather, horn and tallow	0.2	4.6	0.6	0.0
Carpenters/joiners	3.5	0.0	3.1	0.0
Other woodworkers	1.3	0.5	0.6	0.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.3	0.0	0.6	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transport	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.7	1.0	0.0	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	4.3	6.6	3.1	0.0
Domestic servants/charwomen/nurses	5.8	48.0	47.8	97.1
Professional	2.2	3.6	1.3	0.0
Total (n)	1280	196	159	103

Table 5.8 confirms the continuing growth in the secondary and tertiary sectors. In the 1841 census agricultural labourers comprise some 53% of the adult male workforce compared with 64.9% in baptisms between 1813 and 1840. The tertiary sector among adult males is boosted with a sizeable share of domestic servants when compared with the baptism records. Although over 20 years of age perhaps many of these servants were unmarried and therefore do not appear in the baptism registers. As expected, domestic servants are predominant in the recorded occupations of females (especially those under 20) and younger males in the census.

The nineteenth century documentation provides a more accurate picture of the occupational situation, but for three parishes in this zone we have occupational information in parish registers of the late Stuart period.

Table 5.9 Occupational structure in specific groupings from Anglican baptism registers in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country 1697-1705 (as % of entries showing fathers' occupations)

	Long Marston	Long Marston	Welford	Welford	Weston	Weston
Occupations in baptism registers c. 1700	1698-1701	1698-1701	1699-1705	1699-1705	1697-1703	1697-1703
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Clergyman					1	14.3
Innkeeper/victualler			1	1.4		
Tailor			4	5.6		
Yeoman/husbandman	5	83.3	12	16.7	3	42.9
Carpenter/joiner			5	6.9	1	14.3
Weaver			6	8.3		
Baker/flourdealer			10	13.9		
Maltster			2	2.8		
Cooper			4	5.6		
Blacksmith/farrier			3	4.2		
Labourer	1	16.7	25	34.7	2	28.6
Unspecified male	7		21		4	
Total males	13		93		11	
Total fathers with known occupations	6	100	72	100	7	100

Table 5.9 suggests an organic-based, predominantly agricultural economy circa 1700, though Welford already demonstrates some variety with more than a dozen different occupations.¹⁵

For four of the five Gloucestershire parishes we are fortunate in having some indications of their economy at the start of the seventeenth century in the form of

¹⁵ Although this sample is small and therefore not statistically reliable, these figures do correspond with information from other sources. None of these parishes is a quarrying parish, so the 28 labourers were likely to be mainly agricultural. (Table 5.6 above suggests that in the whole zone including quarrying parishes only approximately 1 in 32 labourers worked outside agriculture in the period 1813-1840.)

Gloucestershire 'Men and Armour'.¹⁶ The 1608 muster reveals 69 men with known occupations: 8 yeomen, 20 husbandmen, 10 labourers, 6 weavers, 3 tailors, 1 shoemaker, 1 carpenter, 1 miller and 1 blacksmith. From this fortuitous early seventeenth century evidence we can deduce that, to a large extent, the occupational patterns found in this zone in 1660 were long-established.

Another parish in this zone, namely Harvington, has a document listing residents with their occupations in 1695.¹⁷ The occupations listed are as to be expected from other sources, showing a mainly agricultural parish with a clergyman and a handful of tradesmen and servants.

Despite the small sample and the lack of official apprenticeships in agriculture and some other occupations, the analysis of the inland revenue apprentice books shows shoemakers, tailors and retailers taking on apprentices, and confirms the lack of needlemakers when compared with Zone D.¹⁸

Following the pattern used in Chapter 4 discussion of occupational groupings follows using statistical information from the sources shown in the tables above, but reinforced with background information from other sources, where they throw light on the organisation or operation of a certain trade.¹⁹

¹⁶ J. Smith, *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire, 1608*, (reprinted Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1980). A census of able-bodied men. See Appendix 9.

¹⁷ See Appendix 8 Harvington Collection upon brief 10th April 1695 'for the late dreadful fyer in Warwicke' (in WoRO, Harvington parish register).

¹⁸ See Appendix 23. The figures for textile and clothing in this zone include 4 female mantuamakers. These are the only females who are recorded as taking on apprentices in this zone.

¹⁹ In particular probate inventories up to the 1760s give useful information.

Table 5.10 Comparison of male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) in the 1841 census, baptisms 1813-1840, probate data 1800-1858 and marriage licence data 1800-1837 in Zone B, The Southern (Champion) Country (as % of males with known occupations) showing the bias of other sources compared with the 1841 census

	Adult Males 1841 Census	Baptisms 1813-1840	Ratio Baptisms to Census	Probate 1800-1858	Ratio Probate to Census	Marriage licences 1810-1837	Ratio Marriage licences to Census
Primary	63.8	78.2	1: 0.82	53.8	1: 1.19	67.2	1: 0.94
Secondary	25.9	18.5	1: 1.40	31.1	1: 0.83	19.4	1: 1.34
Tertiary	10.4	3.3	1: 3.15	15.1	1: 0.68	13.4	1: 0.78

Comparing the 1841 census with other sources in this zone marriage licence data provides the closest match, followed by probate then baptisms. As noted in earlier chapters, baptism data underestimates the tertiary sector compared with the other sources.²⁰

In the text below Zone B's changing occupational structure is discussed in specific occupational groupings, as defined in Chapter 2. I make reference to data in the above tables where relevant, but sometimes do not quote exact figures for certain occupations as the size of samples and bias of sources (especially probate and marriage licences) may cause inconsistencies in these exact figures.²¹ Where appropriate, comparisons are made with other zones in the study area and also with studies of places elsewhere.

Agriculture

This part of the Avon valley has fertile, alluvial, sandy topsoil and gravels overlying limestone and lias with clay. Circa 1700 Parsons notes for Dorsington: 'The

²⁰ For example, unmarried male servants appear in the census but not in baptisms.

²¹ Where relevant, explanations of such inconsistencies and bias of sources are discussed, but generally I note the general trends exhibited and look for corroboration from various other sources in order to make observations about whether different occupations were present or absent, and increasing or decreasing in the zone at different periods.

air wholesome and healthful. The soil fruitful.’ For Welford he specifies ‘The soil is fruitful for corn and pasture.’²² Later in the eighteenth century the different characteristics of adjacent parishes were highlighted by Rudder. At Long Marston, (sometimes known as Marston Sicca or Dry Marston because it had no spring), in summertime cattle were driven to the Avon in the next parish in order to drink, while water for culinary purposes was strained with a sieve to cleanse it from the myriads of insects. It was ‘flat vale country, yet the greater part of the parish is arable land.’²³ Pebworth and Welford had rich, fertile soil with good grass and corn. Pebworth was ‘equally divided into pasture and arable and a good part lies in common fields’. Dorsington and Welford were also unenclosed.²⁴ Kings Broom had undergone some enclosure pre-1660 and Salford Priors was probably enclosed by agreement early in the eighteenth century.²⁵ Parliamentary enclosure occurred in five of the ten parishes during Period C, while other parishes such as Pebworth and Welford had to wait until the early nineteenth century for their enclosure awards.²⁶ The land tax returns of 1798 highlight the differences between different settlements. Bidford’s profile with many landholders may reflect its town-like role, while Milcote with one landowner was purely agricultural.²⁷

²² J. Fendley, ed., ‘Notes on the Diocese of Gloucester by Chancellor Richard Parsons, c.1700’, *Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., Record Series*, 19, (2005), pp.19, 47. Descriptions of the soil by S. Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire (1779)*, (reprinted Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1977) are given in Period C.

²³ Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire*, p. 540. There was a village pond which was presumably the source of the drinking water at least until it dried out in high summer.

²⁴ Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire*, pp. 413, 599, 789, 807. The information about Dorsington must pre-date its parliamentary enclosure award of 1776.

²⁵ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 52 and p. 158. Kings Broom (in the parish of Bidford) was one of the Throckmortons’ manors, several of which show evidence of some early enclosure.

²⁶ See Appendix 1.

²⁷ See Appendix 24. The population densities in this appendix also highlight the different nature of the various settlements.

Tables 5.2 and 5.6 show the agricultural sector's dominance but relative decline over the two centuries.²⁸ Despite the vale's reputation for corn-growing, probate inventories indicate that mixed farming was the norm.²⁹ The mean value of both yeomen's and husbandmen's inventories are by far the highest in the study area from 1660-79, but fall well below the other sub-districts in the period 1680-99.³⁰ When corn prices fell, farmers further north (nearer the Birmingham market) could perhaps maintain higher prices and were better placed to cater for the demand for meat and hides.³¹ In the 1720s and 1730s at a time when Alcester's tradesmen were feeling the pinch, the yeomen of the Champion Country enjoyed high inventory values.³² Around this time beef cattle were probably more in evidence here than formerly. Grazier-gentlemen like the Phillips, Edden and Zouch families grew fat along with their cattle on the lush Avonside pastures.

Of the farmers who left probate in Period A 73 were described as yeomen and 37 as husbandmen, with 5 labourers. Around 1700 Weston parish register distinguishes its farming folk with terms such as 'renter' or 'six-hundred pound man'.³³ Not as many labourers left probate documents hereabouts as further north. Perhaps this zone allowed

²⁸ The pattern shown by the smaller data sample for marriage licences (Table 5.4) is less clear

²⁹ J. Yelling, 'Livestock numbers and agricultural development', in Slater, *Field and Forest*, p. 287, shows that there was less difference in numbers of livestock between the champion and woodland areas after 1660 than in the sixteenth century. In the Worcestershire parishes of this zone he shows a slight increase in the numbers of cattle, a more dramatic increase in sheep, while horse numbers remain fairly steady and pig numbers decline slightly. Inventories in my Zone B (to 1760) mention sheep, cattle, horses, pigs, geese and poultry as well as wheat, barley, oats, peas and clover.

³⁰ 1660-79, average (mean) value for yeomen £174 and for husbandmen £86. 1680-99, yeomen, £104 and husbandmen £60.

³¹ J. Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1640-1750, vol. V*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1985), p. xix, discusses low grain prices in the period 1664-91.

³² Yeomen's inventory values range from WoRO, probate of Silvanus Bushell, Bidford, yeoman, £14-1-6, to WoRO, probate of Nathaniel Edden, Weston, (Milcote), yeoman, £721-3-4, but the average (mean) was £253. This compares with £171 in 1700-19 and the low of £104 in 1680-99.

³³ WaRO, Weston parish register. Yeomen's inventories range from Glos RO, probate of Thomas Churchley alias Chesley, Welford, yeoman, 1684, £3-18-2, to WoRO, probate of Thomas Harris, Harvington, yeoman, 1661, £441-16-1. Husbandmen's probate inventories range from WoRO, probate of James Stephens, Pitchill, Salford Priors, husbandman, 1695, £15-5-11 to that of John Bushell, Bidford, husbandman, 1676, £198-17-6. N. B. Thomas Roberts of Welford was described as both labourer and husbandman, value £1-17-6.

less flexibility for labourers, so they were unable to make enough wealth to trouble the probate courts.³⁴ It may be significant that more labourers in Salford Priors, with its large expanses of waste, left probate documents than elsewhere in this zone.³⁵ One 'labourer' who left probate documents was Robert Hacoeks whose £114-8-6 included few possessions, but £101-1-6 'money in good hands' and £9-15-0 'money that lies very doughtfull'.³⁶ Perhaps he was one of the independent Vale smallholders who were market-gardeners but also laboured for their 'bigger' neighbours. Another in this category may have been William Tandy, who was referred to as labourer and yeoman.³⁷ Some husbandmen were also referred to as yeomen in their probate papers, showing that distinctions between these descriptors were not clear. The 'gardeners' in this zone may have been growing vegetables and fruit for the Birmingham market.³⁸

In the second half of the eighteenth century the percentage of farmers leaving probate declined in both enclosed and unenclosed parishes.³⁹ However, in marriage licence data the number of farmers is similar at the start and end of the period, while graziers increase from 0 to 3. This may indicate a real growth in the number of graziers

³⁴ S. Jones, 'The development of needle manufacturing in the west midlands before 1750', p. 364, discusses inward migration to the needle district at this time. Perhaps many poor from Zone B migrated to Zone D.

³⁵ Inventories of labourers ranged from GlosRO, probate of Thomas Roberts, Welford, labourer and husbandman, 1684, £1-17-6, to WoRO, probate of Thomas Cooke, Bevington, (Salford Priors), labourer, 1680, £42-18-2.

³⁶ WoRO, probate of Robert Hacoeks, Milcote Lodge, Weston, labourer, 1710, £114-8-6.

³⁷ GlosRO, probate of William Tandy, Welford, labourer/yeoman, 1712, £3-3-2. More than half this zone's 'husbandmen' in probate were in Long Marston, where perhaps landholding or customary terminology differed from the other parishes. Although lower, the inventory values of husbandmen in this zone generally follow the same trends as those of yeomen.

³⁸ WoRO, marriage licence of John Hill, Bidford, husbandman, Oct. 1738, witnessed by John Randle, Bidford, gardener, and marriage licence of Henry Chamberlain, Warwick, tailor, Nov. 1738, witnessed by Thomas Alderton, Salford Priors, gardener. Martin, 'The social and economic origins of the Vale of Evesham market gardening industry', and C. Upton, *A History of Birmingham*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 2001), p. 85, discuss the transport of produce from the Vale of Evesham to Birmingham at this period. However, Randle and Alderton may have been one of the other types of gardener, rather than market-gardeners.

³⁹ In particular, the number of those termed 'husbandmen' declined markedly.

with better transport links allowing more cattle to be fattened on the Avon valley pastures and then driven to markets such as Birmingham or taken downstream to Bristol.

Although no gardeners are named as such in Period C, it may be that the increase in labourers in probate subsumes some independent labourers cum market-gardeners.⁴⁰ These parishes may well have been included in the description of rent by Eden's Inkberrow correspondent: 'In the vale of Evesham, from which the inhabitants are almost wholly supplied with vegetables, £2 to £4 an acre...', compared with 15s to 25s. an acre in Inkberrow.⁴¹ Amongst the handful of labourers who left probate approximately half owned a number of houses, while William Canning's probate was handled at the prerogative court.⁴²

The increased demand for market-garden produce may have enabled more labouring families to stay put rather than move in search of work. However, proving the involvement of any individual in the market-gardening industry at this time is difficult. Martin found that in the eighteenth century few people specialised as market-gardeners even in the heart of the vegetable growing areas of the Vale of Evesham. At this period it was a by-employment for labourers and petty tradesmen, going hand in hand with hemp and flax growing on small plots, which had probably also been used to raise tobacco in the previous century. Such poor men could utilise their small patch of ground, family

⁴⁰ Table 5.4 (from marriage licences) shows a very similar percentage for labourers mid-century and end of century. No gardeners appear in the marriage licence data.

⁴¹ Rogers, *The State of the Poor* (by Sir Frederic Morton Eden), p. 350. Inkberrow is in Zone C.

⁴² TNA, PCC probate of William Canning, Long Marston, labourer, 1762. On the other hand some of the labourers' probate documents show values of less than £20 and were only drawn up because of special factors such as the minority of the deceased's children.

labour and access to commons to eke out a living.⁴³ Earlier there is evidence that flax, woad and rape were cultivated here, presumably on relatively small plecks.⁴⁴

In the nineteenth century in addition to the farmers records reveal a number of other associated occupations: grazier, horse-dealer, pig-dealer, cattle-doctor, veterinary surgeon and cutter (castrator).

More research would be needed in order to interpret accurately the figures in the 1831 census for occupiers of land employing or not employing labourers.⁴⁵ Many of this zone's parishes were probably involved in market-gardening at this period as small plots continued to be converted to this use as hemp and flax growing declined.⁴⁶ Several gardeners, maybe of the market variety, are mentioned in local records, while George Ebenezer Knight, a Harvington innkeeper, was also a seedsman. Although market-garden plots were small, horticulture was labour-intensive, perhaps employing more labourers per acre than some types of agriculture, as well as women and children, unseen in the figures. No doubt some of the female agricultural workers listed in the censuses worked on the market garden plots.⁴⁷

The information about labourers in the 1831 census shows that in most of the parishes in this zone all the labourers were employed in agriculture. Bidford had the

⁴³ Martin, 'The social and economic origins of the Vale of Evesham market gardening industry', pp. 42, 47.

⁴⁴ GlosRO, probate of Thomas Collins, Welford, yeoman, 1729, £591-15-0, includes £5 worth of flax and rent for the 'Rapeground'. GlosRO, probate of Benjamin Medes, Weston, yeoman, 1729, £632-14-5, reveals that he was growing 5½ acres of flax (worth £30) and had another 7 acres 'sett for flax' (worth £24-10-0). Thirsk, *Agrarian History of England*, vol. V, p. 171, details the arrangement for growing flax in Broad Marston, (Pebworth), on the Little Woad Ground, whose named suggests a former use for growing woad. 'Pleck' is a local word for a small plot.

⁴⁵ Appendix 7.

⁴⁶ Martin, 'The social and economic origins of the Vale of Evesham market gardening industry', p. 43. T. Rudge, *A History of the County of Gloucester*, (Gloucester, G. F. Harris, 1803), p. 110, says of Welford that considerable quantities of flax used to be raised, 'but the practice has been almost entirely discontinued.'

⁴⁷ Females referred to as 'jobbing women' may have been employed thus; for example, Betty Harwood of Bidford in the 1831 census. The 1841 census also lists several female agricultural labourers and 'fieldworkers'.

highest percentage of non-agricultural labourers, (7%), which may reflect both its town-like role and its quarrying industry.⁴⁸ Although unrest amongst labourers in this zone was never as prevalent as in south-east England, there was an outbreak of rick-burning.⁴⁹ On the other hand schemes were in operation to make life easier for labouring families. Pebworth's 1841 census enumerator records that twenty-four men and twenty-six women had come into the parish since 1831 'under the allotment scheme'.⁵⁰

The Arrow and the Avon enabled a few families to earn a meagre living from fishing. Probate inventories of fishermen before 1760 suggest a standard of living similar to that of a labourer.⁵¹ In later periods riverside parishioners continued to fish, legally or illegally. Several legal fishermen have come to light including members of the Gardiner and Hatton families.⁵² Fish was not the only food which locals were seeking illegally, as is evident from the flurry of newspaper notices concerning new game laws in the late eighteenth century.⁵³

⁴⁸ See Appendix 7.

⁴⁹ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 24 Dec. 1829. The manufacture of threshing machines in Welford may have provoked incendiaries there and in neighbouring Binton.

⁵⁰ T. Rudge, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Gloucester*, (London, R. Phillips, 1807), pp. 64-5, had advocated allotments for poorer inhabitants.

⁵¹ WoRO, probate of Richard Bickerton, Broom, (Bidford), 1668, (no inventory, but very small bequests). WoRO, probate of Robert Edkins, Bidford, fisherman, 1719, £16-0-0, indicates that he possessed only 'small goods' worth 13s. 4d.; the rest of his inventory value comprised his 'chattel lease' of £15-6-8. GlosRO, probate of John Silvester, Weston, (no occupation given), 1727/8, £29-0-0, shows that he combined fishing with carpentry to make ends meet. Carpenter's tools, fish-nets and a boat were listed among his scanty possessions at his three-room abode.

⁵² WoRO, QS552/57, concerns James Hatton bringing a case in 1798 against a labourer who was fishing illegally. WoRO, probate of James Hatton, Bidford, victualler, 1826, records his wish to leave half his boats and half his nets to his son, John. (Hatton kept the White Lion next to Bidford Bridge.) Something of Hatton's modus operandi can be ascertained from *BWJ* 13 April 1797 which reports that he and his men had caught a very impressive 27 cwt. of fish with draughting nets. (He is erroneously referred to as Hutton.) WaRO, Bidford 1851 census, lists Elizabeth Hatton of Bidford as a 'fish-seller'.

⁵³ Some asking for qualified gamekeepers and others warning of prosecution. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 28 Aug. 1783 carries a notice that a new 'gamekeeper and free-warrener' had been appointed at Bevington (in Salford Priors parish) and that poachers would be prosecuted. For discussion of game certificates and gamekeepers in this period see Chapter 7.

Extractive industries and building

Bidford and Cleeve Prior were blessed with lias and limestone quarries.⁵⁴ In the 1780s Nash mentions the different qualities of stone which occur in Cleeve Prior and states ‘by means of the Avon large quantities are sent to distant parts, [which] affords employment for many of the poor inhabitants.’⁵⁵ If needed, special stone or building materials and fuel for the lime-kilns could also be brought in by river from elsewhere. In these two quarrying parishes the description ‘(stone-)masons’ covered a range of workers, both masters and men, some of whom rented or owned quarries, dug the stone, worked it and dressed it and supplied it to customers or carried out building work themselves.

The probate inventory of Thomas Parr totalled only £11-16-6 including debts due to him of £8 and his working tools worth six shillings.⁵⁶ Parr was apparently a bachelor and maybe a young journeyman working for others. By contrast, members of the Squire family were well established quarrymen-masons who also split the stone to make slates. Their inventories show that they had a workshop, quarry and lime-kiln and were able to cushion the effects of slack periods in the mason’s trade with mixed farming and malting.⁵⁷ Another stonemason, (presumably a master), William Harward, owned several messuages, a shop and a cider mill.⁵⁸ The likes of the Harward and Squire

⁵⁴ See Appendix 18.

⁵⁵ T. Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire*, vol. I, (London, J. White, 1781), p. 236. He elaborates: ‘Here are quarries of very good stone.... Some of it bears a very fine polish like Derbyshire marble’, but the stone mainly used locally for walls is softer and flakes easily. The importance of quarries to Cleeve Prior is highlighted in its enclosure award, (WoRO, b140, BA8/4).

⁵⁶ WoRO, probate of Thomas Parr, Bidford, mason, 1699, £11-16-6.

⁵⁷ WoRO, probate of Charles Squire, Cleeve Prior, slater, 1696/7, £48-12-10, and of Richard Squire, Cleeve Prior, mason, 1687/8, £57-11-8, and of John Squire, Cleeve Prior, (no occupation given, but had slate, stones and lime worth £3, etc), 1671, £42-19-8. WoRO, probate of Thomas Squire, Cleeve Prior, mason, 1702, £18-8-9 and of Charles Squire, Cleeve Prior, slater, 1728, £80-0-0, and of William Quinton, Bidford, mason and limeman, 1741.

⁵⁸ WoRO, probate of William Harward, Marlcliff, (Bidford), stonemason, 1778.

families may have enjoyed a better life-style than Parr, but did not rival the richer yeomen-farmers. Within the family some members specialised in different aspects of the trade. Charles Squire was a ‘slatter’ (slater) and possessed special ‘slatting tools’. The mention of the lime-kiln shows that they were burning lime to make mortar and fertiliser. The stone from the ‘square pitts’ was probably particularly suitable for building, but stone furniture and troughs were also produced.⁵⁹ No doubt the stonemason’s trade presented many dangers; perhaps Bidford’s lame apprentice mason had been injured in his work.⁶⁰

As noted earlier, most master quarrymen were simply termed ‘(stone)masons’, but Robert Wilkes is described both as ‘mason’ and ‘stone-cutter’ in probate, while William Laughton was described as both ‘stone-cutter’ and ‘stone-carver’.⁶¹ Monumental inscriptions produced by the Laughton family in the eighteenth century survive to this day.⁶²

In Period D the quarrying parishes continued to provide employment for stonemasons, stonecutters, quarrymen, slaters, lime-burners and lime-workers, while some associated occupations appear for the first time: stone-rubber, stone-sawyer and sculptor.⁶³ As noted earlier, the term ‘mason’ is counted in the building sector, but in reality many masons were also quarrymen. Taking the building and extractive sectors

⁵⁹ WoRO, probate of Thomas Squire, Cleeve Prior, mason, 1702, mentions stones at the ‘square pitts’ which may refer to the shape of the quarry, but more likely the type of stone cut there. WoRO, probate of Mary Guillam, Bidford, widow, 1736/7 includes ‘3 freestone troves’ (troughs) and that of Thomas Harward, Bidford, mason, 1748 mentions stone dressers (as furniture) in his will.

⁶⁰ Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 8, p. 143, quotes quarter sessions 1685, concerning John Hall, Bidford, apprentice mason, so lame he could not do his master’s service.

⁶¹ WoRO, probate of Robert Wilkes, Bidford, mason/stone-cutter, 1786. WoRO, marriage licence of William Laughton, Cleeve Prior, stone-cutter, May 1775. TNA, IR1/60, inland revenue apprentice returns, record William Laughton, Cleeve Prior, stone-carver, taking on an apprentice in 1778.

⁶² For example, one from 1755 by John Laughton at Himbleton, Worcestershire, mentioned in T. Bridges, *Churches of Worcestershire*, (Logaston, Logaston Press, 2005), p. 123.

⁶³ Stone saw mills in Bidford are advertised in the *PO Warwickshire Directory 1845*.

together the 1841 census has a figure of 6.2% of adult males for this zone compared with 5.2% in baptisms 1813-1840.⁶⁴

Most references to masons are in the quarrying parishes, but members of the Yates and Smith families served the Pebworth community as masons, slaters and plasterers over many generations.⁶⁵ Perhaps they accessed their building-stone from Bidford and Cleeve Prior. In the 1770s Rudder describes how Pebworth had houses ‘chiefly of wattling and some of brick and fewer of stone, but there is not a good house in the village.’ Stone was also scarce in neighbouring Dorsington, so the ‘few houses in this village are either brick or wattled.’ Perhaps the newer buildings were of brick, as a fire in the 1750s had destroyed several houses and the church.⁶⁶

The road-labourers and road-makers listed in Bidford’s 1831 census no doubt made use of local stone and its by-products, perhaps transporting them outside the parish to mend roads at some distance.

Entrepreneurs were ever hopeful of finding mineral wealth however lacking their geological expertise at the time. Unsuccessful attempts to mine coal were made in Salford Priors, where there was also a salt-spring.⁶⁷ The middle lias stratum of much of this zone contains clay, but there is no documentary evidence of clay or marl extraction here in the seventeenth century, although Salford Priors was home to a bricklayer in the

⁶⁴ See Tables 5.6 and 5.8 above. In Table 5.6 (baptisms) the figures are extractive 3.7% and building 1.5%, while those in Table 5.8 (1841 census) are extractive 0.7% and building 5.5%. The baptism registers suggest stagnation or slight decline in the percentage of quarrymen and brickmakers in the 1830s. Perhaps certain local quarries and clay-pits had been over-exploited, while improved transport links began to make it economically viable to import better raw materials into the area from further afield. However, it may just be that more extractive workers were subsumed under the term ‘masons’.

⁶⁵ For example, WoRO, marriage licence of Henry Yates, Pebworth, mason, June 1721. GlosRO, marriage licence of Edward Smith, Pebworth, slatter (slater), Aug. 1797. WoRO, BA9202/6, Pebworth churchwardens’ accounts, June 1760: ‘Thomas Smith, plaister his bill’.

⁶⁶ Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire*, p. 413. The church was re-built in brick.

⁶⁷ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 158. There is no evidence that the salt-spring was ever exploited commercially as were the salt-springs at Droitwich and Stoke Prior.

1680s.⁶⁸ However, from the first half of the eighteenth century brickmakers appear, digging the Bidford clay.⁶⁹ They probably always made other related items, and in the 1840s Bidford's brickmaker also advertises as a tilemaker and drainpipe-maker.⁷⁰ The Avon no doubt proved useful in transporting the produce of the brick-kiln as well as that of the quarry.

In the nineteenth century Bidford was the base for a couple of glaziers cum plumbers cum painters, but earlier the Champion Country had been served in this respect by outsiders.⁷¹ Although there were many thatched buildings in the locality, references to thatchers do not appear until Period D. When called upon, labourers, carpenters and others could undertake the thatching of ricks and buildings.⁷² Other nineteenth century descriptors in the construction trade include the odd builder, plasterer and bricklayer.⁷³

⁶⁸ Despite place-names like Clay Hall Farm and Marlcliff. (Gover, *The Place-names of Warwickshire*, pp. 202-3, describes some confusion regarding the derivation of the name Marlcliff. It could refer to a kind of mud-stone, but may be derived from a personal name Mearna. WoRO, marriage licence of William Bushell, Salford Priors, bricklayer, Feb. 1685/6. No other building workers appear in records for this period except a handful of carpenters who are discussed below in the Wood and charcoal section. No doubt many roofs were thatched in this zone, as in later periods, but no thatchers are mentioned.

⁶⁹ WoRO, marriage licence of Joseph Bosward, Bidford, brickmaker, Feb. 1724/5, and of William Hawkins, Bidford, brickmaker, July 1748. WaRO, Exhall settlement examinations, DR200/43/14, mentions Justice Bosward, Bidford, brickmaker, 1770. WoRO, marriage licence of Richard Owen, Bidford, bricklayer, Jan. 1786, who married a member of the Harward family of masons. Joseph Quiney of Salford was variously described as bricklayer or mason.

⁷⁰ George Sheffield appears in the 1851 census and various directories from 1845 to 1854. The 'drain-pipes' probably mean pipes for draining fields.

⁷¹ WoRO, BA9202/6, Pebworth churchwardens' accounts, in the eighteenth century show payments to glaziers and plumbers, but their residence is not known. For example, the distinctively named Orange Wigginton, plasterer, may have been based at Shipston-on-Stour, some ten miles distant. (Found on the website www.familysearch.org at 11.30 a.m. 1 Aug. 2008). WaRO, Bidford 1831 and 1841 censuses record two plumbers.

⁷² Jonathan Gould is listed as a labourer in 1841 and a thatcher in 1851. (WaRO, Welford, 1841 and 1851 censuses.)

⁷³ WaRO, Long Marston 1851 census also lists Ann Knight, house-decorator. Carpenters are discussed in the wood and charcoal section below.

Textiles, clothing and paper

Ramsay states 'Clothmaking was an occupation almost as ubiquitous as baking and brewing: weaving perhaps only a little less, spinning rather more so.'⁷⁴ Everitt calculates that in early Stuart England the woollen industries may have occupied a quarter of the cottage-farming population in England and nearly a half in the midlands.⁷⁵ As noted from the 1608 muster, the textile trade was present in the Gloucestershire parishes of the study area, some families plying their trade for several generations.⁷⁶ The unit of production was indeed the family, and the industrial organisation in Gloucestershire (and no doubt the rest of the study area) was the domestic or putting-out system 'generally prevalent throughout the English woollen textile industry'.⁷⁷

In the late seventeenth century probate records give some pointers as to the weavers' status; some owned their home, while others rented.⁷⁸ John Bodily owned 'two loomes for a weaver trade' worth £1-2-0. However, the main part of his inventory value (£34 out of £38-7-0) was 'land in the feilds with appurtenances thereunto belonging', a reminder that most village craftsmen at the time were still heavily involved in agriculture, in which they often invested more capital than in their craft.⁷⁹ In the same village we find a poor cloth-worker, but many textile workers were too impoverished to

⁷⁴ G. Ramsay, *The English Woollen Industry, 1500-1750*, (London, Macmillan, 1982), p. 32.

⁷⁵ A. Everitt in J. Thirsk, *Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640*, vol. IV, (Cambridge, CUP, 1967), p. 425.

⁷⁶ See Appendix 9.

⁷⁷ Ramsay, *The English Woollen Industry*, pp. 26-7. WoRO, marriage licence of Samuel Smith, Badsey, 1681, was witnessed by his father, Anthony Smith, Badsey, clothworker, and also by Richard Morse, Cirencester, clothier. Badsey lies just outside this zone. This suggests links between local textile workers and those of Cirencester and South Gloucestershire.

⁷⁸ Glos RO, probate of Richard Wells, Welford, weaver, 1672, (no inventory), and of Thomas Battersby, Welford, weaver, 1685, £28-13-0.

⁷⁹ Glos RO, probate of John Bodily, Pebworth, (no occupation given), 1684, £38-7-0.

bother the probate courts.⁸⁰ The textile trade provided alternative employment for poor families, enabling them ‘to live or live better’.⁸¹ Fewer references to weavers occur in quarrying parishes where other non-agricultural work was available.

At Easter 1696 various local people were indicted ‘for a riot and breaking and entering a barge of Edward Burch and taking out ten cart loads of wool, value £700, and making an assault upon the said Edward Birch’ (sic).⁸² Sadly, we can not ascertain whether the wool was due to leave Bidford or had arrived from elsewhere.⁸³

In Periods B and C Tables 5.2 and 5.4 suggest an increase in the textile sector. Most Champion Country settlements were home to at least one family of weavers, even tiny Weston-on-Avon, where we find Sarah Silvester apparently continuing her husband’s weaving and farming businesses after his death. Local weavers had connections with the textile trade in Kidderminster and Gloucester and possibly further afield.⁸⁴ Some local weavers may have formed part of the extensive Vale of Evesham stocking trade, but others wove different products, both woollen and linen, including jersey-cloth. As in the previous period many workers in the textile trade were poor and

⁸⁰ Glos RO, (additional) probate of William Knight, Pebworth, clothworker, 1663/4, £5-1-4, including a hot press (worth £2), and racks and other materials (10s) and three pairs of fleeces (10s).

⁸¹ Ramsay, *The English Woollen Industry*, p. 49.

⁸² Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 9, pp. 124-5, quoting quarter sessions. N. B. Sheep are mentioned in this zone’s inventories, but perhaps not to the same extent as in Zone D.

⁸³ Buchanan, ‘Studies in seventeenth century Worcestershire industries, 1600-1650’, 18, p. 34, shows that long-stapled Cotswold wool was suitable for worsted and was sold in Gloucestershire, Kent, Hampshire and Devon. The Worcester clothiers imported shorter-stapled wool from Ryeland sheep in the Marches. This could be used for felting and other woollen cloths. The type of sheep kept throughout the study area is not known.

⁸⁴ WoRO, marriage licence of Samuel Silvester, Weston, weaver, to Sarah Newman, Stratford, 1725. Glos RO, probate of Samuel Silvester, Weston, 1744, describes him as a yeoman, but GlosRO, probate of Sarah Silvester, Weston, widow, 1748, £150, included weaving tools. Job Newman, weaver of Kidderminster, (her brother?), was to be guardian to her children. He was illiterate and made the calculations for her inventory with some difficulty ‘under protestation’. GlosRO, probate of John Wells, Welford, weaver, 1712, was witnessed by Jacob Randell, Upton St Leonards, (near Gloucester), ‘jocquer’. This latter term may be a specific occupation in the textile trade. Another Welford weaver, Thomas Nicholls, married a woman from Ashton by Oundle, Northamptonshire. (WaRO, Welford marriage register, 1780.)

vulnerable to slumps in the market.⁸⁵ However, those leaving probate show some business acumen. For example, John Hill wished his estate to be sold and the profits invested in government security stock.⁸⁶ Others too owned property, while some weavers were also described as yeomen.⁸⁷

For the most part locally woven cloth was probably marketed through dealers in nearby towns such as Alcester or Chipping Campden, a noted centre for wool. However, one local family of weavers, the Grays, were also described as cloth-dealers in the nineteenth century and may also have acted in this capacity earlier.⁸⁸ The Grays, based in Pebworth and surrounding villages, had at least seventeen looms in the 1830s and also put yarn out to others. Products made included canvas, table-linen, huckabacks and cheese-cloths. Members of the Gray family travelled throughout the west midlands selling their wares, and they also had a wholesale warehouse in London, where they supplied cheese-cloths to dairymen. Females were employed to weave smaller cheese-cloths.⁸⁹ In Period D sources suggest a relative decline in the textile trade.⁹⁰ However, linen-weaving with hand-looms continued in a small way right up to 1890.

⁸⁵ WaRO, DR911/20, Welford removal orders, record the removal in 1740 of a poor jersey-comber, Henry Hill, from Bidford to Welford.

⁸⁶ GlosRO, probate of John Hill, Welford, weaver, 1782.

⁸⁷ GlosRO, probate of William Wells, Welford, weaver and yeoman, 1753. GlosRO, probate of William Morris, Long Marston, weaver, 1750, also includes implements of husbandry.

⁸⁸ No specific references to clothiers or dyers have been found in this zone. Although the Grays are referred to only as weavers from 1730 to 1800, they were later also termed 'cloth-dealers' and employed many hands. R. Austin, 'Linen-weaving in North Gloucestershire', *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, 38, (1915), p. 214.

⁸⁹ Austin, 'Linen-weaving in North Gloucestershire', p. 214. (N. B. A cheese-cloth weaver in a neighbouring village, Bretforton, was mentioned in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 19 Oct. 1758.)

⁹⁰ See Tables 5.2, 5.4 and 5.6. Table 5.8 (1841 census) gives figure of 0.6% of adult males in the textile and paper trades (excluding tailors).

Perhaps the weaving of linen was always more prevalent than the weaving of woollen cloth hereabouts, but earlier records do not usually specify the materials woven.⁹¹ Much of the flax and hemp grown in local plecks and fields was probably also dressed locally. References to flax-dressers, although never plentiful, occur in various villages before 1800, while Richard Sheaf of Broom was described as a ‘whitener’.⁹² Others who processed flax are perhaps subsumed under descriptors such as yeomen and labourers. After 1800 only one flax-dresser is found in this zone, and he was on parish relief, perhaps symbolic of the decline in hemp and flax growing hereabouts.⁹³ However, a new occupation appears in Bidford, that of oilcloth-maker.⁹⁴

Probate inventories up to 1783 contain references to spinning wheels, suggesting that female family members busied themselves spinning.⁹⁵ As late as 1803 Rudge informs us that flax-spinning was a winter occupation in Welford.⁹⁶ Perhaps domestic spinning declined locally before the 1841 census, which does not record any spinners.⁹⁷ However, in Bidford in 1851 Hannah and Ann Workman were respectively described as

⁹¹ J. Fendley, ed., ‘Notes on the Diocese of Gloucester by Chancellor Richard Parsons c.1700’, *Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., Record Series*, 19, (2005), p. 47, mentions flaxen cloth production in Welford.

⁹² For example, WoRO, marriage licence of Richard Wormington, Salford Priors, flax-dresser, Sept. 1688, and GlosRO, probate of Joseph Campden, Welford, flax-dresser, 1719, £12-6-1. GlosRO, probate of John Godfree, Pebworth, flax-dresser, 1780, shows that he owned property. He may have supplied flax to the weaving members of his family. William Eden of Pebworth was included in the list of Gloucestershire flax growers for 1793, (GlosRO, Q/SR/1793/C). WaRO, CR1596/89/39 and QS76/3/6. WoRO, probate of Richard Sheaf, Bidford (Broom), maltster and baker, 1820. Sheaf had several occupations, but as he and another family member were also weavers, the descriptor ‘whitener’ suggests that he bleached cloth, probably linen. (C. Waters, *A Dictionary of Old Trades, Titles and Occupations*, (Newbury, Countryside Books, 1999), p. 249, also suggests that ‘whitener’ can mean someone who paints walls with white lime.)

⁹³ WaRO, Long Marston 1851 census.

⁹⁴ WaRO, Bidford baptisms 1841.

⁹⁵ GlosRO, probate of Benjamin Souch, Pebworth, maltster, 1783, mentions spinning wheels. Gloucester diocese inventories are often less detailed than those of Worcester diocese, which may account for the paucity of references to spinning wheels in the Gloucestershire parishes.

⁹⁶ Rudge, *A History of the County of Gloucester*, vol. 1, p. 110. Rudge actually states: ‘The lower classes are generally employed in agriculture except in winter when the manufacturers from Stratford supply them with flax for spinning.’ This implies that men as well as women were employed as spinners in the winter.

⁹⁷ However, women’s occupations are not always recorded in 1841 and, if they were spinners in the winter, they may not have described themselves thus in June at the time of the census.

wool-carder and wool-spinner. In the same census a female silk-winder is listed in Welford.⁹⁸

Before 1800 a handful of ropemakers (alternatively ropiers or ropers) were clustered in riverside parishes. The raw material, hemp, was grown and retted by the likes of Clement Horton, hemp-dresser.⁹⁹ The river boatmen could also bring in hemp from elsewhere and would require ropes themselves. Perhaps the ropemakers also made nets for local fishermen. Although ropiers required suitable premises for a rope-walk, their specialist tools cost little.¹⁰⁰ In the nineteenth century this zone is devoid of ropemakers.

Before 1700 there is no record of papermaking in this zone, but some time before 1729 increasing demand for paper led to the conversion of Bidford's Grange Mill to papermaking. Numbers of papermakers were always few, so they do not feature frequently in the records, but Francis Hide, papermaker of Bidford, appears in probate.¹⁰¹ Hide may have been the expert papermaker, while Thomas Slatter, who is also recorded as papermaker at the same mill, may have been the manager or owner. Slatter was from a family of millers and probably continued to grind corn as well.¹⁰² In the second half of the eighteenth century references to papermakers in this zone are lacking, but Harvington

⁹⁸ Perhaps she supplied silk to nearby Blockley or Murcot, where there were silk-mills.

⁹⁹ WaRO, Welford burials, 1698, burial of Clement Horton, Welford, hempdresser.

¹⁰⁰ WoRO, probate of John Savage, Abbots Salford, (Salford Priors), ropemaker, 1671, £39-17-2. Tools worth 6s 8d. WoRO, probate of William Blackford, Harvington, rope-maker, 1728, £171-10-0. Much farm-stock and a 'drinkhouse' indicates that he pursued other occupations to supplement his income from rope-making.

¹⁰¹ WoRO, probate of Francis Hide, Bidford, papermaker, 1729, £114-10-0. His inventory lists rags in the storehouse and three tuns (£21) and the stock of paper and moulds and other implements (£15). He is probably the same man who worked earlier at a paper-mill at nearby Wootton Wawen. (WoRO, marriage licence of Francis Hide, Wootton Wawen, papermaker, 1726.)

¹⁰² D. Booth, *Warwickshire Watermills*, (Warwick, Midland Wind and Water Mill Group, 1978), p. 43. Other members of the Slatter family were millers at Bidford and elsewhere. Harvington mill was probably not converted to papermaking until later, but there was a paper-mill in the neighbouring settlement of North Littleton in the eighteenth century.

Mill joined Bidford's Grange Mill in paper production shortly after 1800.¹⁰³ These mills only employed a handful of people and were apparently risky concerns. One paper-merchant went bankrupt and his partners at Bidford had run up huge debts, but managed to keep the business going.¹⁰⁴ Harvington mill supplied paper for papier-mache trays made at Welford.¹⁰⁵ In 1841 Richard Newman, described as a ragman, presumably collected rags for use in these local paper-mills.¹⁰⁶

Over the two centuries tailors were at work in most of the parishes, even in small settlements like Dorsington. Not many tailors left probate, but their few surviving inventories indicate that, although some engaged in agriculture to supplement their income, they lived very modestly. The inventory of John Rice indicates that almost half of his estate comprised his stock of fustians, serges, 'tickers', 'stuffes', silk, flannel, buttons and thread.¹⁰⁷ In the 1760s Bidford also had at least one stay-maker.¹⁰⁸ Baptism data suggests that tailors were on the increase in the 1830s; in the 1841 census 1.7% of adult males were tailors.¹⁰⁹

Although many females made clothes, few were distinguished with the term 'tailor'. However, Margaret Gould of Welford, a dressmaker in 1841, was termed a 'tailoress' in 1851.¹¹⁰ More usual descriptions of females involved in clothing

¹⁰³ Various documents show papermakers in Harvington from 1803 to 1827. Bidford's Grange Mill apparently lasted into the 1860s. For example, WoRO, Harvington baptisms 1825 and WaRO, Bidford 1861 census.

¹⁰⁴ Birmingham Library, MS3069/Acc1906-002/192563 to 192568. Phillips went bankrupt while the Wrighton brothers continued the business.

¹⁰⁵ Information from Welford Local History Society.

¹⁰⁶ WaRO, Bidford (Broom) 1841 census.

¹⁰⁷ WoRO, probate of John Rice, Bidford, tailor, 1729, £59-0-0. (One Bidford tailor was probably also a weaver. WoRO, probate of Thomas Harbidge, Bidford, yeoman, 1700, mentions Robeert Baldwyn, Bidford, weaver, and probate of John Slater, Bidford, (no occupation given), 1713, mentions Robert Balwin, Bidford, weaver.)

¹⁰⁸ WoRO, marriage licence of Richard Scrivin, Bidford, staymaker, Dec. 1761. He doubled as a victualler.

¹⁰⁹ Tables 5.6 and 5.8.

¹¹⁰ WaRO, Welford 1841 and 1851 census. There was also another 'tailoress' in Welford in 1851. Also a girl was apprenticed to a tailor in Pebworth in 1816. (WoRO, BA3586 (v), Feckenham apprentice records.)

manufacture include mantua-makers, milliners, dressmakers and seamstresses.¹¹¹ Bidford seemed to be a focus for such occupations and also had a male ‘habit-maker’ and four ‘thimblemen’.¹¹²

Leather, horn and tallow

Leatherworkers were less numerous here than in other zones.¹¹³ However, from 1660 to 1800 tanners were working the tanyard at Dunnington in Salford Priors parish, which adjoined the woodland parishes to the north and so had access to bark for tanning.¹¹⁴ Cleeve Prior also boasted a couple of tanners before 1750, while only one skinner, one currier and one fellmonger appear in this zone’s records – all in Bidford.¹¹⁵ Bidford was also home to collarmakers cum saddlers cum harness-makers throughout the study period, while at different times such businesses were also based in Harvington, Pebworth and Long Marston.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ WaRO, 1841 and 1851 censuses. In 1841 4.1% of adult females with known occupations were makers of clothes. The Bidford 1851 census also lists females who were a straw-bonnetmaker, a shirt-maker and a men’s frock-maker. The term ‘mantuamaker’ occurs in this zone from 1754 to 1805. (Various apprentice records including TNA, IR1/52 and 54.)

¹¹² WaRO, Bidford 1841 census, records William Share, habitmaker. SCLA, ER 10/2/104, mentions four thimblemen, who were prosecuted for thieving materials from Joseph Matthews, Bidford, tailor and draper. They may have worked for Joseph Matthews, or perhaps been suppliers of thimbles, etc.

¹¹³ See Tables 5.2, 5.4 and 5.6 above. Table 5.8 (1841 census) gives a figure of 0.2% for adult males in leather trades apart from shoemakers.

¹¹⁴ WoRO, probate of Richard Walford, Salford Priors, tanner, 1688, £240-4-6. WoRO, probate of John Walford, Dunnington, Salford Priors, 1748, £603-13-3. His inventory reveals various skins and hides (including horse-hides) in the tan-house and in ‘the limes’. WoRO, marriage licence of William Gould, Dunnington, Salford Priors, tanner, Feb. 1768.

¹¹⁵ WoRO, probate of William Perkins, Bidford, skinner, 1710, £88-1-0. TNA, IR1/53, apprenticeship returns for 1759 list William Collins of Bidford, currier.

¹¹⁶ TNA, PCC probate of Walter Martin, Bidford, collarmaker, 1661. WoRO, marriage licence of Joseph Bosward, Bidford, brickmaker, 1725, witnessed by William Baylis, Bidford, collarmaker. WaRO, Bidford 1841 and 1851 censuses list William Dowdeswell, saddler/harness-maker. WaRO, Long Marston marriages 1850 records William Blunn, of that parish, harness-maker. WoRO, Pebworth 1851 census lists Charles Moore, saddler/harness-maker. WoRO, marriage licence of John Dyer, Harvington, collarmaker, 1682.

Shoemakers or cordwainers occur in a few parishes throughout the study period, but are not as numerous as further north.¹¹⁷ Most did not trouble the probate courts, but the probate inventory of one Bidford shoemaker lists in detail the contents of his shop.¹¹⁸ The shoemaking Sale family was scattered throughout the Champion Country. John Sale of Cleeve was grand enough to use the prerogative court, stipulating what should happen to his real estate.¹¹⁹ George Sale's 'trusty friend', William Haines of Alcester, currier, who was to help execute George's will, may also have been the source of George's leather.¹²⁰ By Period D shoemakers were working in most parishes. Females in censuses include a shoe-binder and a boot-closer, suggesting that womenfolk were employed to sew the different parts together.¹²¹

Only one male glover emerges from the records.¹²² However, in Period D censuses reveal several females employed as glovers, particularly in Bidford. Perhaps one amongst them was an employer, or they may all have been outworkers for firms in Alcester or Worcester. Maybe the gloves were cut out by one of the glove-machines made in Bidford, then sewn together by the women.¹²³

Chandlers (or tallow chandlers) appear in Bidford and Welford. Some were apparently less wealthy than their Alcester counterparts.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, chandlers were

¹¹⁷ Table 5.8 (1841 census) shows that 3.0% of adult males were shoemakers.

¹¹⁸ WoRO, probate of Thomas Harward, Bidford, cordwainer, 1725/6, £20-15-2. He used (sheep) skins for his uppers and (cattle) hide for his soles. He also stocked wooden clogs and wooden heels, patten rings and buckles, as well as tools and equipment for making shoes, boots and pattens.

¹¹⁹ TNA, PCC probate of John Sale, Cleeve Prior, cordwainer, 1748.

¹²⁰ GlosRO, probate of Anthony Sale, Welford, cordwainer, 1752, £19. WoRO, probate of George Sale, Bidford, cordwainer, 1773, (under £20).

¹²¹ WaRO, Bidford 1841 census for the shoebinder and Welford 1851 census for the bootcloser.

¹²² WoRO, marriage licence of William Baily, Cleeve Prior, glover, Jan. 1759.

¹²³ See metal section for this zone concerning the glove-machine-maker. Some gloves made locally may have been of other materials than leather.

¹²⁴ For example, WoRO, probate of Henry Mould, Bidford, Chandler, 1695, £18-17-10.

often well-connected compared to other tradesmen.¹²⁵ After 1715 chandlers are absent from the zone's archives, so perhaps the villagers were served in this respect by chandlers in the local towns.

Wood and charcoal

Compared with other sub-districts the Champion Country was lacking in woodland, so it is not surprising that charcoal burning is not mentioned at all over the two centuries. The Avon allowed easy importation of charcoal and pit-coal enough for heating and for the blacksmith's forges. Perhaps timber was also brought in by river.

However, carpenters and other woodworkers were present in approximately the same proportions as in other zones.¹²⁶ Most villages had their carpenter, even tiny Dorsington and Weethley, while Welford and Bidford seem to have more than their share. Although perhaps not much capital was needed to set up as a carpenter, it was necessary to have suitable premises and to serve an apprenticeship. One Cleeve Prior carpenter left money to bind one grandson apprentice to his other carpenter grandson - one of many examples of family continuity within this trade.¹²⁷ As with all building workers, carpenters often had to work away from their home parish.¹²⁸

Country carpenters such as those in this zone probably did not specialise as much as their colleagues in big towns. For instance, in Bidford Thomas Hughes was described

¹²⁵ Edward Bartlett of Welford was a chandler, mercer and innkeeper and of a prominent family in Stratford upon Avon and the neighbourhood. WaRO, Welford baptisms and burials 1699-1702. TNA, IR1/44, apprenticeship books, record the apprenticeship of his son in 1714.

¹²⁶ For example, for the period 1831-1840 baptism data shows carpenters between 2.3 and 2.8% in all zones and other woodworkers between 2.0 and 2.3% (see Table 5.6 above). Table 5.8 gives a figure of 3.5% for (adult male) carpenters in this zone.

¹²⁷ WoRO, probate of Richard Lilley alias Tustins, Cleeve Prior, carpenter, 1679/80, £24-11-4, and of Francis Lilley alias Tustins, Cleeve Prior, carpenter, 1685, £28-12-2.

¹²⁸ For example, WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, records John Churchley, Weethley, carpenter, working on a house in Coughton.

as both cabinetmaker and builder and Thomas Hale as carpenter, wood-turner and chairmaker.¹²⁹ George Southwell the younger was a joiner, while George senior was an upholsterer.¹³⁰ James Mills of Welford, farmer and timberman, was also a (threshing)-machine-maker. After his death his widow Mary continued the machine-making business and maybe some of his other enterprises.¹³¹

Other woodworkers were always present in this zone in small numbers.¹³² Throughout the study period the odd ploughwright and wheelwright operated hereabouts, at least one being listed by the alternative descriptor of 'wheeler'.¹³³ The last two periods saw wheelwrights on the increase; they were now based in at least half the parishes, apparently still making ploughs as well as other horse-drawn vehicles.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ WaRO, Bidford censuses 1831, 1841, 1851.

¹³⁰ WaRO, Bidford baptisms 1837 and 1841 census.

¹³¹ WaRO, DR360/79/190, Alcester apprentice record of William Dance to James Mills, Welford, machine-maker, 1823. WaRO, Welford baptisms and 1841 census. Information from Welford Local History Society shows that Mills was something of an entrepreneur, supervising workshops where brewing, needlemaking and paper-tray making went on. He was also a contractor, supplying stone blocks for the Stratford to Moreton tramway. K. F. Chapman, 'The Langley plough', *Warwickshire History*, 12, (2002), discusses another enterprising family who made ploughs and agricultural machinery just outside the study area.

¹³² Table 5.8 (1841 census) shows that 1.3% of adult males were in this category.

¹³³ TNA, IR1/50, inland revenue apprenticeship books for 1744 lists Nathan Harris, Cleeve Prior, 'wheeler'.

¹³⁴ Of 7 wheelwrights in probate 3 were in Period D. WaRO, CR3916/1, Wheelwright's account book, 1790-1820, (described as from Long Marston, but in reality from Pebworth) details different work undertaken for customers.

Over the two centuries a couple of coopers were always present in riverside parishes, where perhaps making barrels was especially useful for the river-trade.¹³⁵ Weethley was the base for a family of turners for at least a century, while Simon Barnes, although described as a yeoman, owned ‘turning tooles and a lathe in the shop’. No doubt turning wooden objects such as treenware bowls or legs for stools and chairs was a useful by-employment for rainy days.¹³⁶ Sawyers first make an appearance in the 1780s but become more plentiful in the nineteenth century.¹³⁷

The Avon provided osiers for Bidford’s basketry craftsmen: William Edkins, basketmaker, and William Harward, putchin-maker.¹³⁸ Some labourers may have pursued basketry as a sideline, such as Ephraim Churchley, variously described as labourer and sieve-bottomer.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ GlosRO, probate of William Porter alias Baker, Welford, cooper, 1670, (value unclear). Other coopers of this surname were in Wixford and Flyford Flavell. TNA, PCC probate of Matthew Snedwell, Broad Marston, (Pebworth), cooper, 1669, indicates that he was in fact a ship’s cooper at sea. Welford seemed to be something of a woodworking centre for this zone with wheelwrights, coopers and carpenters.

¹³⁶ The Parker family were turners in Weethley from the 1680s to the 1780s. GlosRO, probate of Simon Barnes, Broad Marston, Pebworth, yeoman, 1708, £245-5-1, list turning tools.

¹³⁷ These references to coopers, turners and sawyers appear in a variety of records including probate, marriage licences and censuses. WaRO, Bidford 1851 census lists a ‘labourer at the sawmill’.

¹³⁸ WoRO, probate of William Harward, Bidford, putchin-maker, 1731/2, £142-19-10. (Putchins were fish-traps made from basketwork.) He had a parcel of osiers, thirteen baskets, three and a half dozen putchins and other goods ready for sale. The quantities may suggest that he supplied customers over a wider area than just the parish.

¹³⁹ WaRO, Long Marston 1841 census, and Long Marston baptisms 1813-1820. Basketmakers in Alcester also made sieves. In the Vale of Evesham ‘sieve’ may mean a type of shallow basket for transporting fruit, e. g. bushel and half bushel ‘sieves’ in A. Heseltine, *Baskets and Basketmaking*, (Princes Risborough, Shire Publications, 1982), p. 31, and J. G. Jenkins, *Traditional Country Craftsmen*, (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 46. WaRO, Bidford 1851 census also lists a beehive-maker; beehives at that time were usually of the basketwork type.

Metal

Despite the close proximity of the riverside forge at Clifford Chambers which converted pig-iron to bar-iron, metalworkers in the Champion Country were few and far-between apart from the almost ubiquitous blacksmiths.¹⁴⁰

The men who repaired the church clock at Salford Priors before 1750 may have been skilful blacksmiths rather than specialist clockmakers, but Mr. Halford, who made Bidford's clock was probably related to the watchmaker of the same name in nearby Temple Grafton.¹⁴¹ One wonders whether he made the whole clock himself or assembled parts brought in from elsewhere. In the nineteenth century clockmakers were joined in Bidford by the odd brazier and button-maker.¹⁴²

Probate inventories shed light on the working practice and living style of local blacksmiths. The inventory of Thomas Goodwin reveals the varied work undertaken by a rural blacksmith, while debts due to Richard Roberts serve as a reminder that, like many other craftsmen, smiths were not paid after each completed job, but ran up an account which, if lucky, was settled, perhaps annually.¹⁴³ The household goods of blacksmith, George Mills, include a clock and 'ticknyware', indicating that even modest households

¹⁴⁰ For information about Clifford Forge and other local ironmaking forges I am indebted to Dr Peter King of Hagley, Worcestershire, and his gazetteer of iron forges (in preparation). Clifford Forge probably operated from 1673 until 1751. Table 5.6 (baptisms 1813-1840) shows that 1.6% of fathers were blacksmiths/farriers, while other metalworkers comprised only 0.2%. Table 5.8 (1841 census) has a figure of 2.0% for blacksmiths and 0.3% for other metal workers. Some needlemakers were based in Welford in Period D, but they are not recorded in baptisms nor the 1841 census.

¹⁴¹ J. McKenna, *Watch and Clockmakers of the British Isles: Warwickshire*, (Birmingham, Pendulum Press, no date), p. 29. As well as Halford the author mentions Smyth, Hale and Roberts mending Salford Priors church clock between 1660 and 1720.

¹⁴² WaRO, 1841 census and Bidford baptisms 1813-1840.

¹⁴³ WoRO, probate of Thomas Goodwin, Bidford, blacksmith, 1731, £140-2-9. He shoed horses and made or repaired plough-shares, spades and shovels. GlosRO, probate of Richard Roberts, Welford, blacksmith, 1695, £38-6-8, lists debts in the shop book.

formed part of an increasing consumer-base demanding goods not available locally.¹⁴⁴ Many master blacksmiths did well for themselves, owning property apart from their own homes; one blacksmith's probate was handled by the PCC.¹⁴⁵

The animal care side of the farrier's role is demonstrated by William Westbury of Harvington, described as both farrier and gelder in the 1770s, while one of his apprentices probably passed on his skills to a relative who was a 'cutter' in Bidford in the 1820s.¹⁴⁶

In the nineteenth century most parishes had at least one blacksmith or farrier, some had several. New occupational descriptors, which appear in this period include machine-maker (mentioned above) and engineer. At this period the descriptor 'engineer' may have covered various meanings. George Newton of Bidford, described as an engineer in the 1841 census, may have designed and made machines/engines or operated an engine (perhaps at the quarry?) or may have been an early civil engineer. John Allen Stokes of Harvington perhaps came in this last category, being described as engineer and surveyor.¹⁴⁷ Later, the machine-maker, William Chambers Day of Bidford, was also described as an iron-founder.¹⁴⁸ In a small way some of these villages took part in the rural engineering industry which grew nationally in mid-century.

This was a period when those with metal-working skills adapted to new ideas, perhaps fulfilling mainly local needs, and the likes of James Mills, the machine-maker,

¹⁴⁴ GlosRO, probate of George Mills, Welford, blacksmith, 1747, £18-12-6. 'Ticknyware' was crockery from Ticknall in Derbyshire.

¹⁴⁵ WoRO, probate of Thomas Hawkes, Harvington, blacksmith, 1783. Also TNA, PCC probate of Simon Bishop, Long Marston, blacksmith, 1753.

¹⁴⁶ TNA, IR1/59, inland revenue apprenticeship books, record the apprenticeship of William Plumb to William Westbury, Harvington, gelder, in 1775, and that of Thomas Procter to William Westbury, Harvington, farrier in 1776, while WaRO, Bidford baptisms, 1824-27, list Benjamin Procter, cutter.

¹⁴⁷ WoRO, Harvington 1841 census and *Bentley's Worcestershire Directory 1841*.

¹⁴⁸ WaRO, QS76, Jurors' lists, and Bidford baptisms 1849 and 1851 census. He was also described as gentleman and manufacturer.

started new enterprises utilising local labour. Small needlemaking workshops now spread to Welford.¹⁴⁹ From the 1840s to 1870s Henry Ellis of Bidford was a gunsmith and glove-machine-maker.¹⁵⁰ Bidford also numbered a couple of ironmongers amongst its many retailers.¹⁵¹

Transport

In the early eighteenth century up to eighty pack-horses daily travelled to Birmingham with fruit and vegetables from the Vale of Evesham.¹⁵² No doubt some of this produce and some of the carriers too originated in this zone.¹⁵³ In the 1770s Rudder bewailed the defective roads locally, which were probably as bad or worse in earlier times, but many important routes nearby were improved before the late 1720s.¹⁵⁴ Vale of Evesham hosiery factors may have provided the impetus for many such improvements, but now market-gardeners and village carriers could also access markets more easily.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ WaRO, 1841 census.

¹⁵⁰ WaRO, Bidford 1841 and 1851 census, *White's Warwickshire Directory 1850* and *PO Warwickshire Directory 1854*. Also Bailey and Nie, *English Gunmakers*, p. 66. His wife Sarah was a gloveress.

¹⁵¹ WaRO, Bidford 1831, 1841, 1851 census.

¹⁵² Upton, *The History of Birmingham*, p. 85, and *VCH Warwickshire*, vii, p. 28. The primary source for this evidence is not given in either book. Pack-horses were used as the road into Birmingham was apparently not suitable for carts.

¹⁵³ Although no carriers emerge from the records at this time, there is evidence of Welford carriers taking produce to Birmingham in the next period.

¹⁵⁴ Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire*, p. 413, where he pronounces the roads in Dorsington 'very bad'. *Ibid.*, p. 789, talking of Welford he declares: '...the public roads in all this part of the county are very incommodious and almost impassable in the winter season. They are either carried through miry lanes or along headlands in the common fields so that the traveller is obliged to shape his course in a zig-zag direction as the ground will permit.' Slater, *A History of Warwickshire*, p. 95, discusses the turnpiking of roads from Stratford to Shipston on Stour and to Birmingham. See Appendix 15: Turnpikes and coach routes.

¹⁵⁵ Martin, 'The social and economic origins of the Vale of Evesham market gardening industry', p. 49, discusses road-building around Evesham up to 1728.

Although the numbers involved in transport were always low, they were nevertheless important to the local economy.¹⁵⁶ By the 1770s Welford enjoyed a carrying service provided by Sandford and Boyce, who carried agricultural produce to Birmingham each week returning with coal and other provisions.¹⁵⁷ As turnpike tolls became more widespread it became more cost-effective for people to make use of their local carriers rather than paying the tolls themselves on some small errand. However, Pebworth folk claimed the right to travel toll-free throughout the kingdom.¹⁵⁸

The transport infrastructure developed further during Period D. Roads continued to be turnpiked and bridges improved.¹⁵⁹ As well as the many drivers of farm-carts and farm-wagons the roads were frequented by common carriers based in larger villages such as Bidford, and increasingly in smaller villages too.¹⁶⁰ Women were also engaged in this trade as carriers or letter-carriers.¹⁶¹ The Bidford 'waggoner', Tobias Harward, may have hauled heavier goods, such as stone and lime on his own account.¹⁶² As well as

¹⁵⁶ Table 5.6 shows that in baptisms 1813-1840 only 0.5% of fathers worked in the transport sector. Table 5.8 (1841 census) has a figure of 0.6% for adult males and 0.5% of adult females in this sector.

¹⁵⁷ L. Fox, ed., *The Correspondence of the Rev. Joseph Greene, Parson, Schoolmaster and Antiquary, 1712-1790*, (London, Dugdale Soc./Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1965), pp. 131-2. However, when Boyce's wife received a large legacy in 1780, they suspended their carrying service for three weeks.

¹⁵⁸ Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire*, p. 599. This right was because of their manor's connection to the Duchy of Lancaster. Whether distant toll-gatekeepers accepted their claim is a matter of some doubt.

¹⁵⁹ For example, Richardson, *The Book of Redditch*, p. 76, concerning the Pershore Turnpike. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 16 July 1807, concerning repair of Salford Bridge. Bidford's roadmakers were mentioned above in the extractive and building section. See also Appendices 15 and 16.

¹⁶⁰ WoRO, Cleeve Prior 1851 census also lists a miller's waggoner.

¹⁶¹ For example, WoRO, BA9202/8, Pebworth overseers of the poor accounts 1818, record payment of 1s. to Jane Churchley 'for carrying things', also *Pigot's Warwickshire Directory 1830, 1841* and *PO Warwickshire Directory 1845* list Churchley (alias Chesley) as carrier Pebworth to Stratford. WaRO, Bidford 1851 census records Susannah Cox, letter-carrier.

¹⁶² GlosRO, probate of Mary Harward, Pebworth, spinster, 1799. Amongst other items he may have transported stone for family members who were stonemasons. Alternatively, the term 'waggoner' could signify merely that he was a farm employee.

transporting goods for others, some earned money from hiring out horses, for example John Simmons, horse-keeper.¹⁶³

The toll-gates in this zone must have been manned, but few references to gatekeepers emerge. They often combined this role with another and are perhaps recorded under their other occupation.

This zone was not blessed with steam railways until after mid-century, but was served by the horse-tramway from the wharves at Stratford to Moreton-in-Marsh from the late 1820s.¹⁶⁴

Throughout the study period there must have been several boatmen transporting their goods up and down the Avon, such as the bargee Edward Burch.¹⁶⁵ In addition to Burch's cargo of wool there must have been many other goods transported on the river, notably incoming pit-coal.¹⁶⁶ Many boatmen, like their land-carrier colleagues, were mobile but poor, so are elusive in local archives.¹⁶⁷ Sometimes goods were landed in unauthorised places near Bidford which affected the profits of legitimate wharfingers.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ WaRO, Salford Priors 1841 census.

¹⁶⁴ SCLA, ER8/1, and J. Norris, *The Stratford and Moreton Tramway*, (Guildford, Railway and Canal History Soc., 1987).

¹⁶⁵ Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 9, pp. 124-5, quoting quarter sessions concerning the barge riot (mentioned above). Although Bidford may have lost some river-trade to Stratford after the navigation improvements in the late 1630s, it is noticeable that some of the rioters in 1696 were Alcestrians, suggesting Bidford's role as an entrepot for Alcester.

¹⁶⁶ Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 9, p. 104, mentions an entrepreneur in nearby Stratford offloading pit-coals there 'against the form of the statute' in 1695. The administration of the Avon navigation at this period is discussed in Hadfield, and Norris, *Waterways to Stratford*, pp. 15-21.

¹⁶⁷ WaRO, DR911/18/4, Welford settlements, 1706, records the settlement of a Bewdley waterman, Richard Corker, in Welford, demonstrating movement between the rivers Severn and Avon. N. Cox et al., eds., *The Gloucester Port Books Database 1575-1765*, CD-ROM, shows Worcestershire craft trading right down the Severn and along the coasts of Devon and South Wales. GlosRO, probate of Thomas Collins, Welford, yeoman, 1729, £591-15-0, provides one fortuitous reference. Collins was owed a 'desperate debt' of £9 by John Willis, a bargeman.

¹⁶⁸ SCLA, DR444/6/2/31/11.

Some of Bidford's inns had wharves on the Avon; one innholder had 'boats on the water' worth £1-10-0.¹⁶⁹

In the second half of the eighteenth century the Avon continued to be an important link with the outside world. Changes were made to the regulations of navigation on the river, and wharves such as those in Cleeve Prior were safeguarded for public use.¹⁷⁰ From the early nineteenth century water transport up the Avon to Stratford could now access the markets of the midlands and the north via the Stratford upon Avon Canal, while the transport of goods downstream to Gloucester and Bristol was still a vital link. Tolls were collected on the River Avon Navigation, but the collectors are unknown to us.¹⁷¹ The river must have been busy with boats of fishermen, coal-dealers and other boatmen, while labourers and wharfingers transferred goods from water to land and vice versa.¹⁷²

Marketing, dealing, retailing and food and drink

As explained above, Bidford was struggling as a market centre. Its weekly market was revived in 1754, but it is not known how long it had been in abeyance beforehand, nor how long the revived market lasted.¹⁷³ Bidford and most of the other

¹⁶⁹ WoRO, probate of John Gittins, Bidford, innholder, 1684, £29-5-0.

¹⁷⁰ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 30 May 1751 reports celebrations in Evesham that an Act had been passed regulating tonnage on the Avon, by which 'the trade of the river is laid open'. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 9 April 1795 carries an advertisement that the lease on the River Avon Upper Navigation is to expire shortly and anyone interested in leasing the same should make offers. WoRO, b140, BA8/4, Cleeve Prior enclosure award, specifically mentions the public wharves; these were important to the quarrying trade.

¹⁷¹ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 24 Dec 1829 shows the tolls paid on different stretches of the river.

¹⁷² Some wharfingers also kept riverside pubs, such as Mark Hughes, (WaRO, 1845 *PO Directory* and 1851 census for Bidford.)

¹⁷³ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 6 June 1754 notes that Bidford's 'ancient corporation' had revived the market which was now to be toll-free. Bidford's status as town or village was not clear, but *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 26 March 1789 reported the inhabitants of the 'ancient corporation of Bidford' celebrating the king's recovery. The weekly market had apparently ceased before 1800.

parishes in this zone held annual fairs, which varied in size and speciality.¹⁷⁴ The good folk of the Champion Country also attended various local markets: Stratford, Evesham, Chipping Campden as well as Alcester. Bidford, and to a lesser extent Welford and Pebworth, served their less populous neighbours, filling the retailing niche between market town and hamlet.

After the Restoration Bidford was home to several dealers and retailers, such as a salter, ‘hustler’ and cheesemonger.¹⁷⁵ As may be expected, shopkeepers were not so common in this zone as in Alcester. However, there are references to a few bakers, mercers and butchers. The latter, and also the local millers, often farmed quite substantially and were wealthier than the petty village craftsmen. Some seven corn-mills served the ten parishes.¹⁷⁶ The bakers may have sold their produce in local market towns, as well as serving their own communities, where they fulfilled important roles in village life.¹⁷⁷ One Welford baker had his finger in various pies apart from the ones he baked.¹⁷⁸

In the eighteenth century this zone played its part in making England a nation of shopkeepers. Village shops were on the increase as rural folk demanded more exotic or luxurious wares.¹⁷⁹ In some cases craftsmen or their womenfolk began to sell a wider range of wares, in other cases wealthy families invested in the retail trade. In the latter

¹⁷⁴ See Appendix 13.

¹⁷⁵ Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 9, p. liii, quoting quarter sessions concerning the barge riot, mentions the salter and the hustler. The latter may mean a ‘huckster’ (small dealer) or an ‘ostler’ looking after customers’ horses at an inn. WaRO, Throckmorton MSS, CR1998/LCB/26, shows the cheesemonger supplying the Throckmorton family.

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix 17.

¹⁷⁷ GlosRO, probate of John Keck, Long Marston, gentleman, 1718, £5-9-6, includes his request that ‘Barnaby Fletcher [should] make cake for my funerall but no bread’.

¹⁷⁸ GlosRO, probate of Thomas Bromley, Welford, baker, 1729, £291-2-2. He practised mixed farming, stocked grocery wares and may also have done some weaving. He was owed some £140 in the shop book.

¹⁷⁹ Although many shopkeepers failed to leave probate, Table 5.2 shows a small increase in the food, retail and service sector in Period B and a larger increase in Period C. Other sources confirm this trend.

category we find Richard Rawlins, mercer, of Welford, wealthy enough to fund a local school and John Clarke, mercer of Pebworth, who boasted a shop, a brandy-house and a tobacco-house.¹⁸⁰

In most villages one or two families retailed grocery and other wares.¹⁸¹ The inventory of Ann Gardner lists shop-goods including ‘some little remnants of old-fashioned stuff’, which had probably lingered on the shelves since the time it was in vogue.¹⁸²

Some eighteenth century butchers prospered, none more so than Samuel and Robert Smith of Pebworth, father and son, who acquired much land. The father was described as a gentleman, while his son sold up and settled in the capital.¹⁸³ This was also a time of increasing activities for middlemen, such as the Savages of Pebworth.¹⁸⁴ Bidford’s records at this time also reveal a couple of peruke-makers, one of whom was also a barber.¹⁸⁵

Victuallers, some of whom were women, are recorded in the majority of the parishes before 1800; only the small settlements off the beaten track apparently lacked a pub.¹⁸⁶ Malting was a lucrative by-employment for farmers, bakers, publicans and

¹⁸⁰ GlosRO, probate of John Clarke, Pebworth, mercer, 1721. Clarke’s tobacco-house contained an engine, presumably for cutting or preparing tobacco. In Pebworth and in the nearby parish of Cow Honeybourne Clarke held both arable and meadow-land. Perhaps illegal tobacco was still being grown locally to supplement imported tobacco, which presumably found its way up the Severn and Avon from Bristol, along with the brandy. For Rawlins’s charity school see the next section.

¹⁸¹ For example, WoRO, marriage licence of Richard Baxter, Bidford, grocer, May 1739. WoRO, probate of Richard Popplewell, Bidford, grocer, 1785. *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 11 Aug. 1763 also mentions the sale of the shop occupied by George Sale, Bidford, mercer and grocer.

¹⁸² WoRO, probate of Ann Gardner, Cleeve Prior, spinster, 1739, £18-15-6. Other items include candles, soap, spices, tobacco, sugar, thread, laces and linen.

¹⁸³ SCLA, ER13/15/1.

¹⁸⁴ GlosRO, probate of Richard Savage, Pebworth, dealer, 1759. WoRO, marriage licence of Richard Savage, Pebworth, pig-dealer, Aug. 1787.

¹⁸⁵ WoRO, probate of John Brown, Bidford, peruke-maker, 1762, and of John Bossward, Bidford, barber and peruke-maker, 1769.

¹⁸⁶ Bidford and Welford apparently had several public houses each. Licensed victuallers’ returns are available for the Warwickshire parishes, (WaRO, QS35). For example Bidford in 1754 had 7 publicans

others, if they could find storage space. John Squire stored malt in his ‘cockloft’ and Henry Edwards ‘att the starehead’.¹⁸⁷

In Period D after farmers the most prominent occupational group according to probate and marriage licence data is that of food, retail, service and dealing.¹⁸⁸ The fact that they feature so strongly in these sources indicates that many in this sector were comparatively affluent. However, baptism registers and the 1841 census give a more realistic percentage for this sector.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, there were apparently many more retailers per head of population than a hundred years earlier. Amongst the occupations recorded are several butchers, while in 1851 a slaughterman and a fish-seller are also specified.¹⁹⁰ Food retailers include grocers, maltsters, millers, mealmen, bakers, confectioners, fruiterers, and one brewer and one bread-seller.¹⁹¹ There are many ‘shopkeepers’ who may have sold food and other items. Mercers and drapers were present alongside dealers, coal-dealers and several people described as ‘tradesmen’, whose particular line is not specified.¹⁹² The baptism registers in the 1830s (after the Beerhouse Act) show an increase in publicans, now including beer-retailers and beerhouse-keepers.¹⁹³ As in earlier periods, many families combined running pubs or retail businesses with other jobs.

and Salford 2, while in 1786 they had 8 and 2 respectively. They are a more reliable guide to the number of publicans than probate or marriage licences.

¹⁸⁷ WoRO, probate of John Squire, Cleeve Prior, (no occupation given, but apparently a mason), 1671, £42-19-8, and GlosRO, probate of Henry Edwards, Pebworth, (no occupation given), 1690, £25-19-0. Masons in the Squire family still made malt a hundred years later.

¹⁸⁸ Tables 5.2 and 5.4. Traders such as bakers and tailors were probably now selling more wares made by others than their predecessors had done, but the local sources consulted do not make this clear.

¹⁸⁹ 3.9% in Table 5.6 (baptisms) and 4.3% in Table 5.8 (1841 census).

¹⁹⁰ WaRO, Bidford 1851 census. The fish-seller was from a family of fishermen and boatmen.

¹⁹¹ Including a female maltster and a female miller, both in Bidford parish, (WaRO, 1841 census).

¹⁹² WaRO, Bidford 1831 census includes several ‘tradesmen’.

¹⁹³ Baptisms give figures of 0.2% in 1813-1820, 0.3% in 1821-1830 and 0.6% in 1831-40 (Table 5.6). The figure in the 1841 census was 0.7% (Table 5.8). WaRO, Bidford 1851 census also records one young male public house worker as a ‘boots’.

In Victorian times perukemakers and barber-surgeons were no more, being replaced in Bidford by a couple of hairdressers.¹⁹⁴ Women in service industries are still under-recorded in the 1841 census, when only a couple of laundresses are mentioned.¹⁹⁵

Professionals, gentry, domestic servants and others

Throughout the two centuries each parish had its Church of England rector or vicar, some of whom held many parishes, leaving the cure of souls in the hands of a succession of (sometimes short-lived) curates. The small parish of Weston was served by successive clergymen, who also served as masters at Stratford grammar school. The location of schools and their masters in the early period was dependent on their charitable foundations rather than any other reason.¹⁹⁶ In 1730 Richard Rawlins bequeathed funds for a school (presumably in his parish of Welford). Whether he was funding a new school or boosting the finances of an existing school, his will stipulates that eight poor boys should be educated in the catechism and taught to be 'ready accountants'.¹⁹⁷ Rawlins, as a successful and literate mercer, knew the value of education. These small village schools with a handful of pupils in attendance for a mere half-dozen years may not seem important, but in a twenty-year period Rawlins's charity would have improved the chances of some thirty local lads. In conjunction with the growing number of such schools throughout the land, Rawlins's charity school thus played its humble part in contributing towards the commercial success of England as a whole. In addition to

¹⁹⁴ WaRO, Bidford baptisms 1842 and Bidford 1851 census.

¹⁹⁵ The 1851 census records laundresses and washerwomen more faithfully.

¹⁹⁶ Fendley, 'Notes on the Diocese of Gloucester by Chancellor Richard Parsons, c.1700', p. 28. Parsons notes that Mr John Cooper gave £300 for a free school in Long Marston to teach 22 poor children. J. A. Thomson, *Salford Priors, the Tower in the Vineyard*, (Salford Priors, Thomson, 1976), p. 50, states that William Perkins, (d. 1656), London, merchant tailor, set up the school in Salford Priors. See Appendix 19.

¹⁹⁷ GlosRO, probate of Richard Rawlins, Welford, mercer, 1730.

learning accounts, a growing number of gentlemen's and yeomen's sons and daughters in Georgian times were keen to learn the latest fashions in dance and the arts.¹⁹⁸ Valentine Green, the son of the Salford Priors dancing master, gained a reputation as an artist at home and abroad.¹⁹⁹

Although professionals were often a mobile class, at least one Salford Priors schoolmaster, John White, was reasonably local.²⁰⁰ Records of schoolmasters and schools are not always easy to find, but by the nineteenth century several local parishes were home to schoolmasters.

Dissenters, non-conformists and Roman Catholics were present in the Champion Country, but references to their ministers are rare before 1790.²⁰¹ A Wesleyan preacher appears in the 1790s, while in the nineteenth century Bidford was home to a Roman Catholic priest.²⁰²

Care of the sick was a hit and miss affair in the countryside before 1800. If you were lucky, a surgeon or midwife may have lived in your proximity, although the authorities licensed them according to their willingness to subscribe to the Church of England's thirty-nine articles rather than for any demonstration of skill. Although it

¹⁹⁸ The dancing master, Mr Green, in Salford Priors, was probably also the schoolmaster there. J. A. Thomson, *Salford Priors – The Tower in the Vineyard*, (Salford Priors, Thomson, 1976), p. 56, states that Green specialised in figure dancing, morris and maypole dancing. (Thomson does not quote the primary source.)

¹⁹⁹ Thomson, *Salford Priors – The Tower in the Vineyard*, p. 56. Valentine Green had been apprenticed to an attorney in Evesham, but travelled far and wide as an antiquary and historian.

²⁰⁰ WaRO, DR399/269/20, Salford Priors settlements, 1777, shows that he settled at Salford Priors from Stock and Bradley.

²⁰¹ J. Fendley, 'Bishop Benson's survey of the diocese of Gloucester 1735-1750', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, (2000), pp. 119, 120, 125, notes Presbyterian and Anabaptist dissenters and records that a R. C. priest 'comes to Mr Betham's house [in Welford] to say mass'. Papists and non-conformists are also recorded in various other diocesan surveys. GlosRO, D2502 also contains notes on non-conformity in Pebworth including references to a quaker in the 1680s and an independent church and a Baptist church c. 1720.

²⁰² TNA, PCC probate of Henry Eden, Broad Marston, Pebworth, gentleman, 1792. Eden bequeathed £10 to Smith, a Wesleyan preacher. WaRO, Bidford 1831 census, lists a Roman Catholic priest.

struggled as a market centre, Bidford always served the surrounding countryside in medical matters, boasting both surgeons and chemists.²⁰³ Socially surgeons were on a par with the clergy or sons of gentry families, as was Harvington's 'doctor of physicke'.²⁰⁴ At the other end of the scale, many labourers must have resorted to their local wise-woman for herbs and other cures. Rather more acceptable to the church authorities were the likes of Elizabeth Sale, licensed to practise midwifery.²⁰⁵ The role of women as child-minders and carers is underplayed; even the 1851 census only lists a couple of 'nurses' in this zone.²⁰⁶

Before 1800 only a couple of military men appear in the local records. Robert Freeman of Long Marston, a poor soldier, was to be removed in 1750, while Thomas Martin was described as a captain. Another member of Martin's family was appointed sheriff of Worcestershire.²⁰⁷ Before 1750 many gentlemen acted as stewards and attorneys, but are often not described as such. As the eighteenth century progressed, the busier climate for land transactions created work for professionals such as John Clark and

²⁰³ WoRO, probate of John Walker, Bidford, surgeon/gentleman, 1704, £65-0-10. He had been presented for practising while unlicensed, but then subscribed to the thirty-nine articles and gained his licence. (WoRO, BA2697/1). He also had a hat-shop. WoRO, marriage licence of William Harbidge, Bidford, yeoman, June 1753, was witnessed by Charles Potter, Bidford, apothecary. *Grundy's Worcester Royal Directory 1794* lists a surgeon called Stuart in Bidford, while a deed names Albert Outhwaite as surgeon in 1797. (SCLA, DR57/16). Pebworth also had a surgeon in Stuart times. (GlosRO, probate of Thomas Willis, Pebworth, surgeon, 1673, (no inventory).) Before 1750 the surgeons were sometimes referred to as 'chirurgeons', while chemists were called apothecaries before 1800. An alternative term after 1800 was 'druggist'.

²⁰⁴ TNA, PCC probate of Margaret Harward of Harvington, spinster, 1733, mentions Kempe Harward, 'doctor of physicke'. He may have practised elsewhere rather than in Harvington.

²⁰⁵ WoRO, BA2697, diocesan subscription book, concerning Elizabeth Sale, Salford Priors.

²⁰⁶ WaRO, Bidford 1851 census also lists a 'carewoman'. (Although this could be a variant of charwoman, which is sometimes rendered as 'chairwoman' hereabouts.)

²⁰⁷ TNA, PCC probate of Robert Martin, Pebworth, esquire, 1787, mentions his brother Capt. Thomas Martin. It is not known whether Thomas Martin was in the navy or the army. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 16 Feb. 1764 announced the appointment of Robert Martin as sheriff of Worcestershire.

William Harbidge.²⁰⁸ Individuals also served their respective communities as officials appointed by the government, the manor or the increasingly powerful parish authorities.²⁰⁹ In the 1680s William Kempson, who acted as bondsman for local marriages, was described as an ‘apparitor’.²¹⁰ The grocer, Popplewell, had come to Bidford as an exciseman.²¹¹ His surname was not a local one; as noted earlier, the professional class were often quite mobile. In Period D the increasing number of tertiary sector occupations in this zone includes book-keeper, attorney, commercial clerk, exciseman, registrar, tax-collector and various parish officers and soldiers serving and retired, the latter in the form of Chelsea pensioners. By 1850 Bidford was important enough to boast a post-office, the keeper of whom was also a wharfinger, publican, shopkeeper and coal-dealer. Gloucestershire was the first of the study area’s three counties to have a police force. Policemen were based in Long Marston from 1841, while Warwickshire villages had to wait until the 1850s.

In Period D in probate and marriage licence data professionals show an increase over earlier periods.²¹² Again baptism registers (1.3%) and the 1841 census (2.2%) give a more realistic percentage, while the 1831 census has a figure of 1.6% for the capitalists, bankers, professionals and educated sector.²¹³

²⁰⁸ John Clark of Pebworth and Evesham was the (land) surveyor for various enclosure awards, for example Rous Lench, (WoRO, BA10631/2). He is also mentioned as an auctioneer, for example in *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 26 Sept. 1782. William Harbidge, a Bidford attorney, was commissioner for Bidford enclosure award 1766, (WaRO, Y1/2).

²⁰⁹ For example, WoRO, marriage licence of Arthur Tomkins, Bidford, exciseman, 1730. *Worcester Journal*, 15 to 22 Oct. 1742 mentions Edward Showell, land-tax collector of Welford, who was robbed.

²¹⁰ For example, GlosRO, marriage licence of William Harwood, Milcote, (Weston on Avon), husbandman, Feb. 1687/8, mentions bondsman, William Kempson, Welford, apparitor. J. Bristow, *The Local Historian’s Glossary of Words and Terms*, (Newbury, Countryside Books, 2001), p. 9, states that an apparitor was an official or attendant for ecclesiastic or civil courts.

²¹¹ WoRO, marriage licence of Richard Popplewell, Bidford, exciseman, May 1759.

²¹² Tables 5.2 and 5.4.

²¹³ See Tables 5.6 and 5.8 and Appendices 5, 6 and 7.

Before the censuses the many domestic servants are, as expected, largely absent from the records. The 1831 census shows that in reality male servants were very thin on the ground, with only eight male servants over 20 and one under 20. By contrast, 158 female servants appear in the 1831 census, comprising 6.7% of all females.²¹⁴

Males described as ‘gentlemen’, always well-represented in probate data, increase substantially over the study period.²¹⁵ The range of people described by the subjective descriptors ‘gentleman’ and ‘esquire’ may be exemplified by two men in Period B, whose probate inventories ranged from a mere £4 to over a thousand.²¹⁶ Despite their interest in a broader national economy, this group’s role in greasing the wheels of local finance occasionally comes to light.²¹⁷

Travelling folk from this zone or elsewhere played an important role in the local economy, but they rarely receive a mention. The 1841 census records people sleeping in a barn in Pebworth, while Bidford’s enumerator listed boatmen living on their boats and drovers passing through.

Summary for the Southern (Champion) Country

In the late Stuart period farming was mixed, but corn was probably the zone’s most lucrative farming export. Consequently, this sub-district may have suffered more than others from the fall of corn prices, perhaps leading to declining wealth and out-

²¹⁴ Table 5.8 (1841 census) shows that of those whose occupations are listed some 5.8% of adult males were domestic servants, while the figure for adult females was 48%; for males under 20 it was 47.8% and for females under 20 it was 97.1%.

²¹⁵ Gentlemen and esquires are not included in the statistics in tables above. As a percentage of males, the figures for gentlemen in probate are as follows: Period A: 5.8%, Period B: 9.6%, Period C: 12.3% and Period D: 21.5%.

²¹⁶ WoRO, probate of Daniel Herbert, Welford, gentleman, 1737, £4-12-2 and of John Stanford, Salford Priors, esquire, 1712, £1167-0-0.

²¹⁷ For example, GlosRO, probate of Robert Johnsons, Long Marston, labourer, 1771, shows that he borrowed £20 from Mr Haines of the same village and was paying 18s. per annum interest. The lender was probably John Haines, gentleman, (GlosRO, probate of John Haines, Long Marston, gentleman, 1774.)

migration. In Period B the zone's main exports of farm produce and cloth continued to be needed even during economic slumps, so perhaps the Champion Country fared better than the other zones in the 1720s and 1730s.²¹⁸ After their hard times at the end of the previous century the farming folk here had perhaps learned to diversify more in order to keep up with changing consumer demands, placing more emphasis on beef, fruit and vegetables for the Birmingham market than was previously the case. After 1750 many parishes underwent enclosure as agriculture developed to improve yields in order to feed mouths in manufacturing districts to the north. In Period D agriculture remained the main employer of adult males.

Stone was always quarried in Cleeve Prior and Bidford, providing alternative employment for poorer residents. In Period D stone-quarrying and brickmaking were apparently exploited more than in earlier periods, but not so successfully perhaps as at certain places in other zones.

Weavers were present in some numbers before 1800, suggesting a wide market for their produce. Although the textile trade dwindled in the last period, a few weavers were kept in business by the cheese-cloth niche market. As opportunities for female employment as spinners declined, some women and girls were employed as outworkers for the glove trade in the nineteenth century. Flax-dressing, ropemaking and papermaking were present at different times, but were never large employers.

Village craftsmen catered for local needs, but the produce of metal and leather goods for a wider market was never a characteristic of this zone. In the nineteenth century the needle-trade, machine-making and other metal-ware trades dipped a toe into this zone, but their employees were few.

²¹⁸ According to probate inventory values as shown in Appendix 3.

The Avon was always important for trade and as a source of power for the mills. With improvements to the main roads the inhabitants could more easily export their produce, while literacy and luxuries increasingly infiltrated the villages and hamlets.

Despite the growth of the secondary and tertiary sectors, shown in Tables 5.1 and 5.5, the Champion Country's economic development was principally based on agriculture and the organic economy. The Champion Country was not what Zell calls 'a model proto-industrial pays' such as the wood-pasture regions.²¹⁹ It is not surprising therefore that its economic path was not one of rapid demographic growth and industrialisation. Rural industry for a wider market in the form of weaving was present throughout the study period, but never went on to dominate the economy.

²¹⁹ Zell, *Industry in the Countryside*, p. 230.

CHAPTER SIX

ZONE C: THE CENTRAL (WOOD-PASTURE) BELT

As its name suggests, this zone lies across the centre of the study area either side of Alcester and the River Arrow, as defined in Chapter 2.¹ Traditionally characterised by its woodland location straddling Feckenham Forest and the Forest of Arden, this Central Belt contains seven Worcestershire parishes including Inkberrow, a large, populous parish, which serviced many of its smaller neighbours.² These western (Worcestershire) parishes would also look to market towns such as Pershore, Droitwich, Worcester and Bromsgrove for their needs. The twelve Warwickshire parishes in this zone included Aston Cantlow, which had vied for market town status in the middle ages and boasted a Gild-house.³ These eastern (Warwickshire) parishes would make use of markets at Stratford upon Avon, Henley in Arden and Warwick.

In the late seventeenth century this zone was less densely populated than the other zones except the Needle District.⁴ However, the industrialising Needle District soon increased its own density, leaving this Central Belt as the least densely populated zone thereafter, with its share of the study area's population continuing to fall.⁵ In 1676 the zone's population lay in the range 3007 to 4316 and then grew by a possible 35.6% to its 1801 total of 4966. It increased by 34.4% to a total of 6672 in 1841 before declining in

¹ See Appendix 1: Parish Gazetteer, Appendix 1a: Map of parishes in the Study Area and the section 'The Division of the Study Area into Sub-districts' in Chapter 2.

² In the mid-nineteenth century Inkberrow had a market which may have operated at this earlier period. It also had a larger variety of trades than the surrounding small parishes. See Appendix 12.

³ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 32. A gild existed at the time of Henry VI. By 1660 the gild was probably long gone, and the upper chamber of the Gild-house was used for manor courts.

⁴ See Table 3.15 in Chapter 3.

⁵ See Table 3.16 in Chapter 3.

the mid-nineteenth century.⁶ Possible economic reasons behind its demographic development are discussed later in this chapter.

For the large, populous parish of Inkberrow two sources give information about the poor in the eighteenth century. Bradbrook emphasises that in Inkberrow ‘paupers evidently increased rapidly in number about the commencement of the eighteenth century, and some difficulty was found in dealing with them’.⁷ Although a parish workhouse was discussed in 1700, it was opposed in case it increased the rates. In 1711 a large meeting reinforced measures to badge Inkberrow’s paupers with IP (for Inkberrow Parish) or withhold their pay. From this year we find evidence of farmers being paid to find work for parish paupers. The 1728 epidemic also ‘much increased pauperism and the rates’.⁸ Times were obviously hard for the poorest members of the community and this caused problems for the rate-payers too.⁹

Eden’s *State of the Poor*, published in 1797, contains a lengthy account of labour and the poor in Inkberrow parish, furnished by the vicar, William Heath.¹⁰ He comments upon the recent rapid increase in population. ‘Many of the natives, however, from deficiency of employment at home quit the parish, and return only when poverty and infirmities of age oblige them to have recourse to their friends.’

From 1787 Inkberrow’s poor were relieved in a new parish workhouse, which had proved cost-efficient, partly because, to avoid the workhouse, many poor ‘exert the

⁶ See Tables 3.8, 3.10 and 3.14 in Chapter 3.

⁷ Bradbrook, *History of the Parish of Inkberrow and Local Government*, p. 49.

⁸ Bradbrook, *History of the Parish of Inkberrow and Local Government*, p. 50.

⁹ WoRO, Inkberrow burials 1747 records the burial of Elizabeth Poole, whose abode was the workhouse, so the earlier decision not to have a workhouse had obviously been overturned. R. Hunt and R. Jackson, *Inkberrow Folk and Farms*, (Inkberrow, Jackson, 1978), p. 70, also states that the old workhouse is marked on the Inkberrow enclosure award 1817.

¹⁰ Bradbrook, *History of the Parish of Inkberrow and Local Government*, pp. 6, 36. Bradbrook includes some paragraphs which were omitted in the published *State of the Poor*.

industry and ability which idleness had hitherto concealed.’¹¹ Most parishes hereabouts did not have their own workhouse, but from the 1830s the various union workhouses dealt with the poor of this zone.¹²

No doubt Rev. Heath’s observations regarding limited work opportunities locally also applied to neighbouring villages. Perhaps some inhabitants migrated to Zone D, the Needle District, where opportunities were greater, before returning to their home parish in old age.

For most of the study period this zone was home to a slightly larger variety of occupations than Zone B, but not as many as in the market town or the Needle District. Parishes differed in their occupational structure according to size and function. Aston Cantlow and Inkberrow had more occupations than many of their smaller neighbours, but Inkberrow had much less variety than its similarly sized near neighbour, Feckenham. This zone had more male occupations in probate in Period D than in Period C, the increases in Arrow, Inkberrow and Temple Grafton being particularly noticeable.¹³ As noted in Zone B, the parishes with more occupations often also have greater population densities, as their economy is less dependent on the land itself.¹⁴ In Stuart times the parishes in this wood-pasture zone were perhaps similar to Skipp’s settlements with several non-agricultural by-employments, but none dominating.¹⁵ Although this zone

¹¹ Eden, *The State of the Poor*, pp. 806-7, (<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco>, 3.30 p.m., 22 Feb. 2010). This source also reveals that Inkberrow had a Friendly Society for men which had started in 1791.

¹² Appendix 1, the parish gazetteer, shows to which poor law union each parish belonged.

¹³ See Table 8.11 in Chapter 8. The increase could be because the number of males with known occupations in probate increased from Period C to Period D. However, occupations in probate which appear in Period D and not in Period C include many which probably reflect real growth: e.g. mason, surgeon, shopkeeper, dealer. Skinner and tanner are noteworthy amongst those which disappeared in probate after 1800.

¹⁴ See Appendix 24.

¹⁵ V. Skipp, *Crisis and Development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden 1570-1674*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1978).

could have been ripe for industrialisation, the leather and textile workers retreated, and the zone did not follow the same economic path as the neighbouring Needle District.

Although probate inventory values (in Appendix 3) suggest a growth in personal wealth in the last twenty years of the seventeenth century, Bradbrook puts things into perspective with his comments on the growing problem of Inkberrow's poor circa 1700, quoted above.¹⁶ In common with the study area as a whole, the Central Belt enjoyed its highest inventory values in the twenty-year period 1700-1719, after which the values declined somewhat. This may well be indicative of difficult times economically during and after the epidemics of the late 1720s.

Following the pattern of the two previous chapters, occupational analysis is given below for this zone from probate and marriage licences, which, despite their shortcomings, provide the most consistent sources for occupational information in most parishes hereabouts before the nineteenth century.¹⁷

Table 6.1 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from probate data in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Primary	75.2	73.3	76.2	68.3
Primary without labs.	68.6	70.5	65.9	61.8
Secondary	19.9	21.2	17.1	19.7
Tertiary	4.9	5.6	6.7	12.0
Total males with known occupations (n)	226	286	164	246

Table 6.1 shows the domination of the primary sector in this rural zone. While secondary wavers around 20%, the growth of the tertiary sector is demonstrated clearly.

¹⁶ W. Bradbrook, *History of the Parish of Inkberrow and Local Government*, (Evesham, Sharp Bros., 1902), p. 49.

¹⁷ Discussion of these sources can be found in Chapter 2, and their bias in this zone is examined in Table 6.10 below.

As expected, the occupational structure as suggested by probate is very different from that of Alcester. Despite its different agrarian traditions, on the surface its occupational structure is similar to that of Zone B.¹⁸

Table 6.2 Males in probate in specific occupational groupings in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	68.6	69.8	65.2	61.8
Labourers	6.6	2.8	10.4	6.5
Extractive	1.3	1.0	0.6	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	1.3	1.0	0.0	2.2
Tailors/bodice makers	2.2	2.1	1.8	0.4
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	3.5	2.4	1.2	3.3
Shoemakers/cordwainers	0.9	2.8	1.8	2.0
Other leather, horn and tallow	2.7	2.3	1.8	0.0
Carpenters/joiners	3.1	1.7	3.0	2.6
Other woodworkers	0.9	0.7	0.0	1.8
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.2	4.5	4.3	4.1
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	0.0	0.3	0.6	0.0
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.4	0.7	1.2	4.1
Other food, retail, service, dealing	2.4	3.1	1.8	5.5
Domestic servants	0.2	0.7	0.6	0.4
Professional	3.5	3.8	4.9	4.9
Total males with known occupations (n)	226	286	164	246

Table 6.2 confirms agriculture's importance and also shows the decline in the leather trade. The growth in the professional and retail/service sector is much more modest than in Zones A and B, though significant growth in food and retail is suggested in the final period. The textile and clothing grouping shows a decline before a

¹⁸ See Chapters 4 and 5 and also the comparison of zones in Chapter 8 and in Appendix 26. The secondary sector for probate in Zone B reaches a higher figure than in this zone. The periods referred to in discussion of the data, (as explained in Chapter 2), are as follows: Period A: 1660-1699, Period B: 1700-1749; Period C: 1750-1799 and Period D: 1800-1840.

comparative revival in Period D. These figures for specific occupational groupings are discussed in more detail below.

Table 6.3 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary, tertiary) from marriage licence data in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt, 1680-1837 (as % of grooms with known occupations)

	1680-99	1737-54	1780-99	1810-37
Primary	75.4	69.4	78.7	72.6
Primary (without labs.)	74.6	58.3	66.8	64.2
Secondary	21.8	22.2	20.1	18.9
Tertiary	2.8	8.3	1.2	8.5
Total males with known occupations (n)	142	144	167	106

In Table 6.3 primary and secondary correspond closely with the figures from probate. The tertiary sector figure for Period C seems a little inconsistent, but, as expected, the highest figure for tertiary is achieved in the final period.

Table 6.4 Bridegrooms from marriage licence data in specific occupational groupings in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt, 1680-1837 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1680-99	1737-54	1780-99	1810-37
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	74.6	57.6	66.8	64.2
Labourers	0.7	11.1	12.0	8.5
Extractive	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	0.7	2.1	3.0	0.9
Tailors/bodice makers	3.5	4.9	0.6	0.9
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	1.4	1.4	3.0	0.9
Shoemakers/cordwainers	4.2	3.5	1.8	0.9
Other leather, horn and tallow	1.4	0.7	0.6	0.0
Carpenters/joiners	3.5	3.5	3.0	2.8
Other woodworkers	0.7	1.4	1.2	1.9
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.1	2.1	3.6	1.9
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.7	0.0	0.3	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transport	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	4.2	3.5	3.0	11.3
Domestic servants	0.0	3.5	0.6	0.0
Professional	2.1	2.8	0.6	5.7
Total males with known occupations (n)	142	144	167	106

Table 6.4 confirms the dominance of agriculture in this zone. From 1737 onwards labourers are slightly better represented in marriage licences than in probate, but nevertheless these percentages significantly underestimate the real number of labourers. The growth in the food, retail, service and dealing sector in the final period is even more significant in marriage licences than in probate. Other figures are discussed below, where relevant.

Table 6.5 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from Anglican baptism registers in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt 1813-40 (as % of entries showing fathers' occupations)

	1813-40	1813-20	1821-30	1831-40
Primary including labourers *	76.7	78.6	76.3	75.8
Primary without labourers	16.3	18.2	17.0	14.3
Secondary including labourers *	19.7	18.8	19.8	20.3
Secondary without labourers	15.7	14.7	15.8	16.1
Tertiary	3.6	2.6	3.9	4.0
Total baptisms (n)	5112	1351	1862	1899

** Labourers allocated to primary or secondary sectors using information from the 1831 census.*

From 1813 fathers' occupations are given in the baptism registers. As noted for Zones A and B (in Chapters 4 and 5), the figures from baptism data are more realistic than those from probate or marriage licences. The steady decline in the primary sector and corresponding growth in the other sectors can be seen over the period.

Table 6.6 Male occupational structure in specific groupings from Anglican baptism registers in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt 1813-40 (as % of entries showing fathers' occupations)

	1813-40	1813-20	1821-30	1831-40
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	12.7	13.8	12.8	11.8
All labourers	64.4	64.5	63.2	65.6
<i>Agricultural labourers *</i>	60.4	60.4	59.2	61.5
<i>Non-agricultural labourers *</i>	4.1	4.1	4.0	4.1
Extractive	3.9	4.4	4.5	3.1
Building (excl. carpenters)	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7
Tailors/bodice makers	0.6	1.0	0.4	0.5
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	0.4	0.8	0.3	0.2
Shoemakers/cordwainers	3.4	2.7	3.5	3.7
Other leather, horn and tallow	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.2
Carpenters/joiners	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.3
Other woodworkers	1.8	1.6	1.8	2.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.4	1.5	2.3	3.2
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Needles/hooks/pins	0.9	0.4	1.5	0.7
Transport	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.9	0.4	0.9	1.3
Other food, retail, service, dealing	3.4	3.7	3.5	3.0
Domestic servants	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.5
Professional	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.9
Total baptisms (n)	5112	1351	1862	1899

*Labourers allocated using information from the 1831 census.

Table 6.6 shows the zone's male occupational structure between 1813 and 1840, discussed in more detail below in the sections on specific occupational groupings.

Table 6.7 Occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from the 1841 census in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Primary with agricultural labourers	61.9	31.2	37.2	11.0
Primary without labourers	13.3	6.2	1.2	1.3
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers	27.6	20.5	12.8	4.5
Secondary without labourers	21.2	14.5	8.1	4.5
Tertiary	10.6	48.3	50.0	84.4
Total (n)	1649	300	258	154

The 1841 census has lower figures for adult males in primary and higher for those in secondary when compared with baptisms for 1813-1840. This may indicate that the swing away from primary was intensifying circa 1840. Tertiary is also higher in the census than in baptisms, perhaps partly explained by unmarried males in their twenties working as domestic servants. Table 6.7 also shows the role of women and those under 20, though the totals in these columns suggest much under-recording in these gender and age groups when compared with adult males.¹⁹

Table 6.8 Occupational structure in specific groupings from the 1841 census in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	13.1	6.2	1.2	1.3
All labourers	54.9	31.0	40.7	9.7
<i>Agricultural labourers</i>	48.5	25.0	36.0	9.7
<i>Non-agricultural labourers</i>	6.4	6.0	4.7	0.0
Extractive	0.8	0.0	0.8	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	4.5	0.0	0.8	0.0
Tailors/bodice makers/dressmakers	0.5	3.3	0.8	1.9
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	1.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Shoemakers/cordwainers	3.0	0.7	1.9	0.0
Other leather, horn and tallow	0.1	7.7	0.0	1.3
Carpenters/joiners	2.9	0.2	1.2	0.0
Other woodworkers	2.6	0.0	1.6	0.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.7	0.3	1.2	0.0
Metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.3
Transport	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	1.3	0.7	0.0	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	3.0	2.3	0.4	0.0
Domestic servants/charwomen/nurses	6.3	43.0	49.6	84.4
Professional	1.3	2.7	0.0	0.0
Total (n)	1649	300	258	154

Table 6.8 emphasises the role of females and young males in domestic service, although many of the male servants were resident on farms and were perhaps in reality

¹⁹ For comparison with other zones see Appendix 26.

mainly engaged in agriculture. The percentages for different occupational groupings are discussed in the text below.

The census and the nineteenth century baptism registers provide a more accurate picture of the occupational situation than the probate and marriage licences, which are the only common source for all the parishes in the zone before 1813. However, for two parishes in this zone we have occupational information in parish registers in the late Stuart period. Unfortunately, these parishes are sparsely populated, so the number of males with known occupations is small. Nevertheless the baptism and burial registers throw some additional light on the contemporary occupational structure in this zone.

Table 6.9a Occupational structure in specific groupings from Anglican baptism registers in two parishes in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt 1698-1708 (as % of entries showing fathers' occupations)

	Binton 1698-1706	Binton	Spernall 1699-1708	Spernall
Occupations in baptism registers c.1700	(n)	% of males with known occupations	(n)	% of males with known occupations
Yeoman/husbandman	17	56.7	9	64.3
Mason/slater	1	3.3		
Plasterer			1	7.1
Weaver	3	10.0		
Labourer	9	30.0	4	28.6
Unspecified	9		5	
Total	39		19	
Total with known occupations	30	100	14	100

Table 6.9b Occupational structure in specific groupings from Anglican burial registers in two parishes in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt 1698-1708 (as % of entries showing male occupations)

	Binton 1698-1706	Binton	Spernall 1699-1708	Spernall
Occupations in burial registers c.1700	(n)	% of males with known occupations	(n)	% of males with known occupations
Clergyman	2	15.4		
Servant	1	7.7		
Innkeeper			1	7.7
Yeoman/husbandman	4	30.8	11	84.6
Mason/slater	1	7.7		
Labourer	5	38.5	1	7.7
Unspecified	5		2	
Total	18		15	
Total with known occupations	13	100	13	100

The two parish registers which give occupational information in this zone circa 1700, Binton and Spernall, suggest a predominantly agricultural economy, as borne out by other sources. Binton was a quarrying parish, so it is no surprise to see a mason mentioned in the register. A plaster pit was situated in Spernall, so the plasterer there is also to be expected.²⁰

Appendix 23 shows the percentages for different occupational groupings amongst this zone's business owners or masters who appear in the inland revenue apprenticeship books.²¹

²⁰ Note that the years with occupational information are different in the two parishes. As the data sample is small, there is no attempt here to allocate labourers to the primary or secondary sectors, but a couple of the labourers in Binton perhaps worked in the quarries as well as in agriculture.

²¹ As explained earlier, the figures in the apprenticeship returns are not representative of the overall occupational situation. For example, few apprentices were taken on in agriculture. However, this source does give additional information about various occupations, discussed in the text below, where relevant. No female business owners took on apprentices in this zone, but a handful of the apprentices were female.

Table 6.10 Comparison of male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) in the 1841 census, baptisms 1813-1840, probate data 1800-1858 and marriage licence data 1800-1837 in Zone C, The Central (Wood-pasture) Belt (as % of males with known occupations) showing the bias of other sources compared with the 1841 census

	Adult Males 1841 Census	Baptisms 1813-1840	Ratio Baptisms to Census	Probate 1800-1858	Ratio Probate to Census	Marriage licences 1810-1837	Ratio Marriage licences to Census
Primary	61.9	76.7	1: 0.81	68.3	1: 0.91	72.6	1: 0.85
Secondary	27.6	19.7	1: 1.40	19.7	1: 1.40	18.9	1: 1.46
Tertiary	10.6	3.6	1: 2.94	12.0	1: 0.88	8.5	1: 1.25

Whereas in Zone A baptism data provided the closest match with the 1841 census data and in Zone B marriage licence data provided the closest match, in this zone probate is closest to the census data. The secondary sector figure is much larger in the census than in the other three sources which have figures around 19%. This may reflect a late surge in this sector. As noted in the other zones, baptism data has the lowest figure for the tertiary sector. The bias of the various sources should be borne in mind during the commentary which follows.

In the text below Zone C's changing occupational structure is discussed in specific occupational groupings, as defined in Chapter 2. I make reference to data in the above tables where relevant, but do not always quote exact figures for certain occupations as the size of samples and bias of sources (especially probate and marriage licences) may cause inconsistencies.²² Where appropriate, comparisons are made with other zones in the study area and with studies of places elsewhere.

²² Where relevant, explanations of such inconsistencies and bias of sources are discussed, but generally I note the general trends exhibited and look for corroboration from various other sources in order to make observations about whether different occupations were present or absent, and increasing or decreasing in the zone at different periods.

Agriculture

The soil in the west of this sub-district is mainly keuper marl with outcrops of Arden sandstone. Near Stratford in the east there is rich marl overlying middle lias with some Arden sandstone and within this are areas of blue lias with outcrops of Wilmcote limestone. Some piecemeal enclosure had taken place before well before 1660, but in many manors the open field system was still operating.²³

In 1743/4 Aston Cantlow became the first parish in this zone to undergo parliamentary enclosure. The award corroborates evidence from probate that many tradesmen at this period were also farmers, with men from some ten different occupations receiving allotments of land.²⁴ Seven more parishes were enclosed before 1800, but a further six had to wait until the nineteenth century for enclosure.²⁵ One of these six was Inkberrow, where in the 1770s 'nearly one-half the parish is in open field, and the system of cultivation has not varied within the memory of any man now living. About 200 acres of waste which give excellent pasture for sheep.... Farms are small 80 to 300 acres.... Rent of land 15s. to 25s. an acre.'²⁶

Before parliamentary enclosure land tenure was quite different from place to place, lending specific characteristics to different manors. For instance, Haselor was 'predominantly a parish of substantial yeomen and freeholders'.²⁷ The land tax returns of 1798 still show the diverse nature of land holding, from Arrow with only one proprietor to Aston Cantlow, Stock and Bradley and the constituent parts of Inkberrow each with

²³ For example, Spennall already had many consolidated holdings, (WaRO, CR1998/15, Throckmortons' estate map, 1695), but Kinwarton was still mainly farmed in the medieval strips, (WaRO, CRO1886/M9, Lord Brooke's estate map, 1754).

²⁴ WaRO, QS9/12/1. Occupations of some individuals were mentioned in the award, others are known from different sources.

²⁵ See Appendix 1. The last, Stock and Bradley, was enclosed in 1829.

²⁶ Rogers, *The State of the Poor* (by Sir Frederic Morton Eden), pp. 349-350, (cf. rent of land in the Vale of Evesham at £2 to £4 and acre).

²⁷ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 112.

more than thirty proprietors.²⁸ Traditionally this area was regarded as a wood-pasture area; inventories show mixed farming, with cheese production important.²⁹ Apart from scheduled changes such as enclosure, weather disasters and animal epidemics also made their unwelcome impact on the agrarian economy. One Inkberrow yeoman was appointed as county inspector to ensure that no cattle were moved into Worcestershire at the time of the cattle plague.³⁰

In this subdivision (as in all others) more yeomen (and later farmers) left probate than husbandmen or labourers.³¹ Of course, the number of labourers leaving probate in no way reflects their true proportion of the workforce. Often there was a special reason for their family to register probate, such as a debt due to them or rights over property. For example, John Merrick was valued at £11 including a debt due to him of £10.³² William Pensam, (valued at £70-10-0), was exceptional amongst labourers. He had connections with London, and £50 was due to him in bonds, bills and debts.³³

Thomas Sabel had his own working tools worth 15s.³⁴ The possession of tools and property amongst these labourers indicates a certain level of independence. That they were not tied to one master brought both benefits and disadvantages. Richard Sheppie of Abbots Morton was specifically described as a day-labourer in his inventory.³⁵ He and others like him would undergo slack periods, but at other times, such as harvest, they were in great demand for farm-work, and they also enjoyed

²⁸ Appendix 24. The diversity does not seem to be specifically connected with enclosure.

²⁹ J. Yelling, 'Livestock numbers and agricultural development', in Slater, *Field and Forest*, pp. 286-7, shows similar numbers of livestock to the Champion Country, but with slightly more cattle, pigs and horses, and a dramatic increase in the number of sheep at this time.

³⁰ *Worcester Weekly Journal* 11 Jan 1748/9. The yeoman farmer was John Gower of Inkberrow.

³¹ The figures are yeomen 451, farmers 85 (all after 1750), husbandmen 72 and labourers 56.

³² WoRO, probate of John Merrick, Haselor, labourer, 1690, £11-0-0.

³³ WoRO, probate of William Pensam, Kington, labourer, 1690, £70-10-0, (the highest valued labourer in this zone). Most labourers in probate were illiterate and valued below £25.

³⁴ WoRO, probate of Thomas Sabel, Oldberrow, labourer, 1692, £11-19-0.

³⁵ WoRO, miscellaneous probate (812/2409) of Richard Sheppie, Abbots Morton, labourer, 1664, £11-15-0, (of which £10 was a desperate debt).

opportunities for casual work in the woods and quarries. Henry Farr, an Inkberrow labourer, also ran a shop, while some held property.³⁶ It is perhaps significant that more labourers left probate in this zone than in any other.

Perhaps Eden describes Inkberrow's more typical labourers in the 1790s: 'Agricultural labourers receive from 6s to 7s. a week, with diet, or 9s. to provide themselves. A yearly labourer, living and lodging in the house of his employer, is paid from £8 to £12 a year; a boy from £4 to £6 a year...'.³⁷ Some labourers found employment outside agriculture, for example in the local quarries, but Thomas Edkins's will states specifically that he was a 'laborer at farming bisness'.³⁸

Records reveal only two graziers in this zone in the whole study period, but there are more references to fishermen, including the Sturdy family who fished the Arrow but also had many other strings to their bow.³⁹ More surprisingly, a fisherman is present in Inkberrow parish, which has no river.⁴⁰

Before 1800 there are sporadic references to gardeners, several of whom lived in Arrow where they may have been worked in the gardens of Ragley Hall, while others may have formed an extension of the Vale of Evesham's market-garden industry. The probate of Ragley Hall's gentlemanly bailiff was handled at the PCC.⁴¹ The odd pig-driver comes to light, while gamekeepers were increasingly employed on the estates in

³⁶ WoRO, probate of Henry Farr, Stock Green, (Inkberrow), labourer, 1763, £14-5-9, including shop goods of £1-11-6.

³⁷ Rogers, *The State of the Poor (by Sir Frederic Morton Eden)*, p. 349. He also details harvest wages and shows how the cost of provisions increased sharply in the mid-1790s.

³⁸ WoRO, probate of Thomas Edkins, Aston Cantlow, labourer, 1759.

³⁹ WaRO, Throckmorton MSS, CR1998/LCB/26 and Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 8, p. 1 and 9, p. 121, quoting quarter sessions, 1682, 1696. William Sturdy was also a dealer, blacksmith, labourer, yeoman and publican. WoRO, BA2289/8, Wixford churchwardens' presentments, 1705, members of the Sturdy family, fishermen, yeomen, blacksmiths and ale-sellers, are presented as papists. WoRO, probate of John Sturdy, Wixford, yeoman, 1732, £19-18-6, includes 'fishing nets and an old boat'.

⁴⁰ WaRO, Coughton burials, 1723, burial of John Wilson, Inkberrow, fisherman. Perhaps he fished the ancient fish-pond at Cookhill Priory.

⁴¹ TNA, PCC probate of Jonathan Platts, Ragley, Arrow, bailiff, 1793. He held land in Derbyshire.

Oversley and Arrow and perhaps elsewhere.⁴² The descriptor ‘jockey’, which appears in QS records in 1799, may then have had a different nuance.⁴³

Table 6.2 (probate) suggests that the percentage in farming stayed fairly constant from 1660 to 1800, but after 1800 those in farming formed a smaller share of the workforce.⁴⁴ Baptism data also suggests a falling percentage of farmers during Period D, but, after a decline in the 1820s, labourers show a slightly increased share in the 1830s.⁴⁵

Interpretation of the 1831 figures for agricultural occupiers is difficult. In this Central Belt 164 occupiers employed labourers and 61 did not. In Inkberrow the respective figures were 47 and 6, while neighbouring Stock and Bradley was the only parish in this zone where occupiers employing labourers (8) were outnumbered by those who did not (15). No doubt farm-size was the main factor behind these differences, but more research would be needed for a full explanation.

Although the breakdown of labourers in 1831 for this zone was 93.7% agricultural and 6.3% non-agricultural, certain parishes with quarries had significant percentages of non-agricultural labourers, for example Exhall 31.7% and Temple Grafton 22.8%.⁴⁶ Times were hard for labourers in the late 1820s, and prospects bleak, which may have led to the six incidents of arson in Binton parish in the twelve months to January 1829.⁴⁷

⁴² WoRO, BA2289/8, Exhall churchwardens’ presentments 1705, where the wife of John Smith, Exhall, pig-driver, was presented as a papist.

⁴³ WoRO, QS557/58, 59, 1799, concerning James Fox., a jockey, who ‘goes from farm to farm breaking in colts’. Although he may well have ridden in horse-races, it seems that his main function was that of horse-breaker or colt-breaker.

⁴⁴ As noted in Chapter 2, probate data vastly underestimates the number of labourers, but before 1813 probate is the best guide to occupational structure.

⁴⁵ Table 6.6.

⁴⁶ Appendix 7.

⁴⁷ *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette* 12 Jan 1829.

In Period D other occupations associated with this sector (all in very small numbers) include gardener, nurseryman's labourer, grazier, hay-trusser, hay-cutter, castrator, veterinary surgeon, shepherd, carter, pig-dealer, cattle-dealer, horse-dealer, horse-breaker and colt-breaker.⁴⁸ The Kinwarton land-owner and magistrate, Thomas Brown, also rejoiced in the description 'agriculturist'.⁴⁹

The 1841 census indicates that agricultural occupations apart from labourers comprised some 13.1% of the adult male workforce, while 48.5% were agricultural labourers. Although the roles of women and children in agriculture are often hidden before 1840, the censuses show that several women ran farms, while women and adolescents of both sexes were also employed on the land.⁵⁰ The 1851 census also lists the odd dairy-woman or dairy-maid. Gamekeepers are mentioned more than in former times. The Dyke family provided at least three gamekeepers and also the only fisherman in this period.⁵¹

Extractive industries and building

Several parishes in this Central Belt had small quarries of Arden sandstone, which yielded building stone for local needs, while other parishes had limestone quarries, whose produce was used for building and also burnt to make lime.⁵² Quarrying activities were probably seasonal and dovetailed with the agricultural

⁴⁸ These jobs are found in a variety of sources, for example baptisms, censuses and directories.

⁴⁹ WaRO, Kinwarton 1841 and 1851 census.

⁵⁰ The enumerators' schedules have to be used with caution. Ploughboys as young as 9 are recorded in Temple Grafton, but the Haselor enumerator appears to include whole families as agricultural labourers including some children under 5. Several women are recorded as field-workers, field-labourers or agricultural labourers.

⁵¹ WaRO, Haselor, Arrow and Salford Priors baptisms, and 1841 census.

⁵² WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, Throckmorton MSS, shows payments for lime from William Hill of Shelfield, Aston Cantlow, used in the repair of a brick wall in 1673 and also stone from Great Alne and elsewhere. See Appendix 18 for parishes with quarries.

calendar.⁵³ For the most part '(stone-)masons' were based in quarrying parishes and, like their counterparts in Zone B, probably extracted and dressed stone, as well as building with it. Probate documents and deeds reveal something of how these stonecutter-masons lived, renting land for digging stone and supplementing their income with farming, brewing and other by-employments. Masons' probate inventories mainly suggest a modest life-style and show that their working tools were worth little.⁵⁴ If masons held (and farmed) varying amounts of land, the reverse was also true: some farmers were involved in extractive industries.⁵⁵

Some masters in the trade did well for themselves, for example, the stone-cutter, George Walker, who held considerable land and property.⁵⁶ By contrast their employees were often needy. Joseph Hemming was removed from Aston Cantlow to Halesowen, more than twenty miles distant, a reminder that, with limited opportunities in quarrying and building, such workers had to migrate further than those in many other trades.⁵⁷

John Walker alias Farmer of Newnham, Aston Cantlow, lived in the area where Wilmcote limestone occurs. His inventory (total £7-1-6) would suggest that he only eked out a meagre existence as a lime-burner and brickmaker. However, his house had three

⁵³ As happened in the Cotswolds. E. Brill, *Life and Tradition in the Cotswolds*, (Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1987), p. 141, states that quarrying mainly took place between Michaelmas and Christmas.

⁵⁴ WoRO, miscellaneous probate (795/254) of Francis Biddle, mason, Temple Grafton, 1663, £21-10-0, and WoRO, probate and miscellaneous probate (798/630) of Lewis Figgott, mason, Inkberrow, 1665, £23-0-0, and WoRO, probate of Thomas Ellins, mason, Binton, 1697, £27-8-4. Figgott was illiterate, but Biddle had a bible and books.

⁵⁵ WoRO probate: Thomas Badson, Binton, stonecutter, 1741/2, £17-10-0, possessed at least three messuages, a close, a small amount of meadowland, ridges in the common field and enjoyed rights of common for one beast. He owed an £80 mortgage for much of this property to a Stratford writing master. WoRO probate of Richard Edkins, Aston Cantlow, stonecutter, 1747, reveals that he held a new 8 acre enclosure, which may correspond to the quarter-yardland allotted to him in the enclosure award (WaRO, QS9/12/1). WaRO, QS9/12/1, Aston Cantlow enclosure award, shows that John Dunn, yeoman of Aston Cantlow, had a lime-kiln, which he may have worked himself or rented out. My tables no doubt understate the number of people involved in quarrying and building, as quarrying farmers and labourers are not included.

⁵⁶ George Walker served as a churchwarden and left money for charity. (WoRO probate of George Walker, Aston Cantlow, stonecutter, 1751.) Another successful mason was Thomas Johns, who leased the tithes of Wilmcote from Lord Brooke. (WaRO, CR1886/BL/1877).

⁵⁷ WaRO, DR259/49/1, Aston Cantlow removal order of Joseph Hemming, 1714, to Halesowen.

rooms and a buttery and cheese-chamber. One of his sons was described as a farmer, and from other sources we find that the family owned pieces of land in the area, not listed in the inventory, a reminder that inventories do not tell the whole story. Perhaps, rather than poor labouring quarrymen, we should regard this family as shrewd businessmen investing any profits from dairying, brickmaking and limeburning in the purchase of more plots of land for farming or extraction of lime and clay.⁵⁸ A handful of other brickmakers appear before 1800, apparently combining their brickmaking with farming.⁵⁹ They worked wherever they could rent a little land which yielded clay, often in outlying hamlets. They also had to be mobile to find work.

Lime-burners or lime-merchants occur in several parishes, while Morton Bagot was also home to a plasterer.⁶⁰ No doubt the latter obtained his plaster from the neighbouring village of Spennall, which had a gypsum or 'plaster' pit. Plasterers in the Hollis family, who were associated with this pit, rather like masons, appear to have extracted the raw material, supplied it to clients and applied it in buildings.⁶¹

In Stuart times builders hereabouts were generally referred to either as carpenters or masons. However, William Hopkins was both mason and plasterer, while William

⁵⁸ WoRO, probate of John Walker alias Farmer, Newnham, (Aston Cantlow), limeburner and brickmaker, 1670, £7-1-6. Sometimes called Farriner alias Walker the family is mentioned in various property deeds at SCLA and Birmingham Reference Library. The family continued quarrying for the next 100 years at least, and one served as churchwarden.

⁵⁹ WoRO, probate of Valentine Hinson of Shelfield, (Aston Cantlow), brickmaker, 1742, £38-12-0, and of Edward Merrill, Radford, (Rous Lench), (no occupation given), 1714, £83-7-8. WaRO, Exhall settlement examinations, DR200/43/14, mentions Justice Bosward, brickmaker, 1770.

⁶⁰ WoRO, marriage licence of John Kettle, Tardebigge, husbandman, May 1753, was witnessed by John Mitchel, Morton Bagot, lime-merchant. In WoRO, marriage licence of John Fulford, Morton Bagot, shoemaker, Feb. 1755, the witness John Mitchel was described as a lime-burner. WoRO, marriage licence of Edward North, Tanworth in Arden, Nov. 1743, witnessed by John Fullwood, Morton Bagot, plasterer. Fullwood may have obtained his plaster at the gypsum mine at neighbouring Spennall.

⁶¹ WaRO, CR1998/26, Throckmorton MSS, 1672 and 1675. At Lady Day 1672 George Hollis was in arrears with his 10s. rent for the 'plaster pits', but three years later he was paid 1s. for doing some work at County Hall, Warwick. A local phenomenon is the use of plaster floors in farmhouse lofts, most likely to store cheese. For example, WoRO probate of Henry Hill, Sambourne, (Coughton), (no occupation given), 1682, £228-02-02, includes items on the 'plaster floors' in his farmhouse. There is no specific mention of plaster extraction in Periods C and D although, according to local tradition, the pit was used until the mid-twentieth century.

Edwards was described as an ‘architectus’.⁶² Like many masons in this zone Thomas Edmonds of Oversley worked with both stone and brick.⁶³ The term ‘bricklayer’ was rare before 1800, but the term was used as an alternative descriptor for masons in Oversley throughout the eighteenth century.⁶⁴

Plumbers and glaziers were always rare in this zone, but a couple of families in this trade were found in Kinwarton and Great Alne in the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1730 one such glazier left Great Alne for Alcester, where business opportunities were greater.⁶⁵ By the nineteenth century this zone’s building workers included plasterers, bricklayers, thatchers, glaziers, painters and plumbers, but all in very small numbers.⁶⁶

The figures in Tables 6.2 and 6.4 probably under-represent the number of men working in quarrying.⁶⁷ Looking at the baptism data in Table 6.6 we can see that the building sector held its own from 1813 to 1840, while extractive industries may have tailed off in the 1830s. The disparate percentages of non-agricultural labourers in the 1831 census, (mentioned in the agriculture section above), highlight the differences

⁶² Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 7, p. 190 and 9, p. 55, quoting QS in 1680-92, mentions Hopkins concerning encroachment in Great Alne. WoRO, probate of John Ganderton, Inkberrow, (no occupation given), 1679/80, mentions William Edwards, Inkberrow, ‘architectus’, which at this period probably meant someone who designed and built.

⁶³ WoRO, probate of Thomas Edmonds, Oversley, (Arrow), (no occupation given), 1739, £138-11-2. He had stone worth £8-12-8 at the ‘stone quarrs’ and brick and coal at the ‘brick kill’ worth £11-1-0.

⁶⁴ For example, WoRO, marriage licence of Joseph Allcock, Oversley, (Arrow), bricklayer, June 1769, and earlier members of the Smith family.

⁶⁵ WaRO, DR360/65, Alcester settlement paper, 1730, of John Watson from Great Alne to Alcester, and QS35/1/4, licensed victuallers’ returns, 1740, mentions John Watson, Alcester, plumber and glazier.

⁶⁶ The only Thatcher as such noted in this zone over the two centuries was in WoRO, Inkberrow, 1841 census. As noted in other zones, labourers and others would also undertake thatching tasks.

⁶⁷ In those tables all those described as masons or stonemasons are included in the building sector, whereas many of these men were also involved in quarrying. Also, some men in these sectors were less likely to leave probate documents or marry by licence than some other groups, which makes the figures more erratic. In quarrying parishes farmers often held the land which included the quarries and ran such businesses themselves, so some quarry operators are subsumed under farmers.

between quarrying and non-quarrying parishes.⁶⁸ The 1841 census records 0.8% of adult males in extractive industries and 4.5% in building.⁶⁹

When the Stratford upon Avon Canal reached this zone, some parishes were able to exploit their stone resources more profitably. For instance, Wilmcote (in Aston Cantlow parish), which lay on the canal, became a boom village with a new Anglican church and new cottages for the quarry-workers. A railway was proposed (but never built) to take stone to the canal from Temple Grafton, where some 16.4% of baptisms record fathers in the quarry trade.⁷⁰

In Period D the lias-stone pits in the villages between Alcester and Stratford must have provided work or income for many land-owners, farmers and labourers at this period, as well as for those specifically described as quarry-men or quarry-labourers, stonemasons, stone-cutters, stone-sawyers, stone-workers and stone-merchants. The quarry trade was considered more suitable for males than females, but Mary Mills of Wilmcote was a stone-dealer and lime-dealer.⁷¹ Local stone was made into lime to fertilise farmland and increasingly made into cement to supply the building trade. Other occupational descriptors found at this time are lime-burner, soil-burner and cement-grinder. Wilmcote cement works also had an engine-boy, an engine-man and various clerks.

The Arden sandstone at Inkberrow also continued to be quarried, sold and used for building by the Davis family and others. Some also turned their hands to sculpting or

⁶⁸ Appendix 7.

⁶⁹ Table 6.8. I have included masons in the building sector even though many of them also quarried. According to the 1841 census some young males were employed in these sectors, but no females.

⁷⁰ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 96, and WaRO, Temple Grafton baptisms 1813-1840.

⁷¹ SCLA, ER11/23/21.

monumental masonry, while the sundial on Dormston church bears the inscription ‘Thomas Davis sciagrapher’ (sundial-maker). Stone was also used for paving or road-building by paviors, road-labourers and ‘stone-breakers on the roads’.⁷²

Whereas the baptism registers give evidence of quarry-workers in some seven parishes in this zone, clay extraction for bricks was less widespread, brickmakers occurring in baptism registers of only four parishes.⁷³ In contrast with quarrying parishes, the brickmaking parishes are mainly in the west of this zone. Brickmaking was not as big an employer as quarrying. However, at the end of this period some local brickmakers may have used the new brickmaking machines, increasing output significantly. George Sheffield exemplifies how brickmakers had to adapt, moving from place to place as pits were exhausted or better opportunities offered.⁷⁴

Textiles, clothing and paper

As in the Champion Country, there is evidence for a small cottage textile industry, with weavers appearing in many of the parishes.⁷⁵ Tables 6.2 and 6.4 are somewhat contradictory, but from combined sources the evidence suggests that, as elsewhere in the study area, the textile trade declined over the two centuries. The trade was never dominant hereabouts, and by Period D baptisms suggest that a mere 0.4% of fathers were

⁷² WaRO, Arrow baptisms, 1813, records William Huxley, pavier, and Aston Cantlow 1851 census.

⁷³ For parishes with quarries or brickworks see Appendix 18.

⁷⁴ WoRO, Rous Lench 1841 census. George Sheffield was later in Bidford (in Zone B) and is discussed in the extractive industries and building section in Chapter 5.

⁷⁵ Buchanan, ‘Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries 1600-1650’, *Trans. of Worcestershire Arch. Soc.*, 18, p. 40, shows that the Worcestershire parishes of this Central Belt formed an important weaving area, as weaving moved out of the towns between 1550 and 1650. V. Skipp, *Crisis and Development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden 1570-1674*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1978), p. 57, notes that by 1650 weaving had become ‘the strongest single industrial pursuit’ in his Warwickshire Arden parishes which lie just to the north of this zone.

involved in textile or paper sector (apart from tailors who are discussed separately below), while the 1841 census gives a figure of 1% of adult males for this sector.⁷⁶

In the main weavers apparently operated as small family businesses with less than four looms. Those with more looms do appear to be slightly better off. Sons (or apprentices) could work the additional looms. However, to purchase an extra loom a weaver needed more capital. James Poole of Dormston lived in a dwelling with four rooms and a weaving shop in which he had 'three loomes with gutrs and warping trough', but his farming assets were worth more than his household possessions and his weaving gear together.⁷⁷ Although not well-off, in comparison with labourers the weavers enjoyed some semblance of independence from the land-owning classes. For example, James Poole's son, John, a narrow-weaver, held baptist meetings at his house.⁷⁸

The weavers in the west (around Inkberrow) may have sold their cloth through Worcester or Bromsgrove, while the cloth produced in the east (around Aston Cantlow) was perhaps marketed via Coventry.⁷⁹ Coventry underwent a collapse in its textile trade in the seventeenth century, and in the early eighteenth century Worcester's trade declined substantially too.⁸⁰ How this affected the rural artificers is difficult to ascertain. Perhaps they found alternative markets and switched to making different types of cloth. One Yorkshire clothier had local links, while one local weaver cum clothier perhaps acted as a

⁷⁶ Table 6.6 shows that this sector declined further between 1813 and 1840. See Table 6.8 for the 1841 census.

⁷⁷ WoRO, probate and miscellaneous probate (813/2570) of James Poole, weaver, Dormston, 1665, £39-10-0. He had a stockpile of both wool and tow. Tow was used to make canvas, rope or sheets. It was quite usual to combine weaving and agriculture, as exemplified by WoRO, probate of John Mordick, Oldberrow, yeoman, 1669, £30-12-8. Mordick is referred to as yeoman, but had two weaving looms.

⁷⁸ WoRO, BA2289/7, Dormston churchwardens' presentments, 1674, concerning John Poole, narrow-weaver.

⁷⁹ Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries', 18, p. 35, states that most of the county's dyers and particularly the clothiers were based in the towns, especially Worcester.

⁸⁰ The decline in Worcester's textile trade after the 1720s is described in J. de L. Mann, *The Cloth Industry in the West of England*, (Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1987), pp. 42-3.

middleman between Worcester clothiers and rural weavers.⁸¹ Nobody else in this zone is described as a clothier, but the likes of Joseph Attwood, cloth-shearer, perhaps finished and marketed cloth for local weavers. He farmed in a small way himself and had £125 owing to him upon bond, suggesting that he financed others. His one score of sheep could provide wool, but he also stocked linen and hurden.⁸² Records also reveal one dyer and one ‘pannifex’, who perhaps finished locally woven cloth.⁸³ In the 1670s the local textile trade was obviously considered lucrative enough for the Throckmortons to build a new fulling-mill on the Arrow at Spernall; this mill operated into the first quarter of the next century and maybe longer.⁸⁴

In view of the excellent pastures for sheep, described by Rev. Heath above, it is no surprise that some local weavers worked with wool, but flaxen yarn was also used.⁸⁵ Some weavers specialised in certain materials or products, for example, Aston Cantlow was home to a hair-cloth weaver and a linen-weaver.⁸⁶ Extant weavers’ inventory values

⁸¹ WoRO, marriage licence of George Hobkins, Halifax, May 1696, was witnessed by William Webster, Eland, Yorkshire, clothier, and John Rice, Arrow, carpenter. Hobkins married a girl from Arrow, also called Hobkins. WoRO, marriage licence of George Smith, Kington, weaver, May 1711 and of George Smith, Kington, clothier, (widower), July 1712.

⁸² WoRO, probate of Joseph/Joshua Attwood, Aston Cantlow, cloth-shearer, 1670, £175-12-0.

⁸³ WaRO, DR360/86/1, Alcester settlement, 1656, witnessed by Thomas Field, Arrow, ‘dier’. WoRO, marriage licence of James Walker, Inkberrow, ‘pannifex’, Nov. 1694. ‘Pannifex’ may mean cloth-worker or could simply be an alternative for ‘textor’, (weaver).

⁸⁴ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, Throckmorton MSS. One Spernall fuller died in 1705. WoRO probate of John Stringer, Spernall, fuller, 1705, £79-8-0, and WaRO, Spernall burials 1705. As the mill and machinery are not mentioned in his probate, he presumably did not own them. He may have rented them, or been a paid employee of the owner. He also ran a public house on the premises. According to Buchanan, ‘Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries’, 17, p. 42, fulling-mills were also used by tanners.

⁸⁵ *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 24 February 1785 carries a notice about flaxen yarn left with a Bradley Green weaver.

⁸⁶ WoRO, probate of John Maning, Oldberrow, ‘searcwiver?’ (occupation not clear), 1667, (no inventory). This may mean ‘searcweaver’, an alternative term for haircloth-weaver. SCLA, DR333/49/20, deed regarding property in Great Alne circa 1740, mentions Thomas Bullock, Aston Cantlow, ‘hair-cloth-weaver’. Hair-cloth was used for sieving, for instance in the dairy trade. WoRO, probate of Isaac Pardy, Aston Cantlow, linen-weaver, 1737, £19-10-0. Buchanan, ‘Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries’, 19, p. 46, notes an Arras worker at Abbots Morton between 1600 and 1650.

are low. As well as farming, weavers tried other by-employments to make ends meet, for example, one Dormston weaver also ran a general store.⁸⁷

No woolcombers are mentioned in this zone; perhaps some farmers or weavers performed this task or maybe the wool was combed in the local towns before being put out to (female) spinners in the villages.⁸⁸ However, Thomas Hulbert of Inkberrow is described as a wool-dealer in 1781.⁸⁹

Spinners go largely unmentioned, but inventories reveal spinning wheels in many households, such as that of John Hunt, glover in the 1670s, who, as well as skins, leather and gloves, also had hemp and eight pecks of wool in his wool-chamber. The wool comprised almost half his inventory total. Hunt apparently acted as a dealer in many types of textile and leather, probably putting out work to local spinners and weavers and also selling 'mercery wares'. The presence of an alum-tub suggests he was also dyeing cloth, but alum could also have been used for processing leather. Hunt also had a 'raghouse', suggesting the collection of rags for re-use, or for sale as second-hand clothes to the poor, or to pass on to paper-mills.⁹⁰

Although many women must have supported the textile trade by spinning, their role as weavers would be completely hidden locally if it were not for Rev. Heath's comments that in Inkberrow in the 1790s 'females are employed in spinning and weaving. By the former an industrious woman can earn 4d. to 9d. a day; by the latter 6s. to 8s. a week. Where the man and his wife both weave, it frequently happens that the

⁸⁷ WoRO, probate of John Homan, Stock Green, Inkberrow, weaver, 1761, £16-8-3., and of John Collins, Dormston, 1762, £17-16-4.

⁸⁸ Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries', 18, p. 36, describes independent women spinners buying small amounts of wool on market day and returning next week with yarn on which they made a handsome profit. Others span for the clothier.

⁸⁹ WoRO probate of Edward Hill, Inkberrow, (no occupation given), 1781, mentions Hulbert.

⁹⁰ WoRO, John Hunt, Inkberrow, glover, 1677, £94-10-0. Although there is no evidence of papermakers in this zone until the eighteenth century, he could have supplied paper-mills in Zone D.

man finding a resource in the industry of his partner, spends the produce of his labour at the ale-house, and returns to his family to devour the food of his own children.’⁹¹ This may do an injustice to many male weavers, but it serves to remind us that if women were included in local occupational data for the eighteenth century, the textile trade would increase its share significantly. We are told that Inkberrow’s weavers sold their work in neighbouring towns.⁹²

Whereas weavers had once been almost ubiquitous in this zone, Inkberrow’s was the only baptism register to mention weavers in Period D.⁹³ Inkberrow’s weavers were now concentrated along the Ridgeway, where the Hill family and their helpers were described as hurd-weavers, making coarse linen-cloth or ‘scouring cloth’. This rough cloth may have been for general cleaning, but was more likely to wrap needles for the needle-scouring process. This speciality supporting the local needle-trade may explain why these weavers survived, but the Hills also made rope and twine.⁹⁴ Some of their yarn was supplied by a trio of elderly women.⁹⁵ Elsewhere in the Central Belt records reveal a couple of other weavers, one of whom is specified as a linen-weaver.⁹⁶ It may be that woollen cloth was no longer woven in this zone, although there was a lone female wool-spinner.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Rogers, *The State of the Poor* (by Sir Frederic Morton Eden), p. 349.

⁹² Bradbrook, *History of the Parish of Inkberrow and Local Government*, p. 41.

⁹³ *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 27 March 1800 also advertises a weaver’s house for sale on the Ridgeway in Inkberrow with a large, roomy (weaving) shop and an acre of ground and rights of common.

⁹⁴ WoRO, Inkberrow baptisms 1813-1840 and Inkberrow 1841 and 1851 censuses.

⁹⁵ WoRO, Inkberrow 1851 census contains one hemp-spinner and two hurd-spinners.

⁹⁶ WoRO, probate of Mary Harris, Wixford, spinster, 1825, mentions Clement George, Wixford, linen-weaver.

⁹⁷ WoRO, Inkberrow 1851 census.

The flax-dresser on the Ridgeway at this time probably supplied the hurd-weaving, rope-making Hill family.⁹⁸ The processing of flax and hemp had probably been widespread in earlier periods, but references to these materials and to flax-dressers are few.⁹⁹ Richard Gibbs was presented for watering hemp in Haselor Brook in 1672, and flax was still grown in this locality in the 1750s.¹⁰⁰ Circa 1790 occupants of Inkberrow's poorhouse were 'principally employed in dressing hurds'.¹⁰¹

Although tailors are found in the records of several parishes, Tables 6.2 and 6.4 suggest a decreasing share of the workforce over time. Baptisms from 1813 to 1840 show that tailors comprised a mere 0.4% of fathers, while the 1841 census suggests a figure of 0.5% of adult males.¹⁰² However, it appears that there were one or two tailors at any one time serving even quite small settlements and often supplementing their income with farming.¹⁰³ Some parishes such as Arrow and Great Alne, seemed to have more tailors than expected.¹⁰⁴ Inventories make no mention of a tailor's tools, which were probably very inexpensive. Although many tailors were illiterate, one literate tailor

⁹⁸ TNA, Redditch methodist baptisms, 1812, mentions Thomas Adkins, New End, (Inkberrow), flax-dresser. WaRO, 1841 census, shows that many of those in the Union Workhouse have occupations from this sector, (ropemaker, rag-gatherer, flax-spinner, flax-dresser, woolcomber). This may suggest hardship in this sector, but it could also be that they were able to pursue some of these occupations in the workhouse.

⁹⁹ WoRO, probate of Edward Millward, Spennall, 'woodcowper', 1681/2, £157-9-2, mentions 'flax in the rough, 5s.'. WoRO, probate of Richard Beard, Great Alne, flax-dresser, 1685, £25-5-8, mentions 'flax and flax-seed, £16'. Flax and hemp did not have to be mentioned in probate inventories and dressing them was also carried out by non-specialists such as Millward.

¹⁰⁰ Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 6, p. 187, quoting quarter sessions, 1672. WoRO, probate of Thomas Laughler, Alcester, maltster, 1754, shows that he owes tithes of flax to Rev. Jackson of Arrow.

¹⁰¹ Eden, *The State of the Poor*, p. 807, (<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco>, 3.30 p.m., 22 Feb. 2010).

¹⁰² Tables 6.6 and 6.8.

¹⁰³ WoRO, probate of Richard Tandy, Abbots Morton, tailor, 1678, £11-13-0. He left his three-bay house to his son. WoRO, probate of Thomas Bartlam alias Sale, Bradley, (Stock and Bradley), tailor, 1672, £13-8-6. He left his four-room house with dairy and buttery to his son. WoRO, probate of William Lacy, Bradley, (Stock and Bradley), tailor, 1674, £14-13-6. He left land to his son. WoRO, probate of Richard Woollmer, Cladswell, (Inkberrow), tailor, 1680/1, £17-0-8. He left 2 houses to his children and also farmed.

¹⁰⁴ Perhaps tailors from these parishes close to Alcester also serviced the market town.

was in great demand as a bondsman and witness for his neighbours.¹⁰⁵ William Whitcombe exemplifies a trait observable in tailors' wills of detailing their clothes, as he specifies who should inherit his 'best close-bodied cloth coat' and other garments.¹⁰⁶ From 1770 to 1792 one Abbots Morton tailor is also described as a stay-maker and mantuamaker.¹⁰⁷ The 1841 and 1851 censuses reveal various female dressmakers and the odd milliner and seamstress, while Aston Cantlow was also home to a male hatter in 1819.¹⁰⁸

Some time before the 1760s the water-mill at Aston Cantlow was converted for the manufacture of paper.¹⁰⁹ The paper-mill was never a large employer, but some of its employees (particularly in its early days) had migrated considerable distances to find work.¹¹⁰ Aston Cantlow's paper-mill continued until the mid-nineteenth century, supplied by the likes of the Inkberrow rag-gatherer.¹¹¹

Leather, horn and tallow

Tables 6.2 and 6.4 show the presence of shoemakers throughout the study period, while baptism data (Table 6.6) shows a rise in the percentage of shoemakers among

¹⁰⁵ For example, WoRO, marriage licences of George Field, July 1700, and of Nathaniel Cooks, Aug. 1700, signed by John Careless, Aston Cantlow, tailor.

¹⁰⁶ WoRO, probate of William Whitcombe, Rous Lench, tailor, 1719, £54-5-0.

¹⁰⁷ WoRO, probate of John Hutton, Abbots Morton, tailor and stay-maker, 1792, and TNA, IR1/57, 58, 60 and 61, apprenticeship books in which he is described as a tailor when he takes on a male apprentice, but as a mantuamaker when he takes on female apprentices. He is the only male mantuamaker to emerge from local records.

¹⁰⁸ WaRO, Aston Cantlow baptisms. Some 3.3% of adult females with known occupations were making clothes in 1841 (Table 6.8).

¹⁰⁹ Paper was made earlier upstream on the Alne in Wootton Wawen. (WoRO, marriage licence of Francis Martin, Wootton Wawen, papermaker, May 1709.)

¹¹⁰ WaRO, DR259/45/16, Aston Cantlow settlement papers, 1780. Thomas Newland, who had served his apprenticeship to a Lincolnshire papermaker, was hired at Aston Cantlow for £7-16-0 per annum. He had also served in two regiments. (His pay as a papermaker was less than that of an Inkberrow labourer, described above).

¹¹¹ WaRO, Aston Cantlow baptisms 1814-1821 and Aston Cantlow 1841 and 1851 censuses record papermakers. WoRO, Inkberrow 1841 census lists a rag-gatherer. *VCH Worcestershire*, iii, p. 418, states that there were paper-mills in Inkberrow, but evidence is lacking.

fathers in Period D. The 1841 census records some 3% of adult males as shoemakers.¹¹² Both probate and marriage licence data suggest a fall in other leatherworkers after 1800, while in baptisms the percentage continues to fall between 1813 and 1840.¹¹³

As may be expected, in the earlier periods tanners were more numerous in this woodland area than in Zone B, making use of the local availability of oak-bark, lime and hides. Although listed in probate in 1676 as a yeoman, Moses Mansell was also a tanner. A wealthy man, with links far afield, he financed various people locally and served the parish in various capacities.¹¹⁴ Rather than possessing expertise in tanning it may be that some yeomen families with capital and space to spare invested in what was an established, lucrative, rural industry at the time.¹¹⁵

In 1750 another tanner, Henry Ballard, left property in trust for his daughter without her husband, Oliver Williams, tanner, 'intermeddling'. The house and tanyard and a £25 a year estate, were advertised to be let the following year.¹¹⁶ References to tanners had decreased since 1750, and the son-in-law, Oliver Williams, was apparently the last tanner in this sub-district.¹¹⁷ After 1775 the tanners had disappeared, or, if they were farming tanners, farming was now prioritised and so references to tanning cease.

Skinner and glovers, abounded in these woodland parishes in Stuart times, probably employing many more unrecorded men and women, (for example sewing the

¹¹² Table 6.8. Also 1.9% of younger males with known occupations were in the shoe trade.

¹¹³ Tables 6.2, 6.4 and 6.6. Table 6.8 (1841 census) shows only 0.1% of adult males in leather trades other than shoemaking.

¹¹⁴ WoRO, probate of Moses Maunsell, Inkberrow, yeoman, 1676, £407-14-0. R. Hunt and R. Jackson, *The Inkberrow Book*, (Inkberrow, R. Jackson, 1974), p. 39, (quoting the parish charity report of 1847), refer to him as a tanner and indicate that he left money for loaves to be distributed annually to poor widows of the parish. Other families of tanners include Walford, Ballard and Cowley.

¹¹⁵ Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries', 18, p. 40, shows that Inkberrow was one of the principal leather working parishes in the county from 1600-1650.

¹¹⁶ WoRO, probate of Henry Ballard, Abbots Morton, tanner, 1750. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 14 March 1751.

¹¹⁷ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 2 Feb 1775 shows that he was now a tanner in the market town of Bromsgrove. He was selling off property in Abbots Morton.

gloves). However, like the tanners, the local glovers and skimmers died out circa 1770.¹¹⁸ In the mid-nineteenth century glovers reappear in local records, but now they are female. The dozens of ‘gloveresses’ listed in the 1851 census (especially in Inkberrow and surrounding villages) were probably out-workers for the Worcester trade.¹¹⁹

Although saddlers, harness-makers and collar-makers were concentrated in the market centres of Alcester and (to a lesser extent) Bidford, we do find a few in this Central Belt over the two centuries.¹²⁰ They lived modestly like most of the zone’s shoemakers. Many of the latter were illiterate, but Henry Glover was literate and served as parish-clerk, while Robert Morrell, though described as a shoemaker, was in effect a substantial yeoman.¹²¹ Although most shoemakers do not appear in probate records, they were present in some numbers in these wood-pasture parishes.¹²² They were aided by females who go largely unrecorded, Emma Owines, a female shoemaker, and Ann Wilkes, shoe-binder, proving the exception to the rule.¹²³

¹¹⁸ The last male glover was the appropriately named Richard Glover of Inkberrow, who died in 1770. (WoRO, marriage licence of Richard Glover, Inkberrow, glover, May 1724, and *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 1 March 1770). The last of the skimmers seems to have been John Hunt of Kington who died in 1769. (WoRO, probate of John Hunt, Kington, skinner, 1769.) This family had been tanners, glovers and skimmers around Inkberrow for over a hundred years. WoRO, probate of Francis Hunt, Inkberrow, glover, (who is mentioned above in the textile section) mentions his son John, described as a ‘chirotecarius’ (glover).

¹¹⁹ WaRO and WoRO 1841 census lists some female glovers in this zone, but they are probably under-recorded in this earlier census. In censuses female glovers are described as ‘glove-sewers’, ‘glovers’, ‘gloveresses’ and ‘glovemakers’.

¹²⁰ For example, WoRO, marriage licence of William Moseley, Binton, collarmaker, April 1670, and WoRO, probate of Thomas Moseley, Upton, (Haselor), collarmaker, 1685, £7-8-4.

¹²¹ Henry Glover, Inkberrow, cordwainer, signed WoRO marriage licence documents for fellow villagers in Aug. 1699 and Feb. 1699/1700. R. Hunt and R. Jackson, *More About Inkberrow*, (Inkberrow, Jackson, 1976), p. 38, refer to him as parish-clerk. WoRO, probate and miscellaneous probate (814/2700) of Robert Morrell, Aston Cantlow, shoemaker, 1666/7, £171-4-6.

¹²² Shoemakers and other leatherworkers who purchased leather at Worcester would be affected by the new regulations introduced in 1790, where red leather could only be sold in open market (in a designated area), as explained in *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 2 September 1790.

¹²³ WoRO, Kington 1841 census records Emma Owines. WaRO, DR360/79/308, Alcester apprentice records, include Diana Archer, apprenticed to Ann, (wife of William Wilkes, stonemason, Aston Cantlow, Wilmcote), 1838, to learn shoe-binding and dressmaking.

Chandlers were never abundant in the woodland villages, but a few appear in records before 1750, such as Aston Cantlow's chandlers, who also farmed and sold groceries.¹²⁴

Wood and charcoal

Charcoal burners are absent from local records throughout the two centuries, but several Haselor residents supplied 'coal' to Coughton Court in the 1660s, most likely charcoal.¹²⁵ No doubt charcoal was still produced in the local coppices in the eighteenth century, but perhaps in declining quantities as pit-coal became more readily available.¹²⁶ In the 1790s Heath states that wood is the usual fuel in Inkberrow parish, 'though coal at 1s. per cwt. is much cheaper. It is probable that the labourers' children procure their fuel from the hedges.'¹²⁷

Using a combination of sources we find a heavy sprinkling of carpenters with some parishes such as Arrow perhaps having more than their fair share.¹²⁸ Tables 6.2 and 6.4 give figures for carpenters cum joiners in the region of 1.7% to 3.5%. The figure in Table 6.6 (baptisms) is 2.5%, while Table 6.8 (1841 census) gives 2.9%. Country carpenters had to turn their hand to all types of woodwork for building and joinery.¹²⁹ The term 'joiner' is perhaps less common here than in the market town, but Edward

¹²⁴ WoRO, probate of Edward Walker, Aston Cantlow, chandler, 1721, £58-14-3, and WaRO, QS9/12/1, which shows that Francis Charles (chandler) held 2 yardlands at the time of the enclosure award.

¹²⁵ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/40, Throckmorton MSS. *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 110, states that there is a seam of coal under Haselor church too deep to mine. The place-name Collisters Hill (meaning Colliers' Hill?) in Great Alne may indicate an early charcoal-burning site.

¹²⁶ Coppices may also have been overexploited or neglected as in other parts of the country.

¹²⁷ Rogers, *The State of the Poor (by Sir Frederic Morton Eden)*, p. 349.

¹²⁸ It may be that the Ragley estate in Arrow was a good source of timber, and the craftsmen were well situated to serve Alcester with perhaps more room to store timber than in the town.

¹²⁹ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 29 Sept. 1785 advertises the stock of Thomas Laugher, an Inkberrow carpenter, who was moving to London. His stock included coffin parts, cabinet goods, 'bureaus', and items such as casks and pails 'in the coopery way'. WoRO probate of Thomas Surman, Kington, yeoman, 1791, asks carpenter Thomas Skinner of Kington to make his coffin.

Measie of Arrow was described specifically as a joiner. He occupied extensive premises at Arrow which he used as his home and his farming base, but he also had a shop in nearby Alcester where he made or stocked items such as chairs, stools, coffins, bedsteads and cupboards.¹³⁰

The carpenter's job must have changed much over the study period as half-timber building techniques faded and perhaps more sophisticated cabinet making was demanded even in the countryside.

Other woodworkers were not as numerous as carpenter/joiners, but were apparently on the increase over time.¹³¹ Wheelwrights may have prospered as roads improved and horse-traffic increased.¹³² Wheelwrights often made and assembled whole vehicles rather than just dealing with wheels. In the 1750s William Ladbury was described merely as a 'wright', while in 1841 Thomas Bridges was enumerated as a 'coach-maker'.¹³³ Some wheelwrights doubled as ploughwrights and may have sold ploughs to farming folk further afield, for instance in the Champion Country which had less timber and fewer woodworkers.

The produce of the woodland estates, both timber and coppice-wood, continued to be a vital factor in the local economy, though not always explicit in archives. Often landowners or their stewards dealt in these products, but the odd specialist timber-merchant also occurs.¹³⁴ While landowners and yeomen exploited the timber and

¹³⁰ WoRO, miscellaneous probate (814/2698) of Edward Measie, Arrow, joiner, 1666, £202-15-8.

¹³¹ Tables 6.2 and 6.4 show an increase to 1.8 or 1.9% in probate and marriage licences. Table 6.6 (baptisms) also has a similar figure and suggests an increase during the period 1813-1840. The 1841 census gives a figure of 2.6% of adult males in woodworking trades other than carpenters.

¹³² Three out of the 5 wheelwrights in probate appear in Period D.

¹³³ TNA, IR1/53, apprentice books list William Ladbury, Inkberrow, wright, and WaRO, Arrow 1841 census.

¹³⁴ For example, TNA, PCC probate of Robert Fullwood, Oldberrow, esquire, 1739, mentions a coppice in his manor of Oldberrow. SCLA, DR134/54/5, a deed of 1704, refers to John Baker of Shelfield (Aston Cantlow), timber-merchant.

underwoods on their property, probate inventories show that many woodworkers also farmed, their farming assets typically outweighing their woodworking tools and stock in value.¹³⁵

No doubt many coppice workmen and woodcutters are hidden under the descriptor 'labourer', as the woods did not provide a full-time occupation for them.¹³⁶ However, besom-makers are found, who perhaps cut twigs on the common and sold their brooms in local markets.¹³⁷

Coopers, turners, millwrights and sawyers also appear in small numbers in this zone.¹³⁸ In Period D Oversley was home to a plane-maker and to the Huxley family of timber-merchants, hoopmakers and lath-renders.¹³⁹ Raw materials were supplied by the likes of Haselor's 'woodard' (woodward) and Great Alne's woodman.¹⁴⁰ The sawyers, (sometimes described as timber-sawyers to distinguish them from the stone-sawyers), may have still sawn timber by hand at this time, though it is possible that some sawyers had started to use steam-saws.

¹³⁵ After probate inventories cease circa 1760 it is less clear how many woodworkers farmed.

¹³⁶ Crafts such as basketry and lath-cleaving were also often undertaken by labourers.

¹³⁷ For example, Henry Pool, Inkberrow, besom-maker, mentioned in WoRO, Feckenham baptisms, 1705. D. Brown in C. Dyer, ed., *The Self-contained Village?*, (Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press, 2007), p. 121, describes similar workers on the commons elsewhere.

¹³⁸ WoRO, marriage licence of John Manning, Oldberrow, sawyer, Dec. 1731. WoRO, QS305/18, QS313/31, QS314/32 and QS315/28, concerning removal of the family of John Clark, sawyer, from Kidderminster to Bromsgrove to Inkberrow to StokePrior.

¹³⁹ WaRO, Oversley, (Arrow), 1841 and 1851 census and Arrow baptisms 1844 (when George Huxley was resident in Alcester). WaRO, 1851 census includes Sarah Huxley, lath-cleaver.

¹⁴⁰ WaRO, Haselor 1841 census and Great Alne 1851 census.

Metal

Table 6.6 shows that blacksmiths/farriers comprised 2.4% of fathers in baptisms from 1813 to 1840 and that they were increasing during this time.¹⁴¹ Blacksmiths were present in most parishes of this zone, even in small settlements.¹⁴² Where there was insufficient full-time work for the smith, he took up by-employments, none more so than William Sturdy.¹⁴³ The rural blacksmith's work was varied, involving repairs to his neighbours' agricultural implements, care for their horses and all manner of different ironwork. Several blacksmiths kept bees. One such was Henry Ford, who also stocked several buckets, possibly made for a wider market.¹⁴⁴ Another blacksmith ran a public house known as the Wheelbarrow Castle, which may suggest that he was known for the manufacture of wheelbarrows.¹⁴⁵

Thomas Godwyn's probate inventory provides more detail than most regarding the contents of the smithy. He had various tools, old and new iron, wire, 'twenty-two hundred of coles' and a shoeing box and horse-shoes.¹⁴⁶ These last items show that he was a farrier, while the presence of wire may suggest that he supplied needlemakers with their raw material.

¹⁴¹ Despite inconsistencies in Tables 6.2 and 6.4, the impression from a number of sources is that blacksmiths had generally been on the increase earlier too. Table 6.8 (1841 census) provides a figure of 2.7% of adult males.

¹⁴² Of the 19 parishes in this zone the only parishes without a blacksmith were Billesley, Kinwarton and Oldberrow. Larger parishes had blacksmiths in each of their separate hamlets.

¹⁴³ William Sturdy mentioned above in the agriculture section as fisherman, etc.

¹⁴⁴ WoRO, probate of Henry Ford, Inkberrow, blacksmith, 1734, £393-6-2. If the combination of blacksmiths and bees is more than coincidence, it may be that beeswax or honey was used as treatment in farriery.

¹⁴⁵ WoRO, probate of Thomas Willis, Radford, (Rous Lench), blacksmith, 1718, £48-7-11. Many smiths had links with places outside their parish, but Richard Eaton's 'eight acres in Westbear, Kent' is exceptional in being so distant. (WoRO, probate of Richard Eaton, Cladswell, (Inkberrow), blacksmith/yeoman, 1717, £2-15-4.)

¹⁴⁶ WoRO, probate of Thomas Godwyn, blacksmith, Exhall, 1691, £30-13-11.

Among the wealthier blacksmiths was John Holtam, who lived in a dwelling with nine rooms and outhouses.¹⁴⁷ Probate inventories suggest that the zone's blacksmiths were mostly involved in farming and were a cut above most other village craftsmen.

Before 1750 a handful of needlemakers spilled over from the Needle District into this zone.¹⁴⁸ John Widdows, needlemaker of Wixford, was a witness to the marriage bond of an Ayrshire merchant, John Harvie, who married a local girl. Harvie and his ilk provided a two-way link with Scotland, perhaps bringing Scottish cloth to the midlands and returning home with needles and other products.¹⁴⁹

After 1750 Inkberrow parish was home to a few needlemakers, who for the most part probably lived along the Ridgeway adjoining the established needlemaking parishes. In the 1790s Rev. Heath comments: 'The chief employment is agriculture; a few persons prefer the sedentary occupation of needle making and weaving and vend their work in the neighbouring towns, it is difficult to account for this choice, for though the profit of the business may, occasionally, be greater than that of a day labourer, it is by no means so certain; till very lately (when there arose a demand for large needles for the use of the navy) they were obliged to have recourse to field labour to support their families, and could only earn two-thirds the wages of a professed labourer; besides which they are generally more unhealthy and more inclined to drunkenness.' The Inkberrow needlemaker who left probate in the 1760s was indeed a poor man.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ WoRO, probate of John Holtam, blacksmith, Great Alne, 1678, £58-14-0. However, (unusually), his inventory lists the debts that he owes, totalling £30-6-0, another reminder for the historian to beware in placing too much emphasis on inventory values, when some appraisers deduct debts and other don't mention them. (If his debts were deducted, he would only be worth £28-8-0.)

¹⁴⁸ For example, WoRO, marriage licence of John Andrews, Inkberrow, needlemaker, Sept. 1729, and probate of Joseph Badson, Inkberrow, 1729, £102-0-0.

¹⁴⁹ WoRO, marriage licence of John Harvie, Ayrshire, merchant, Nov. 1736, witnessed by John Widdows, Wixford, needlemaker. N. B. Other merchants from SW Scotland feature in Worcester diocese marriage licences at this period too and Scottish pedlars are mentioned locally.

¹⁵⁰ WoRO, probate of John Hunt, Inkberrow, needlemaker, 1765, £10-9-6.

From 1813 to 1840 baptism registers show that needlemakers spread into certain parishes for the first time, but only achieve a high of 1.5% of fathers in this zone in the 1820s, declining to 0.7% in the 1830s.¹⁵¹ A few children and women needlemakers appear in the censuses and the odd fish-hook-maker, but these are rare compared with the huge numbers in Zone D.¹⁵²

Other metalworkers were always present but in such small numbers that they do not feature in probate or marriage licences in some periods.¹⁵³ For example, in Stuart times a locksmith was based at Arrow only a mile or so from the market town, thus benefiting from a large customer-base.¹⁵⁴ In the eighteenth century specialist metalworkers hereabouts included John Newey of Shelfield, nailmaker, and John Ballard of Abbots Morton, toymaker.¹⁵⁵ Ballard had been apprenticed to a Black Country toymaker and had then presumably returned home when his apprenticeship ended. Obtaining raw materials may have been problematic for Ballard and also for the zone's clockmakers. Although the latter did some brass-founding, they perhaps mainly assembled parts rather than making whole clocks themselves.¹⁵⁶ The cost-effectiveness of making toys, clocks or watches in remote villages is questionable, but perhaps the

¹⁵¹ Table 6.6. No needlemakers feature in probate or marriage licence data for this zone in Period D.

¹⁵² Table 6.8 (1841 census) records 1.0% of adult males as needlemakers and the same percentage for adult females whose occupations are recorded.

¹⁵³ See Tables 6.2 and 6.4. Other records help to fill in the gaps. Table 6.6 shows a mere 0.1% in the 1830s, while Table 6.8 (1841 census) gives a figure of 0.2%.

¹⁵⁴ WoRO, marriage licence of Henry Tombs, Arrow, locksmith, Jan. 1691/2.

¹⁵⁵ WoRO, marriage licence of John Newey, Shelfield, (Aston Cantlow), nailmaker, Nov. 1710. WoRO, Abbots Morton burials, 1730, burial of John Ballard, toymaker, and TNA, IR1/43, (apprenticeship books, 1714), which shows that John Ballard, son of Elizabeth Ballard of Abbots Morton, widow, was apprenticed to Thomas Allen of Bilston, Staffordshire, toymaker. At this period 'toys' meant trinkets rather than playthings.

¹⁵⁶ WoRO, probate of Richard Houghton, Oversley, (Arrow), clockmaker, 1771. His son (another Richard) carried on the trade in Oversley. According to W. Seaby, 'A Warwickshire clockmaker: Richard Houton of Oversley Green, near Alcester', *ADLHS*, OP6a, (1977), pp. 1-7, at least four Hou(gh)ton clocks survive. WaRO, CR1886/BL/1883, a deed concerning property in Ardens Grafton, mentions William Halford, watchmaker of Hilborough, Temple Grafton, 1717. The Halfords also had connections with St Albans and Oxford. The Hunt family also made clocks in Exhall in the eighteenth century, (listed in McKenna, *Watch and Clockmakers of the British Isles: Warwickshire*, p. 29).

local market was sufficient to make the import of raw materials worthwhile, as long as their local competitors were few. In the 1780s George Wedgeberrow, yeoman and brazier, lived in the remote hamlet of Shell.¹⁵⁷ It is difficult to imagine many customers coming to him. Perhaps he travelled the area offering his services as a tinker. In Period D a travelling brazier appears in Inkberrow baptisms, while Aston Cantlow was home to a gunsmith, a nailer, an engineer and a handful of machine-makers.¹⁵⁸

Transport

During the Restoration period no occupations specific to transport are recorded for this zone. However, important routes existed in this sub-district. For example, the London to Bridgnorth coach route traversed the parish of Aston Cantlow, which also boasted Salter's Lane, (the route taken by those selling salt from Droitwich), and Port Lane, (an ancient road to nearby markets).¹⁵⁹ Manor court and quarter sessions records reflect the importance of such routes to farmers and tradesmen anxious to reach local towns.¹⁶⁰ Flooded, impassable and dangerous roads must have continually put a brake on the commercial activity of individual tradesmen and on the expansion of trade in general.

In Period B the western part of this zone enjoyed the benefit of improved roads around Worcester and Evesham, while, in the east, after 1725 the new turnpike from Birmingham to Stratford passed through Aston Cantlow parish. For the most part the

¹⁵⁷ WoRO, marriage licence of George Wedgeberrow, Shell, brazier and yeoman, Sept 1781.

¹⁵⁸ WoRO, Inkberrow baptisms 1831 and WaRO, Aston Cantlow 1841 census.

¹⁵⁹ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 33.

¹⁶⁰ For example, Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 9, pp. 158, 201, and WoRO, QS234/49, Easter 1715, QS239/31, Midsummer 1716, QS195/45, Epiphany 1722/3 and QS280/61,62, Epiphany 1726/7.

transport of goods was still probably undertaken by local farmers and tradesmen, but a trio of carriers are mentioned in marriage licences. Their specialism may well be indicative of the growing demand for carriage of goods, as they provided a vital link between local villages and market towns, such as Alcester and Worcester.¹⁶¹

Despite improvements in the turnpike road system, local roads were still causing problems in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁶² No specialist carriers have come to light at this period, but the new turnpikes brought employment to the likes of Stephen Chambers, the tollgate-keeper at Haselor, on the road from Alcester to Stratford.¹⁶³

Canals ‘brought the means of transport to the production site’ and ‘enabled full-scale exploitation’ of inland mineral resources.¹⁶⁴ Specifically, from its completion in 1816 the Stratford upon Avon Canal opened up markets for locally produced stone and lime and also agricultural produce. In return, coal found its way more easily and cheaply to this zone along with luxury items and mass-produced products from the towns. Although often on the move, some canal-boatmen happened to be in Wilmcote on census nights.¹⁶⁵

The nineteenth century brought further improvements to the road network, while additional routes and more frequent services were offered by coaches and carriers. The latter are increasingly in evidence in the smaller villages, some combining their carrying

¹⁶¹ WoRO, marriage licence of Thomas Purcell, ‘mulio’, Kington, June 1722, and marriage licence of Thomas Thompson, Kington, gentleman, May 1733, witnessed by John Hughes, Kington, carrier, and marriage licence of Thomas Burlston, Abbots Morton, carrier, Jan. 1737/8. No transport workers feature in Table 6.2 and only Burlston in Table 6.4. All three could change horses at their home base between Alcester and Worcester. If the Worcester scribe was being accurate, his description of Purcell as ‘mulio’ or ‘mule-driver’, shows Purcell’s choice of draught or pack animal.

¹⁶² For example, WoRO, QS531/47, QS556/33, QS539/56, discuss the state of roads at Rous Lench, Inkberrow, Kington and Abbots Morton in the 1790s.

¹⁶³ Chambers is mentioned in Saville, *King’s Coughton*, p. 108, quoting Alcester Turnpike Trust’s minutes for 1776.

¹⁶⁴ B. Travers, ‘Trading patterns in the east midlands 1660-1800’, *Midland History*, 15, (1990).

¹⁶⁵ WaRO, Aston Cantlow, (Wilmcote) 1841 and 1851 censuses.

with other occupations.¹⁶⁶ Thomas Baylis, carrier and ‘haler’, could perhaps transport heavy items, while other local distributors, described as higglers or hucksters, dealt in smaller items.¹⁶⁷ Carriers and coaches changed their routes to provide links to canal-wharves as well as towns, and at a later date to railheads too. As noted in Zone B, turnpike-gatekeepers or ‘farmers of tolls’ often also pursued other occupations.¹⁶⁸ Despite these transport developments, the numbers directly employed in transport are small.¹⁶⁹

Marketing, dealing, retailing and food and drink

It is probable that there were no regular markets in this Central Belt until the nineteenth century when Inkberrow held a weekly market.¹⁷⁰ However, most parishes held at least one annual fair, which would attract outsiders to buy and sell, especially exotic wares not readily available in the village the rest of the year.¹⁷¹ Aston Cantlow held wakes on different days in each of its six townships.¹⁷² The fairs provided a source of entertainment in what could be an otherwise mundane existence and a place for the

¹⁶⁶ Such as publican, shopkeeper, fruiterer, sawyer, gamekeeper and carpenter.

¹⁶⁷ WaRO, Wixford 1841 and 1851 censuses list Thomas Baylis. ‘Haler’ is a local variant of ‘haulier’, perhaps indicating that he transported mainly heavy goods, e.g. stone. (In Feckenham William Willmore was paid for ‘haling clay’ in WoRO, BA4284 (vii), Feckenham overseers of the poor accounts 1779.)

¹⁶⁸ WaRO, Oversley, (Arrow), 1841 census, refers to Sarah Durham as a ‘farmer of tolls’. Some gatekeepers were described under their other occupation and are therefore undetectable in census and parish registers. WaRO and WoRO 1851 census lists more turnpike-gatekeepers for this zone than in 1841.

¹⁶⁹ In baptisms (Table 6.6) the percentage hovers between 0.1 and 0.2% of the adult male workforce, while Table 6.8 (1841 census) has figures of 0.7% for adult males and 0.3% for adult females. (Only one transport worker in this zone leaves probate.)

¹⁷⁰ Gaut, *A History of Worcestershire Agriculture and Rural Evolution*, p. 256. Not chartered, the origins of Inkberrow’s market are obscure. In 1847 it had been held for some years past on Wednesday and was then changed to Thursday. No earlier reference has come to light.

¹⁷¹ Aston Cantlow and Oldberrow (both in the east) held market charters in medieval times, but they were probably defunct before 1660. See Appendices 12, 12a and 13. For more regular needs this zone’s inhabitants would not only have traded at Alcester market, but those in the east of the zone would have used markets at Stratford, Henley and Warwick, while those in the west would have bought and sold at Worcester, Evesham, Pershore, Droitwich and Bromsgrove.

¹⁷² *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 34, and see Appendix 13.

exchange of ideas. Throughout the study period the (mainly autumnal) mop fairs provided an important focus for the labour market, where many labourers and servants of both sexes were hired until the following Michaelmas.

Most parishes boasted at least one drinking establishment, and Inkberrow as many as seven at one time.¹⁷³ However, concern about workers spending too much money on drink, caused the suppression of four of Inkberrow's pubs in the late eighteenth century.¹⁷⁴ Despite this, probate data suggests a rise in the percentage of the zone's publicans over the study period, and baptism data shows their share continuing to rise from 1813 to 1840; 1.3% of fathers in the 1830s were publicans.¹⁷⁵

As noted elsewhere, many victuallers pursued by-employments, while it was by no means unusual for women to be in charge of a public house.¹⁷⁶ One village inn in the 1660s had seven rooms in addition to the cheese-chamber and buttery, perhaps enabling the landlord to offer accommodation. No doubt much of the fare on offer was produced on the premises, with seven 'melch cows' for cheese, two store pigs for meat and an orchard yielding verjuice, cider and perry.¹⁷⁷ Local records reveal two vintners,

¹⁷³ Bradbrook, *History of the Parish of Inkberrow*, p. 57.

¹⁷⁴ Rogers, *The State of the Poor (by Sir Frederic Morton Eden)*, p. 350.

¹⁷⁵ Tables 6.2 and 6.6. (For some reason few publicans married by licence.) The baptism figures from the 1830s include the new beerhouse-keepers. Table 6.8 (1841 census) also has 1.3% for adult males and 0.7% for adult females in the pub trade.

¹⁷⁶ For example, Richard Biddle was both blacksmith and victualler. (WaRO, QS35/1/2, licensed victuallers' returns, 1673. WoRO, probate of Richard Biddle, Aston Cantlow, blacksmith, 1681, £46-8-0.) Many victuallers farmed, but even in the nineteenth century innkeepers still had other jobs such as blacksmith and miller. For example, WaRO, QS35/1/1, licensed victuallers' returns, Oversley, (Arrow), 1661, lists Alice Wakeman, widow.

¹⁷⁷ WoRO, probate and miscellaneous probate (796/390) of Edward Holtham, Great Alne, victualler, 1663, £65-10-6. Verjuice is crab-apple juice used for healing animals and for cooking. The inn may have fronted the coach-road to London.

something of a novelty in these parts.¹⁷⁸ Although many publicans (and others) probably brewed their own beer, the term brewer is encountered only once.¹⁷⁹

Maltsters, bakers, butchers, grocers and shopkeepers all seem rarer here than in other zones, but they are present throughout the two centuries. Although no occupation is given for Thomas Perkes in his probate in 1721, items 'in the shop' including brandy and candles suggest a chandlery and general store.¹⁸⁰ Perkes also farmed, brewed and made malt. Farming folk and others in this zone doubled as retailers, food-suppliers, maltsters or victuallers, though these occupations are not explicit in the records. A case in point is that of Henry Farr, labourer, in Stock Green; either he or his wife ran a shop.¹⁸¹

In Stuart times Thomas Bickerton was both yeoman and linen-draper. His son, another Thomas, described as a chapman, also dealt in linen.¹⁸² The (illiterate) Inkberrow-based salter who appears at this period was no doubt part of the Droitwich trade like the Feckenham salters described below in Zone D.¹⁸³

Approximately half the parishes in this zone boasted water-mills, many of which were operated by milling family dynasties such as the Astons.¹⁸⁴ It is assumed that grain

¹⁷⁸ WoRO, marriage licence of Joseph Field, Arrow, vintner, Feb. 1692/3 and WaRO, Binton baptisms 1813. Maybe Joseph Field supplied nearby Ragley Hall.

¹⁷⁹ WoRO, marriage licence of Samuel Case, Arrow, baker and brewer, Nov. 1813.

¹⁸⁰ WoRO, probate of Thomas Perkes, Inkberrow, (no occupation given), 1721, £104-12-6.

¹⁸¹ WoRO, probate of Henry Farr, Stock Green, Inkberrow, labourer, 1763, £14-5-9, which lists shop goods. WoRO, 1851 census, Holberrow Green, Inkberrow, lists a former needlemaker as a 'confectioner'.

¹⁸² WoRO, probate of Thomas Bickerton, Great Alne, yeoman/linen draper, 1671, £43-9-4, and of Thomas Bickerton, Great Alne, chapman, 1680, £34-14-4, including 'cowperly ware' and linen.

¹⁸³ WoRO, marriage licence of William Gibbs, Haselor, yeoman, Dec. 1698, witnessed by Thomas Yeats, Inkberrow, salter.

¹⁸⁴ See Appendix 17: Mills. WoRO, probate of Robert Aston, Oversley, (Arrow), 'millard', 1669, £91-13-4, and of Joan Aston, Oversley, (Arrow), widow, 1685, £120-15-0.

was usually sold at the local market (at least before 1750), but even in Stuart times grain was sometimes sold privately.¹⁸⁵

For the most part this zone's water-mills were used solely for corn-grinding and not adapted for other industrial purposes.¹⁸⁶ Windmills, less common than water-mills, are mentioned from the 1720s, when William Alcocks bequeathed both a water-mill and windmill to his son.¹⁸⁷ A new windmill, erected for grinding corn at Holberrow Green in the 1780s, was a venture by the Milward family, who were also maltsters and bakers.¹⁸⁸

The term 'miller' usually refers to the master of the mill, but in nineteenth century baptisms and censuses 'journeymen millers' receive a mention along with the odd 'miller's labourer'. The master millers generally lived better than most petty tradesmen, but there were exceptions.¹⁸⁹ From the second half of the eighteenth century the term 'mealman' is sometimes used as an alternative descriptor for miller, while Inkberrow had an oatmeal maker in the seventeenth century, who presumably ground oats for human or animal consumption.¹⁹⁰ The probate of William Alcocks mentioned above gives two contemporary variants for 'miller', namely 'millard' and 'millner'.

¹⁸⁵ WoRO, probate of John Smith, Wilmcote, (Aston Cantlow), yeoman, 1681, £137-7-4, includes a curious note on the reverse of his inventory, which gives an insight into the sale of corn. Someone (perhaps a servant or carrier) was 'to bring the corn to Aston Cantlow one Wensday next to the Swan by five of the clock at furthest....' The corn was to be directed to Messrs Langlee and Wolbarston. The note probably refers to corn left when John Smith died. Nevertheless it is interesting to see that the corn was not sold through the market. Whether the whole load of corn or just a sample was to be brought to the inn is not made clear.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix 17. Spernall's fulling-mill and Aston Cantlow's paper-mills are discussed above in the textile section, while mills in Haselor and Arrow were used for needle production after 1800.

¹⁸⁷ WoRO, probate of William Alcocks, Rous Lench, miller, 1725, £11-16-4. The WoRO probate of another William Alcox, Oversley, (Arrow), miller, 1725, £205-14-8, shows that he held land some miles away in Herefordshire, emphasising the more extensive geographical links enjoyed by many milling families.

¹⁸⁸ *VCH Worcestershire*, iii, p. 426. Hunt and Jackson, *Inkberrow Folk and Farms*, pp. 55-6.

¹⁸⁹ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 7 Feb. 1799 reports that William Rawlins, Inkberrow, miller, died in his own mill, 'frozen to death'.

¹⁹⁰ SCLA, DR12/63/44, deed regarding property, 1659, mentions William Parsons, Inkberrow, oatmeal maker.

Larger villages served as entrepôts for nearby farms and hamlets, but shops and carriers spread to smaller settlements too. In Period D probate and marriage licence data show much growth for the retailing and service sector. Many such tradesmen were of the type to leave probate and marry by licence, but the baptism data and the 1841 census put this sector into a more realistic perspective.¹⁹¹

With access to the new canal-wharves coal-dealers now appear, delivering to customers in surrounding villages. The transport boom caused a growing demand for deliveries and storage. Although Joseph Johnson of Spennall was a warehouseman, Spennall was an unlikely place for a warehouse. He probably worked in nearby Studley, perhaps in a needle-warehouse.¹⁹²

Professionals, gentry, domestic servants and others

Throughout the study period each parish had its Anglican clergyman or ‘clerk’, either resident or absent. Before 1800 (and perhaps later) many clergymen enjoyed considerable farming assets, but others were considered to be poorly paid.¹⁹³ Among the clergymen mentioned in the 1841 census we find a ‘home-missionary’ in Aston Cantlow. The careers of Church of England clergy are quite apparent in the diocesan records, whereas non-Anglican clergy are harder to unearth. However, buildings were used as meeting-houses for dissenters, such as Richard Windle’s house in Inkberrow in 1720.¹⁹⁴ Dissenting preachers probably pursued different occupations during the week. In 1685 a Dormston resident caused the authorities much concern, because he or she was preaching

¹⁹¹ Tables 6.2, 6.4 and Table 6.6 (baptisms) has a figure of 3.4%, while Table 6.8 (1841 census) has 3% for adult males and 2.3 % for adult females in this sector.

¹⁹² WaRO, 1841 census Spennall. In 1851 neighbouring Oldberrow had a milkman.

¹⁹³ Rogers, *The State of the Poor (by Sir Frederic Morton Eden)*, p. 350, includes the following complaint from Rev. William Heath of Inkberrow: ‘The income of clergymen is in general very inadequate to enable them to live with hospitality or even with decency.’

¹⁹⁴ Bradbrook, *History of the Parish of Inkberrow*, p. 33.

and practising midwifery without a licence.¹⁹⁵ In Stuart times three schoolmasters were presented as recusants or non-conformists.¹⁹⁶ They may have kept catholic or non-conformist schools in their home parishes or in nearby Alcester or Stratford.

Until Victorian times children of the Central Belt were not blessed with abundant opportunities for education. References to schools are few and far between and many may have been very ad hoc, short-lived or part-time arrangements.¹⁹⁷ However, tiny Ardens Grafton already boasted a Sunday school by the 1780s.¹⁹⁸ In the nineteenth century educators are more in evidence including a couple of governesses and Haselor's musical brothers: a music professor and a piano-tuner.¹⁹⁹ Although music was an important part of parish life, it was often a secondary occupation or performed by amateurs. Musicians rarely appear in local records, but even tiny Spernall had its own fiddler.²⁰⁰ Sport too was largely undertaken on an amateur basis, but a 'horse-courser' is recorded in the 1730s.²⁰¹

Apart from the midwife mentioned above other men and women in this sub-district must have been consulted by their neighbours in times of ill-health and confinement, but in contrast with other subdivisions, this zone was devoid of surgeons,

¹⁹⁵ WoRO, BA2724.

¹⁹⁶ Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 6, p. 60, (quarter sessions 1683/4), concerning William Edkins, Temple Grafton, schoolmaster, and *ibid.*, 8, p. 169, (quarter sessions 1686), concerning Elisha Lane, Haselor, schoolmaster, both for non-attendance at church. Samuel Case of Arrow and Alcester is mentioned above in Zone A.

¹⁹⁷ In *Worcester Weekly Journal* 12 Oct. 1749 John Bell, rector of Exhall, formerly master at Alcester Grammar School, advertised that he was taking private pupils. At the start of the century the master of Aston Cantlow's school had been the parish's incumbent, but in mid-century the school was run by Thomas Hayes, (also a weaver and victualler). (WoRO, probate of Thomas Bevan, Tardebigge, (no occupation given), 1756, witnessed by Thomas Hayes, Aston Cantlow, schoolmaster.)

¹⁹⁸ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 7 May 1789 carries a notice from Sunday school pupils thanking their benefactors for books and for dinner on Easter Monday. The parishes with schools can be seen in Appendix 19.

¹⁹⁹ WaRO, 1841 and 1851 census, Upton, Haselor.

²⁰⁰ WaRO, Studley burials, 1767: the burial of John Corbet of Spernall, fiddler.

²⁰¹ WoRO, marriage licence of William Sparritt, Arrow, horse-courser, March 1731. Maybe he was employed at the stables at Ragley Hall, or was what we would now call a jockey.

apothecaries and midwives before 1800, at least in surviving records. Nineteenth century sources do list midwives and surgeons hereabouts, but, as society moved rapidly and relentlessly towards the modern, railway age, it was probably comforting for older villagers to know that they still had the likes of John Yeend, bone-setter of Rous Lench, as an alternative to modern doctors or vets.²⁰²

References to servicemen in local records are few. However, in the late seventeenth century one ex-soldier petitions for a disablement pension, and Binton's rector followed Marlborough to Flanders as chaplain of a regiment of horse in 1705.²⁰³ Edward Currier, an Inkberrow tailor, was pressed into the army, but deserted in 1709.²⁰⁴ Absent and returning servicemen caused concern for various parishes in Periods C and D.²⁰⁵ Nineteenth-century sources document a few soldiers of various ranks and two naval captains.²⁰⁶

Before 1800 many lawyers were disguised in records as 'gentlemen', but attorneys and writing-masters were present.²⁰⁷ From the 1740s parliamentary enclosure provided an opportunity for certain local gentlemen to act as commissioners.²⁰⁸ One

²⁰² Lewis's *Worcestershire Directory 1820*.

²⁰³ WaRO, CR611/598, Spennall poor records, concerning Thomas Bott, Morton Bagot, disabled soldier. WoRO, BA2289/3(ii), Binton churchwardens' presentments 1705-6, regarding their rector.

²⁰⁴ His desertion was abetted by another tailor-soldier from nearby Fladbury. Chancellor Lloyd took an interest in the case, which appears to have ended well for Currier, who returned to the more serene life of a tailor in Inkberrow. Glos RO, D3549/3/2/4 and WoRO, marriage licence of Edward Currier, Inkberrow, tailor, May 1739.

²⁰⁵ For example, WaRO, DR259/45/13, Aston Cantlow settlements, 1769, concerning William Peters, labourer, ex-soldier, and WaRO, DR 259/49/11, Aston Cantlow removals, 1783, concerning Hannah, wife of Thomas Foxhall, marine.

²⁰⁶ For example, WaRO, Great Alne baptisms 1834 and TNA, PCC probate of Capt. John Fortescue, Cookhill, Inkberrow, 1808. See also Hunt and Jackson, *Inkberrow Folk and Farms*, pp. 61-66.

²⁰⁷ WoRO, probate of his relation Ann Timbrell, Ipsley, 1682, includes notes from William Holyoake of Morton Bagot to the proctor referring to 'my client' in an earlier legal case. N. B. The Holyoake family included gentlemen and attorneys elsewhere in the west midlands. WoRO, BS2289/3(iii), Bidford churchwardens' presentments, 1705, mention Mr. Burdit, barrister, and Ralph Sheldon, writing-master, both of Bidford or Temple Grafton. WoRO, BA2289/18/(vi), Spennall, churchwardens' presentments, 1749, mention Laurence Petre, attorney at law.

²⁰⁸ WaRO, QS9/12/1. Aston Cantlow Enclosure Award names gentlemen commissioners from Studley (in Zone D) and from Wixford, Temple Grafton and Morton Bagot in this zone.

commissioner was also the contact for the sale of local properties, while other gentlemen act as stewards managing local estates.²⁰⁹ After 1750 ‘gentlemen’ in such roles can increasingly be identified as those trained in the law.

The gentlemen, esquires and baronets of this zone financed various businesses, although their traceable investments were primarily in property and agriculture. As expected, many gentlemen enjoyed great wealth, but others leave surprisingly small sums.²¹⁰

Information regarding servants tends to be scarce, but the 1661 probate inventory for William Allen, ‘serving man to Sir Thomas Rouse’, shows that he had investments, property and corn of his own.²¹¹ He was obviously a man of independent means, such as a steward or bailiff. Unusually, two servants also appear in the zone’s probate records in the next century.²¹² The 1831 census for this central belt enumerates 12 male servants over twenty and 7 under twenty, compared with 228 female servants.²¹³ Other sources in Period D specify some servants’ roles such as footman or groom. Some washerwomen, laundresses and nurses appear to be domestic servants while others were perhaps independent workers.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ *Worcester Weekly Journal* June 1748 (exact date unclear) and 20 July 1749 name John Hall of Temple Grafton as the contact for properties in his parish and also in Wilmcote. Gentlemen (possibly attorneys?) acting as early estate agents occur increasingly in newspapers of the next period. WoRO, BA5589/130(x), names Thomas Tibbatts as steward of the manor of the vicarage of Inkberrow in 1742.

²¹⁰ Gentlemen’s inventory values range from WoRO, probate of George Darby, Bouts, (Inkberrow), gentleman, 1722/3, £4-12-6, to that of Francis Halford, Hilborough, (Temple Grafton), gentleman, 1697, £1631-8-8. (The baronet, Sir Francis Rouse, Rous Lench, was valued at £770-6-2 in 1687.)

²¹¹ WoRO, probate and miscellaneous probate (794/145) of William Allen, Rous Lench, servingman/yeoman, 1661, £78-0-0.

²¹² WoRO, probate of William Page, Kinwarton, servant, 1722, £29-12-0, and of William Gibbs, Great Alne, servant, 1726, £52-12-11.

²¹³ See Appendix 7: 1831 census. Male servants over 20 comprised 0.7% of adult males. Female servants comprised 7.6% of all females.

²¹⁴ WaRO and WoRO, 1841 and 1851 censuses.

Baptism registers (1813-1840) place professionals at 0.8% of fathers, while the 1841 census gives a figure of 1.3% of adult males and 2.7% for adult females.²¹⁵ The 1831 census has a figure of 1.2% for capitalists, bankers, professionals and educated persons, the lowest for any zone, though only slightly lower than that of Zone B.²¹⁶

Eighteenth century documents give evidence of parish officers acting as constables, parish clerks and tax-collectors. Many wealthy residents belonged to the new associations for the prosecution of felons, while amongst those who served at a higher level we find Thomas Cookes of Harvington, sheriff of Worcestershire, and C. W. Boughton-Rouse of Rous Lench, MP for Evesham.²¹⁷

In Period D office-clerks and commercial clerks appear in this sector. Some worthy locals double as tax-collectors while a couple of excisemen are present.²¹⁸ The new Alcester Union Workhouse (at Oversley in Arrow parish) also gave employment for a workhouse-master, matron, porter and schoolmistress.²¹⁹ The first Worcestershire policemen appeared hereabouts in 1841, while the Warwickshire villages had to wait until the 1850s for their police.

Sporadic references to travellers show that many apparently roved a seasonal course throughout the south and west midlands, but others came from further afield. A

²¹⁵ Tables 6.6 and 6.8.

²¹⁶ See Appendix 7.

²¹⁷ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* mentions Associations for the Prosecution of Felons for Abberton, Abbots Morton and Inkberrow (20 May 1784) and for Rous Lench (19 Aug. 1784). *Berrow's Worcester Journal* Feb. 1766 reports the appointment of Cookes as sheriff. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 12 Oct. 1780 reports Boughton-Rouse's election as MP with some controversy. The same newspaper 6 June 1782 reports his marriage and 2 April 1789 Boughton-Rouse declares that he will not be standing as a candidate this time and urges support for a colleague.

²¹⁸ A retired exciseman was also recorded in this zone in 1740. (WoRO, probate of William Singer, Morton Bagot, formerly an exciseman, 1740).

²¹⁹ WaRO, Oversley, (Arrow), 1841 census.

poor beggar boy from Derbyshire drowned at Arrow, while an Italian vagrant was present in Spernall.²²⁰

Summary for the Central (Wood-pasture) Belt 1660-1840

As expected, this zone's economy was very different from the market town (Zone A). As can be seen from the analysis and discussion above, its economic story is similar to that of the Champion Country (Zone B), although there were subtle differences. In Zones B and C agriculture was of course much more predominant than in the market town, and both these rural zones also had quarries which were an important factor in their economy. Perhaps the supposed differences in agricultural practice between Zones B and C had been greater before 1660. Thereafter it seems to have been a story of mixed farming in both zones, although the Central Belt never embraced market gardening as the Champion Country did. The Central Belt's leather trade had been more important than that of the Champion Country, but after 1750 this distinction lessened.

In the Central Belt's villages near Alcester, tradesmen, such as millers, carpenters and masons, were well placed to serve the market town. Before 1750 much farm produce, such as cheese, and also wooden, leather and textile products were made in great enough numbers to sell outside the zone. Apart from the odd metalworker and the ubiquitous smiths and quarrying masons, the economy was very much organic-based. The economy of this zone must have suffered during the epidemics in the period 1725 to 1730, but perhaps its occupational structure changed less than in other zones in the 1730s and 1740s.

²²⁰ WaRO, Arrow burials, 1741, and WaRO, DR275/25, Spernall overseers of the poor accounts, 1778, regarding a vagrant born in Spernall in 1747.

In Period C although quarrying and weaving provided some alternative employment, agriculture continued as the main employer for adult males. As areas around Birmingham industrialised, the produce of this sub-district became even more valuable in feeding the masses. Some parishes in this zone became involved in a small way in the needle and paper-making industry, while the usual rural tradesmen and craftsmen continued. Rev. Heath's report emphasises the part played by women in the textile trade. The earnings of women and children must have been a vital life-line for many desperate families. Apart from the few saddlers and the ubiquitous shoemakers, the leather industry declined in the mid-eighteenth century. There are signs that skinner/glovers, such as William Greenhill and tanners such as Oliver Williams, now found it more viable to run their businesses in the market towns rather than here in the countryside.²²¹

As transport links improved in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, farmers and quarry owners benefited from a more extensive market. The greater exploitation of quarries in certain places, such as Wilmcote and Temple Grafton, not only provided alternative employment for locals, but also attracted quarry-workers from outside the zone, for instance North Oxfordshire.²²² As employers of male workers the textile trade and leather trades continued their decline, though the Hill family and their associates found a niche market in the manufacture of hurden scouring-cloth, and many womenfolk, particularly in the west, were employed in the glove-trade. Needlemaking spilled into the zone, but never took hold as in Zone D.

²²¹ William Greenhill, glover, moved from Great Alne to Alcester between 1713 and 1729. (WoRO, probate of his brother Thomas Greenhill, Great Alne, shoemaker, 1713, and TNA, IR1/49, dated 1729). Oliver Williams, tanner, moved from Abbots Morton to Bromsgrove circa 1770 (see the leather section above).

²²² WaRO, 1841 and 1851 censuses.

Despite its potential as a zone ripe for industrialisation, the Central Belt remained predominantly agricultural throughout the study period. The tertiary sector apparently grew steadily, while the secondary sector stagnated. Perhaps its location, more remote from the midland hardware district, dictated this very different path of economic development when compared with Zone D.

CHAPTER SEVEN
ZONE D: THE NORTHERN (NEEDLE) DISTRICT

As described in Chapter 2, this sub-district, like Zone C, traditionally enjoyed a wood-pasture economy, but, because of its involvement in the needle trade, it is distinguished from Zone C in this study.¹ This northern sub-district consists of six parishes including Feckenham, which may have been a small market centre.² The large parish of Tardebigge included Redditch, which at the start of the study period was a small hamlet, but by Victorian times was a vibrant manufacturing town, specialising in the manufacture of needles and associated products. To a greater or lesser extent the other parishes in this zone also embraced the needle trade, as explained below.

The presence of craftsmen of many types in Feckenham Forest is noted in medieval times, and Camden mentions the continuing diminution in the number of trees in Feckenham Forest as wood was burnt to fuel the salt industry of Droitwich.³ Large tracts of commonland were colonised by incomers in the early modern period, the number of households increasing by more than 50% from 1563 to 1670.⁴ This influx

¹ See Appendix 1: Parish Gazetteer, Appendix 1a: Map of parishes in the Study Area and the section 'The Division of the Study Area into Sub-districts' in Chapter 2.

² Beoley and Feckenham were in Worcestershire. Coughton, Studley and Ipsley were in Warwickshire, although Ipsley was transferred to Worcestershire in the twentieth century. Part of Tardebigge parish lay in Warwickshire, but the majority of the parish (including Redditch) lay in Worcestershire.

³ J. Birrell, 'Peasant craftsmen in the medieval forest', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 17, (1969) and Camden, *Britannia*, p. 518.

⁴ P. Large, 'Economic and social change in North Worcestershire during the seventeenth Century', *PhD thesis, University of Oxford*, (1980), p. 173, discusses how copyholders began to look more to their own interests rather than those of the whole manor, so poor settlers were marginalised to the edges of the manors.

continued during the late Stuart period, with Sambourne and Studley particularly strong magnets for inward migration.⁵

Population estimates discussed in Chapter 3 show that this zone's population grew far more rapidly between 1676 and 1801 than that of the other zones. From a starting point as the study area's least densely populated zone, the Needle District may have grown by some 185%, almost three times the national average. Redditch itself may have grown by a phenomenal 1695%, but growth in other settlements was less dramatic.⁶

The needle trade was the driving force behind this demographic growth, but before 1800 a mixture of agricultural and industrial employments by individuals and communities insured against hard times to a certain extent. However, not everyone prospered. Overseers of the poor were greatly concerned with paupers despite the possibilities of employment offered by the needle industry and other trades.⁷ The problems of the poor continued into the nineteenth century.⁸

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, this zone's population continued to grow at a rate just above the national average during Period D, continuing to increase its share of the study area's population.⁹ The most industrialised parts of the zone continued to increase after 1841, whereas the populations of Coughton and Beoley stagnated.¹⁰ The first reliable separate population total for the Redditch portion of Tardebigge parish is in 1841

⁵ See Chapter 3. From 1563 to 1670 Sambourne's households increased from 12 to 40 and Studley's from 50 to 121. Large, 'Economic and social change in North Worcestershire during the seventeenth century', pp. 117, 139, asserts that following disafforestation of the Feckenham Forest circa 1630 the population of Tardebigge and Feckenham had decreased. Some had perhaps moved to places like Sambourne. However, in the first half of the eighteenth century many 'sojourners' were also recorded in Tardebigge. (WoRO, Tardebigge parish register.)

⁶ See Tables 3.11, 3.13, 3.14 and 3.15 in Chapter 3.

⁷ For example, WaRO, DR536/32, accounts for building Studley workhouse, 1740. WaRO, CR3434, Coughton overseers of the poor accounts, and WoRO, BA4284 (ix), Feckenham overseers of the poor accounts, show detailed payments to the poor at this period. See Chapter 3 for population estimates.

⁸ For example there was a food riot in Redditch reported in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* May 1800.

⁹ See Tables 3.14, 3.15 and 3.16 in Chapter 3.

¹⁰ See Chapter 3, Tables 3.11, 3.12 and 3.13.

when there were 3314 inhabitants. Alcester's population in the same year was 2399. Although Redditch was still officially a hamlet within Tardebigge parish, it had outgrown Alcester some time in the previous forty years.¹¹ Opinions about Redditch at the time differ widely. Pigot describes it as a 'a very respectable and thriving hamlet', and local poet, John Hollis, claims 'finer village was never seen'.¹² By contrast, Walter Savage Landor of nearby Ipsley Court, wrote: 'never was an habitation more thoroughly odious – red soil, mince-pie woods, and black and greasy needleworkers.'¹³

Although the whole of this zone grew by specialising in the manufacture of needles and associated products, the focus of the trade shifted over time, as explained later in this chapter. Circa 1720 the local needle trade was still very much a nascent cottage industry focused on Studley and more particularly Sambourne. By the reign of Queen Victoria needlemakers were numerous and widespread throughout the zone, but Redditch with its manufactories and warehouses was now the undoubted focus of a thriving industry catering for an important national and international market. Smith noted the expansion of certain Nottinghamshire towns in the period 1770 to 1840 as larger scale production techniques were introduced into the textile trade, producing for an ever-expanding market.¹⁴ Use of water-power and later steam power, division of labour, and better organisation within the trade combined with improved commercial links enabled Redditch and its satellites to grow rapidly over the same period, but here the products were not textiles, but needles.

¹¹ See Chapter 3, Tables 3.13 and 3.4.

¹² *Pigot's Worcestershire Directory 1822*. Descriptions by John Hollis of Tardebigge circa 1820 quoted in Richardson, *The Book of Redditch*, p. 128.

¹³ Walter Savage Landor in a letter to his sister, 1830, quoted on the website <http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/webbsredditch> (10 a.m., 20 Aug. 2008).

¹⁴ C. Smith, 'Population growth and economic change in some Nottinghamshire market towns', pp. 29-43.

Before 1800 the number of trades in this zone was greater than in the other rural zones and by the nineteenth century exceeded the number in Alcester, the market town. Although the zone specialised in needle production, other trades grew up to serve these manufacturing communities.¹⁵ This zone's parishes each had more trades than most parishes in Zones B and C.¹⁶ Occupations in probate and other sources indicate the existence of proto-industrial colonies as early as the seventeenth century. Their continued growth is borne out by other evidence, such as the rapid increase of cottage encroachments in Sambourne manor circa 1700.¹⁷ The most densely populated parishes in 1801, Feckenham, Studley and Tardebigge (including Redditch), were the ones which continued to urbanise at a later date.¹⁸

In the twenty-year period 1660-1679 probate inventory values in this zone were below the average for the study area as a whole, but from 1680 until inventories cease circa 1760 its inventory values were above average. In conjunction with other factors such as demographic growth it appears that this zone's economy was faring better than the economy of the other zones.¹⁹ An analysis of this zone's occupational structure follows taken from probate, marriage licences, parish registers and censuses, supplemented by reference to various other sources.²⁰

¹⁵ Smith also noted an increased range in trades and services in the towns in her Nottinghamshire study. C. Smith, 'Population growth and economic change in some Nottinghamshire market towns', pp. 35-39.

¹⁶ See Tables 8.9 to 8.12 in Chapter 8 for more detail.

¹⁷ SCLA, DR5/2489 and WaRO, CR1505/16, Sambourne manor court records, 1686 and 1705. These documents show that cottage encroachments increased from 19 in 1686 to 33 in 1705. Discussion of the economic development of Sambourne and other 'proto-industrial' colonies follows later in this chapter (in the metalworking section and in the summary at the end).

¹⁸ See Appendix 24.

¹⁹ See Appendix 3: Probate inventory values.

²⁰ The various sources and their uses are discussed in Chapter 2.

Table 7.1 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from probate data in Zone D, Northern (Needle) District, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Primary	68.4	61.8	57.3	47.9
Primary without labs.	65.6	59.6	54.8	42.4
Secondary	17.2	21.3	20.9	22.0
Tertiary	14.5	16.8	21.9	30.1
Total males with known occupations (n)	256	342	199	336

Table 7.1 (from probate data) suggests the expected comparative decline of the primary sector over the two centuries and the growth of tertiary. The secondary sector shows growth between Periods A and B with little change thereafter.²¹

Table 7.2 Males in probate in specific occupational groupings in Zone D, Northern (Needle) District, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	65.6	59.6	54.8	42.4
Labourers	2.7	2.2	2.5	5.5
Extractive	0.0	0.3	0.0	1.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	2.3	1.5	0.5	3.3
Tailors/bodice makers	0.4	1.9	4.0	1.5
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	2.5	3.5	2.0	0.0
Shoemakers/cordwainers	3.1	4.7	3.5	2.4
Other leather, horn and tallow	5.9	1.9	1.5	0.9
Carpenters/joiners	2.9	1.2	1.5	2.5
Other woodworkers	1.8	2.3	1.0	3.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	1.6	3.8	2.3	2.4
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	1.6	7.3	17.1	15.8
Transport	0.0	0.3	0.5	1.2
Innkeepers/victuallers	2.0	1.9	2.0	4.5
Other food, retail, service, dealing	4.9	4.8	3.8	8.9
Domestic servants	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.3
Professional	1.6	2.6	2.5	4.5
Total males with known occupations (n)	256	342	199	336

²¹ For comparison with other zones see Appendix 26. The periods referred to in discussion of the data, (as explained in Chapter 2), are as follows: Period A: 1660-1699, Period B: 1700-1749; Period C: 1750-1799 and Period D: 1800-1840.

Table 7.2 demonstrates the comparative decline in agriculture, leather and textiles, while the growth of the needle trade is shown, followed by the growth in shops and dealers as this district urbanised on the back of the needle trade.

Table 7.3 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary, tertiary) from marriage licence data in Zone D, Northern (Needle) District, 1680-1837 (as % of grooms with known occupations)

	1680-99	1737-54	1780-99	1810-37
Primary	58.5	52.8	54.2	53.1
Primary (without labs.)	58.5	45.8	43.9	45.4
Secondary	36.3	43.1	35.2	31.2
Tertiary	5.2	4.2	10.6	15.8
Total males with known occupations (n)	135	144	189	130

While the figures do not tally exactly with probate data, Table 7.3 confirms the decline in the primary sector and the growth of tertiary.²²

²² As noted in other zones (apart from Zone B), a higher percentage of secondary workers appear in marriage licences than in probate.

Table 7.4 Bridegrooms from marriage licence data in specific occupational groupings in Zone D, Northern (Needle) District, 1680-1837 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1680-99	1737-54	1780-99	1810-37
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	58.5	45.8	43.9	45.4
Labourers	0.0	6.9	10.3	7.7
Extractive	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	2.2	0.0	0.5	2.3
Tailors/bodice makers	2.2	0.7	0.5	0.4
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	1.5	1.4	1.3	0.8
Shoemakers/cordwainers	10.4	2.4	2.1	2.3
Other leather, horn and tallow	2.2	2.1	1.6	1.5
Carpenters/joiners	3.0	2.1	1.6	2.3
Other woodworkers	1.5	1.4	1.1	0.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	3.7	1.4	1.1	2.3
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	2.2	21.9	21.2	13.1
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	3.0	0.0	1.1	1.5
Other food, retail, service, dealing	7.4	10.4	7.4	11.9
Domestic servants	0.0	1.4	1.1	0.8
Professional	1.5	2.1	4.8	7.7
Total males with known occupations (n)	135	144	189	130

Various sources suggest a high number of shoemakers in the Stuart period, but perhaps the 10% shown here is an exaggeration. The phenomenal growth of the needle trade between Periods A and B is clearly shown, while the apparent decline in needlemaking in the last period may reflect the proletarianisation of the trade and the increasing employment of women and children rather than a real decline.

Table 7.5 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from Anglican baptism registers in Zone D, Northern (Needle) District 1813-40 (as % of entries showing fathers' occupations)

	1813-40	1813-20	1821-30	1831-40
Primary including labourers *	31.8	36.1	32.3	28.4
Primary without labourers	6.6	8.7	6.5	5.4
Secondary including labourers *	62.4	58.8	62.9	64.3
Secondary without labourers	54.2	49.8	54.5	56.9
Tertiary	5.9	5.1	4.9	7.3
Total baptisms (n)	7825	2003	2860	2962

* Labourers allocated to primary or secondary sectors using information from the 1831 census.

Table 7.5 (baptisms) gives more realistic proportions than the probate and marriage licence sources. It is noticeable that during Period D the primary sector's share continued to fall, while both secondary and tertiary grew.

Table 7.6 Male occupational structure in specific groupings from Anglican baptism registers in Zone D, Northern (Needle) District 1813-40 (as % of entries showing fathers' occupations)

	1813-40	1813-20	1821-30	1831-40
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	6.6	8.7	6.5	5.4
All labourers	33.3	36.4	34.2	30.4
<i>Agricultural labourers *</i>	25.1	27.4	25.8	22.9
<i>Non-agricultural labourers *</i>	8.2	9.0	8.4	7.5
Extractive	1.2	0.9	1.0	1.7
Building (excl. carpenters)	2.7	2.5	2.2	3.4
Tailors/bodice makers	1.3	1.0	1.4	1.5
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	0.5	0.9	0.5	0.3
Shoemakers/cordwainers	4.3	3.4	4.3	4.8
Other leather, horn and tallow	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.3
Carpenters/joiners	3.1	3.5	3.3	2.5
Other woodworkers	2.7	2.9	3.0	2.2
Blacksmiths/farriers	1.9	2.2	1.2	2.3
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.6	0.4	0.9	0.5
Needles/hooks/pins	32.6	29.5	33.3	34.1
Transport	0.8	0.6	0.7	1.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	1.0	0.8	0.7	1.5
Other food, retail, service, dealing	4.2	3.2	4.3	4.8
Domestic servants	1.0	1.1	0.7	1.1
Professional	1.6	1.3	1.2	2.1
Total baptisms (n)	7825	2003	2860	2962

**Labourers allocated using information from the 1831 census.*

Table 7.6 confirms that approximately a third of fathers were in the needle and fishing tackle trade in Period D. The comparison of businesses in the new 'town' of Redditch and the traditional market town of Alcester in 1835 trade directories reveals the

different nature of the two towns.²³ Redditch was more dependent on the needle trade, while Alcester still had more variety of businesses.

Table 7.7 Occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from the 1841 census in Zone D, Northern (Needle) District (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Primary with agricultural labourers	34.4	5.4	9.4	0.6
Primary without labourers	8.4	1.8	1.0	0.0
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers	53.0	58.1	59.2	48.8
Secondary without labourers	50.4	57.7	57.9	48.8
Tertiary	12.5	36.5	31.4	50.6
Total (n)	2828	1017	618	545

The 1841 census shows the dominance of the secondary sector in this zone at the time, reflected in all gender and age groups in Table 7.7. A third of adult males were employed in agriculture, while for females and younger males the tertiary sector was an important source of employment, although not to the extent of other zones.²⁴

²³ See Appendix 25.

²⁴ For comparison with other zones see Appendix 26.

Table 7.8 Occupational structure in specific groupings from the 1841 census in Zone D, Northern (Needle) District (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females Under 20
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	8.3	1.8	1.0	0.0
All labourers	28.7	4.0	9.7	0.6
<i>Agricultural labourers</i>	26.1	3.6	8.4	0.6
<i>Non-agricultural labourers</i>	2.6	0.4	1.3	0.0
Extractive	0.9	0.0	0.3	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	2.9	0.0	1.0	0.0
Tailors/bodice makers/dressmakers	1.8	4.9	2.1	2.2
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	0.4	2.4	0.3	1.3
Shoemakers/cordwainers	3.6	0.2	1.8	0.2
Other leather, horn and tallow	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.0
Carpenters/joiners	2.7	0.0	1.3	0.0
Other woodworkers	2.4	0.0	1.1	0.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	1.9	0.0	1.3	0.0
Metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	30.3	48.8	47.1	45.1
Transport	1.0	0.3	0.5	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	1.2	0.9	0.0	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	6.0	3.8	2.3	0.6
Domestic servants/charwomen/nurses	5.1	30.2	29.3	49.7
Professional	2.2	2.1	0.5	0.4
Total (n)	2828	1017	618	545

Table 7.8 shows the dominance of the needle industry in all gender and age groups. The figure for adult males in needlemaking and allied trades is similar to that in baptisms above (Table 7.6), while for the other three gender and age groups almost half of those with known occupations were in this trade. As expected, domestic service was a more important source of employment for females and younger males than for adult males.²⁵

²⁵ In all age and gender groups a high proportion of the domestic servants were based on farms, so were probably in reality mainly carrying out farmwork of various kinds.

Between 1680 and 1780 the parish registers of Studley, Coughton and Feckenham give some occupational information. Although such information does not refer to the whole of Zone D, analysis of these registers is included here, as for those three parishes it provides a more accurate picture than probate and marriage licence data, which are the only common sources for all parishes.

Coughton and Studley parish registers continue to give occupations with some consistency up to 1769 in baptisms and to 1779 in burials. In these registers Studley shows signs of continuing industrialisation up to the 1770s, while the adjacent parish of Coughton shows a swing back towards agriculture. The biggest factor behind these figures is the needle industry, which started to decline in Coughton, but grew in Studley, as discussed below.

Table 7.9 Male occupational structure in Studley from baptism register 1695-1769 (shown as % of fathers with known occupations)

	1695-1707	1720-1729	1730-1739	1740-1749	1750-1759	1760-1769
Primary (with agricultural labourers) *	56.0	59.2	54.3	49.6	48.3	55.9
<i>Primary (without labourers)</i>	32.0	22.1	20.2	24.3	15.1	23.5
Secondary (with other labourers) *	43.1	35.1	40.1	49.1	47.0	41.4
<i>Secondary (without labourers)</i>	33.7	22.9	28.8	40.7	36.0	30.6
Tertiary	0.9	5.7	5.6	1.3	4.7	2.7
<i>Needlemakers</i>	4.0	11.4	14.6	18.6	19.8	17.5
<i>All labourers</i>	37.8	49.3	45.5	33.6	44.2	43.2
Total males with known occupations (n)	225	140	198	226	172	183

* *Labourers allocated to primary or secondary according to the 1831 census.*²⁶

²⁶ No distinction is made between agricultural and non-agricultural labourers in the register. In the 1831 census in Studley approximately 1 in every 4 labourers worked outside agriculture. As Studley had many secondary occupations in this earlier period too the same ratio of 1:4 was used here. Although imperfect it is better than allocating all labourers to agriculture. From 1695-1707 occupations were given for 88.2% of fathers in baptisms; the figure for 1720-1769 was 95.8%.

Table 7.9 shows that at the end of the seventeenth century secondary sector occupations were already well in evidence in Studley, while the needle trade there continued to increase its share of the workforce until the mid-eighteenth century.²⁷

Table 7.10 Male occupational structure in Studley from baptism register 1813-1840 (shown as % of fathers with known occupations)

	1813-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840
Primary (with agricultural labourers) *	39.5	32.5	18.4
<i>Primary (without labourers)</i>	7.4	6.2	0.9
Secondary (with other labourers) *	58.1	61.7	73.8
<i>Secondary (without labourers)</i>	47.0	52.6	67.8
Tertiary	2.3	5.8	7.7
<i>Needlemakers & fish-hook makers</i>	27.1	29.5	38.6
<i>All labourers</i>	43.2	35.3	23.5
Total males with known occupations (n)	236	481	544

* *Labourers allocated to primary or secondary sectors using information from the 1831 census.*

Table 7.10 enables a comparison with the earlier Studley baptism registers (Table 7.9), but also with Tables 7.5 and 7.6, which show information relating to the whole of this zone at the same period. Compared with Table 7.9 it will be noticed that the primary sector's share continued to fall, while the secondary sector and needlemaking in particular continued to grow.²⁸ The number of baptism entries for each decade in Tables 7.9 and 7.10 reflects the increase in population.

When compared with the whole of Zone D (Table 7.5), Studley appears to be fairly typical. Some settlements such as Redditch would be more industrialised, while the likes of Beoley would be less so. Studley's percentage for needlemakers is slightly less than the average for the zone from 1813 to 1830, but greater thereafter.

²⁷ Needlemakers are included in secondary and labourers allocated to secondary or primary as explained above. They are also shown separately here for comparison.

²⁸ The changes in the needle industry are described in the text later in this chapter.

Table 7.11 Male occupational structure in Studley baptisms 1695 to 1769 in specific occupational groupings (shown as % of fathers with known occupations)

	1695-1707	1720-1729	1730-1739	1740-1749	1750-1759	1760-1769
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	32.0	22.1	20.2	24.3	15.1	23.5
Labourers	37.8	49.3	45.5	33.6	44.2	43.2
Extractive	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0
Tailors/bodice makers	2.7	2.1	1.5	4.0	2.9	2.2
Other textile, clothing & paper	0.4	2.9	1.5	0.4	0.0	1.1
Shoemakers/cordwainers	1.3	2.1	1.5	3.5	3.5	2.2
Other leather, horn and tallow	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0
Carpenters/joiners	2.7	2.1	1.0	3.5	2.9	1.1
Other woodworkers	2.2	0.7	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.2
Blacksmiths/farriers	5.3	1.4	4.0	4.9	1.7	2.2
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	4.0	11.4	14.6	18.6	19.8	17.5
Transport	0.0	2.1	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.0	1.4	1.0	0.0	0.6	0.5
Other food, retail, service, dealing	5.8	2.1	4.0	2.7	3.5	2.7
Domestic servants	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Professional	0.4	0.0	1.5	1.3	1.7	1.6
Males with known occupations (n)	225	140	198	226	172	183

Table 7.11 clearly shows the dominance of the needle trade in eighteenth century Studley, but also shows that there were a variety of other occupations.²⁹

²⁹ The number of occupations is shown in Table 7.20 below.

Table 7.12 Male occupational structure in Studley burials 1695 to 1769 (shown as % of adult male burials with known occupations)

	1695-1707	1720-1729	1730-1739	1740-1749	1750-1759	1760-1769
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	36.4	22.7	16.7	20.0	17.5	11.1
Labourers	27.3	40.9	47.9	45.7	40.0	37.0
Extractive	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tailors/bodice makers	6.1	0.0	6.3	0.0	2.5	3.7
Other textile, clothing & paper	6.1	3.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Shoemakers/cordwainers	3.0	4.5	4.2	5.7	0.0	7.4
Other leather, horn and tallow	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0
Carpenters/joiners	3.0	3.0	0.0	2.9	2.5	0.0
Other woodworkers	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	3.0	4.5	4.2	2.9	0.0	1.9
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	6.1	10.6	6.3	8.6	22.5	29.6
Transport	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9
Other food, retail, service, dealing	6.1	1.5	4.2	5.7	2.5	3.7
Domestic servants	0.0	1.5	8.3	5.7	5.0	3.7
Professional	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	2.5	0.0
Males with known occupations (n)	33	66	48	35	40	54

Occupations are recorded in the burial register for adult males from 1695 until the 1770s.³⁰ Table 7.12 broadly confirms the findings in the baptism register. Next we turn to Studley's neighbouring parish, Coughton, which also contains the hamlet of Sambourne.

³⁰ From 1770 recording of occupations is sporadic, so occupations are only shown to 1769 in the table, which refers only to Studley residents. From 1695 to 1707 occupations were recorded for 73.3% of adult male burials; from 1720 to 1769 the figure was 92.7%.

Table 7.13 Male occupational structure in Coughton (including Sambourne) from baptism registers 1695-1769 (shown as % of fathers with known occupations)

	1695-1707	1720-1729	1730-1739	1740-1749	1750-1759	1760-1769
Primary (with agricultural labourers) *	38.7	29.7	27.3	30.0	34.0	35.5
<i>Primary (without labourers)</i>	19.6	16.7	7.9	14.1	10.8	12.5
Secondary (with other labourers) *	60.6	66.3	71.0	67.9	63.5	63.7
<i>Secondary (without labourers)</i>	51.0	59.8	61.3	59.9	51.9	52.3
Tertiary	0.7	4.0	1.7	2.1	2.5	0.8
<i>Needlemakers</i>	7.2	33.3	44.1	43.8	37.3	40.6
<i>All labourers</i>	28.8	19.6	29.1	24.0	34.8	34.4
Total males with known occupations (n)	153	138	203	192	158	128

* Labourers allocated to primary or secondary according to the 1831 census.³¹

The secondary sector was even more important in the eighteenth century economy of Coughton than in that of Studley. Coughton moved significantly towards a more specialised economy (concentrating on the needle industry) in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, but the needle industry's share plateaued later.³² From the 1720s the register distinguishes occupants of Sambourne from those of Coughton itself.³³

³¹ In the 1831 census approximately one third of labourers worked in the secondary sector in Coughton and Sambourne combined. The same ratio of 1:3 was used for this earlier period too. From 1695-1707 occupations were given for 88.2% of fathers in baptisms; the figure for 1720-1769 was 95.8%.

³² Possible reasons for the changes in the needle industry are discussed below.

³³ Coughton and Sambourne both contained a high proportion of Roman Catholics. (Ransome, 'The State of the Bishopric of Worcester 1782-1808', p. 195, records 81 'papists' out of a total of 577 souls, some 14%.) Consequently, there is no doubt some under-registration in baptisms, but many births of Roman Catholic children are recorded in the register and their fathers' occupations are included in the tables here. Needlemakers include both Anglicans and Catholics.

Table 7.14 Male occupational structure in Sambourne from Coughton parish baptism register 1720-1769 (shown as % of fathers with known occupations)

	1720-1729	1730-1739	1740-1749	1750-1759	1760-1769
Primary (with agricultural labourers) *	15.6	15.8	21.5	25.8	30.3
<i>Primary (without labourers)</i>	10.5	3.8	11.6	10.0	15.5
Secondary (with other labourers) *	83.3	83.8	78.5	74.2	68.7
<i>Secondary (without labourers)</i>	80.0	75.8	71.9	63.6	58.8
Tertiary	1.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	1.0
<i>Needlemakers</i>	47.4	61.2	55.5	47.3	49.5
<i>All labourers</i>	8.4	20.0	16.4	26.4	24.7
Total males with known occupations (n)	95	130	146	110	97

* Labourers allocated to primary or secondary according to the 1831 census.³⁴

Tables 7.14 and 7.15 (below) show that Sambourne was an industrial colony, with needlemakers especially strong, while Coughton was much less industrialised. However, Sambourne's economic barometer swings back towards agriculture during this period.³⁵

Table 7.15 Male occupational structure in Coughton (without Sambourne) from baptism register 1720-1769 (shown as % of fathers with known occupations)

	1720-1729	1730-1739	1740-1749	1750-1759	1760-1769
Primary (with agricultural labourers) *	61.1	54.5	58.8	54.3	52.2
<i>Primary (without labourers)</i>	27.8	17.2	21.3	10.9	3.2
Secondary (with other labourers) *	26.4	40.3	32.7	37.0	47.8
<i>Secondary (without labourers)</i>	18.1	31.0	23.4	26.1	35.5
Tertiary	12.5	5.2	8.5	8.7	0.0
<i>Needlemakers</i>	0.0	8.6	6.4	15.2	12.9
<i>All labourers</i>	41.7	46.6	46.8	54.3	61.3
Total males with known occupations (n)	36	58	47	46	31

* Labourers allocated to primary or secondary according to the 1831 census.³⁶

Table 7.15 shows that the needle industry only achieves a high of 15.2% in Coughton itself compared with 61.2% in Sambourne.

³⁴ In the 1831 census approximately 40% of labourers were non-agricultural in Sambourne. The same ratio has been used for this earlier period too.

³⁵ In Tables 7.14 and 7.15 the data refers only to known residents of either Sambourne or Coughton village.

³⁶ In the 1831 census approximately one-fifth of labourers were non-agricultural in Coughton itself. The same ratio has been used for this earlier period too.

Table 7.16 Male occupational structure in Sambourne from Coughton baptism register 1813-1840 (showing percentage of fathers with known occupations)

	1813-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840
Primary (with agricultural labourers) *	35.4	31.4	38.6
<i>Primary (without labourers)</i>	10.9	7.7	4.6
Secondary (with other labourers) *	64.6	65.1	57.5
<i>Secondary (without labourers)</i>	48.2	49.3	34.9
Tertiary	0.0	3.5	3.9
<i>Needlemakers & fish-hook makers</i>	30.0	30.3	26.3
<i>All labourers</i>	40.9	39.4	56.6
Total males with known occupations (n)	110	142	152

* *Labourers allocated to primary or secondary sectors using information from the 1831 census.*

The comparison of Table 7.16 with Table 7.14 above demonstrates the de-industrialisation of Sambourne from the 1720s to 1840.³⁷

Table 7.17 Male occupational structure in Coughton (without Sambourne) from baptism registers 1813-1840 (shown as a percentage of fathers with known occupations)

	1813-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840
Primary (with agricultural labourers) *	61.9	62.6	48.8
<i>Primary (without labourers)</i>	0.0	5.8	0.0
Secondary (with other labourers) *	24.9	28.7	36.6
<i>Secondary (without labourers)</i>	9.4	14.5	24.4
Tertiary	13.2	8.7	14.6
<i>Needlemakers & fish-hook makers</i>	0.0	4.3	14.6
<i>All labourers</i>	77.4	71.0	61.0
Total males with known occupations (n)	53	69	41

Tables 7.16 and 7.17 show that the different occupational structures of Coughton and Sambourne continued in the nineteenth century. Many needlemakers in Coughton

³⁷ Table 7.16 refers only to known residents of Sambourne. The de-industrialisation is discussed in the Metal section later in this chapter.

and Sambourne at this time probably walked to work in Studley, so the amount of needlemaking occurring in the parish was probably less than suggested by these figures.³⁸

Table 7.18 Male occupational structure in Coughton (with Sambourne) baptisms 1695 to 1769 in specific occupational groupings (shown as a percentage of fathers with known occupations)

	1695- 1707	1720- 1729	1730- 1739	1740- 1749	1750- 1759	1760- 1769
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	19.6	16.7	7.9	14.1	10.8	12.5
Labourers	28.8	19.6	29.1	24.0	34.8	34.4
Extractive	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	3.9	0.0	0.5	1.6	0.0	1.6
Tailors/bodice makers	1.3	6.2	3.9	1.6	1.3	2.3
Other textile, clothing & paper	5.2	6.5	2.0	0.5	0.6	0.8
Shoemakers/cordwainers	1.3	2.9	1.0	0.5	1.3	0.8
Other leather, horn and tallow	4.6	0.7	1.5	0.5	0.6	0.0
Carpenters/joiners	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Other woodworkers	5.9	6.5	5.4	5.7	3.8	0.8
Blacksmiths/farriers	7.8	2.2	2.5	5.7	5.7	1.6
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	7.8	1.4	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	7.2	33.3	44.1	43.8	37.3	40.6
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	5.9	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.3	3.9
Domestic servants	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Professional	0.0	2.9	1.5	2.1	2.5	0.0
Males with known occupations (n)	153	138	203	192	158	128

Table 7.18 shows the variety of occupations in the parish and charts the decline of leather and textiles and the rapid rise of the needle industry followed by its plateauing.³⁹

³⁸ To a certain extent this may account for the increase in needlemakers in Coughton in the 1830s.

³⁹ From 1695 to 1707 occupations were recorded for 82.3% of fathers; the figure for 1720-1769 was 95.8%.

Table 7.19 Male occupational structure in Coughton (with Sambourne) burials 1695 to 1769 (shown as a percentage of adult male burials with known occupations)

	1695-1707	1720-1729	1730-1739	1740-1749	1750-1759	1760-1769
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	25.6	18.8	12.5	17.6	20.6	17.5
Labourers	25.6	29.7	31.3	25.5	44.1	28.1
Extractive	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3
Tailors/bodice makers	0.0	1.6	0.0	3.9	2.9	3.5
Other textile, clothing & paper	7.7	6.3	6.3	0.0	0.0	1.8
Shoemakers/cordwainers	2.6	1.6	0.0	9.8	0.0	3.5
Other leather, horn and tallow	2.6	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8
Carpenters/joiners	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other woodworkers	5.1	3.1	6.3	3.9	0.0	8.8
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.6	0.0	0.0	3.9	0.0	0.0
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	2.6	1.6	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	5.1	21.9	40.6	29.4	29.4	26.3
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	10.3	7.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8
Domestic servants	5.1	3.1	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0
Professional	0.0	1.6	3.1	3.9	0.0	1.8
Males with known occupations (n)	39	64	32	51	34	57

Information from Coughton burial registers 1695 to 1769 corroborates the varied occupational structure and highlights the growth and relative decline of the needle industry, as seen in baptisms above.⁴⁰

Table 7.20 Number of occupations of fathers in baptism registers 1695-1840 (N. B. The Coughton figure for 1695-1707 includes Sambourne.)

	1695-1707	1720-1729	1730-1739	1740-1749	1750-1759	1760-1769	1813-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840
Coughton	17	11	9	10	9	7	6	10	6
Sambourne		12	13	10	10	10	10	14	13
Studley	20	14	14	13	14	14	23	35	34

⁴⁰ From 1695 to 1707 occupations were given for 76.5% of adult male burials; the figure for 1720-69 was 94.4%.

Table 7.20 highlights the different economies of the three settlements and the economic development of Studley in the nineteenth century. Feckenham, a neighbour of both Coughton and Studley, does not have occupational information through the eighteenth century as they do, but does include occupations in burials and baptisms between 1681 and 1708. In burials (1681-1708) Feckenham has 24 different occupations, while in baptisms (1702-1706) there are 15.

Table 7.21 Male occupational structure in Feckenham registers 1681-1708 (shown as % of adult males with known occupations)

	Burials 1681-1708	Baptisms 1702-1706
Primary (with agricultural labourers) *	53.1	45.2
<i>Primary (without labourers)</i>	61.9	57.6
Secondary (with other labourers) *	36.9	52.5
<i>Secondary (without labourers)</i>	28.1	40.1
Tertiary	10.0	2.3
<i>Needlemakers</i>	0.8	4.1
<i>All labourers</i>	26.5	37.2
Total males with known occupations (n)	130	172

* *Labourers allocated to primary or secondary according to the 1831 census.*⁴¹

Occupations in the burial register begin to be recorded in earnest in April 1681, perhaps in connection with the Burial in Woollen Act, affidavits for which are recorded in the register.⁴² Although the secondary sector in Feckenham is not as great as in its neighbours Studley and Coughton at the same time, Table 7.21 suggests that the secondary sector was on the increase.⁴³

⁴¹ In the 1831 census approximately one third of labourers worked in the secondary sector in Feckenham. The same ratio of 1:3 was used for this earlier period too. From 1702-1706 occupations were given for 83.5% of fathers in baptisms; the figure for adult male burials 1681-1708 was only 59.6%.

⁴² The unspecified males include many recorded simply as 'poor' with no occupation given. The 'servant' may be a servant in husbandry, but is included in tertiary in the table. The 'tradesman' may be a factor or dealer, perhaps in the needle trade, included in tertiary here.

⁴³ Compare with Tables 7.9 (Studley) and 7.13 (Coughton) above.

Table 7.22 Male occupational structure in specific groupings from Feckenham registers 1681-1708 (shown as % of adult males with known occupations)

	Burials 1681-1708	Baptisms 1702-1706
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	35.4	20.3
Labourers	26.5	37.2
Extractive	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	2.3	3.5
Tailors/bodice makers	3.1	2.9
Other textile, clothing & paper	4.6	4.7
Shoemakers/cordwainers	3.1	5.2
Other leather, horn and tallow	0.8	0.6
Carpenters/joiners	2.3	2.3
Other woodworkers	1.5	7.6
Blacksmiths/farriers	3.5	3.5
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.0	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	0.8	4.1
Transport	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	2.3	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	10.8	6.4
Domestic servants	0.8	0.0
Professional	2.3	1.7
Males with known occupations (n)	130	172

Table 7.22 shows that needlemakers were present and increasing, but not to the same extent as in Coughton and Studley.⁴⁴ However, the inland revenue apprenticeship books after 1710 indicate an increase in needlemakers in Feckenham and the dominance of the needle industry in this zone.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The comparison of figures for needlemakers in burials and baptisms suggests that needlemaking was new to the parish.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 23. The specifics of the needle trade are discussed in the text below.

Table 7.23 Comparison of male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) in the 1841 census, baptisms 1813-1840, probate data 1800-1858 and marriage licence data 1800-1837 in Zone D, The Northern (Needle) District (as % of males with known occupations) showing the bias of other sources compared with the 1841 census

	Adult Males 1841 Census	Baptisms 1813-1840	Ratio Baptisms to Census	Probate 1800-1858	Ratio Probate to Census	Marriage licences 1810-1837	Ratio Marriage licences to Census
Primary	34.4	31.8	1: 1.08	47.9	1: 0.72	53.1	1: 0.65
Secondary	53.0	62.4	1: 0.85	22.0	1: 2.41	31.2	1: 1.69
Tertiary	12.5	5.9	1: 2.12	30.1	1: 0.42	15.8	1: 0.79

In this zone the marriage licence data and baptism data are closer to the census data than probate is. As noted in other zones, baptism data understates the tertiary sector. Primary sector figures for baptisms and the census are similar, while the other two sources exaggerate the primary share. The secondary sector figures differ quite widely. By the nineteenth century this zone was home to many employees in the needle trade, who appear in the census and baptisms but not in marriage licences or probate. The bias of the various sources has to be kept in mind during the commentary on the different occupational groupings which follows. Where relevant, reasons for differences between sources are explained.

Table 7.24 Comparison of male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) in Coughton and Studley from baptisms 1695-1769, burials 1695-1769, probate data 1700-1799 and marriage licence data 1680-1754 (as % of males with known occupations) showing bias of other sources compared with baptisms

	Baptisms 1695-1769	Burials 1695-1769	Ratio burial data to baptism Data	Probate 1700-1799	Ratio probate to baptism data	Marriage licences 1680-1799	Ratio marriage licences to baptism data
Primary *	30.0%	29.8%	1: 1.01	50.0%	1: 0.60	49.5%	1: 0.61
Secondary *	67.6%	62.1%	1: 1.09	39.8%	1: 1.69	43.4%	1: 1.56
Tertiary	3.4%	8.1%	1: 0.42	10.2%	1: 0.33	7.1%	1: 0.47

* *excluding labourers in all sources*⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Probate data from each year 1700-1799; baptism and burial data taken from Coughton and Studley registers 1695 to 1798 and 1720 to 1769; marriage licence data for Coughton and Studley grooms from 1680-1699, 1737-1754 and 1780-1799. For baptism data including labourers see Tables 7.9 to 7.19 above.

In investigating the bias between sources we are fortunate to have a good body of data for four different sources in Coughton and Studley in the eighteenth century. Table 7.24 compares these four sources (as available) in Coughton and Studley between 1680 and 1799. In order to avoid the problem of whether to include labourers in primary or secondary or both, this table omits labourers altogether. Numbers of labourers omitted from the various records are as follows: baptism data: 750; burials: 194; probate: 1; marriage licences: 12. As in the nineteenth century, baptism registers yield the lowest figure for tertiary. Probate and marriage licences exaggerate the farmers' share of the workforce. Such bias is to be remembered during discussion of the various occupational sectors which follows.

In the text below Zone D's changing occupational structure is discussed in specific occupational groupings. I make reference to data in the above tables where relevant, but sometimes do not quote exact figures for certain occupations as the size of samples and bias of sources (especially probate and marriage licences) may cause inconsistencies in these exact figures.⁴⁷ Where appropriate, comparisons are made with other zones in the study area and also with studies of places elsewhere.

Agriculture

The soil is mainly Mercia mudstone, loam and boulder clay with sand and gravel along the Ridgeway on the Worcesterhire-Warwickshire border. There are also outcrops of Arden and Bromsgrove sandstone. The clayey topsoil was not considered as good for arable crops as that in Zone B. However, the Arrowside pastures and extensive

⁴⁷ Where relevant, explanations of such inconsistencies and bias of sources are discussed, but generally I note the general trends exhibited and look for corroboration from various other sources in order to make observations about whether different occupations were present or absent, and increasing or decreasing in the zone at different periods.

commonland allowed grazing of horses, sheep (for wool, skins and meat) and also cattle (for beef, hides and dairy). Some enclosure had taken place before 1660, for instance in Feckenham, following the disafforestation in 1629, and in Coughton and Sambourne, but the open field system persisted in many manors until the 1770s or later.⁴⁸ Large asserts that ‘disafforestation accelerated the development of mixed farming’ to serve the metalware region, with the result that commons were more intensively grazed and agrarian improvements were made such as the use of clover and floating meadows.⁴⁹ ‘There is considerable evidence of yeoman farmers around and about Redditch doing well for themselves and building substantial farmsteads...’ in the century before the Civil War.⁵⁰

Some parishes were enclosed privately piecemeal fashion at various times. However, the early 1770s saw a flurry of parliamentary enclosures, with more following between 1812 and 1832.⁵¹ The 1771 parliamentary enclosure award for Redditch Common and Webheath shows that land was still held (and probably farmed) by tradesmen as well as specialist farmers. Those allotted land include gentlemen, yeomen, a clergyman, an exciseman, a butcher, a tailor, a button-maker, a cordwainer, a miller and a handful of needlemakers.⁵²

The 1798 land tax returns show a varied picture of land tenure in this zone, ranging from Studley with sixty-two proprietors to its near neighbour Coughton with a

⁴⁸ For example, *VCH Warwickshire* iii, p. 87, discusses early enclosure in Sambourne, which together with Coughton, belonged to the Throckmortons. *Worcester Post or Western Journal* 4 to 11 Oct. 1723 advertises a farm to let in Coughton with 150 acres, all enclosed except for 4 acres.

⁴⁹ Large, ‘Economic and social change in North Worcestershire during the seventeenth century’, p. i.

⁵⁰ R. Richardson, *The Book of Redditch*, (Buckingham, Barracuda, 1986), p. 63.

⁵¹ Beanhall Fields in Feckenham parish 1771, Redditch Common and Webheath 1771, Bentley 1772, Sambourne 1773, other parts of Feckenham in 1812 or 1832 and Studley in 1824. See Appendix 1.

⁵² WoRO, s143 BA307/2, Redditch Common and Webheath enclosure award 1771. Of course the situation may have changed just before or after enclosure, as in Alcester. *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 30 April and 14 May 1772 shows that not everyone was happy with the enclosure. Dragoons were deployed to maintain order after a riot, and six persons were arrested including Edward Clarke, cordwainer, for riotously assembling and pulling down posts and rails.

mere two. The patterns shown in these returns do not necessarily explain which settlements remained largely agrarian and which ones industrialised. Some places such as Sambourne (which industrialised before 1720) were largely owned by one or two owners.⁵³

From 1660-1699 the average inventory values for both husbandmen and yeomen in this sub-district improved dramatically, ending the century higher than those of their counterparts in the other zones. This is in stark contrast with the fortunes of Zone B's farmers discussed above, and may reflect the advantage of being the nearest zone to the growing population in the Birmingham area. The fall in corn prices may have had a less dramatic effect on farmers in this Northern District for two reasons: firstly, Birmingham's growing market needed more and more corn, and, secondly, many local farmers compensated by producing meat, hides and dairy produce.

The inventory totals for yeomen and husbandmen in this zone ranged widely.⁵⁴ This large range in wealth fits an emerging pattern of polarisation of the haves and the have-nots within the zone. Some gentry and rich yeomen enjoyed massive wealth compared with others in the study area, but on the other hand there were hundreds of poor labourers, most of whom did not even qualify for probate, and several husbandmen and even yeomen for whom life was a struggle.

⁵³ See Appendix 24. Sambourne had 16 proprietors, but Sir John Throckmorton owned 84.7% of the land.

⁵⁴ In Period A yeomen's inventory values ranged from WoRO, probate of Richard Brewer alias Harman, Wadborough Hill, (Feckenham), yeoman, 1679/80, £12-1-8 to that of Henry Boulton, Feckenham, yeoman, 1684, £1255-9-10, and husbandmen ranged from WoRO, probate and miscellaneous probate (ref. 797/419) of John Rowke alias Taylor, Feckenham, husbandman, 1663, £3-10-0, to that of Richard Benton, Studley, husbandman, 1682, £144-6-6.

Those described as labourers turned their hands to all types of work, for example, John Awkin, sawed wood to make traps and cut holly bushes to block rabbit burrows. He lived in a cottage on Sambourne Heath and had a few animals and poultry.⁵⁵ Access to the common must have been vital to the likes of Awkin, providing him with fuel and grazing and thus enabling him to enjoy a certain amount of independence. One labourer also wove to supplement the family income.⁵⁶ Other labouring families participated in by-employments such as besom-making, lath-cleaving, salt-carrying and needlemaking.⁵⁷ It is noticeable that more labourers left probate documents from Coughton parish (including Sambourne) than any other parish in the whole study area.⁵⁸ As we have seen, the great heath at Sambourne attracted dozens of incomers at this time, some of whom, with hard work and access to the common, did well enough. Another labourer had apparently forsaken the Champion Country for the greater opportunities offered by Coughton and the Needle District.⁵⁹

In King Charles II's reign tobacco was grown in the area and no doubt proved profitable before its suppression.⁶⁰ Probate inventories from 1660 to 1760 are indicative of mixed farming with all types of corn, hops and flax as well as sheep, cattle, horses and

⁵⁵ WoRO, probate of John Awkin (alias Hawkins), Sambourne, (Coughton), labourer, 1688/9, £23-0-8. He probably lived in Hawkins Close on Sambourne Heath and bought trees from the Foleys' workmen in 1678. He is mentioned for work done about the warren, etc, (WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, Throckmorton MSS).

⁵⁶ WoRO, probate of William Parsons alias Willis, Sambourne, (Coughton), labourer, 1681/2, £71-12-8. Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 7, p. 163, (QS 1679), describes him as a weaver.

⁵⁷ These are described below in the appropriate section. An example is the Harman family of Astwood Bank (on the edge of Sambourne Heath and Ridgeway Common), whose members included a labourer, a salt-carrier, a butcher and in a later generation, needlemakers.

⁵⁸ Coughton 6 out of 28 in the whole study area in Period A. Also Coughton's labourers were valued higher than the average.

⁵⁹ WoRO, probate of William Bennett, Coughton labourer, 1687, £10-0-2, mentions a cottage and twenty arable lands which he owned in Barton, (Bidford).

⁶⁰ G. Griffith, *The Free Schools of Worcestershire*, (London, Charles Gilpin, 1852), p.205, discusses tobacco grown in King Charles II's reign in Feckenham. Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 8, pp. 61, 134. Warwickshire QS, Michaelmas 1683 and Easter 1685, ordered seizure and destruction of all tobacco crops.

pigs and considerable cheese production.⁶¹ Some yeomen-graziers probably fattened cattle for the increasing markets of the midland hardware district and maybe for London too.⁶² In the 1760s the zone's farmers were also sending grain to Bristol for export.⁶³ Inventories reveal the continued introduction of agricultural improvements, but any benefits must have been checked by cattle plague and uncertainty in corn prices. In the 1740s Sambourne manor court tried to stem the spread of infection amongst animals on the common.⁶⁴ With everyone's animals running together it only needed one irresponsible owner to jeopardise everyone's stock.

Specialists in this occupational sector before 1800 include castrators, huntsmen, gamekeepers and warreners. Game was an important factor in the local economy, not just for sport, but for food. Warreners maintained the medieval warrens, (for example at Sambourne), which produced rabbits on a large scale.⁶⁵ References to gardeners are not as plentiful in this zone as for example in the Champion Country. Perhaps, rather than being market-gardeners, most of the gardeners hereabouts were employed by the big

⁶¹ J. Yelling, 'Livestock numbers and agricultural development', in Slater, *Field and Forest*, pp. 286-7, shows that livestock numbers hereabouts in the late seventeenth century were similar to those in the Champion Country, but with slightly more cattle, horses and pigs, and a dramatic increase in sheep numbers. WoRO, probate of John Allen, Hewell Paper Mill, (Tardebigge), yeoman, 1720, £745-13-7, suggests cultivation of hops at Redditch Hopyard on a fairly large scale, as he owned £18 worth of hop-poles. Vegetable, root crops and fruit were probably also grown, though not mentioned in inventories. Perhaps this zone was one of those Midland areas which was adaptable and could switch between arable and pastoral as the market dictated, as described in Daunton, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 28.

⁶² WoRO, probate of Thomas Fincher, Sambourne, (Coughton), yeoman, 1727, £749-0-0. He is described as a grazier in WaRO, Coughton register, 1720. Some graziers and drovers also doubled as butchers and are discussed in the food and retail section below. In probate inventories often no distinction is made between dairy and beef cattle, so it difficult to ascertain which were predominant.

⁶³ *Adam's Weekly Courant* 14 October 1766.

⁶⁴ SCLA, DR5/2590, Sambourne manor court papers, Nov. 1744.

⁶⁵ WaRO, Coughton parish register, 1748, burial of Thomas Barlow, cutter. (Later cutters are also referred to as castrators.) WaRO, Studley parish register, 1707, burial of Thomas Slipper, keeper. WoRO, marriage licence of George Dugard, Ipsley, 'viridarius', 1718. This Latin descriptor may mean hay-trusser, grass-cutter, gardener, verderer or park-keeper. WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, Throckmorton MSS, (1673), records the supply of 292 rabbits to boost stocks at Sambourne. HeRO, E12/VI/KC/67, Foley MSS, the agreement to sell the trees on Sambourne Heath to the Foleys, stipulates that the charcoal burners, etc, should be sufficiently distant from the warren so as not to 'injure or anywayes mak spoile of the coneyes in the warren'. WaRO, Coughton burials, 1721 and 1749, mention warreners.

houses. Several people, male and female, maintained the gardens at Coughton Court in the 1660s and 1670s, while at a later date James Hume no doubt directed operations in the gardens of Hewell Grange.⁶⁶ The large estates, such as Coughton, employed many people in a wide variety of roles and were managed by gentlemen bailiffs and stewards, who were often also lawyers.⁶⁷

The primary sector's percentage in probate and marriage licence data showed a steady decline over the two centuries.⁶⁸ Baptism data suggests the agricultural percentage (farmers and agricultural labourers) continued to fall during Period D.⁶⁹ In the 1831 census 169 occupiers employed labourers while 81 did not. Beoley was the only parish where occupiers employing labourers were in the minority. The 1841 census records 34.4% of adult males in the primary sector.

Although labourers and farmers comprise most of the agricultural sector in Period D, there are also references to graziers, cow-keepers, dairymen, milkmen, horse-breakers, land-drainers, drovers, nurserymen, seedsmen, gardeners (sometimes now specified as market-gardeners), game-keepers and stewards. Studley also had a rat-catcher.⁷⁰ Females in this sector are naturally under-represented, but probably include many termed as 'labouring', 'jobbing' or 'working' women as well as those described as labouresses, field workers and agricultural labourers.⁷¹

⁶⁶ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/40, Throckmorton MSS. TNA, PCC probate of James Hume, Hewell, (Tardebigge), gardener, 1781.

⁶⁷ Discussed in professional section.

⁶⁸ See Tables 7.1 and 7.3. The increase in labourers in Table 7.4 may reflect a real increase or just a trend for more labourers to marry by licence. The baptism data for Coughton and Studley to 1769 show a decreased share for primary, followed by a resurgence. In Studley's case the primary sector declined again into the nineteenth century. See Tables 7.9 to 7.17 above.

⁶⁹ See Table 7.6.

⁷⁰ WaRO, 1841 census, Studley.

⁷¹ WoRO and WaRO, 1841 and 1851 censuses, and WoRO, Beoley baptisms 1813-1840. The latter source gives more occupational information about unmarried mothers than most other local registers.

Extractive and building industries

Marl was dug for agricultural purposes, probably by workers on the farms, where the marl-pits were located. No specialist marl-diggers have come to light. Gravel, sand and clay were also dug, but maybe the only parish in this zone where any stone-quarrying took place during the study period was Tardebigge, where Bromsgrove sandstone was extracted for building purposes.⁷²

In 1700 Thomas Chettle leased mining rights on Sambourne Heath for sixty years.⁷³ At a time of inexact geological knowledge he may have been hoping for coal or iron, rather than the sand, gravel and marl which did occur there. In any case the Throckmortons or their stewards were no doubt keen to benefit from his speculation, however misguided.

In Period A two masons from Tardebigge left probate, but it is unclear whether they were quarrymen as well as builders. Some masons enjoyed very modest wealth, but John Paget, although he only lived in a five-room dwelling, was literate, purchased and leased property and lent money out on mortgage, rather like a modern-day builder-speculator. Amongst his farming assets could also be found '12 hundred of bricces' (12s.) and tools of his trade (5s.).⁷⁴ A Redditch brickmaker supplied Coughton Court with bricks and tiles of various sorts for its post-Civil War repair work, while another brickmaker at this time set up temporary brickworks near the Court to dig clay and make

⁷² See Appendix 18.

⁷³ SCLA, DR5/1196.

⁷⁴ WoRO, probate of John Paget, Feckenham, mason, 1677, £129-3-2.

bricks, which were laid by ‘bricklayers’, brothers John and Robert Smith.⁷⁵ Before 1800 references to bricklayers are few, the term ‘mason’ still being the usual descriptor.

In the eighteenth century brick was becoming more widespread as a building material, and brickmakers occur in at least three of this zone’s parishes.⁷⁶ As noted earlier, there seems to have been much cross-over between quarrymen, masons, brickmakers and bricklayers and their networking covered considerable distances.⁷⁷ Rather surprisingly, a potter resided in Tardebigge in the 1760s; whether he used local clay or imported clay from elsewhere is not known.⁷⁸ Equally unexpected are references to two coal-miners in the 1780s and 1790s.⁷⁹ Perhaps speculative coal-pits were being dug, or maybe coal-miners were employed in the construction of the Worcester and Birmingham Canal, especially the tunnels. Engineering projects and enclosures at the time gave work to the likes of John Wilkins, land-surveyor.⁸⁰

In the Stuart period plumbers and glaziers were often also farmers (of yeoman status), and (as later) often had relations in another branch of the building trade.⁸¹ George Hopkins, a Coughton glazier, also ran a public house.⁸² Specialist painters seem to have been in short supply in this zone at the time, but churchwardens’ accounts record local

⁷⁵ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/40, Throckmorton MSS, (1663-1665).

⁷⁶ Evidence for brickmaking in Redditch (Tardebigge) is in WoRO, QS 205/49, Epiphany 1705/6, which records someone drowning in a Redditch brickfield. Also WoRO, probate of John Baker, Tardebigge, brickmaker, 1724, £4-7-6. WaRO, DR536/32, records that Studley’s new workhouse in 1740 was built of bricks.

⁷⁷ WoRO, marriage licence of Absalom Harris, Lower Slaughter, Gloucestershire, mason, Oct. 1757, was witnessed by William Sire, Tardebigge, brickmaker. Lower Slaughter is approximately thirty-five miles from Tardebigge.

⁷⁸ WoRO, marriage licence of Ralph Hatton, Tardebigge, potter, Oct. 1761.

⁷⁹ WoRO, marriage licence of William Gould, Tardebigge, needlemaker, Jan. 1796, witnessed by Herbert Willies, Tardebigge, coal-miner. WoRO, probate of John Johnsons, Ipsley, 1782, mentions Richard Cox, coal-miner.

⁸⁰ WoRO, probate of John London, Feckenham, (no occupation given), 1793, was witnessed by John Wilkins, Feckenham, land-surveyor.

⁸¹ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, Throckmorton MSS, (1672-5) William Churchley, Sambourne, (Coughton), glazier, (son of a carpenter), is paid for glazing Coughton Court and tenants’ homes.

⁸² WoRO, miscellaneous probate (813/2543) of George Hopkins, Coughton, glazier, 1665, £212-14-7.

glaziers working in churches and public buildings.⁸³ Glass may have come from Stourbridge, while the nearest source of lead was probably Derbyshire.⁸⁴ After 1750 the plumbers, glaziers and painters were perhaps not of such high status as formerly.

Despite the spread of brick and tile for building, before 1800 ordinary homes and outbuildings were frequently still timber-framed with wattle and daub in-fill and thatched roofs. The descriptor, 'thatcher' is rare, and the one thatcher's inventory gives little information about his trade apart from the '8 thrave of wheat[straw]' in his barn.⁸⁵ Just as other workers often carried out thatching tasks, similarly, plastering was often undertaken by masons, although one 'plasterer' was assessed for probate in 1712.⁸⁶

Building workers never formed a large share of the workforce, but according to probate and marriage licence records there was a slight increase in Period D in line with the many new building projects in the district.⁸⁷ This increase continued during the period according to baptisms, while the 1841 census shows 2.9% of adult males in the building trade. In probate and marriage licences the extractive sector always comprised

⁸³ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/40, Throckmorton MSS, records an Alcester painter at work at Coughton Court. Presumably, as in later times, glaziers also undertook painting jobs. WaRO, DR536/1, Studley churchwardens' accounts, 1665-1696, record payments to glaziers, Thomas Langston and William Churchley. From 1697 Churchley is contracted to keep the church windows in good repair for the annual fee of 6s. 8d. In 1740 Edward Field glazed the new workhouse in Studley in 1740. (WaRO, DR 536/32.)

⁸⁴ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/40, Throckmorton MSS, (1660s), records lead being fetched from Derbyshire and also from Evesham, where it had probably been brought by boat, perhaps from Cornwall.

⁸⁵ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, Throckmorton MSS, (1672-5), has references to thatching and paying carpenters for rods, which form the upright of the wattle. Payments are made to various people for thatching houses of paupers, for example in Feckenham (WoRO, BA4284 (vii), Feckenham overseers of the poor accounts, 1781, p. 219). The Jones family of carpenters and thatchers appear in WoRO, Feckenham parish register c.1680-1710. WoRO, probate of John Harrison, Tardebigge, thatcher, 1688, £34-10-0. N. B. A thrave was a collection of 12 or 24 bundles of straw.

⁸⁶ Thomas Eades, a Sambourne mason, was paid for plastering Studley church in 1745. (WaRO, Studley parish register). WoRO, probate of John Hollis, Sambourne, (Coughton), plasterer, 1712, £56-10-6. He lived about a mile from Spernall 'plaster pit', which had long been leased and worked by his family. He left the lease of a Spernall property (probably the plaster pit) to his son, who lived on the premises. The 'plaster pit' was in Zone C and is discussed in that section.

⁸⁷ See Tables 7.2 and 7.4 above. The number of inhabited houses in 1801 was 1266, rising to 2260 in 1831. In addition there was building work for roads, canals, railways and commercial property, notably needle factories at this time. Building and extractive workers were few in the early Coughton, Feckenham and Studley parish registers.

less than 1%, but Table 7.6 (baptisms) shows an increased percentage in Period D.⁸⁸ Bricks and tiles were now made at several locations, while Tardebigge stone-cutters and stonemasons dug sandstone, some of which was used in the construction of the Worcester and Birmingham Canal.⁸⁹ Road labourers are listed in the censuses along with a railway contractor in Beoley.⁹⁰ In the building trade all the descriptors met with earlier are still present and are now joined by the paper-hanger, Charles Edward Cox, who also advertised as an accountant and appraiser.⁹¹

Textiles, clothing and paper

Tailors and other textile and paper workers were always present in small numbers in this zone.⁹² By the 1841 census tailors comprised some 1.8% of the adult male workforce and other textile and paper workers 0.4%.⁹³ As expected, the share for textile workers fell during the eighteenth century.

Although few tailors left probate, other sources show that they were present in considerable numbers throughout the two centuries. For the most part tailors were not wealthy, and one Feckenham tailor received a pauper's funeral.⁹⁴ Most of those in probate were probably masters running their own businesses, but, unusually, we also find

⁸⁸ Tables 7.2, 7.4 and 7.6. In Table 7.6 those in the extractive sector were all brickmakers. The 1841 census has a figure of 0.9% of adult males in the extractive sector. *VCH Worcestershire* vol. iv, p.15, and Noake, *Guide to Worcestershire*, p. 27, mention a Stanton family, 'working colliers or nailmakers', who disputed the lordship of the manor of Beoley. If coal-miners, they presumably worked elsewhere. WoRO, Ipsley (Mount Pleasant) 1841 census lists a miner (presumably visiting) in a lodging-house.

⁸⁹ White, *The Worcester and Birmingham Canal*, p. 72. WoRO, Feckenham (Hunt End) 1851 census lists a stone-sawyer.

⁹⁰ WoRO, Feckenham and Beoley 1841 census. (The 1851 census has many more road labourers in this zone than 1841.)

⁹¹ Redditch section of *Robson's Birmingham & Sheffield Directory 1839*.

⁹² See Tables 7.2, 7.4, 7.11, and 7.18.

⁹³ See Table 7.8. Baptisms 1813-1840 (Table 7.6) gives a figure of 1.3% for tailors and 0.5% for other textile workers.

⁹⁴ WoRO, Feckenham burials, 1684, burial of Arthur Baggett, tailor, poor.

a poor journeyman tailor whose only possessions were his clothes, worth £4-0-6.⁹⁵ Perhaps surprisingly, some country tailors were capable of very intricate work,⁹⁶ while others pursued by-employments to make ends meet.⁹⁷

Although no bodice-makers appear in this zone, some craftsmen may have specialised in certain garments, producing them in large numbers to be sold further afield. One such may be William Little of Feckenham, who was described as a ‘tuckermaker’ in 1706.⁹⁸ Some ninety years later another Feckenham craftsman was a staymaker.⁹⁹

Women’s role in making and mending clothing is largely absent from local records until the eighteenth century, when some adept seamstresses were commissioned by parish overseers to make clothes for the poor.¹⁰⁰ No doubt many others made and mended garments for their own families. Nineteenth century sources list women as milliners, staymakers, seamstresses, mantua-makers, plain-sewers and dressmakers.¹⁰¹ Although there were male straw-hat-makers, this trade apparently employed mainly women, sometimes described as (straw)-bonnet-makers or straw-workers.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ WoRO, probate of William Baker, journeyman tailor, Studley, 1763, £4-0-6.

⁹⁶ *Worcester Postman*, 8 to 15 April 1720, records the theft of a high-class suit (described in great detail and perhaps made for a gentleman client) from Richard Houghton, tailor of Sambourne.

⁹⁷ WoRO, probate of John Clarke, Mappleborough Green, (Studley), tailor, 1737, £34-10-8. Clarke also ran a general store. WaRO, Studley parish register, 1737, records his burial. He committed suicide, cutting his own throat, and was ‘found to be lunatic’.

⁹⁸ WoRO, marriage licence of William Hopkins, Sambourne, needlemaker, March 1706, witnessed by William Little, Feckenham, ‘tu(c)kermaker’. Spelt both tuckermaker and tukermaker on the document, this could suggest that he specialised in making the sashes or bibs called ‘tuckers’. Alternatively, it may be another form of ‘teugerer’, a lath-splitter.

⁹⁹ WoRO, marriage licence of John Holtham, Feckenham, staymaker, July 1795. In other documents he is referred to as a tailor.

¹⁰⁰ For example, WaRO, CR3434, Coughton overseers of the poor accounts, 1745-6, and WoRO, BA4284, (ix) and (vii), Feckenham overseers of the poor. The latter source records payments to William Fitter for tailoring (1773) and also for making breeches (1755). This may suggest that, (unlike those made by Alcester’s breechesmakers), the breeches he made were not of leather.

¹⁰¹ WaRO and WoRO, 1841 and 1851 censuses. The latest (female) mantuamaker appears in WoRO, Feckenham baptisms, 1848.

¹⁰² As in Alcester, some of these women were from Aylesbury. Headless Cross, (Tardebidge), 1851 census, lists husband and wife cap-makers. Some 4.9% of adult women with known occupations in the 1841 census were dressmakers or seamstresses and 2.4% were involved in other textile or clothing manufacture. (See Table 7.8 above.)

Before 1800 weavers were present, but what type of weaving was undertaken is not often clarified. However, in 1663 a ‘narrow-weaver’ acted as bondsman for a flax-dresser, while two other weavers’ inventories list hempen cloth or tow.¹⁰³ In 1718 a Tardebigge linen weaver took on an apprentice.¹⁰⁴ These examples indicate the use of flax and hemp amongst the weavers of this zone, but some weavers owned sheep, and many farmers hereabouts had large flocks. Many weavers may have woven both woollen and linen cloth according to demand. In 1700 John Fewster of Sambourne had ‘thirty-four linen and woollen geares’ amongst his weaving equipment. Fewster had four looms - probably more than the average for a local family weaving business.¹⁰⁵

For the most part this zone’s weavers probably received raw material and marketed their products through towns such as Alcester and Bromsgrove, but there were clothier-dealers in the villages too. In the early eighteenth century Thomas Lacy of Feckenham was described as a dyer and husbandman, while Geoffrey Sambrook was a wool-merchant and butcher. The vagaries of the textile and farming trades still dictated against the small-time trader putting all his eggs in one basket, if he wished to avoid financial crises.¹⁰⁶

In the 1720s Feckenham boasted two clothiers, who both doubled as publicans. We can speculate that their pubs served as dealing centres, where they received yarn spun by the local womenfolk and supplied it to the small family weaving businesses of the

¹⁰³ WoRO, marriage licence of William Court, Feckenham, narrow-weaver, Sept. 1663, and of Thomas Phillips, Offenham, flax-dresser, 1663 (month unclear), witnessed by William Court, Feckenham, weaver. WoRO, probate of Edward Pearkes, Tardebigge, weaver, 1687, £23-0-6, and Humphrey Lewis, Tardebigge, weaver, 1680, £22-9-2.

¹⁰⁴ TNA, IR1/45, Abraham Miles of Tardebigge, linenweaver.

¹⁰⁵ WoRO, probate of John Fewster, Sambourne, (Coughton), weaver, 1700, £74-13-10.

¹⁰⁶ WoRO, probate of Thomas Lacy, Feckenham, dyer/husbandman, 1711, £14-1-10. Lacy was only appraised at £14 with no specialist dyeing equipment listed; his dyeing business was probably a small-scale, occasional affair. References to Geoffrey Sambrook include SCLA, ER139/142 and WaRO, Coughton burials, 1723, burial of Jeffery Sambrooke, butcher, poor.

Feckenham Forest. In turn they received the weavers' finished cloth and sold it on to the big-time Worcester cloth merchants. Both men were literate, (indeed one also acted as parish scribe), and of yeoman status, with capital behind them.¹⁰⁷ Another Feckenham weaver featured in local property deals, and many other weavers supplemented their income by farming at least in a small way, while a Studley weaver, Richard Doley, also ran a general store.¹⁰⁸ These more prominent businessmen come to light, but most weavers were probably too poor to trouble the probate courts.

As in other zones, the important part played by the womenfolk is again suggested by the presence of spinning wheels in inventories and also by the apprenticeship indenture of Elizabeth Cox to learn spinning in a yeoman's household.¹⁰⁹ References to women wool-carding and spinning also occur in overseers of the poor accounts.¹¹⁰

In the second half of the eighteenth century weavers were still present, probably in the same numbers as in previous periods, but, as the population grew, their share of the workforce was smaller. Most weavers hereabouts probably still worked in small family units like the Griffin family in Feckenham.¹¹¹ Many types of cloth were probably still woven, but linen or flaxen materials are specified more often than wool.¹¹² Coarse flaxen

¹⁰⁷ WoRO, probate of Benjamin Westwood, Feckenham, innholder, 1729. WoRO, marriage licence of John Walford, Feckenham, clothier, May 1725, witnessed by Benjamin Westwood, Feckenham, clothier. Elsewhere Westwood is described as a yeoman, and Walford is probably of a wealthy family of tanners and yeomen.

¹⁰⁸ SCLA, DR12/63, concerning property transactions of Thomas Hawthorne, Astwood Bank, (Feckenham), weaver. WoRO, probate of Richard Doley, Studley, (no occupation given), 1720, £76-1-7, indicates weaving and shopkeeping.

¹⁰⁹ WaRO, DR360/79/11, Alcester parish apprentice indenture, 1689, of Elizabeth Cox of Alcester, to John Reynolds, Feckenham, yeoman, to 'learn the trade and mystery of a spinster', presumably from the yeoman's wife.

¹¹⁰ For example, WoRO, BA4284, (ix) and (vii), Feckenham overseers of the poor.

¹¹¹ WoRO, probate of Thomas Griffin, Feckenham, weaver, 1792. The only weaver in this zone to leave probate in Period C; he was worth less than £20, illiterate and possessed only loom, which he left to his son.

¹¹² Some references are rather fortuitous. William Perry of Redditch, was specified as a linen-weaver when mentioned in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 26 Jan. 1764; he had killed another man after an altercation in a Redditch pub.

material was being woven by the likes of William Milward.¹¹³ Only one clothier is mentioned in this zone at this time: John Thicks, who had links with the Stourbridge area.¹¹⁴

To support the linenweavers many folk probably grew and processed flax (and also hemp) as part of their agricultural activities.¹¹⁵ No ropemakers have emerged from the local archives before 1750, but shortly after the Restoration the warrener, Humphrey Fulks, received £1-6-0 'to buy two dozen of hems to make nets [for catching rabbits] and to pay for the spinning'.¹¹⁶ Occasionally flax-dressers and woolcombers surface from the archival depths, but their numbers suggest that both activities were carried out here on a smaller scale than in the market town of Alcester.¹¹⁷

In Period C contemporary newspaper references suggest that flax, hemp and linen played an important part in the economy of this zone.¹¹⁸ The local industrial colonies with their abundant labour force were typical of flax and hemp-growing settlements. Tardebigge was home to a bleacher cum farmer, while another Tardebigge farmer was one of the biggest flax-growers in Worcestershire, with fields of flax in adjacent parishes

¹¹³ TNA, IR1/54, inland revenue apprentice books, William Milward, Beoley, stuff-weaver.

¹¹⁴ WoRO, probate of John Thicks, Tardebigge, (late of Kinver), clothier, 1758. Perhaps his cloth-dealing business had been at Kinver, rather than Tardebigge, where he had perhaps retired. He was literate and made bequests suggesting that he was wealthier than the average weaver.

¹¹⁵ Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries', 18, p. 39, shows a concentration of ropemakers near Bromsgrove who could no doubt supply the Needle District.

¹¹⁶ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, Throckmorton MSS.

¹¹⁷ WoRO, marriage licence of Robert Woodard, Morton Bagot, June 1697, witnessed by John Bate, Beoley, flax-dresser. Large, 'Economic and Social Change in North Worcestershire during the 17th Century', p. 38, quotes hemp and flax-dressers causing problems in Tardebigge's streams. WaRO, Studley burial register 1758 burial of Joseph Clark, woolcomber.

¹¹⁸ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 3 April 1777 reports the theft of quantities of flax and hempen cloth from John Tolley of Lower Bentley, Tardebigge, suggesting that he was a flax-dealer. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 24 June 1784 reports the theft of 'flaxen cloth out of a ground where it was laid to whiten' apparently in Feckenham. There were probably more bleachers, whitsters or whiteners in this zone, but Bromsgrove and Stoke Prior were the main local centres for linen, flax and hemp. Many thefts from whitening grounds in those parishes are recorded in *Berrow's Worcester Journal*.

as well as his own.¹¹⁹ In 1798 a bleaching court at Hewell was mentioned in the land tax return for Tardebigge.¹²⁰ The growing proto-town of Redditch now boasted its own ropemaker, while an Astwood Bank farmer pursued a sideline in net-making.¹²¹

Although the 1841 census reveals a male lace-maker in Redditch, local cloth production was becoming negligible in Period D. Those described as clothiers or hosiers cum haberdashers were probably mainly retailers, rather than makers or organisers in the textile trade, as in the old sense. On the other hand, Mrs Moore advertised as a silk and wool dyer.¹²² Other women who still adhered to the textile trade include the odd spinner, mop-spinner, wool-carder, pattern-card-maker and muslin-weaver.¹²³ Along or near the Ridgeway there were a handful of male rope and twine-makers, flax-dressers and hurden-weavers, part of the same small industry described in Zone C in the previous chapter.

Before 1660 water-mills in both Tardebigge and Beoley parish had been adapted for use as paper-mills. Consequently, a few papermakers emerge from various documents.¹²⁴ Probably only a handful of men and boys would be employed at the paper-mills, and perhaps women as rag-gatherers and sorters. The demand for paper for

¹¹⁹ WoRO, marriage licence of John Field, Tardebigge, bleacher and farmer, Nov. 1791. Gaut, *A History of Worcestershire Agriculture and Rural Evolution*, (Worcester, Worcester Press, 1939), p. 169. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 10 Sept. 1789 reports the claims for bounty payments for flax grown in Worcestershire. The biggest concentration of flax-growing was in the Bromsgrove, Stoke Prior, Tardebigge area.

¹²⁰ TNA, IR23/91.

¹²¹ WaRO, DR360/79/63, Alcester apprenticeship indenture of James Farr, Alcester, to William Fleming, Redditch, ropemaker, 1786. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 25 Dec. 1788 lists items to be sold on the premises of William Pearhouse, of Astwood Bank, Feckenham, deceased, which, among farmstock, include 'all sorts of articles used in the netmaking'. This may be an early off-shoot of this zone's fishing tackle industry.

¹²² *Robson's Birmingham and Sheffield Directory 1839*. Perhaps she altered the colour of existing clothes for customers?

¹²³ WaRO and WoRO 1841 and 1851 censuses. In *Wrightson's Birmingham Directory 1839* a hot-presser called Field advertises in Redditch, but it is not clear whether this person is male or female or whether the press involved was for cloth production or some other trade.

¹²⁴ WoRO, probate of Anthony Seale, Beoley, papermaker, 1673, £8-17-10 (administered by a relative, Humphrey Seale, papermaker of Tardebigge), and *VCH Worcestershire*, iv, pp. 15-16, mentions Seale's Mill in Beoley. WoRO, probate of Nicholas Cloves, Beoley, (no occupation given), 1681, £125-5-0, and of William Cloves, Beoley, (no occupation given), 1684, £194-1-0, list paper and stock in their mill. Another son, Nicholas, ran the paper-mill at Wychbold, near Droitwich. WoRO, QS98/30, quarter sessions 1661/2, presents John Bach, Tardebigge, papermaker, as a swearer and a drunkard.

various uses was on the increase nationally over the study period. The employees went largely unnoticed in the archives while the masters are more likely to emerge.¹²⁵ The growing demand for paper provided business opportunities for those with capital, such as the Allen family. Amongst the items listed in Thomas Allen's inventory in 1720 is 'brown paper made for sale', perhaps marketed as wrapping paper for the hardware products of the west midlands and locally-produced needles.¹²⁶

The entrepreneurs at the paper mills were often local, but specialist workers such as the Webb family were attracted from afar.¹²⁷ The paper masters had to diversify in order to succeed. For example, in 1768 John Holyoake of Hewell Paper Mill advertised for journeymen papermakers to specialise in 'writing work'.¹²⁸ One Beoley paper-master, John Oram, was also a fur-dealer and leather-dresser. Mary Oram and Sarah Mander are examples of widows who continued the papermaking business after their husbands' deaths.¹²⁹ Towards the end of the eighteenth century John Mills took over the paper-mill at Beoley; he continued to make paper, but also made needles there.¹³⁰

Throughout the study period the paper-mill at Beoley continued production, providing employment for the odd rag-sorter and several paper-makers (mainly male),

¹²⁵ For example, WoRO, probate of Thomas Batten, Beoley, paper master, 1749, £522-11-1.

¹²⁶ WoRO, probate of Thomas Allen, Hewell Paper Mill, (Tardebigge), gentleman, 1720, £98-8-0, and of John Allen, Hewell Paper Mill, (Tardebigge), yeoman, 1720, £745-13-7. Needle packets and wrappers became a speciality of the local paper-mills in the nineteenth century.

¹²⁷ Members of the Webb family of papermakers had connections with Hampshire, Cambridgeshire and Oxfordshire, as described in <http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/webbsredditch> Chapter 1 (10.30 a.m. 21 Aug. 2008).

¹²⁸ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 21 July 1768. Presumably this means workers able to make good quality writing paper.

¹²⁹ A. Shorter, *Studies on the History of Papermaking in Britain*, (Aldershot, Variorum, 1993), p.255.

¹³⁰ National Needle Museum, Redditch, Day-book of John and Matthew Mills.

who continued to be a particularly mobile group¹³¹ In 1841 Studley was home to a japanner, who perhaps lacquered papier-mache items.¹³²

Leather, horn and tallow

Shoemakers were always present, but various records suggest that they formed less than 5% of the adult male workforce.¹³³ The 1841 census puts shoemakers at 3.6%, while baptism data 1813-1840 suggests that shoemakers were increasing slightly during Period D.¹³⁴ Shoemakers mainly lived modestly, not troubling the probate courts.¹³⁵ Where shoemakers do appear in probate, many of their inventories show evidence of mixed farming.¹³⁶ Although the usual descriptors in the footwear trade were 'shoemaker' or 'cordwainer', Arthur Conway of Beoley, was described as a 'cobbler'. Perhaps he and some others in the trade only mended rather than made footwear.¹³⁷ Some probate inventories furnish us with details of tools and materials. In Matthew Tolley's shop he had shoe-leather, shop-tools and rosin and pitch to waterproof his shoes and boots, while John Lewis of Redditch stocked men's, women's and children's shoes, boots and wooden

¹³¹ WoRO, Beoley 1841 and 1851 censuses and Beoley baptisms 1813-1840. Paper-makers came from Kent, Ireland, Somerset and Buckinghamshire. An Irish 'colourman' at a Redditch lodging-house in the 1841 census may have just been passing through, but he may have worked in the local paper trade.

¹³² WaRO, Studley 1841 census.

¹³³ Although in Studley, Feckenham and Coughton some decades show a higher figure. (Tables 7.12, 7.19 and 7.20).

¹³⁴ Tables 7.6 and 7.8.

¹³⁵ Perhaps there were not as many shoemakers as one might expect from the number of tanners. Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries', 17, pp. 45-9, also found that although 28% of the county's tanners resided in six parishes around Tardebigge, only 21% of the county's shoemakers were there, mainly concentrated on the town of Bromsgrove, where there was a bigger market. Transporting finished footwear to town was no easier than transporting the leather.

¹³⁶ For example, WoRO probate of John Hemminge, Feckenham, shoemaker, 1668, £27-4-6, and of John Lewis, Ipsley, cordwainer, 1690, £60-12-0.

¹³⁷ WoRO, probate of Arthur Conway, Beoley, cobbler, 1688, £13-4-10, and WoRO, miscellaneous probate (811/2308) of Christopher Dewhurst, Studley, cordwainer, 1664, £8-13-4, where the inventory gives his trade as 'mending bootes and shoes'.

heels.¹³⁸ People frequenting muddy lanes and farmyards would find the products made by Coughton's 'heel-maker' or Studley's 'patten-maker' very useful.¹³⁹

Nineteenth century censuses show that male shoemakers are supported by female shoe-binders and boot-binders. This was likely to be the case in earlier periods too, but evidence is lacking. In the 1830s the sale of shoes by dealers and retailers (rather than makers) appears for the first time.¹⁴⁰

Several other leatherworkers are present in this district before 1700, but decline thereafter.¹⁴¹ Table 7.6 (baptisms 1813-1840) puts such workers at only 0.4% of fathers, while the 1841 census has 0.3%. Before 1750 tanners are more in evidence in this zone than in any other. Presumably a combination of circumstances led to the establishment of tanning here compared with elsewhere in the study area. Cattle (and therefore hides) were plentiful here, which is corroborated by the high number of drovers, graziers and butchers. Bark was abundant, and nearby west midlands towns provided a ready market for leather.¹⁴² Amongst the wealthiest tanners was John Boulton, whose probate not only mentions tanning and farming stock, but also coppices and timber; he no doubt obtained bark for the tanning process from his own oak-trees.¹⁴³ As noted in other zones, many

¹³⁸ WoRO, probate of Matthew Tolley, Feckenham, shoemaker, 1693-4, £32-18-2, and WoRO, probate of John Lewis, Redditch, (Tardebigge), shoemaker, 1717, £71-18-2.

¹³⁹ WaRO, DR360/86/10 records the settlement of John Bromley, Coughton, heelmaker, in Alcester in 1666. It is not known whether he made wooden or leather heels. WaRO, Studley burial register, 1716, records the burial of Jones, 'pattenman'.

¹⁴⁰ *Pigot's Worcestershire Directory 1835*. William Webb, dealer in shoes, Redditch. It may be that earlier sources had not specified this role, although it may have existed.

¹⁴¹ See Tables 7.4, 7.6, 7.11 and 7.18.

¹⁴² Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries', 17, p. 45, shows that 28% of Worcestershire's tanners from 1600-1650 were in the six contiguous parishes of Bromsgrove, Stoke Prior, Alvechurch, Inkberrow, Feckenham and Tardebigge, so the tanning trade was established here. None of our parishes specialised as much as Alvechurch where, according to Buchanan, 60% of the industrial workers were in leather trades. He also suggests that soft water may be a factor. Perhaps the streams in this area were particularly suitable. The tanners may have made use of the fulling mills close by at Bromsgrove and Spennall. If lime were needed, that could also be sourced nearby in the Central Belt.

¹⁴³ WoRO, probate of John Boulton, Grinsty, (Feckenham), tanner, 1684, £358-18-4. John's father was also wealthy. (WoRO, probate of Henry Boulton, Grinsty, (Feckenham), yeoman, 1684, £1255-9-10.)

tanners were amongst the most affluent inhabitants with money to invest.¹⁴⁴ This high status is exemplified by a gentleman's son serving as an apprentice tanner.¹⁴⁵ Another tanner, Thomas Homer, was only valued at £62, but £40 of this was tied up in his tanning assets, demonstrating the capital-intensive nature of this trade.¹⁴⁶

By-products were also of value. Henry Mathews had 'two hundred and a quarter of hornes' and a 'parcel of hayre' in addition to his farming and tanning stock.¹⁴⁷ Sometimes a specific type of leather is mentioned; Richard Timbrell had '3 dozen calveskins' as well as other hides.¹⁴⁸ Timbrell's widowed mother, Ann, had owned (and probably run) the business before him.¹⁴⁹ Because of the capital involved, many tanning businesses were family concerns. Most tanners mentioned in probate were probably owners or at least members of the owner's family, whereas the likes of Thomas Benton and Abraham Spencer were employees or journeymen.¹⁵⁰ At his death in 1668 Benton's only assets were his clothes and a lease, while Spencer is described as a journeyman tanner and later as a labourer, and (at his death) a pauper, contrasting starkly with the status of the master-tanners.¹⁵¹ However, with its need for long-term capital, business owners in the tanning trade were also prone to financial difficulties. The bankruptcy of one Ipsley tanner in the mid 1750s may bear witness to troubled times in the rural leather trade as noted in other zones.¹⁵² The decline of this zone's tanning industry can be seen

¹⁴⁴ SCLA, ER139/135,141, concerning William Sheward, Callow Hill, Feckenham, tanner, who invested in various bonds.

¹⁴⁵ SCLA, DR18/17, papers from 1694-8 regarding Theodore Sadleir, son of a 'gentleman' of the same name, apprenticed to Thomas Reeve, a Coughton tanner.

¹⁴⁶ WoRO, probate of Thomas Homer, Lower Bentley, (Tardebigge), tanner, 1674, £62-0-0.

¹⁴⁷ WoRO, probate of Henry Mathews, Studley, tanner, 1682, £84-12-9.

¹⁴⁸ WoRO, probate of Richard Timbrell, Ipsley, tanner, 1698, £189-19-8.

¹⁴⁹ WoRO, probate of Ann Timbrell, Ipsley, widow, 1682, £244-5-0. Her inventory, which mentions the tanhouse and its contents, provides a rare spotlight on a woman in the tanning industry.

¹⁵⁰ WoRO, probate and miscellaneous probate (816/2893) of Thomas Benton, Studley, tanner, 1668/9, £10-0-0. His assets only comprised his clothes and a lease.

¹⁵¹ WaRO, Coughton parish register 1729-58.

¹⁵² *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 9 Jan. 1755 reports the bankruptcy of John Barford, Ipsley, tanner.

by the falling numbers of tanners in probate.¹⁵³ After 1760 references to tanners in any sources are very few, the last local tanner dying in Studley in 1807.¹⁵⁴

Skinner and glovers are not as conspicuous as in Zones A and C, but are present in small numbers until the 1730s, when they disappear from local records. For the most part these craftsmen used sheepskins, but one early skinner also worked horse-leather.¹⁵⁵ The 'apprentices' room' in a Sambourne glover's inventory, shows that he did not work entirely alone, but the skinner/glovers' businesses were mainly small family affairs.¹⁵⁶ Mid-nineteenth century censuses list female glovers in the villages, but not in such great numbers as in Zone C. Curriers as such do not appear in this zone until the nineteenth century, when the White family of Headless Cross cured and sold leather among their other activities.¹⁵⁷ Presumably shoemakers and glovers supplied leather for other purposes in earlier times, but only with the advent of trade directories do we find the odd reference to leather-sellers and leather-cutters.¹⁵⁸

In Period A the absence of saddlers and harness and collarmakers is noticeable. Local customers perhaps had to visit their nearest market town for saddlery items at that time. From the 1760s saddlers are found in Feckenham and from 1800 they spread to some other local villages. Maybe they also made items such as leathern aprons and pulley-belts used in the needle-mills.

Chandlers were present in most of the zone's parishes, and, as elsewhere, they tended to be of a fairly high social status, none more so than John Cresser of Coughton,

¹⁵³ 13 tanners in probate in Period A, 3 in Period B, 2 in Period C and only 1 in Period D.

¹⁵⁴ TNA, PCC probate of Thomas Handy, Outhill, Studley, tanner, 1807.

¹⁵⁵ WoRO, probate of Humphrey Eaton, Feckenham, skinner/glover, 1687, £24-13-6.

¹⁵⁶ WoRO, probate of Thomas Bird, Sambourne, (Coughton), glover, 1717, £76-1-7.

¹⁵⁷ Before 1730 some tanners are referred to as 'coriarius' which may mean both tanner and currier. Various nineteenth century sources record Thomas and John White as curriers, leather-cutters, leather-sellers, butchers, shopkeepers and farmers.

¹⁵⁸ For example, Thomas Rogers, Studley, shoemaker, bootmaker, leather-cutter from 1826-1851.

gentleman, who served as high constable of Barlichway Hundred in Stuart times. Tallow was a valuable commodity - Samuel Cresser had five tons in his workhouse appraised at £130 and '500 of raw tallow' worth £5. Amongst other activities the Cressers farmed, made malt and dealt in cider and cork.¹⁵⁹ After 1750 chandlers are found in several settlements including the expanding community of Redditch. Chandlers in the Moore family, were also maltsters, merchants, and ran a general store, while some other chandlers are alternatively described as soap-boilers or soap-makers.¹⁶⁰

Wood and charcoal

As shown by Tables 7.2 and 7.4 carpenters and joiners were always present in this zone.¹⁶¹ In Table 7.6 (baptisms 1813-1840) they comprise 3.1% of fathers, while in the 1841 census the figure for adult male carpenters is 2.7%. Many do not figure in probate records for various reasons, for example Edward Turner, who died in adolescence.¹⁶² The term 'joiner' is perhaps not used as frequently in the countryside as in the town, but one joiner's inventory in 1673 distinguishes the different grades of timber in his considerable store, ranging from sawn and seasoned timber, ripe 'unhewed' and wood 'fit for fire'.¹⁶³ As in other zones, some carpenters fulfilled multiple roles; in the nineteenth century these included builder, pump-maker, well-sinker, cabinetmaker, upholsterer and joiner.

¹⁵⁹ WoRO, probate of John Cresser, Coughton, chandler, 1718-9, £2061-12-10, and of Samuel Cresser, Coughton, chandler, 1721, £852-6-0. John Cresser also served as high constable of Barlichway Hundred, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

¹⁶⁰ The Moore family were based in Coughton. WoRO, probate of Charles Hemming, Feckenham, (no occupation given), 1769, is witnessed by John Hemming, Feckenham, chandler and soap-boiler.

¹⁶¹ For the most part sources suggest that they formed less than 3% of the adult male workforce.

¹⁶² WoRO, Feckenham burial register, 1690.

¹⁶³ WoRO, probate of Richard Loxley, Coughton, joiner, 1673, £37-7-4.

Various sources show the presence of other woodworkers too, although they were not as universal as the carpenters. Table 7.6 (baptisms 1813-1840) shows a figure of 2.7% for this group, while the 1841 census has 2.4%.¹⁶⁴

In the late Stuart period the Coughton Court steward's accounts reflect the importance of the woodlands. At a time when many animals were free to roam and graze over a large area of commonland it was important to stop them browsing in the woods, so payments were made for hedging, ditching and 'railing the coppice' and mending the wood-gates. Some who cut the wood and worked 'about the coppice' may have been specialist woodmen, but many were labourers, such as John Awkin, mentioned above.

The coppices, underwoods and heaths were harvested for rods for building and rails for fencing and much else besides. Besom-makers, sieve-makers and teugerers (lath-splitters) also sourced their raw materials there.¹⁶⁵ Such workers tended to be of labourer class and did not figure in probate records, but their trade was well enough established to warrant taking on apprentices.¹⁶⁶ The lath-splitting and sieve-making skills of the pauper Kendrick family had been passed down from time immemorial.¹⁶⁷ The Kendrick family of teugerers are not mentioned after 1770 and it could be the enclosure of the commons at this time put paid to their free or cheap access to raw materials. The term 'teugerer'

¹⁶⁴ These percentages seem realistic, although individual parishes sometimes had higher concentrations of wheelwrights, etc.

¹⁶⁵ WaRO, Coughton parish register, 1698-1749, and WoRO, Feckenham parish register, 1703-5. I am indebted to Michael Farr, former archivist at WaRO for the explanation of 'teugerer'. J. Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, vol. 6, (Oxford, OUP, 1961), p. 260, does not define 'teugerer', but states that 'tugers' were rods used in thatching (Herefordshire). I have found 'teugerers' in the eighteenth century from Cheltenham and Tewkesbury in the south to Bewdley and Warwick in the north.

¹⁶⁶ TNA, IR1/47, John Duggins, Feckenham, besom-maker, 1722, and IR1/52, George Kendrick, Sambourne, sieve-maker, 1756.

¹⁶⁷ For example, WoRO, marriage licence of Joseph Kendrick, Coughton (Sambourne), 'splent-maker', March 1755. WaRO, Coughton baptisms 1757, refers to him as a teugerer. Both terms mean lath-maker. WaRO, Coughton parish register 1704-1764 also refers to members of this family as sieve-makers. Other members of the family pursued the trade in Droitwich, and WoRO, probate of Richard Kendrick, Bromsgrove, 'sugar', 1592, lists his stock of wood and 'sugar staves'.

seems to die out with them although there were a handful of besom-makers, basket-makers, lath-makers, lath-rippers, lath-cleavers and lath-renders at work in Period D.¹⁶⁸

Much valuable timber from mature trees was felled and sawn in this zone, some no doubt by labourers and some by specialist sawyers. The latter are sometimes of lowly status, but William Berriman, sawyer cum timber-merchant, was an exception.¹⁶⁹ Although sawyers are mentioned in various sources throughout the study period, they are mentioned in much greater numbers in Period D. Similarly, references to ‘timbermen’, ‘timber-merchants’ and ‘timber-dealers’ increase in the last period, but are not met with as frequently as references to ‘sawyers’.¹⁷⁰

Turners and coopers also occur in small numbers throughout the two centuries. In Period A one turner was considered to be a pauper, whereas the varied commercial activities of John Taylor, made him a wealthy individual. He possessed turning tools and various types of wood and ‘rushes to bottome chairs’, but also farmed and made malt.¹⁷¹ Although Edward Hurst had a part in the working of Ham Green Mill in Feckenham, he was described as a turner in his probate.¹⁷² In the nineteenth century references to ‘turners’ are also joined by a proliferation of ‘chairmakers’.

Some coopers were substantial businessmen, such as John Reeve and Thomas Huband.¹⁷³ The latter was also described as a timberman and timber-merchant later in

¹⁶⁸ WoRO, Beoley, Redditch and Feckenham baptisms and 1831, 1841 and 1851 censuses.

¹⁶⁹ WaRO, Studley parish register 1699-1705, mentions Thomas Phipps, sawyer and labourer. WoRO, probate of William Berriman, Tardebigge, timber-merchant, 1728/9. (Earlier described as a sawyer.) Berriman was literate and made several bequests of £40 or £50.

¹⁷⁰ The first reference to ‘timber-merchants’ or ‘timbermen’ was in the 1720s. Trade directories, censuses and parish registers in Period D also list the odd ‘timber-feller’, ‘timber-valuer’, ‘wood-dealer’, ‘wood-ranger’ or ‘woodward’.

¹⁷¹ WoRO, Feckenham parish register, 1686, mentions Matthew Hughes, turner, poor. WoRO, probate of John Taylor, Coughton, turner, 1682, £372-15-8.

¹⁷² WoRO, probate of Edward Hurst, Redditch, (Tardebigge), turner, 1740, £50-3-4, lists turner’s timber worth £12-7-9 and working tools in the shop worth £6-5-0. (Perhaps Hurst used the water-mill to drive turning equipment as seen in the museum at Park Mill, Gower, West Glamorgan.)

¹⁷³ WoRO, probate of John Reeve, Studley, cooper, 1694/5, £550-8-3.

his career, when he served as a juror.¹⁷⁴ The inventory of another cooper, John Baker, who had shops in Alcester and Studley, records timber bought as a joint venture with William Harrison, the wheelwright.¹⁷⁵

By contrast, other coopers were of lower status, for example John Freeman of Sambourne, (also referred to as a teugerer), and the ‘cowper’, Thomas Underhill, who was valued at a mere £10, including ‘whoops’ and barrels.¹⁷⁶ Underhill lived in the hamlet of Berrow, and it is noticeable that other woodworkers were by no means concentrated in the principal settlements within parishes. In some cases it was more cost-effective to live near the source of timber and then to transport the (lighter) finished articles to market or direct to the customer.

Wheelwrights were present, some doubling as coopers, carpenters, timber-merchants or ploughwrights. In 1686 wheelwright Ralph Beosly’s large store of cartsides, spokes, axle-trees and other parts spilled out on to the highway; he also owned timber waiting to be brought home from woods some miles away.¹⁷⁷ Clues in probate suggest that wheelwrights perhaps had to be mobile in order to take on an established business. The storage of timber as it seasoned took up considerable space so they needed larger premises than many other craftsmen.¹⁷⁸ The growing importance of wheeled transport led to an increase in the number of wheelwrights, as is evident in probate and in other sources.¹⁷⁹ In addition to the production of wheels and all manner of vehicles,

¹⁷⁴ WaRO, QS76/3, jurors’ lists and Studley parish register 1744-1782.

¹⁷⁵ WoRO, probate of John Baker, Studley, cooper, 1717, £287-6-10.

¹⁷⁶ WaRO, Coughton parish register, 1747-1765, mentions John Freeman. WoRO, probate and miscellaneous probate (799/784) of Thomas Underhill, Berrow, (Feckenham), cooper, 1666, £10-0-0.

¹⁷⁷ WoRO, probate of Ralph Beosly, Sambourne, (Coughton), (no occupation given), 1686/7, £393-2-11. Buchanan, ‘Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries’, 19, p. 47, shows a concentration of ‘wheelers’ in the Feckenham Forest parishes, where 55% of the county’s total were based.

¹⁷⁸ WoRO, probate of John Edwards, Beoley, wheelwright, 1730, £17-19-6, and of William Harrison, Sambourne, (Coughton), wheelwright, 1731, £55-0-0.

¹⁷⁹ In probate there were 0 in Period A, 2 in Period B, 0 in Period C and 5 in Period D.

wheelwrights also turned their hand to making coffins and no doubt other items too.¹⁸⁰ Ploughwrights too had to diversify. For example, two Feckenham ploughwrights also made wagons and wheels and supplemented their income with farming and a public house.¹⁸¹ Nobody is described as a ploughwright after the 1770s. Perhaps ploughs were no longer made hereabouts or perhaps the growing emphasis on wheeled transport caused ploughmakers to be subsumed under the descriptor 'wheelwright'.¹⁸²

Some of the above woodworkers apparently produced enough treenware, barrels, vehicles, wheels or ploughs to sell outside this zone, perhaps to areas such the Champion Country where there were fewer such woodworkers.

The Moore family of millwrights who had been based in Alcester in Stuart times, changed their base to Ipsley where they served the locality throughout the eighteenth century. No doubt they enjoyed increased business as mills were geared up for needlemaking. They were followed in the nineteenth century by an ever-increasing band of millwrights.

In 1689 Sambourne Manor Court forbade the sale of gorse to anyone outside the manor, recognising its importance as a fuel for the residents.¹⁸³ Other fuel mentioned in inventories include 'faggots', 'kids', firewood and also 'coals', which may mean charcoal or 'pit-coal'.¹⁸⁴ Although not mined in the study area, pit-coal was readily available. Accounts of the Throckmorton family reveal coal being purchased in Stourbridge, some

¹⁸⁰ For example, WoRO, BA4284, Feckenham overseers of the poor accounts, record payments to the wheelwright for coffins in Period C.

¹⁸¹ WoRO, probate of Benjamin Watts, Feckenham, ploughwright, 1729/30, £77-7-6, and of Joseph Watts, Feckenham, ploughwright, 1749, (described in his wife's probate as a wheelwright).

¹⁸² In Zone C references to ploughwrights also cease in Period C.

¹⁸³ SCLA, DR5/2504. Sambourne manor court papers, 1689. Not only would it be vital as free fuel for the poor, but it was also a staple fuel for bakers' ovens, of which there were several in Sambourne.

¹⁸⁴ HeRO, E12/VI/KC/67, 78, 79, 80, 95, Foley MSS, mention 'shraggs' and 'brackins', which appear to mean types of kindling or firewood.

twenty miles distant from their home at Coughton Court. Even humble shoemakers had ‘pit-coals’ to heat their homes.¹⁸⁵

However, the existence of numerous local coppices at this time suggests the harvesting of wood for various purposes including charcoal. Indeed the Throckmortons’ steward paid a score of local people for large quantities of ‘coal’ to fuel the brick clamp during restoration work.¹⁸⁶ On an even grander scale, the iron-making Foleys contracted to purchase 5183 trees on the ‘great waste’ of Sambourne Heath at the cost of £1050, perhaps mainly to fuel their many iron furnaces. Charcoal hearths and cabins for the workers were set up in situ as it made sense to reduce wood to charcoal at source.¹⁸⁷

Although charcoal-burning was present in Feckenham Forest from medieval times, references to charcoal-burners or (wood-)colliers are rare.¹⁸⁸ Despite some speculative mining in this zone, as described above, the ‘colliers’ mentioned in Studley parish register in 1669 and 1705 are most likely wood-colliers.¹⁸⁹ Though references to charcoal-burners are rare, their product was both vital and lucrative for the iron-producing west midlands region. Some woodlands were managed with such a cash crop in mind and were harvested every few years according to the type of wood required.

¹⁸⁵ WoRO, miscellaneous probate (811/2308) of Christopher Dewhurst, Studley, cordwainer, 1664, £8-13-4.

¹⁸⁶ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/40, Throckmorton MSS, 1665. Some may have been delivering pit-coal, but others (e. g. in Haselor) were more likely to have been supplying charcoal.

¹⁸⁷ HeRO, E12/VI/KC/67, 78, 79, 80, 95, Foley MSS, 1676. The work was apparently done between 1676 and 1679. The Foleys also purchased wood from Beoley, as quoted in R. Schafer, ed., ‘The records of Philip Foley’s Stour Valley Ironworks, 1668-1674’, pt. 1, *Worcestershire Historical Soc.*, 9, (1978), pp. 42-43. L. Armstrong, *Woodcolliers and Charcoal Burning*, (Horsham, Coach Publishing, 1978), p. 74, explains that the ratio of the weight of wood compared with the charcoal reduced from it could be as high as 7:1, so charcoal was much more economical to transport than the raw material.

¹⁸⁸ Birrell, ‘Peasant craftsmen in the medieval forest’, p. 97.

¹⁸⁹ WaRO, Studley baptisms 1669, baptism of child of Rice Davis, Skilts, (Studley), collier. His Welsh-sounding name and the very fact that his occupation is recorded in a decade when the register does not normally give such information suggest he was unusual, perhaps an itinerant. One assumes that he was working (and living?) temporarily in the woods at Skilts in Studley parish, accompanied by his pregnant wife, who then gave birth. WaRO, Studley burials 1705, ‘buried Francis Serjeant, son of a collier’. *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 179, mentions charcoal-burning at Skilts in Studley around this time.

Maybe labourers or woodmen undertook some of this work, and long intervals between bouts of coppicing also help to explain the lack of references to charcoal-burners in local archives.¹⁹⁰ The enclosure act for Redditch Common and Webheath in 1771 names many coppices which may have been the source of raw materials for underwood crafts, but also for charcoal-burners. As noted before, the latter belong to an elusive race, but Isaac Pugh, wood-collier, appears as a witness regarding an assault in Tardebigge.¹⁹¹ In the nineteenth century as the mineral economy spread the use of pit-coal, it is perhaps surprising that a trio of wood-colliers were still plying their trade on the Ridgeway at Crabbs Cross.¹⁹² However, charcoal was still considered more suitable than coal for certain uses.¹⁹³

Metal

The big difference between this zone's economy and that of the other zones was the dominance of the needle industry and its associated trades hereabouts. The development of the needle trade is dealt with below, but firstly I will examine other metalworkers in this zone. Although there were a handful of plumbers, as seen above, before 1700 this zone had no braziers, pewterers, whitesmiths or tinmen, so local customers who needed products made from non-ferrous metals had to use the services of travelling tinkers or market town braziers.¹⁹⁴ In the eighteenth century we find the odd

¹⁹⁰ The HeRO, E12/VI/KC/67, 78, 79, 80, 95, Foley MSS, show that sometimes rather than being carefully coppiced places like Sambourne Heath were systematically cleared of trees.

¹⁹¹ WoRO, QS552/74, Midsummer 1798. As Rice Davis in the previous century, he may have been of Welsh stock.

¹⁹² WaRO, Ipsley baptisms 1817. WoRO, Feckenham baptisms 1843 and marriages 1855 and Feckenham 1851 census.

¹⁹³ R. Hayman, 'Charcoal ironmaking in nineteenth century Shropshire', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 61, (2008), pp. 80-98, shows that charcoal was still used a great deal in certain types of iron production.

¹⁹⁴ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/40, which shows the Throckmortons using Richard Parshouse of Alcester to instal a furnace in the malthouse.

whitesmith, brass-founder and button-maker, while by the mid-nineteenth century non-ferrous metalworkers included tinkers, tinplate-workers, zincworkers, galvanisers, brassfounders, whitesmiths and braziers, all in small numbers.¹⁹⁵ Over the two centuries there were always a couple of clock and watchmakers present in the zone, presumably serving local needs.

As elsewhere, blacksmiths were dispersed, being situated to serve their own communities.¹⁹⁶ The blacksmith was indispensable to his neighbours, mending and making all manner of iron items but also doctoring horses and sometimes cattle. Local records often do not clarify which blacksmiths undertook such farriery work, but Thomas Perkinson, needlemaker and blacksmith, was chosen by the Throckmortons to ‘bleed and drench’ their horses.¹⁹⁷ In Stuart times some blacksmiths (and needlemasters) were from yeomen farming families eager to have another string to their bow. Another example of diversification by such families is provided by the locksmith, William Field.¹⁹⁸ In the eighteenth century many smiths continued to farm, and in addition Decimus Marshall of Sambourne had six stocks of bees and two grocery shops, one of which was in Alcester.¹⁹⁹ The local smithy was an important focal point, none more so than that of the

¹⁹⁵ WoRO, probate of John Steward, Studley, watchmaker, 1795. Wo RO, s143, BA307/2, Redditch Common and Webheath Enclosure Award 1771 mentions Richard Brandis, button-maker, probably connected with the extensive Birmingham trade. WaRO, Coughton parish register 1722-1759 mentions John Alcock, husbandman and whitesmith. In 1758 Coughton register records the burial of John Walker, brass-founder of Birmingham. His probate (1765) says late of Birmingham, now of Sambourne. He may have carried out brass-founding in Sambourne as well as Birmingham. WaRO and WoRO 1841 and 1851 census and *Billing's Worcestershire Directory 1855*. Tinker is used in the sense of tinman or brazier, not an itinerant.

¹⁹⁶ However, the high percentage of references to blacksmiths in parish registers c. 1700 (Studley (5%) and Coughton (6%)) may suggest that some of them were producing nails, needles or wire on a more commercial scale, not just serving their agricultural neighbours.

¹⁹⁷ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, Throckmorton MSS, 1674, shows payments to Thomas Perkins alias Perkinson. The few references to ‘farriers’ include: WoRO, Feckenham baptisms, 1702, Edmund Danby, Feckenham, farrier, and WoRO, probate of William Bellamy, Redditch, (Tardebigge), farrier, 1723.

¹⁹⁸ WoRO, marriage licence of William Field, Tardebigge, locksmith, July 1687. (He is of a family known as Field alias Painter.)

¹⁹⁹ WoRO, probate of Decimus Marshall, Sambourne, (Coughton), blacksmith, 1714, £70-18-7. Several other blacksmiths also keep bees, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Hemming family in Studley, which combined metalworking, animal care, a general store and a pub, appropriately named The Farriers' Arms.²⁰⁰

The actual numbers of blacksmiths and farriers probably increased in Periods C and D to keep up with demand from increased horse-traffic, although this is not borne out by the selective probate and marriage licence records over the two centuries, in which blacksmiths waver between 1.1 and 3.8% of adult males.²⁰¹ The 1841 census records some 1.9% of adult males as blacksmiths.²⁰²

Just outside the study area to the north and west, in Bromsgrove, Northfield and the Black Country nailmaking was a long-established cottage employment.²⁰³ Before 1750 a handful of nailsmiths are also found in Coughton, Feckenham and Tardebigge.²⁰⁴ No doubt these nailmakers operated within a similar system to their Black Country counterparts, whereby a factor or ironmonger would put out wire for the nailers to forge into nails and would collect the finished products later.²⁰⁵ One Redditch nailer cum shopkeeper held freehold and copyhold estates in the locality and may have been of the right status to be a nail-factor himself.²⁰⁶ As nailmaking did not require much in the way of capital or special equipment, it is not surprising that few nailers left probate documents.²⁰⁷ Although there were probably more poor cottagers making nails on this

²⁰⁰ WoRO, probate of Thomas Hemming, Studley, farrier/shopkeeper, 1761 and WaRO, Studley parish register, 1760-1. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 6 March 1777.

²⁰¹ Tables 7.2 and 7.4 above.

²⁰² This agrees quite well with baptisms 1813-1840 in which blacksmiths comprise between 1.2 and 2.3% of fathers. (See Tables 7.6 and 7.8).

²⁰³ Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries', 19, p. 49.

²⁰⁴ In Coughton baptism register c. 1700 some 7.8% of fathers were nailmakers (slightly exceeding needlemakers at this period).

²⁰⁵ Rowlands, 'Continuity and change in an industrialising society', in Hudson, *Regions and Industries*, pp. 110, 120.

²⁰⁶ WoRO, probate of Thomas Beavan, Redditch, (Tardebigge), shopkeeper/nailer, 1749.

²⁰⁷ Two nailers who left probate both lived near enough to Bromsgrove to be part of the that town's nailmaking network. (WoRO, probate of Edward Barber, Tardebigge, nailer, 1664, £35-6-8. The 'peare of bellows and other implements in the shopp' only amounted to ten shillings. Also, WoRO, probate of Henry Reeve, Feckenham, nailer, 1679-80, £25-16-8.)

zone's heaths and commons than records would suggest, after 1750 references to nailmakers cease hereabouts until the nineteenth century when a few nailmakers appear in a variety of sources.

In the eighteenth century this zone was home to the odd cutler and locksmith, who are joined in Period D by small numbers of fender-makers, engineers, machinists and boiler-makers. In the 1840s and 1850s the following are added to the list: filemaker, file-cutter, awl-maker, awl-blademaker and mechanic.²⁰⁸ Despite this variety of occupations, metalworkers other than needlemakers and blacksmiths always formed a very small percentage of the workforce, never exceeding 0.9%.²⁰⁹

In 1755 Thomas Woods of Studley, was described as a 'hardwareman'. He may have been an ironmonger or may have produced or supplied nails and associated items.²¹⁰ Other ironmongers are not in evidence in this zone until Period D when one appears in the growing town of Redditch.

Thefts of iron reported in Worcestershire Quarter Sessions show that it was considered a valuable commodity.²¹¹ The raw material used by blacksmiths was bar-iron, the production of which was important in the economy of the west midlands region and the nation, not only for blacksmiths but for nailmakers and others.²¹² Before 1730 this zone played a part, albeit small, in the production of bar-iron. In the second half of the seventeenth century two forge-mills at Redditch and one downstream at Ipsley, (all powered by the River Arrow), were converting pig-iron into bar-iron. Why had these mills been pressed into service as iron forges? Firstly, they were near sources of charcoal

²⁰⁸ WaRO and WoRO 1851 census and *Billing's Worcestershire Directory 1855*..

²⁰⁹ See Tables 7.2, 7.4, 7.6 and 7.8.

²¹⁰ WaRO, Studley parish register, burials 1755.

²¹¹ WoRO, for example QS 105/36a, b, in 1663.

²¹² P. King, 'The production and consumption of bar iron in early modern England and Wales', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 58, (2005), p. 5.

in the Feckenham Forest. It was cheaper to transport pig-iron to Redditch and Ipsley than to carry much larger quantities of charcoal to existing distant iron forges, some of which may already have been running short of fuel. Secondly, it may be that at times of peak demand more production capacity was needed than could be achieved in the mills in more noted iron-producing areas. Thirdly, Redditch and Ipsley were near to the growing customer-base in the Birmingham area. The Redditch forges appear to have been a joint venture between Lord Windsor, (lord of the manor of Tardebigge), the Foleys and others. Lord Windsor supplied cordwood for charcoal and agreed to sell ‘good marchant bar-iron made from forest pigs and drawn into such sorts as the said Mr Foley shall appoint’. The iron came from the Forest of Dean via Worcester.²¹³ At this period the lord of the manor of Ipsley was similarly involved in the running of Ipsley Forge.²¹⁴

Information concerning the men who actually managed and worked the forges is fragmentary. John Wooden seems to have acted as Lord Windsor’s agent in the transactions discussed above, and a John Ireland is paid for ‘keeping the forge’ at Redditch and Edward Allender for ‘carrying goods and fireing’. Although not referred to as ‘ironmasters’, various wealthy ‘gentlemen’ were connected with the forges at different times, probably as financiers and managers. Their involvement in the iron-trade is sometimes only betrayed by items in their inventories, but they often had family

²¹³ HeRO, E12/VI/KBc/55, E12/VI/KC/112 and E12/VI/Kac/109, Foley MSS. A Mr Glover is also mentioned, probably Henry Glover who managed Tintern Forge and Wireworks in the Forest of Dean. In one account 32 tons of bar iron was produced at the Redditch forges, and in another account 10 tons in two months, but this was found to be substandard bar iron. ‘Redditch Forge’ is also mentioned in Schafer, ‘Stour Valley Ironworks, 1668-1674, part 1’, pp. 19, 33 and 99. Various members of the Foley family have local connections, for example, William Foley of Halesowen who married a Beoley girl in 1730 (WoRO, Beoley marriage register.)

²¹⁴ Information from Peter King. Sir John Huband, lord of the manor of Ipsley, worked Ipsley forge as part of his estate from before 1668 to 1682.

connections with distant forges. One gentleman-ironmaster, William Sowley, was one of the wealthiest people in the whole study area.²¹⁵

Around 1700 the iron-trade was attractive enough for Sir John Huband to erect a new iron-mill in Ipsley.²¹⁶ Thomas Wright was making iron there in 1703 and John Ruston may have served in the same role in the 1720s.²¹⁷ It is noticeable that Thomas Wright's bride was a Fortescue, of a noted local gentry family, which may have backed his business venture. Gentlemen who managed the Redditch forges at this time include Wheeler, Mugg and Harward.²¹⁸

The forges at Redditch and Ipsley probably only employed a handful of men, whose status is hard to judge with so little evidence. No 'hammermen' or 'refiners' appear in local records, and only a couple of 'forgemen'. The probate of one forgerman, Joshua Goodale, was witnessed by a nailer, who may well have been supplied by the forge.²¹⁹ Another forgerman, Stephen Spencer, was valued at £54-10-0, but £40 of this was 'in several debtes dew to the deceased'. His probate administration mentions two relations, both forgemen, one of whom lived at Upleadon, Gloucestershire, some forty miles away, a reminder that in the iron-trade men sometimes had to travel considerable

²¹⁵ WoRO, miscellaneous probate (811/2267) of John Atmore, Redditch, (Tardebigge), gent, 1664, £279-15-4. He had 'stock at the forge, iron in bloomes, piggs, etc.'. Other family members too were connected with forges. WoRO, probate of William Sowley, Bordesley, (Tardebigge), gent, 1689, £1764-6-0. His family were involved in forges elsewhere. He inherited some wealth from a relation, Robert Reade, who preceded him at the forge. WoRO, probate and miscellaneous probate (812/2394) of Robert Reade, Tardebigge, yeoman, 1664/5, £56-3-4. Peter King also provides information about Nathaniel Mugg who ran the forges in the 1690s.

²¹⁶ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 184.

²¹⁷ WoRO, marriage licence of Thomas Wright, Ipsley, 'ferri fabricator', (ironmaker), Nov. 1703, and information from Dr. Peter King's gazetteer. Wright may have been involved with forges in Cheshire, and Ruston with a forge at Lydney in Gloucestershire.

²¹⁸ Information from Peter King's gazetteer.

²¹⁹ WoRO, probate of Joshua Goodale, Redditch, (Tardebigge), forgerman, 1700, £50-3-0, and of Stephen Spencer, Tardebigge, forgerman, 1699, £54-10-0.

distances to find employment.²²⁰ The settlement of another Redditch forgerman was discussed in quarter sessions.²²¹

By 1730 it appears that bar-iron production ceased at both the Redditch forgermills and at Ipsley. Increased competition from Russian bar-iron imports may have been the main factor in their demise.²²²

In Stuart times in cottages on the commons something else was stirring which was to have far more impact on this zone than the nailmaking mentioned above. Some families had started making needles. There has been much speculation regarding how, when and why the needle-trade came to this area. Nineteenth century antiquarians favoured a story of monks at Bordesley Abbey passing the skill to locals before or after the dissolution of the monasteries. Another oft-repeated tale was that the local needle industry's origins lay in the migration of needlemakers from the Buckinghamshire village of Long Crendon. Evidence for the romantic, monastic story is lacking, and, although Buckinghamshire needlemakers did make significant contributions to the local needle-trade, these were at a later date. More careful researchers have revealed a different story.²²³ In view of the importance of the needle industry in the development of the study area it is relevant to summarise its origins here. Needlemakers were at work in London

²²⁰ WoRO, probate of Stephen Spencer, Tardebigge, forgerman, 1699, £54-10-0.

²²¹ WoRO, QS139/64, quarter sessions 1681, mentions John Brockshaw, who had secured a post at Cookley forge near Kidderminster. It was decreed that Tardebigge parish would still be chargeable if he fell on hard times.

²²² C. Evans, O. Jackson and G. Ryden, 'Baltic iron and the British iron industry in the eighteenth century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 55, (2002), pp. 645, 647.

²²³ Information in this paragraph is based on Jones, 'The development of needle manufacturing in the west midlands before 1750', and Richardson, *The Book of Redditch*, pp. 61-63. It is significant that Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries', found no needlemakers in Worcestershire from 1600 to 1650.

in Elizabethan times, and their trade came to be strictly regulated by a gild. A number of needlemakers settled outside London away from such restrictions.²²⁴ Amongst those indicted by the gild was a William Lee ‘for the use of an unlawful engine’ in 1629. Two years later a man of that name was making needles in Studley, and his son, Richard, innkeeper and poacher, had five needlemaker apprentices, from whom the industry spread.

There are several possible reasons for the foundation of the needle industry hereabouts. Charcoal was plentiful in the area and also river pebbles, which were said to be useful for scouring needles. Jones points out that as corn prices fell in post-restoration England more people had disposable income, which could be spent on non-food items such as needles, for instance in London or in industrialising areas such as Birmingham.²²⁵ This in turn made rural industry a more attractive alternative to agriculture than heretofore.²²⁶ The nearby Worcester glovers, Bewdley cappers and Walsall saddlers and the plethora of shoemakers in the Feckenham Forest all had need of needles of varying sorts. Needlemakers in this locality would be able to undercut the transport costs of manufacturers in London and elsewhere. Pig-iron was being transported here from the Forest of Dean, so why not bundles of wire for needles from Tintern Wireworks?²²⁷ Alternatively, perhaps needle-wire could be drawn from the bar-iron rods made at Redditch and Ipsley forges, or could be sourced from Bromsgrove, Kidderminster and

²²⁴ Before 1800 needlemakers are found in small numbers in Wilton, Colchester, Bristol, Gloucester, Chester, Dorchester, Chichester, Worcester, Much Wenlock, Bridgnorth, Hucknall, Sheffield and Long Crendon. (www.a2a.org.uk, 10 a.m., 1 July 2006, and Jones, ‘The development of needle manufacturing in the west midlands before 1750’, p. 355).

²²⁵ W. Court, *The Rise of the Midland Industries, 1600-1838*, (Oxford, OUP, 1938), p. 21, cites the increase in population in Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire between 1630 and 1700 from 250 thousand to 325 thousand.

²²⁶ Jones, ‘The development of needle manufacturing in the west midlands before 1750’, p. 354.

²²⁷ HeRO, E12/VI/Kac/109, Foley MSS, (the accounts of Redditch Forges), mentions Mr Glover, who managed Tintern Wireworks.

Stourbridge wire-drawers.²²⁸ None of these reasons makes this district uniquely suited to needle production. Perhaps the industry was established here simply because of William Lee, who may have been a local man returning to familiar territory from London.

As to the spread of the industry at this period, Jones rightly speculates that there was a large labour force anxious to supplement wages from agriculture. The extensive tracts of waste in this Needle District certainly allowed opportunity for settlement of such cottage workers. As far as we can ascertain, the needlemakers did congregate on the heathland rather than in the more established settlements, which had more enclosures and improved farmland.²²⁹ No doubt factors such as the Civil War, the collapse of Alcester's knitting industry and the recent disafforestation of Feckenham Forest were also influential factors in providing a substantial, willing labour force. There was much poverty in this area in the mid-seventeenth century, which may have encouraged unemployed labourers into the trade.²³⁰ The involvement of local landlords, such as Lord Windsor and Sir Francis Throckmorton, in the commercial production of charcoal and the iron-trade has been discussed above. Such landlords, (keen to make money from industrial as well as agricultural ventures), may have joined forces with parish vestries, (eager to lessen rising poor rates), to actively encourage the needle-trade in their manors,

²²⁸ Bromsgrove had long made wire for carding in the textile industry. It may also be that Black Country iron was suitable for needles, as it was for nails according to Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries', 19, p. 48.

²²⁹ For example in Coughton parish more needlers settled in Sambourne manor with its 'great waste' of heathland rather than in Coughton manor.

²³⁰ Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 3, pp. 100, 155, 185, 222, 324, quoting quarter sessions 1646-1656, discuss illegal settlement on the commons and the problem of poor in Sambourne and Studley.

as long as these poor workers were not too near the 'big house'.²³¹ If nothing else, the colonies of workers provided a trickle of revenue from encroachment fines.²³²

The local needlers were not isolated from others in the trade elsewhere in the country. For example, Francis Scale of Sambourne was apprenticed to a Bridgnorth needlemaster.²³³ Needlemakers may have been brought in from outside to bolster the trade or add new ideas, but for the most part the early needlemakers hereabouts had local surnames.²³⁴ With some exceptions, (such as the young Alcester pauper, Charles Aulster), many of those apprenticed before 1700 seem to be from successful farming families rather than from pauper stock; many were literate and some later held office in their parish.²³⁵ Perhaps these needlemasters employed poorer neighbours to carry out some of the more mundane tasks, maybe on a part-time basis and without a formal apprenticeship. Such poorer participants in the trade, (cottagers with little capital who chose to go into needles rather than weaving or nails), may not figure as 'needlemakers' in the existing records.

The informality of the trade in this district was one of the advantages over the London needlemakers, who were still fettered by restrictions on the number of employees taken on, all of whom had to be official apprentices. By the 1680s the London needle manufacturers invited those from our Needle District to join the Worshipful Company of

²³¹ The Throckmortons built Spennall fulling-mill, as discussed in Zone C. They also encouraged prospecting for coal on their estates, for instance at Weston Underwood in Buckinghamshire. Lord Windsor was involved in improving the navigation of the Severn and in industrial ventures in South Wales.

²³² SCLA, DR5/2489, Throckmorton MSS, Sambourne manor court, Oct. 1686, records 19 encroachments. WaRO, CR1505/16, Sambourne manor court, Oct. 1705, records 33 encroachments, demonstrating the increase at this period.

²³³ Jones, 'The development of needle manufacturing in the west midlands before 1750', p. 358. Francis Scale's surname was also written as Seale.

²³⁴ The Throckmortons had estates in Buckinghamshire and could have encouraged needlemakers from that area (centred on Long Crendon) to migrate.

²³⁵ WaRO, DR360/79/2, Alcester parish apprentice indentures, 1681, Charles Auster, apprenticed to Edward Butler alias Huntington of Hunt End, (Feckenham), needlemaker. An example of a higher status needlemaker is Richard Lawrence. WaRO, QS11/15, Sambourne hearth tax, shows Richard Lawrence paying for 2 hearths. He later served as churchwarden and constable.

Needlemakers. A dozen local needlers did so, but took little notice of any rules.²³⁶ Earlier, the London makers had managed to enforce a ban on cheap iron needles from outside the capital, especially from the continent. For a time this inconvenienced makers in this zone, but in the long term it probably aided them. As foreign needles were more easily seized by customs than those made elsewhere in England, Sambourne and Studley needlemakers took over from foreigners in supplying London with cheap needles.²³⁷

So, from the smallest possible source - one man, William Lee, - the local needle industry mushroomed. Jones traces a 'family tree' of apprenticeships, which led to a score of needlers by the early 1680s. Before 1700 references can be found to some forty local needlemakers. Every parish in this zone was home to needlers except for Beoley, but Studley and Sambourne undoubtedly formed the twin nuclei of the trade in this initial stage.²³⁸ The term needlemaker (or 'nieldmaker' as it sometimes appears) does not distinguish between master and underling. Little is known about the organisation of the industry in these early days, but it is likely to have been a combination of small family businesses and a putting-out system similar to the nail-trade. Seventeenth century records do not distinguish between those who made different types of needle, neither do they clarify whether there was already some specialisation within the trade, as happened at a later date. The role of womenfolk and children also goes unnoticed at this period, and as yet there are no references to the making of pins or fish-hooks, which were later offshoots of the needle-trade.

²³⁶ Jones, 'The development of needle manufacturing in the west midlands before 1750', p. 361.

²³⁷ Jones, *ibid.*, pp. 360-1. One of those who had had needles seized in 1669 was a Mr Lawrence, probably Richard Lawrence of Sambourne, discussed below.

²³⁸ From all sources we find the following numbers of needlemakers before 1699: Sambourne 16, Studley 14, Feckenham 3, Ipsley 3, Tardebigge 4. For parishes outside this northern district: Spennall 1 (John Barr, who also lived in Sambourne at one time and is counted under that heading), Alcester 3 (including Richard Badson who is included under Studley and Tardebigge. He also lived at Stoke Prior just outside the study area.) This amounts to 41 separate needlemakers in the study area altogether. From baptism register information c. 1700 4% of Studley fathers were needlemakers and 7.2% of Coughton fathers.

Edward Butler alias Huntington was described both as a ‘needlemaker’ and a ‘tradesman’. Perhaps he acted as a needle-merchant on behalf of some of his colleagues.²³⁹ Another who may have travelled in the trade was Richard Badson. In 1693 on the road between Worcester and Droitwich he was robbed of his horse, money, pieces of cloth and 300 glovers’ needles.²⁴⁰ The Tardebigge needlemaker, Oliver Moore, lived for a time in Worcester, where he may have been an on-the-spot agent for this zone’s needlemakers.²⁴¹

Large notes the retreat of the industrial tide in places like Belbroughton and finds increasing evidence that nailmakers in Bromsgrove were becoming less involved in agriculture by this period.²⁴² However, the needle-trade, fresh on the scene, was still attracting newcomers. Evidence shows that many of the needlemakers also farmed, usually in a modest way, and others doubled as innkeeper or blacksmith. There was as yet no certainty that the local needle-trade was going to be successful enough to cause the demise of the trade elsewhere in the nation.²⁴³

The exact product made by Joseph Moreton of Tardebigge in the 1730s is not clear, nor the raw material he used. He is described in Latin as an ‘acicularius’, which may mean a maker of pins, combs or hair-slides.²⁴⁴ However, marriage licences now

²³⁹ WoRO, Feckenham burial register and WoRO, probate of Edward Butler alias Huntington, Feckenham, needlemaker, 1684, £30-18-8. In his workshop was a bed, perhaps where his apprentice, Charles Aulster, slept.

²⁴⁰ Johnson, *Warwick County Records*, 9, p. 70, quoting quarter sessions, 1693. This does not inform us whether he was going to Worcester to sell cloth and needles or returning with unsold needles and cloth he had purchased. Badson was based at different times in Studley, Stoke Prior and Alcester.

²⁴¹ WoRO, probate of Robert Dewes, Studley, butcher, 1675, £16-18-0, and WoRO, marriage licence of Richard Baylies, Tardebigge, needlemaker, Aug. 1687.

²⁴² Large, ‘Urban growth and agricultural change in the west midlands’, pp. 177, 183.

²⁴³ Before 1800 needlemakers (in small numbers) are found in London, Chichester, Chester, Bridgnorth, Much Wenlock, Gloucester, Bristol, Worcester, Hucknall (Notts.), Long Crendon (Bucks.) and in a few villages just outside the study area.

²⁴⁴ WoRO, marriage licence of Joseph Moreton, Tardebigge, acicularius, April 1731. It could also be a Worcester scribe’s alternative for ‘accuarius’, needlemaker. The Latin ‘acus’ means both ‘pin’ and ‘needle’.

reveal two other pin-makers in Tardebigge and Feckenham. Pin-making was no doubt an offshoot of the more widespread local industry of needlemaking, which utilised some of the same processes and raw materials. John Bott, described as both pin-maker and needlemaker, was probably master of his own business and was termed 'yeoman' when he died.²⁴⁵ The other offshoot of the needlemaking trade, the manufacture of fish-hooks, appears at the beginning of Period C. The great expansion within the fishing tackle trade was yet to come, and pin-making never took a real hold in the local economy, unlike its allied trade of needlemaking, which came to dominate the local scene.

In Period B the needle industry was growing apace. Marriage licence data indicates an increase from 2% to 22% of the workforce over this period, while apprenticeship books show that more than half of this zone's apprentices were in the needle trade.²⁴⁶ Now the trade was well established locally, the supply and marketing links, which had been built up, led to its concentration hereabouts. 'Such clustering points to the role of dissemination of ideas and capital in the spread of industrialisation.'²⁴⁷

Using all contemporary sources some 170 adult male needlemakers can be found in this zone between 1700 and 1750.²⁴⁸ Only twenty-six have so far been discovered elsewhere: fourteen in other zones of the study area and a dozen in parts of England

²⁴⁵ WoRO, marriage licences of John Bott, Tardebigge, (Redditch), needlemaker, Feb.1732, and of John Bott, Feckenham, pinmaker, Aug. 1740, and of Valentine Davis, Evesham All Saints, cordwainer, Nov. 1744, witnessed by Thomas Reading, Tardebigge, pinmaker. WoRO, probate of John Bott, Feckenham, yeoman, 1764.

²⁴⁶ See Table 7.4 above and Appendix 23.

²⁴⁷ N. Raven and T. Holley in Stobart, *Towns, Regions and Industries*, p. 37, discussing the silk manufactories in Staffordshire and Cheshire.

²⁴⁸ Totals for individual parishes are: Coughton 77, Studley 27, Tardebigge 27, Feckenham 23, Ipsley 6. (No needlemakers have been found for Beoley parish in this period.)

outside the study area.²⁴⁹ The high numbers of needlemakers known in Coughton and Studley can partly be explained by the fact that the registers for these two parishes include occupations for most of this period, but they were undoubtedly the early centres of the trade locally. Within Coughton parish most of the needlers were concentrated in the manor of Sambourne, where needlemakers comprised a considerable proportion of the hamlet's population; it could be described as a specialist, industrial colony.²⁵⁰ Apprenticeship returns from 1710 suggest that many needlemakers were at work in Feckenham and Tardebigge parishes too, but the needlers in Tardebigge parish apparently increase in the mid-eighteenth century, particularly in the industrial hamlet of Redditch.

Naturally probate records, marriage licences and parish registers mainly inform us about adult male needlemakers, but they may have only formed the tip of the needlemaking iceberg. From 1722 other sources mention women in the trade, and many children of both sexes are taken on as apprentices.²⁵¹ No doubt family members also helped their fathers in the eighteenth century, as in Period D.

The needle-trade was still not secure enough to be relied on for one's total income; many needlemakers farmed, while others were also tanners, tailors, weavers, shopkeepers or victuallers. In this zone some two dozen needlemakers left probate

²⁴⁹ Zone A: Alcester 8. Zone C: Inkberrow 3, Wixford 1, Exhall 1, Sperrall 1. For places near the study area we find Worcester 5 (one of whom may also have been a spectacle maker), Alvechurch 1 and Bromsgrove 1, while in the rest of England there are a handful of needlemakers at this period in Much Wenlock (Shropshire), Long Crendon (Buckinghamshire), London (Whitechapel), Bristol and Chester (Handbridge). These figures are from Worcester marriage licences and other sources such as those accessible on www.a2a.org.uk. The numbers here are of those who worked in this period but finished their working life before 1750. Some of these are therefore amongst the 40 needlemakers who also worked in Period A.

²⁵⁰ See Table 7.14.

²⁵¹ TNA, IR1/41 – 72, inland revenue apprenticeship books, 1710-1804, record many apprentices taken on in the needle trade locally including some two dozen females. The earliest recorded female apprentice was Elizabeth Bentley who was taken on by Mary Reeve, Sambourne, needlemaker, in Feb. 1722/3. (TNA, IR1/48). (Mary was probably the widow of George Reeve, needlemaker who died in 1722.) WoRO, probate of John Chellingworth, Sambourne, (Coughton), shoemaker, 1746, £9-8-2. Chellingworth chooses Sarah Hanns, needlemaker, as his executrix. Sarah may be the widow of John Hands, tailor and needlemaker, perhaps continuing her husband's business after his death.

during this period, the largest group after farmers, which underlines the importance of needlemaking hereabouts. Although apprentices were used, the business was often kept in the family. When Thomas Perkins died, he left money to each of his brothers with the desire that they take on his sons as apprentices.²⁵² Although there were many poor needlemakers, a judicious combination of farming and needlemaking could bring financial and social advancement. Richard Mills, a wealthy needler, was the grandson of a labourer, while, later in the century, Richard's son was described as a yeoman.²⁵³

A needlemaker's tools were not costly, nor were specialist premises required. John Barr's 'shop of working tools' was worth a mere £2, while the working blocks and tools of other needlemakers amounted to under £1.²⁵⁴ However, the raw materials and the finished articles could be valuable. Richard Bell alias Daniel had 'wire and needles £66-7-4', while Henry Barr had 'needles of all sorts £35' amongst his possessions.²⁵⁵ This shows that Barr made or dealt in various types of needles, but there may already have been some specialisation within the trade, with some families concentrating on certain types of needle or carrying out certain processes, such as scouring or pointing, as happened in later times. The inventory of Richard Laurence in 1729/30 mentions 'needles in worke and in workemens hands £4-10-0', suggesting that he put out work to others.²⁵⁶ Some processes such as scouring took more time and labour than other operations and thus caused a bottleneck in needle production.

²⁵² WoRO, probate of Thomas Perkins, Sambourne, (Coughton), needlemaker, 1729, £54-5-6.

²⁵³ I have researched this family extensively from local parish registers and other sources. WoRO, probate of Richard Mills, Sambourne, (Coughton), needlemaker, 1748, £659-14-4.

²⁵⁴ WoRO, probate of John Barr(s), Sambourne, (Coughton), needlemaker, 1686, £62-1-4. N. B. For a while he had lived in the neighbouring parish of Spennall.

²⁵⁵ WoRO, probate of Richard Bell alias Daniel, Astwood, (Feckenham), 1728, £276-6-2, and of Henry Barr, Feckenham, needlemaker, 1738, £132-15-6.

²⁵⁶ WoRO, probate of Richard Laurence, Feckenham, needlemaker, 1729/30, £162-9-6.

For this reason various entrepreneurs started to experiment with mechanisation. In the mid-eighteenth century Edward Holmes, needlemaker, appears to have been using Washford water-mill in Studley, which may have been harnessed for needle scouring as early as 1730 by Simon Milward.²⁵⁷ At about the same time it is said that Forge Mill in Redditch began to be utilised for making needles after its bar-iron production had ceased.²⁵⁸ This would explain the increased concentration of needlers in Redditch in the latter part of this period. Other needlemakers, such as Richard Mills and Robert Walker, both of Sambourne, had mill-houses, but these appear to have contained horse-driven mills. Although Richard Mills' needlemaking equipment totalled less than £5, he was obviously running a substantial operation with a pointing-mill, scouring-benches, straightening-rings, and other tools for various processes.²⁵⁹ Horse-mills apparently predated water-power in the needle industry, perhaps starting as early as 1700.²⁶⁰ The Tolley family of Middletown in Sambourne is said to have used a horse-mill in this period and to have concentrated several workers in a proto-factory.²⁶¹ Both Mills and Tolley may have employed more than the usual 'fistful of apprentices' typical of family manufacturing businesses at the time, but most needlemaking was probably still carried out within a family's cottage workshop.²⁶²

²⁵⁷ N. Land, *The History of Redditch and the Locality*, (Studley, Brewin, 1986), p. 35.

²⁵⁸ Land, *The History of Redditch and the Locality*, p. 36. Forge Mill now houses the National Needle Museum. Other people who may have used water-power at this time include George Hanson of Feckenham who appears to have been a miller and needlemaker. Rollins, *The Needle Mills*, pp. 10-11, also discusses John Archer of Alcester who geared up mills for needlemaking in this zone.

²⁵⁹ WoRO, probate of Richard Mills, Sambourne, (Coughton), needlemaker, 1748, £659-14-4, and of Robert Walker, Sambourne, (Coughton), needlemaker, 1727, £300-8-9½.

²⁶⁰ VCH *Warwickshire*, ii, pp. 234-5, states that the Biddell/Biddle family in Sambourne was the first to use a horse-gin for needlemaking c. 1700. Bartleet and Woodward in Timmins, *Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District*, p. 198, refer to a needlemaking horse-mill in Studley in 1700.

²⁶¹ *Redditch Indicator* 22 Dec. 1860, Hemming's article on the history of the needle industry mentions the Tolleys' workshop and horse-mill. There is also evidence that the Tolleys provided employment for poor parish apprentices in the next period.

²⁶² The 'fistful of apprentices' is a quotation from R. Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, (London, Penguin, 1990), p. 214.

Those attracted into the industry were still mainly from local villages.²⁶³ However, some needlemakers came from further afield or at least had connections with distant places. Abraham Dean alias Collins, needlemaker, of Littlewood Green, Studley, but temporarily of Willesden Green, Middlesex, had property in Buckinghamshire, another needlemaking area.²⁶⁴ Perhaps he travelled in needles, linking Long Crendon and London markets with the Needle District, which had now established a growing, skilful labour-force and an extensive trading network.²⁶⁵

In Period C needlemakers leaving probate more than doubled from the previous period (Table 7.2) although there was little change in the percentage of needlemaker grooms in marriage licences (Table 7.4). While the needle-trade was barely holding its own in Coughton parish it was still on the increase in neighbouring Studley.²⁶⁶ This shift in emphasis may be explained by an increased concentration of needlemakers nearer the needle-scouring mill at Washford in Studley. Needlemakers were also on the increase in settlements near water-powered needle mills in Alcester, Redditch, Feckenham, and Beoley. So, whereas Sambourne (in Coughton parish) had been at the forefront of the needle trade, with horse-mills pressed into service in the previous period, lack of a suitable water-mill left it behind. In the needle-trade 'horse-mills soon became a thing of the past'.²⁶⁷ By contrast, Beoley, previously uninvolved in the needle-trade, was now home to the enterprise of John and Matthew Mills, who harnessed the water-mill there,

²⁶³ Individuals can be traced in local registers and apprenticeship records.

²⁶⁴ TNA, PCC probate of Abraham Dean alias Collins, Littlewood Green, (Studley), needlemaker, 1749. The PCC scribe writes Longenden as the parish where he owned land in Buckinghamshire. Dean's widowed mother had married a Studley yeoman.

²⁶⁵ Another link with the capital is shown in TNA, IR1/46, which lists the apprenticeship of William Reding of Redditch to Charles Martin of St. Botolph Aldgate, London in 1719.

²⁶⁶ See Tables 7.12 and 7.19 above (burial register information from Coughton and Studley).

²⁶⁷ S. Timmins, *Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District*, (London, Hardwicke, 1866), p. 198. *Redditch Indicator* 22 Dec. 1860 refers to Benjamin Gould, a Studley needlemaker of the late eighteenth century, whose donkey, employed to drive a needle-mill, was disturbed by a neighbour's clarinet-playing.

for production of needles as well as corn and paper.²⁶⁸ A letter from John Mills to Matthew Boulton, merchant, of Newhall, Birmingham, shows that this zone's manufacturers were in touch with the likes of the Lunar Society and could benefit from their ideas.²⁶⁹

Water-mills were too few to cater for the demands of needle production, so a novel experiment in harnessing wind-power was also tried.²⁷⁰ Other innovations were introduced, some successful, others not.²⁷¹ One innovator, William Sheward of Redditch, patented 'engine-work'd needles' in the 1770s, but in the mid-1780s he was in financial difficulty, and by 1789 he was trading from Birmingham.²⁷² Other needle-manufacturers also underwent periods of financial difficulty.²⁷³

For the most part those in the needle-trade are still referred to under the general term of 'needlemaker' in this period. However, all sorts of different needles were being produced from large bodkins to small sewing needles, no doubt some makers specialising in certain types. Also, by the 1760s Adam Smith's division of labour becomes apparent with references to the likes of John Barr, needle-pointer and Richard Mitchell, needle-setter.²⁷⁴ Water-power was particularly harnessed for needle-scouring, but other processes were no doubt undertaken in the mills too. Many needlers probably still

²⁶⁸ National Needle Museum, Redditch, Day-book of John and Matthew Mills.

²⁶⁹ Letter dated 30 Aug. 1784 in John and Matthew Mills's copy letter book at the National Needle Museum, Redditch.

²⁷⁰ R. S. Bartleet and J. M. Woodward in Timmins, *Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District*, p. 198.

²⁷¹ Timmins, *Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District*, p. 199, and McKenna, *Watch and Clockmakers of the British Isles - Warwickshire*, p. 11. Charles Davis, an Alcester watchmaker was engaged in 1793 to drill needle-eyes for Michael Morrall, a Studley needlemaker.

²⁷² *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 12 Oct. 1775, 30 Dec. 1784, 30 July 1789. The smoother finish of the eye on his engine-work'd sewing needles was claimed to be 'incapable of cutting the thread'.

²⁷³ For example, Thomas and Benjamin Holyoake of Studley reported in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 8 June 1780.

²⁷⁴ WaRO, Studley burial register, burial of John Barr, needle-pointer, 1765. WoRO, probate of Richard Mitchell, needle-setter, Ipsley, 1761. The latter is probably the first reference to a specialist occupation within the needle industry. Earlier Richard Mitchell was simply called 'needlemaker' in the WoRO, probate of Thomas Walker, Feckenham, needlemaker, 1749.

operated in their cottages largely as their fathers and grandfathers had done, but there are signs that wealthy entrepreneurs were now exercising more control. The term ‘needle manufacturer’, much in evidence in the next century, begins to appear with its sense of an employer within the trade. Henry Millward, who died in 1799, is so described, while another member of his family, James Millward, is a ‘needle-merchant’.²⁷⁵ The needle industry depended on a national and international market and so the marketing of products was increasingly important. In reality, there was much overlap between needle factors, manufacturers and merchants. Some members of needlemaking families concentrated on the marketing side, but John English employed Thomas Perkins as a needle-traveller in 1790.²⁷⁶ Unfortunately, because of their light weight and small size needles were particularly vulnerable to theft or loss on the road or in workshop or warehouse.²⁷⁷

As noted in Period B, those entering the needle industry were mostly from Worcestershire and Warwickshire, but the trade did attract workers from further afield such as the young Irishman, McCaulay, who may have migrated to Redditch with fish-hook makers from Limerick.²⁷⁸ Fish-hook making first appears as an off-shoot of the local needle-trade in 1750, with the marriage of Thomas Ford, fish-hook maker.²⁷⁹ An early local fish-hook maker, Walter Bryan, left his fish-hook making equipment to his

²⁷⁵ WoRO, probate of Henry Millward, Tardebigge, needle manufacturer, 1799. TNA, PCC probate of James Millward, Redditch, needle-merchant, 1790.

²⁷⁶ WaRO, CR3097/134.

²⁷⁷ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* May 1753 reports a blue and white handkerchief lost on the road between Studley and Evesham containing needles, fish-hooks, etc. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 3 Jan. 1765 reports that ten thousand needles were amongst items stolen from the London wagon in Digbeth, Birmingham.

²⁷⁸ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 3 Jan. 1750/1 and 14 March 1750/1. William McAuly alias Mackeolly, journeyman needlemaker, was sentenced to death for a murder in Redditch. Bartleet and Woodward in Timmins, p. 203, believe the fish-hook trade to have been introduced by migrants from Limerick. Local folklore suggests an alternative origin for fish-hook makers was the Upper Severn Valley.

²⁷⁹ WoRO, marriage licence of Thomas Ford, Tardebigge, fish-hook maker, May 1750. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 3 May 1753 reported fish-hooks lost in transit.

brother-in-law, John Millward, needlemaker.²⁸⁰ In practice many workers adapted their skills and supplied fish-hooks or needles according to demand. James Millward, needle-merchant, asks the trustees of his will to raise £1150 from the business to enable his son Thomas to continue in the fish-hook trade.²⁸¹

This mix of diversification and specialisation was similar to the situation amongst Birmingham's metal workers.²⁸² Diversifying into the production of different needles and fish-hooks allowed flexibility, while division of labour boosted production and profitability. Nevertheless the needle industry was not without its problems. In 1759 journeymen needlemakers hereabouts 'rose in large bodies' to protest at the use of unskilled labour and to demand more pay as they 'could scarcely get bread and were almost starved'. They appear to have been successful in their demands, but consequently the masters had to raise the price of their needles. As a footnote the newspaper report stated: 'There are more sewing needles made in those parts of the country than in all the kingdom besides.'²⁸³ With little competition from elsewhere the local needle-masters for the most part continued to thrive despite this necessary price-rise. That the protest stopped their use of unskilled labour is less certain. To hedge their bets, some needlemakers continued in other trades too, for example as labourers, yeomen, bootmakers or victuallers.

The role of women and children in the needle and fish-hook trade was important, but largely undocumented. However, poor law records show that children of both sexes were taken on as apprentices, and sometimes the employer was female, such as Sarah

²⁸⁰ WoRO, probate of Walter Bryan, Studley, fish-hook maker, 1785.

²⁸¹ WoRO, probate of James Millward, Redditch, needle-merchant, 1790.

²⁸² E. P. Duggan, 'The impact of industrialisation on an urban labour market', *PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin*, (1972), p.5.

²⁸³ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 15 March, 10 May and 17 May 1759.

Fairfax, who was paid by Feckenham overseers 'to teach Bet Morris the needle business', while Widow Holyoake ran a fish-hook business.²⁸⁴

Although needles were made from wire, drawn out until it was the correct diameter, the references to local wire-drawers are few. Many needlemakers probably performed this operation themselves, but Redditch was home to one wire-drawer, and raw materials were also supplied by Birmingham wire-drawers.²⁸⁵ That other small offshoot of the needle industry, pinmaking is not mentioned locally in Period C.²⁸⁶ It may be that needlemakers continued to make pins as a side-line, but perhaps, as needle and fish-hook production became more specialised, it was increasingly difficult to adapt skills and equipment to pinmaking.

In Period D manufacture of needles and fishing tackle took place in every parish in this district, but the spread of workers differed greatly. Although Studley and Sambourne (in Coughton parish) had been early leaders in the needle-trade, Redditch was now undoubtedly the focal point of the industry. Although there was a water-mill making needles in Beoley, it did not employ many men. Even within a parish the distribution of needlemakers was very uneven.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ WoRO, BA4284, (ix), Feckenham overseers of the poor accounts, 1777. Redditch Library, *A Description of Redditch 1776*, (copy of a MS by Joseph Monk) mentions Widow Holyoake. WaRO, MI 163, Coughton RC register, mentions several female needlemakers.

²⁸⁵ Redditch Library, *A Description of Redditch 1776*, (copy of a MS by Joseph Monk) mentions Samuel Peakman, Redditch, wire-drawer. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 1795 reports Birmingham wire-drawer, Busby, breaking his leg from a fall on the ice in Redditch. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 8 June 1780 and 30 Dec. 1784 report that local needlemakers in financial difficulties assigned their estate to John Ryland, Birmingham, wire-drawer, amongst others.

²⁸⁶ John Bott and Thomas Reading, (pinmakers in the previous period), are present until the 1760s, but not referred to as pinmakers. In John Bott's probate he is referred to as a yeoman. (WoRO, probate of John Bott, Feckenham, yeoman, 1764.) Pinmakers appear again (in very small numbers) in Period D.

²⁸⁷ For example, within Coughton parish Sambourne always had more needlemakers than Coughton itself. See Tables 7.13 to 7.19 above.

Table 7.25 Males in needlemaking and allied trades in baptism registers 1813-1840

Parish	Number of entries (n)	% of males with known occupations	Number of entries (n)	% of males with known occupations
	Fish-hook & fishing tackle manufacture	Fish-hook & fishing tackle manufacture	Needle manufacture	Needle manufacture
Beoley	7	1.4	9	1.8
Coughton	2	0.3	126	20.8
Feckenham	40.5	2.0	559	27.9
Ipsley	30	5.6	184	34.3
Redditch	171	8.9	934	48.6
Studley	17	1.3	399	31.6
Tardebigge	6	0.6	70	7.1
Northern (Needle) District	273.5	3.5	2281	29.2

Baptism data from 1813 to 1840 shows that 32.7% of adult males were making needles, fish-hooks or fishing tackle. Table 7.25 separates the two main branches of the trade. Redditch had 32 needle-making businesses listed in the 1828 directory, 26 in 1835 and 36 in 1839.²⁸⁸ Men, women and children were all involved in making needles. Bentley wrote in 1840: ‘Their manufacture furnishes many examples of the advantages of a minute division of labour.’²⁸⁹ In local records the different jobs such as needle-scourer and needle-pointer had begun to appear in the mid-eighteenth century, and by 1851 there were more than a score of these different jobs.²⁹⁰ Some processes were always undertaken by men, such as the well-paid, dangerous needle-pointing, while other jobs were more suited to women or children with nimble fingers.

Some processes were done by hand, others were mechanised, using water-power and from 1800, steam-power.²⁹¹ Yarnall’s steam-mill was used to scour thousands of needles at one time.²⁹² Innovations were introduced, but did not always meet with

²⁸⁸ *Pigot’s Worcestershire Directory 1828-9, Pigot’s Worcestershire Directory 1835, Robson’s Birmingham and Sheffield Directory 1839.*

²⁸⁹ C. Hopkins, *Joseph Bentley’s History of Worcestershire*, (Durham, C. Hopkins, 1985), p. 78.

²⁹⁰ Shown in Appendix 20.

²⁹¹ *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 179, mentions Pardow’s steam-mill in Studley, established in 1800, which employed 250 hands.

²⁹² *Robson’s Birmingham and Sheffield Directory 1839.*

approval from the workers, who feared that mechanisation would cause redundancies and that safety measures would reduce wages. For example, there were riots in 1830, when new needle-stamps were destroyed.²⁹³ After initial discontent most innovations generally became accepted by the workers, though many had to adjust their working practices. By contrast, strikes concerning pay in 1826 and 1830 ended in favour of the workers.²⁹⁴

The organisation of the industry was complex. Although more and more workers were concentrated in larger workshops, mills and factories, which utilised water or steam power for certain processes, there were still needlemakers who worked in their own small cottage workshops. Some families specialised in certain processes, others carried out most or all the processes themselves. Some cottage-workers were independent, (sometimes co-operating with their neighbours), others were out-workers for the large firms. Needle-factors and merchants then marketed the products on behalf of producers, large or small.

Smithian specialisation went hand in hand with a pull in the opposite direction, a tendency towards diversification. Some firms made many types of needles, others made bodkins or sailmakers' needles. Perhaps surprisingly, only a few firms branched into pin-making, but from the mid-eighteenth century the manufacture of fish-hooks had spread in the locality. By 1839 there were 25 firms making fish-hooks in Redditch alone and four firms making other fishing tackle.²⁹⁵ Some of these firms also made needles.

As the various firms' commercial travellers built up links with customers at home and abroad, fish-hook manufacturers started to branch out into making other types of fishing tackle. Whereas the diversification from needle to fish-hook manufacture had

²⁹³ A. Bradford, ed., *Old Redditch, (being an early history of the town from 1800 to 1850 by William Avery)*, (Redditch, Hunt End Books, 1999), pp. 11-16. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 9 December 1830.

²⁹⁴ Bradford, *Old Redditch*, pp. 11-13.

²⁹⁵ *Robson's Birmingham and Sheffield Directory 1839*.

been based on use of the same raw materials and similar processes and skills, the move to the manufacture of fishing tackle involved all sorts of different raw materials and new skills. The marketing link and the strong customer-base were the common denominators, not the raw material or skill. By the middle of the nineteenth century workers in the Needle District were making sail-hooks, twist-hooks, fishing-lines, fishing-rods, artificial flies, swivels, harpoons and sailors' palms.²⁹⁶

The censuses record some workers as 'wheel-turners', presumably operating some kind of machinery for manufacturing. Wire to make needles and hooks was supplied from outside the district. Some needlemakers then drew the wire to the correct diameter for the particular type of needle being manufactured, but there were also one or two specialist wire-drawers. Other associated trades included hook and eye makers.²⁹⁷

The needle and fishing tackle trades in this zone continued to expand during this period, drawing in local workers but also those from further afield such as Long Crendon in Buckinghamshire, where a longer-established needle industry was struggling to compete.²⁹⁸

Transport

Before rural trade directories, information is very patchy concerning carriers, hauliers and their modus operandi. However, from various documents we can see that the carrying network was well-established even before the Civil War, although the journeys were undoubtedly not as speedy or frequent as in later periods. Worcestershire

²⁹⁶ A sailors' palm was a device made from metal and leather for sailors or sail-makers to wear on their palms in order to push sail-needles through the canvas, when making or repairing sails.

²⁹⁷ Appendix 20 shows a list of associated occupations to 1851. Later in the century skills were adapted to make springs, cycles and other products.

²⁹⁸ *The Times* 26 Sept. 1821 carries a notice from William I. Millward (actually William Jerome Milward) of Studley informing the public that his factory had been enlarged and he could now provide needles, fish-hooks and elastic steel knitting pins cheaper than any house in England.

and Warwickshire carriers, including those from Feckenham Forest, made regular journeys to the capital, where certain public houses were used as termini.²⁹⁹

Shortly after the Restoration the accounts of the Throckmortons of Coughton Court reveal payments to at least a dozen different people for transporting all manner of goods, especially building materials. Many of those who received payment for carriage may have been farmers, carpenters or masons, whose carts, wagons or teams were commissioned for specific journeys. At least two of these part-time carriers also ran local public houses, a trend that is noted in later periods too. Although the demand for regular carriers was not yet as great as in later centuries, 'Bolton the carrier' undertook a variety of trips, ranging from the 'carriage of goods to London' to 'drawing 15 thrave of straw' for the thatcher, for whom he also acted as assistant.³⁰⁰

Perhaps the Beoley-based 'wagoner' transported goods between Birmingham and this zone along the old Roman road, Icknield Street.³⁰¹ Also of importance were the links with Alcester and other local market centres, such as Stourbridge, (gateway to the Black Country), where the Throckmortons' malt was sold and their pit-coals purchased.³⁰² One can imagine a regular stream of carts and wagons taking agricultural produce, wood and charcoal to the Black Country and returning with iron, nails and coal.

Local tradesmen could also use the service of the Stourbridge carriers, who traversed this zone en route to the capital where they arrived every Friday, starting the

²⁹⁹ H. Gwilliam, in his manuscript 'Coach travel and turnpike roads in Worcestershire', (WoRO, ref. 388.110942449), p. 226, quotes *The Carriers' Cosmography* of 1637 which states that Feckenham Forest carriers use the Crown at High Holborn and the Queen's Head in St. Giles in the Fields.

³⁰⁰ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, 40, Throckmorton MSS, (accounts for 1670s and 1660s). James Bo(u)lton also ran a pub. Another 'carrier' called Darby is also mentioned in the 1660s.

³⁰¹ WoRO, marriage licence of William Barton, Beoley, wagoner, 1668. The term 'wagoner' is ambiguous, sometimes referring to carriers and sometimes to farm wagoners.

³⁰² WaRO, CR1998/LCB/40, Throckmorton MSS.

return journey next day.³⁰³ The route to London taken by the Stourbridge and Feckenham Forest carriers probably crossed the Arrow at Coughton ford, bypassing Alcester, (as shown on Ogilby's 1675 map of the principal roads in the kingdom).³⁰⁴ The commercial necessity of maintaining this road was reflected in orders of Sambourne manor court.³⁰⁵ Perhaps this route had no regular passenger coaches as yet, for, when a guest of the Throckmortons wished to return to London, she travelled south to Evesham to join the Worcester coach to the capital.³⁰⁶

Quarter sessions documents abound with problems relating to minor roads, which hindered decent folk from going about their business visiting market or church.³⁰⁷ In Tardebigge persuading parishioners to undertake their statutory work on the parish roads was a long-standing problem despite the provision of ale to encourage participation.³⁰⁸

From the first quarter of the eighteenth century the zone's western parishes could access the improved turnpike roads from Worcester to Birmingham.³⁰⁹ For their main link to Birmingham the eastern parishes still had to make do with Icknield Street, which in places was a narrow, uneven holloway, difficult for carts and wagons, so pack-horses were still utilised for much of the carrying.³¹⁰

³⁰³ Gwilliam's manuscript 'Coach travel and turnpike roads in Worcestershire', (WoRO, ref. 388.110942449), p. 226, quoting De Laune in 1681.

³⁰⁴ The London to Bridgnorth road (via Buckingham) in J. Ogilby, *Britannia*, (London, Ogilby, 1675).

³⁰⁵ For example, SCLA, DR5/2504f, Sambourne manor court papers, (1689), which orders marl pits next to the road to be fenced and the bridge between the house of William Harrison and William Churchley to be repaired. Other paths and roads in the needle district were also reported to be in poor repair in manor court and quarter sessions at this time.

³⁰⁶ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, Throckmorton MSS.

³⁰⁷ For example, WoRO, QS234/49, Easter 1715, where John Hill was presented 'for nuisancing the road in the town and the church road' in Feckenham.

³⁰⁸ WoRO, QS93/67, July 1623, highlights the lack of help on highway maintenance. WoRO, QS321/29, Epiphany 1739/40, shows that of the Bentley highway supervisor's account totalled £4-1-4, of which 30s was for ale, but the court only allowed him £2 in total.

³⁰⁹ Lloyd, *A History of Worcestershire*, p. 85. Stretches via Droitwich and Bromsgrove were turnpiked between 1710 and 1725.

³¹⁰ Upton, *History of Birmingham*, p. 85, and Richardson, *The Book of Redditch*, p. 75. *VCH Warwickshire*, iii, p. 175, states that the Act for turnpiking the alternative route from Spennall Ash and Studley to Birmingham remained ineffective until a later period.

A Studley man, the unfortunately named John Slow, described as both ‘carrier’ and ‘wagoner’, lived modestly like most of his ilk. He had few possessions of any worth apart from his four horses (worth £7), the gears (10s) and a wagon (£4). Situated on Icknield Street, Studley was a useful base for carriers from Birmingham to Alcester and beyond to the Vale of Evesham.³¹¹

There was a lull in turnpiking in the 1730s and 1740s, but from 1750 to 1780 some vital routes were turnpiked.³¹² The growing importance of communication with the outside world created more demand for carriers, who increasingly acted as intermediaries for fellow villagers.³¹³ Studley, now situated on the turnpike, continued to be the base for carriers between Birmingham and the Vale of Evesham. The Mogg family carried from Birmingham to Alcester twice a week and also undertook labouring jobs.³¹⁴ Another Studley carrier, Thomas Boswell, wished his family to continue the carrying business after his death, which they duly did. They were based at a public house on the turnpike, ideal for refreshing horses and passengers. Like many carriers, they also kept a shop, (perhaps selling items brought from Birmingham or Evesham), and farmed, (perhaps producing food for sale in Birmingham).³¹⁵ Studley was also home to two higglers, who traded in small items of agricultural produce, while local overseers of the

³¹¹ Described as wagoner in WaRO, Studley parish register 1705. WoRO, probate of John Slow, Studley, carrier, 1705, £14-5-6. Slow is the only transport worker in probate or marriage licence data for this zone (less than 1% of the workforce). Several carriers were based at Studley in later periods.

³¹² For example routes to Birmingham, Stratford, Evesham, Worcester and Bromsgrove. See Appendix 15.

³¹³ For example, WoRO, QS394/22, QS523/69 and QS534/56 refer to members of the Duggins family, carriers and salters in Feckenham and Tardebigge. Brown in Dyer, *The Self-contained village?*, p. 127, discusses the growing importance of village carriers, which was strengthened by the price of turnpike travel which discouraged ordinary villagers from making certain journeys.

³¹⁴ WaRO, Studley parish register, 1762-1778, refers to William Mogg as labourer. After his death someone of the same name continues carrying. *Pearson and Rollason's Birmingham Directory 1777, 1780 and 1781* and *Bailey's Western and Midland Directory 1783* refer to William Mogg(s) carrying from Birmingham to Alcester. Earlier members of the Mogg family were also in the carrying line, as salters. See Appendix 14 for carrying routes.

³¹⁵ WoRO, probate of Thomas Boswell, Studley, carrier, 1793 and WoRO, marriage licence of William Boswell, Studley, carrier, June 1797.

poor accounts name other (part-time?) hauliers and carriers.³¹⁶ Although it is assumed that horses and to a lesser extent mules were mainly used for transporting goods, sometimes muscle-power for pulling wagons was provided by man not beast.³¹⁷ The zone's turnpike tollgates needed to be manned, although no gate-keepers have come to light before 1800. However, George Field was a 'roadmaker', perhaps contracted to maintain the turnpikes.³¹⁸

Like Alcester, the Needle District lacked navigable rivers, but access to the Severn (and foreign destinations) could be achieved via Droitwich, Bewdley and Worcester.³¹⁹ On 10 June 1791 the Worcester and Birmingham Canal Bill received the royal assent. The proposed canal created much work for surveyors and lawyers and the coming of the canal to Tardebigge dramatically changed the transport situation in this zone and also, especially during its construction, the employment situation. 'Come now begin delving, the Bill is obtain'd, ...' went the topical song. 'Redditch, where the sons of the needle reside' and other places on the line of the canal no doubt joined in the song's toast: 'health, plenty and peace, Navigation and Trade.'³²⁰ As the canal was gradually extended from Birmingham towards the Needle District, it facilitated the transport of cheaper coal to the zone.³²¹

³¹⁶ WaRO, Studley parish register, burials 1756 and 1757 mention Thomas Frederick, higgler, while burials 1761 mention William Sanders, higgler. The latter was probably the same William Sanders who was another Birmingham to Alcester carrier (*Swinney's Birmingham Directory 1774/5*). For example, WoRO, BA4284, Feckenham overseers of the poor accounts record payments to William Willmore for carriage and haulage (including to London).

³¹⁷ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 22 Jan. 1795 reports: 'Friday last a wagon load of coal was brought from Stourbridge to Feckenham drawn by ten men.'. The distance was approximately 18 miles. The report of such a feat suggests that it was unusual, but the reason was not given. I have not found any references to oxen being used to pull carts or wagons.

³¹⁸ WaRO, QS76/3, jurors' lists for Studley 1799-1807, recorded as being infirm.

³¹⁹ Iron was brought from the Forest of Dean via Worcester, as described in the Metal section above.

³²⁰ 'Song on obtaining the Birmingham and Worcester Canal Bill', by JF, 5 July 1791, quoted in White, *The Worcester and Birmingham Canal*, p. 20.

³²¹ White, *The Worcester and Birmingham Canal*, p. 48. The canal was opened from central Birmingham to Hopwood (near Alvechurch) in 1797. It was not completed until 1815.

After the completion of The Worcester and Birmingham Canal in December 1815, a commercial settlement grew up alongside the wharves at Tardebigge with warehouses, weighing-machines, lime-kilns and employees' cottages. Its construction, maintenance and operation provided employment for surveyors, contractors, 'navigators', lock-keepers, coal-clerks, wharf-clerks, canal ticket-clerks, canal-labourers, wharf-labourers and toll-collectors.³²² Some boatmen appear to have lived up to a mile from the canal, while others lived on their boats.³²³ Via Birmingham canal-carriers offered services to all parts including London, while Worcester allowed access to the Severn and the world beyond. One Birmingham canal-carrier, Thomas Dixon, bought a farm in Tardebigge and thus operated a lucrative business taking farm-produce into Birmingham, returning with coal and other items.³²⁴ Fly-boats with a weekly timetable sped lighter cargoes and perhaps the occasional passenger to their destinations.³²⁵

In the nineteenth century the transport sector still only employed a fraction of the workforce, but it was increasingly important.³²⁶ There were further road improvements, including a new route to Birmingham.³²⁷ In its role as a new, manufacturing town, Redditch was now served by coaches, whose proprietors competed assiduously for passengers.³²⁸ Carriers and hauliers also provided more varied and more frequent links between canal, town and village.³²⁹ Local records now list coach-keepers, coach-

³²² WoRO, Tardebigge baptisms 1813-1840 and Tardebigge 1841 census. Also White, *The Worcester and Birmingham Canal*. WoRO, marriage licence of John Irons, 'one of the undertakers at the Worcester and Birmingham Canal', May 1809.

³²³ WoRO, Tardebigge 1841 census.

³²⁴ White, *The Worcester and Birmingham Canal*, pp. 220-1.

³²⁵ White, *The Worcester and Birmingham Canal*, p. 216.

³²⁶ Table 7.2 shows 1.2% at this period in probate. Table 7.6 shows a rise in baptisms from 1813 to 1840, achieving 1% in the last decade, which is also the figure given in the 1841 census.

³²⁷ See Appendix 15.

³²⁸ Bradford, *Old Redditch*, p. 40, describes the rivalry between competitors. WaRO, QS17, king's moieties for conviction of unlicensed stage-coaches, 1846, also mentions Richard Humphriss (of Redditch) operating a stage-carriage without licence. See Appendix 15.

³²⁹ See Appendix 14.

proprietors, huxters, higglers, horse-keepers, ass-drivers, road-menders and toll-gate-keepers. Warehouse-men, warehouse-women and warehouse-boys become increasingly evident, some perhaps employed at needle-factories, others at carriers' depots.

The Birmingham to Gloucester Railway, opened in 1840 just to the west of the Needle District, probably employed workmen from this zone during its construction, and new occupations appear in local records from 1840: brakesman, railroad labourer, railway carriage-builder, railway gatekeeper and railway secretary. Local road-carriers were no doubt kept busy transporting goods to and from canal-wharves and railheads, while from 1844 a horse-omnibus for passengers linked Redditch with the railway-station at Barnt Green.³³⁰

Marketing, dealing, retailing and food and drink

As in other zones, these northern parishes held a variety of yearly fairs, and before 1800 Feckenham probably still held its Saturday market, which would have limited appeal as it competed with bigger markets on the same day.³³¹ Shopkeepers and provision-dealers of all sorts were on the increase throughout the study period. After 1800 Redditch was the focal point for retail trade, but shops of various types flourished in Studley, Feckenham and the growing industrial settlements of Webheath, Astwood Bank, Headless Cross and Crabbs Cross. Redditch was lit by oil-lamps in the 1830s and then by gas from the 1840s, the latter causing the advent of 'gas-fitters', 'gas-workers' and the

³³⁰ Bradford, *Old Redditch*, p. 41.

³³¹ *VCH of Worcestershire*, iii, p. 115. See Appendices 12 and 12a for markets and Appendix 13 for fairs. People in this zone would also visit markets at Alcester, Bromsgrove, Henley, Birmingham, Solihull, Worcester and Droitwich. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 13 Aug. 1795 mentions a Feckenham farmer bringing a sample of new corn to Feckenham market on Tues 11 Aug. 1795. In reality he probably took the sample to Alcester or Bromsgrove market both of which were held on Tuesdays. See Appendix 12.

‘proprietor of the gasworks’.³³² The new manufacturing town was not chartered to hold a market, but at some time, (probably around 1800), Saturday became its unofficial market day, perhaps replacing the Saturday markets in Feckenham and Alvechurch.³³³ The 1841 census lists a couple of ‘market-women’ in rural parts of Feckenham parish, who may have worked at a market or carried produce to various market towns. Although permanent retail outlets and the wider range of goods they now offered for sale began to change the nature of the traditional fairs in this zone, other fairs and unofficial markets probably grew up in the nineteenth century to serve the growing communities.³³⁴

Several families in the Feckenham Forest had traditionally worked as carriers within the Droitwich salt-trade.³³⁵ Before 1750 many such ‘salters’ appear in the records, suggesting quite an extensive involvement in the trade by local families, especially in Feckenham parish. Probate documents shed some light on the salters’ trade. When Humphrey Berrick died in 1682, he was described as a yeoman. His farming involvement was minimal, but his ‘three little mares, four old bags and two pannells (panier bags)(£2-10s)’ indicate his family’s occupation of delivering salt, presumably by packhorse.³³⁶ Three of his sons are described as salters in Feckenham parish register, and he leaves his ‘salt-bags’ to one of the three, Francis Berrick, later described as both husbandman and ‘salt-carrier’. Francis Berrick’s ‘two mares, three pair of traces, pannells, baggs, collars and holmes’ (worth £4-12-0) suggest that, like his predecessors,

³³² Bradford, *Old Redditch*, pp. 38-39. WoRO, 1851 census and *Slater’s Worcestershire Directory 1850*.

³³³ *Kelly’s Worcestershire Directory 1892* mentions this unchartered market, but earlier directories overlook it.

³³⁴ The Cherry Wake in Headless Cross and a market in Astwood Bank, (which were both taking place by 1900), may have started before 1850.

³³⁵ Large, ‘Economic and social change in North Worcestershire during the seventeenth century’, p. 132. Perhaps numbers of salters had been greater before the disafforestation (c. 1630) reduced the amount of common grazing on the waste in Feckenham Manor by three-quarters.

³³⁶ WoRO, probate of Humphrey Berrick, Feckenham, yeoman, 1682, £14-13-8.

he utilised pack-horses. He also possessed a sled, which may have been used to transport bulkier items (such as timber) to or from the salt-pans at Droitwich.³³⁷

William Mugg's occupation was not given in his probate documents, but his principal creditor was John Parr of Droitwich, 'saltman', who was granted administration of his affairs. As later members of Mugg's family were described as salters or carriers, we can surmise that William Mugg delivered salt as well as farming in a small way.³³⁸ William Mugg presumably died before settling his affairs with the Droitwich saltman. The lowly status of salters is shown in two other probate inventories. John Seale's two horses were described as old and blind, while John Yoxall, was appraised at £11, half of which was the value of his 'little old cottage' on Walkwood Common.³³⁹ All the salters (as most general carriers) seem to have been at the poorer end of the spectrum of tradesmen. With a couple of old horses and pack-saddles they would go to Droitwich and take delivery of some salt. They would then travel the highways and by-ways (including the many roads named Salters Lane or Saltway) perhaps as far as London and beyond, delivering the salt and making a meagre profit, if lucky.³⁴⁰

This zone had many inns and alehouses. Some innholders could cater for passing travellers on the through-routes, whereas others maybe concentrated on their local communities.³⁴¹ Then, as now, the pub was often at the heart of parish life, hosting

³³⁷ WoRO, probate of Francis Berrick, Feckenham, husbandman, 1715, £18-1-6. The description 'salt-carrier' was crossed out on his inventory. 'Pannell' means a pannier.

³³⁸ WoRO, probate of William Mugg, Feckenham, (no occupation given), 1689/90, £32-4-8. Later members of the family are called Mogg or Moggs rather than Mugg.

³³⁹ WoRO, probate of John Seale, Feckenham, salter, 1728, £23-13-6, and WoRO probate of John Yoxall, Walkwood, (Feckenham), salter, 1719, £11-2-10.

³⁴⁰ They may be amongst the Feckenham Forest men who carried to London in the seventeenth century (mentioned in the transport section above). Fortuitous references to local salters occur in WoRO, quarter sessions until 1818. Their lowly status is evident and they are accused of theft. (For example, WoRO, WoQS, 523/69, in 1791.)

³⁴¹ For example, TNA, PCC probate of Richard Sawyer, Crabbs Cross, Ipsley, innholder, 1660. Crabbs Cross lay on the London to Stourbridge road. Probably the same inn, which had one guest bed and stabling for 6 horses. (TNA, WO30/48, Particulars of inns and alehouses in England, 1686, pp. 186-188.)

meetings and dinners.³⁴² Throughout the two centuries many victuallers combined innkeeping with other jobs. From the 1830s the traditional publicans were joined by beerhouse-keepers and beer-retailers, while the 1841 census also records a handful of lodging-house-keepers.

Innkeeper Richard Harbach's probate inventory mentions a furnace, maltmill and brewhouse, indicating that, like many victuallers, he brewed his own beer and made malt.³⁴³ No specialist brewers appear in the records before the 1820s, but many households brewed their own beer. Specialist maltsters are found and, as in other zones, many farmers and tradesmen hereabouts made malt, a lucrative sideline. Even the Throckmorton family invested in the building of a malthouse at Coughton Court in the 1660s, and a decade later we find their malt being sold as far away as Stourbridge.³⁴⁴ Many people who dealt in malt also worked in allied trades, for example Thomas Uncles, miller.

Beer and ale were not the only alcoholic drinks made or consumed locally. At least one Feckenham farmer thought it worthwhile building a new horse-driven perry-mill circa 1800.³⁴⁵ Richard Hillar of Feckenham, described as a wine-cooper and victualler, had a brewhouse, a cellar for cider and ale and a separate wine cellar.³⁴⁶ Robert Boulton of Feckenham had a brewhouse, but also stocked wine, perry, cider and

³⁴² For example, SCLA, DR5/4278, Sambourne manor court, April 1684, records the adjournment of the court leet to William Churchley's house, the Falcon, Hadenway, Sambourne. His wife Mary, (formerly Bolton), also received payment for manor court dinners. (For example, WaRO, CR1998/26, Throckmorton MSS, Dec. 1672.)

³⁴³ WoRO, probate of Richard Harbach, Feckenham, innkeeper, 1681, £47-4-7.

³⁴⁴ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, 40, Throckmorton MSS.

³⁴⁵ Dating from 1790 to 1810 this perry mill is now re-constructed at the Avoncroft Museum of Buildings, Bromsgrove.

³⁴⁶ WoRO, probate of Richard Hillar, Feckenham, wine cooper, 1702, £29-19-8. He was described as victualler in Feckenham burial register. Wine-cooper may have been a synonym for vintner, but if he made cooperware, perhaps it comprised small barrels suitable for customers to store their wine after it had been decanted from the larger barrels in which it was imported. His cellars contained brandy, bottles of claret and white wine, 'half a pipe of sack' and some large, empty hogshead and half-hogshead barrels.

‘a firkin of strong waters’.³⁴⁷ In the 1730s Beoley boasted a distiller, though the exact nature of his product is not known.³⁴⁸ However, he fell on hard times. Perhaps new regulations and foreign imports made legal distilling less viable, though perhaps some illegal stills continued, unnoticed by authority.³⁴⁹

Several water-mills were located on the River Arrow and smaller streams, while the zone’s couple of windmills were probably constructed during the study period.³⁵⁰ Many mills were family concerns. For example, members of the Moore family were millers and millwrights for many generations in Ipsley and Alcester. Junior members of a family wishing to stay in the milling business generally had to find a vacant mill, so milling families were often widely dispersed, but long associations also exist between certain families and their mills.

Millers had time on their hands when the mill was unable to run. One miller was also a turner, while another possessed a ‘box of instruments for surgery’, which he may have used on his neighbours or on their animals. Thomas Green farmed, dealt in hops and malt and had £220 ‘upon good security’ and an £80 ‘life-lease’.³⁵¹ His mill was probably used for both paper-making and corn-grinding, while some other mills became dual-purpose needle and corn-mills in the eighteenth century. In 1776 Johnson’s mill in

³⁴⁷ WoRO, probate of Robert Boulton, Feckenham, (no occupation given), 1700, £244-0-5. Probably at the Crown (he had a room called the Crown Chamber). Perry was common locally, a cider-like drink made from pears crushed in perry-mills.

³⁴⁸ WoRO, marriage licence of Daniel Carr, Beoley, distiller, May 1735. WaRO, Studley burial register, 1732, also records the burial of the wife of Mr John Bickerton, London, distiller.

³⁴⁹ WaRO, DRB19/73/8, Tanworth in Arden removal order of Daniel Carr, senior, from Beoley to Tanworth in Arden, 1775 (no occupation given), but apparently the same man who was a distiller at the time of his marriage (WoRO, marriage licence of Daniel Carr, Beoley, distiller, May 1735). After 1775 no distillers are mentioned in this zone.

³⁵⁰ See Appendix 17: Mills. If there had ever been a windmill on Windmill Hill in Coughton, it appears to have been redundant by this time. The two windmills at Walkwood in Feckenham parish may date from this period or later.

³⁵¹ WoRO, probate of Ralph Hurst, Feckenham, miller, 1713, £16-17-0, (also a turner), and of Thomas Dunn, Feckenham, miller, 1727, £74-10-6, (which lists surgical instruments) and of Thomas Green, Beoley, yeoman/miller, 1735, £576-1-0. Green’s widow married the Beoley paper-master, Thomas Batten.

Ipsley was described as an oat-mill; it is unknown whether the oatmeal produced was for equine or human consumption.³⁵² The 'loader', William Mitchell, was probably an employee in a mill.³⁵³

Throughout the study period bakers were serving the local communities. Perhaps they catered for the growing number of cottager-craftsmen, who probably did not have facilities to bake their own bread. Bakers typically indulged in mixed farming and some obviously grew their own grain.³⁵⁴ Some farms, such as that of Elizabeth Pretty of Feckenham, had their own bakehouse ('backhouse' or 'boultinghouse') as well as their own dairy. No doubt they supplied bakery and dairy products to neighbours as well as to their household.³⁵⁵ As noted elsewhere, bakers often pursued other occupations such as farmer, maltster or publican. Some specialist bakers were womenfolk although references to them are not frequent in local records.³⁵⁶

In Period A the Needle District boasted more butchers than the other rural subdivisions and also more graziers and drovers, who could fatten up cattle on the lush pastures of the Arrow valley and the extensive, unenclosed commons ideally situated near to the Black Country and Birmingham markets. For example, members of the farming Holyoake family made good money as butchers, graziers and drovers in the

³⁵² Redditch Library, *A Description of Redditch 1776*, (copy of a MS by Joseph Monk).

³⁵³ WaRO, Studley parish register 1720 and 1734. (A reference to a loader at Piddle Mill in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 30 May 1751 clarifies this meaning.)

³⁵⁴ WoRO, probate of Robert Wright, Coughton, baker, 1689, £370-7-2, and of John Bond, Sambourne, (Coughton), baker, 1661, £89-2-4, and of Thomas Pearks, Coughton, baker, 1695, £95-8-8. Another reason for the preponderance of bakers in the parish could be the abundance of gorse, used as fuel for the bakers' ovens.

³⁵⁵ WoRO, miscellaneous probate (853/2574 and 2578) of Elizabeth Pretty, Feckenham, widow, 1668, £203-4-0.

³⁵⁶ WoRO, BA2289/2, Beoley churchwardens' presentments, 1706, fortuitously mentions a female baker, Elizabeth Church, presented as a reputed papist.

district.³⁵⁷ In the eighteenth century a variety of sources indicate the continued presence of several butchers in this zone. The probate inventory of one such, James Moore of Redditch, indicates that he also practised mixed farming and was valued at an impressive £385. Amongst Moore's customers was Sir John Huband, who had allowed his meat bill to reach some £127. Other debts due to the butcher included £26 for calf-skins sold to the tanner, a reminder of the symbiotic relationship between the two trades.³⁵⁸ Despite its land-locked nature, this zone was also served by a couple of fishmongers: Robert Eaton of Feckenham, and Richard Alder, who supplied Coughton Court with sea-fish.³⁵⁹

In the late Stuart period more exotic or luxury items found their way to residents in a variety of ways. The Throckmortons at Coughton Court received their tobacco through Captain Knottesford of a local gentry family.³⁶⁰ However, the zone boasted a 'haberdasher of hats' and a bookseller.³⁶¹ There were mercers in these northern parishes, but, as the customer-base was not yet very extensive compared with the market town, some found it necessary to combine the mercer's trade with another. Samuel Hemming was also an innkeeper, while Walter Moore doubled as a blacksmith. In common with other mercers they were well-off. Moore left some £20 worth of 'goods in the marcerey shop' to his wife, who probably ran the shop anyway while he concentrated on his

³⁵⁷ References to the family include: WaRO, Studley baptisms, 1695/6, baptism of child of William Holyoake, Studley, drover. WoRO, marriage licence of Thomas Holyoake, Beoley, grazier, July 1679, and of William Holyoake, Tardebigge, grazier, July 1704. WoRO, probate of Thomas Holyoake, Redditch, (Tardebigge), gent, £630-3-2, 1685, who had large quantities of sheep and cattle. Other Holyoakes were termed butchers or yeomen. Many were wealthy.

³⁵⁸ WoRO, probate of James Moore, Redditch, (Tardebigge), butcher, 1722, £385-19-8. A partial explanation for the lack of probate-leaving butchers may be that successful butcher/graziers, such as those encountered in the previous period, were now counted as yeomen or gentry.

³⁵⁹ WaRO, Throckmorton MSS, CR1998/LCB/26.

³⁶⁰ WaRO, Throckmorton MSS, CR1998/LCB/26.

³⁶¹ WaRO, Coughton baptisms, 1695/6, baptism of child of George Hopkins, haberdasher of hats. WoRO, probate of Thomas Haughton, 1697, mentions Thomas Brown, 'bibliopol..', (bookseller).

smithy.³⁶² His mercery shop must have been one of the earliest retail shops in the industrialising hamlet of Redditch. Hemming's shop was not the only retail premises in the important village of Feckenham. William Bond, son of a Feckenham yeoman, was a grocer and also sold tobacco-stems and clothes. His trustees included two Worcester men, a tobacconist and a mercer, from whom he probably obtained his stock.³⁶³

In Period B a handful of retailers could be found serving the growing industrial colonies in this zone, for example the Procter, Beck and Bennet families of Redditch.³⁶⁴ Feckenham, fulfilling its niche as a small market-centre, also had its shops, including mercers and a linen-draper. By the second half of the eighteenth century most settlements in this zone were served by butchers, bakers, general shopkeepers, mercers and grocers. The shops were run by a variety of people from labouring folk to wealthy butcher-graziers and mercers.³⁶⁵ In Studley the 1797 list of those registered to use weights and measures included six shopkeepers (three of them female), one baker and one butcher. The list also includes two 'dealers in coals'.³⁶⁶ Demand for coal was now sufficient for such specialist coal-dealers. Various sources reveal other dealers and deliverers. Swann of Tardebigge, described as a factor, perhaps acted as agent and dealer

³⁶² WoRO, probate of Samuel Hemming, Feckenham, innholder and mercer, 1687, £197-9-9, and of Walter Moore, Redditch, (Tardebigge), blacksmith, 1681, £286-9-10.

³⁶³ WoRO, probate of William Bond, Feckenham, grocer, 1699, £161-16-0.

³⁶⁴ WoRO, probate of Thomas Procter, Ipsley, yeoman, 1727, £23-4-6, and of Elizabeth Procter, widow, Redditch, (Tardebigge), widow, 1728, £18-5-6. (The shop may have been in the part of Redditch, which lay on the boundary of Ipsley and Tardebigge parishes. Their inventories list shop goods and grocery.) WoRO, marriage licence of Thomas Rawlins, Tardebigge, baker, 1708, witnessed by William Beck, Tardebigge, mercer. WoRO, probate of John Bennet, Redditch, (Tardebigge), (no occupation given), 1740, £120-7-9. He stocked all manner of cloth and yarn as well as items such as candles, tobacco, sugar and treacle.

³⁶⁵ Amongst the wealthy are Thomas Moore and John James. Moore, butcher, grazier and yeoman, also acted as steward to the earl of Plymouth. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 10 Sept. 1767 and WoRO, probate of Thomas Moore, Tardebigge, (no occupation given), 1768. TNA, PCC probate of John James, Studley, mercer, 1775.

³⁶⁶ WaRO, QS89/2.

for the district's needlemakers, but may also have dealt in other produce.³⁶⁷ The Redditch 'waterman' was probably a deliverer of fresh water to the hill-top industrial community.³⁶⁸ Travelling petty dealers often avoid any mention in the archives, but a 'poor pedlar' is recorded in Studley.³⁶⁹

The industrialisation and urbanisation of Redditch and its environs in the early nineteenth century attracted many new businesses in this sector. For the most part sources suggest that publicans and other retailers and dealers comprised a bigger share of the workforce than in previous periods.³⁷⁰ Baptism data (1813-1840) places 4.2% of fathers in the food and retailing sector and 1% as publicans, while the 1841 census has figures of 6.0% for food and retailing and 1.2% for innkeepers. The latter increased significantly after 1830 when beer-retailers joined grander establishments such as Redditch's Unicorn Commercial Inn and Posting-House.³⁷¹ In Period D associated occupations include wine and spirit merchants, barmaids and ostlers, while lodging-housekeepers and boarding-housekeepers appear in Redditch. Maltsters are still in evidence while brewers in this zone appear more frequently than before, despite the sale of 'Birmingham beer' in Redditch.³⁷²

Amongst the food retailers and dealers we now find milk-sellers, butchers, millers, mealmen, flour-dealers, bakers, bread-sellers, confectioners, grocers, tea-dealers, cheese-dealers, cheesemongers, fruiterers, greengrocers and provision-dealers. Mid-century censuses list general shopkeepers, shop-girls, shop-boys and errand-boys.

³⁶⁷ WoRO, marriage licence of James Swann, Tardebigge, factor, Oct. 1797.

³⁶⁸ Redditch Library, *A Description of Redditch 1776*, (copy of a MS by Joseph Monk), mentions the waterman. Elsewhere 'waterman' often means someone who carried by water, but this reference is before the arrival of the canal, and there were no navigable rivers nearby. Salters and higglers were referred to above in the transport section.

³⁶⁹ WaRO, Studley burial register, 1758, Edward Grantham alias Woods, poor pedlar, buried aged 92.

³⁷⁰ Tables 7.2 and 7.4.

³⁷¹ Table 7.6 and *Pigot's Worcestershire Directory 1835*.

³⁷² Richardson, *The Book of Redditch*, p. 128, quoting John Hollis writing circa 1820.

Among the clothing and cloth retailers are haberdashers and linen and woollen drapers, while the term 'mercier' is now becoming antiquated. Other services include pawnbrokers, booksellers, stationers, composers, engravers and printers.³⁷³

Documents in Period D mention hawkers and also dealers, some general, and some specialising in glass, china, earthenware, smallware or coal. With urbanisation came greater diversification in what was offered in the shops. Some businesses specialised, while others offered a variety of services; for instance Pascal Paoli Waring, butcher and hairdresser, was licensed to hire out horses and deal in lime.³⁷⁴ Shops of all kinds and also public houses were still often run as by-employments as they had been throughout the study period. Censuses for this zone record many charwomen, laundresses, washerwomen and nurses or 'nurse-girls'.³⁷⁵ The list of occupations continued to expand in the 1850s when we find florists, coffee-housekeepers and tripe-makers.³⁷⁶

Professionals, gentry, domestic servants and others

Throughout the study period each parish had its clergy, some resident, others absent, some rich and others poor. The Sheldon family in Beoley and the Throckmorton family in Coughton supported Roman Catholic priests during the eighteenth century and probably earlier.³⁷⁷ Quakers and presbyterians appear in Redditch after the Restoration

³⁷³ Richardson, *The Book of Redditch*, p. 89, shows that the town had to wait until 1859 for its first newspaper, which coincided with the opening of the railway to the town.

³⁷⁴ Various directories, e. g.: *Lewis's Worcestershire Directory 1820*, *Pigot's Worcestershire Directory 1828-9* and *Robsons' Birmingham and Sheffield Directory 1839*.

³⁷⁵ WaRO and WoRO, 1841 and 1851 censuses.

³⁷⁶ WoRO, 1851 census and *Billing's Worcestershire Directory 1855*.

³⁷⁷ WaRO, MI163, Coughton RC register, lists priests at Coughton from 1744.

and may have continued in later periods, though no non-conformist ministers appear in records until the nineteenth century.³⁷⁸

A variety of sources allow us a glimpse into the lives of the Anglican clergymen of the Needle District. Many were well-off, but Joseph Weaver of Coughton was not. He also ran a school to augment his income circa 1720.³⁷⁹ His school may have been short-lived, but the free school in Feckenham, offering lessons in Latin and English to twelve boys, continued throughout the two centuries, while Redditch also boasted a school from the early eighteenth century.³⁸⁰ By Period C at least four of the six parishes had schoolmasters, and Redditch also had a Sunday school and possibly a school for girls or younger children.³⁸¹ Studley's schoolmaster may also have served as workhouse-master at this time, while Tardebigge's master was also an attorney.³⁸²

Making the most of their literacy skills schoolmasters and others were in demand writing documents for their neighbours.³⁸³ As noted earlier, before 1800 attorneys, bailiffs, land-agents or stewards tend to be hidden under the heading of 'gentlemen', but from various documents such as the Throckmorton accounts, we can note the existence of

³⁷⁸ WoRO, BA2877, reports meetings of quakers and presbyterians in Tardebigge in the late seventeenth century.

³⁷⁹ WoRO, probate of Joseph Weaver, Coughton, clerk, 1722, £12-3-4.

³⁸⁰ Griffith, *The Free Schools of Worcestershire*, pp. 205-211 and 359 and WoRO, BA2724. See also Appendix 19.

³⁸¹ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 31 July 1788 mentions a charity sermon in aid of Redditch Sunday school. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* May 1800 gives notice that Mrs Townshend is retiring from her school in Redditch and selling suitable school furniture. See Appendix 19.

³⁸² WaRO, Studley burial register 1784, burial of William Dewes, schoolmaster, and DR536/32, Studley workhouse expenses. WoRO, marriage licence of John Guardner, Upton Warren, tailor, Oct. 1751 was witnessed by Humphrey Guardner, Tardebigge, schoolmaster. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* Feb. 1766 reports the death of Humphrey Guardner, attorney, drowned in a brook.

³⁸³ For example, WoRO, marriage licence of Thomas Pope, Feckenham, scrivener, April 1730, and marriage licence of Abraham Barnes, Feckenham gentleman, April 1731, witnessed by Thomas Pope, Feckenham, schoolmaster. WoRO, BA4284, (ix), Feckenham overseers of the poor accounts, 1743, 'paid John Walford for doing the parish writing'.

a handful of such men.³⁸⁴ Probate inventories and wills were drawn up by the same few literate residents, some of whom may have been trained lawyers, but by no means all. For example, Mascall Edmunds of Coughton, (probably a stonemason), appraised many probate inventories in the area, apparently acting almost like an auctioneer cum estate agent of later periods.

In the second half of the eighteenth century land-agents and stewards, such as Bracy of Beoley and Wilkes of Coughton, were often regarded as gentry in their own right. Published game certificate lists include many of the wealthier inhabitants, some of whom also appear in the lists of gamekeepers.³⁸⁵ Attorneys are in evidence in two parishes, and excisemen in three.³⁸⁶ In the last twenty years of the eighteenth century various parishes formed associations for the prosecution of felons.³⁸⁷ The numbers of poor in times of hardship were conspicuous in these populous, industrialising parishes. Studley built its own workhouse in the 1740s, while Tardebigge and Feckenham followed suit later in the century.³⁸⁸

In Period A Tardebigge was served by a surgeon, and Feckenham an apothecary and a surgeon, while in Beoley the overseers were willing to fork out for a poor

³⁸⁴ WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, Throckmorton MSS. For example, Richard Reeves of Sambourne acted for the Throckmortons as a lawyer in Warwick and London. Richard Eades acted as the Throckmortons' steward.

³⁸⁵ In the last years of the century *Berrow's Worcester Journal* publishes these lists annually, (for example 17 Dec. 1789). 'Gamekeeper' in these lists seems to mean a gentleman qualified to take game who is appointed to oversee the game in a certain manor, rather than the hands-on gamekeeper tending his pheasants daily.

³⁸⁶ WoRO, BA2449, calendar of licences of surgeons, records that Robert Haighton, exciseman of Redditch and Coughton doubled as a surgeon. John Bird, a Feckenham mercer, was also collector for the hair-powder tax and offered a service furnishing funerals. (*Berrow's Worcester Journal* 7 May 1795 and 20 Sept. and 15 Nov. 1787).

³⁸⁷ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* mentions associations for Feckenham with Stock and Bradley (27 May 1784), for Beoley (2 June 1785), for Studley (22 Dec. 1785) and for Redditch and Tardebigge (27 July 1786).

³⁸⁸ WaRO, Studley parish register, records the expenses for the building of the parish workhouse in the 1740s. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 3 Feb. 1757 records a gentleman giving five guineas worth of bread to the poor of Redditch. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* advertises for a governor of a 'small workhouse' in Tardebigge (24 April 1777) and to 'farm the poor' in the same parish (24 Sept. 1789). *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 19 Feb. 1795 invites tenders for a new 'house of industry' to be built in Feckenham.

parishioner's treatment by a 'mountybank'.³⁸⁹ In the next period this zone was served by medics in Feckenham, Beoley and Studley. A newspaper advertisement sheds light on the modus operandi of one Feckenham doctor 'that serv'd his time in London'.³⁹⁰ John Eades, chirurgeon of Studley was of local yeoman stock as was Richard Poynter, barber of Beoley. Poynter had £185 worth of debts due to him, while his working tools were worth a mere £1-3-4.³⁹¹ Female nurses or midwives rarely surface in the documentation, but one midwife was presented by churchwardens, not because of any occupational deficiency, but as a reputed papist.³⁹² In the 1740s Studley secured the services of Widow Serjeant as governess of their new workhouse and William Dewes, baker, as workhouse-master.³⁹³ Studley was probably the only parish in this zone with a workhouse at this time, but the poor were a constant problem for officials in every parish.

At the start of Period C Feckenham's barber, Samuel Pew, perhaps administered to medical needs, but medical care was becoming somewhat more specialised by the end of the period, when half the parishes had surgeons. However, overseers' accounts reveal various women paid as (unqualified) healers or nurses.³⁹⁴ Some local women also acted as midwives, although Dr. Taylor of Redditch was delivering babies in the 1790s.³⁹⁵ Local records in the 1790s also mention two druggists.³⁹⁶

³⁸⁹ WoRO, Feckenham burials May 1683 and WoRO, BA2724, which reports surgeons without licences. E. Barnard, *Some Beoley Parish Accounts 1656-1700*, p. 21. A mountybank is a quack doctor.

³⁹⁰ *Worcester Postman* 19 to 26 June 1719. He had perfect cures for gout, running gout and rheumatism and could be 'spoke with at the White Swan' in Alcester every market day.

³⁹¹ WoRO, probate of Richard Poynter, Beoley, barber, 1710, £216-12-0.

³⁹² WoRO, BA2289/2, Beoley churchwardens' presentments, 1706, regarding Ann Cork, midwife.

³⁹³ WaRO, DR536/32, Studley workhouse accounts, 1740.

³⁹⁴ WoRO, BA4284, Feckenham overseers of the poor accounts. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 2 July 1778 reports about an unfortunate case where a 'noted' Feckenham 'doctress' gave her patient mercury in error, causing his death.

³⁹⁵ <http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/webbsredditch> Chapter 2 (10.30 a.m. 21 Aug. 2008).

³⁹⁶ WoRO, probate of Richard Cox, Feckenham, 1791, mentions William Hanson, druggist, and WoRO, marriage licence of Joseph Johnson, Tardebigge, druggist, Nov. 1799. The descriptor 'druggist' was apparently replacing the earlier term 'apothecary'.

Before 1800 local records contain few references to members of the armed forces, but Beoley constable's accounts mentions 'train-soldiers' circa 1660, and the same parish has a Chelsea out-pensioner in the 1730s.³⁹⁷ Later in the eighteenth century a soldier was ordered to be removed to Beoley, and a sailor's daughter died on the road in Studley.³⁹⁸ The gentry Lyttelton family of Studley included a captain, while newspapers report local men deserting and the need for substitutes.³⁹⁹

Many roles in spheres as varied as entertainment and local administration were filled by part-time amateurs. Parish or manorial offices were often temporary and were performed on a rotational basis, sometimes by willing, well-intentioned individuals, sometimes not. Excisemen were also on hand to keep an eye on the locals. Residents who served their communities in a variety of capacities ranged from Charles Parry of Feckenham, who served as one of his county's sheriffs, to the more humble parish-clerks and Studley's 'dog-whippers', labouring folk who presumably acted as dog-wardens.⁴⁰⁰ Joseph Jones, another Studley labourer, was also described as an 'aishman'. He may

³⁹⁷ E. Barnard, 'Some Beoley parish accounts 1656-1700', *Trans. of Worcestershire Arch. Soc.*, 25, (1948), p. 22. WoRO, Beoley burials, 1732. John Claridge, Beoley, Chelsea Hospital out-pensioner.

³⁹⁸ WaRO, Tanworth in Arden removal orders and settlement examinations, (DRB19/73/2 and DRB19/77/2) regarding Thomas Kinsey of the 47th. Regiment of Foot. WaRO, Studley burial register 1767, burial of the daughter of Joseph Potts, 'seafareing man'.

³⁹⁹ WaRO, Studley parish register, 1775. It is not known whether Lyttelton was in the army or navy. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 7 Nov. 1782 and 27 May 1784 mention the desertion of William Yoxall, Feckenham, formerly a needlemaker. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 14 Feb. 1799 mentions William Dunn, who enrolled for 1st regiment of Worcestershire Militia in December 1798, but failed to turn up. In *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 9 May 1782 a Tardebigge overseer of the poor advertised for five single men to serve as substitutes for the Worcestershire Militia.

⁴⁰⁰ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 15 Nov. 1753 regarding the sheriff. Dog-whippers are mentioned for example in WaRO, Studley parish register, 1781. As noted elsewhere, the role of parish-clerk was often for life and then handed on within the family. The Clarkson family in Feckenham served as parish-clerks for at least one hundred and fifty years from 1700. During the period 1700-1749 they were also weavers, and at least one of them also acted as the parish-crier. WoRO, BA4284 (ix), Feckenham overseers of the poor accounts, 1743, and J. Noake, *Guide to Worcestershire*, (London, Longman, 1868), p. 163.

have collected domestic ash, rubbish and perhaps night-soil to spread on the fields, though, alternatively, he may have been a charcoal-burner and producer of potash.⁴⁰¹

In the late Stuart period several people, some named, some not, appear in the Throckmorton accounts for various services rendered: chimney sweep, mummer, dancing master and tabberer.⁴⁰² In Period C we find a ‘musician’ in Coughton and a ‘fiddler’ in Feckenham.⁴⁰³ Mrs. Pearce of Redditch was a ‘louse grinder’, whatever that may have been - perhaps a euphemism of some sort?⁴⁰⁴ In the same parish Sarah Kemp kept a ‘bawdy house’, and other illegal ‘occupations’ such as poaching are increasingly evident.⁴⁰⁵ On a more elevated level Miss Whateley of Beoley was a published poet.⁴⁰⁶

According to probate and marriage licence data professionals increased in Period D.⁴⁰⁷ In the 1831 census the Needle District has 2.5% of males in the capitalist, banker, professional and educated sector. This figure is higher than for Zones B and C but doesn’t rival the 7.8% of Alcester. Table 7.6 (baptisms) shows a figure of 1.6% for professionals, while the figure for adult males in this sector in the 1841 census is 2.2%. During Period D the variety of occupations in the professional sector had expanded, not only in Redditch but in the surrounding settlements. The list now included surgeon, chemist, druggist, optician, midwife, nursewoman, attorney, solicitor, appraiser, accountant, schoolmaster and schoolmistress, governess, workhouse-master, clergy of

⁴⁰¹ WaRO, Studley burials, 1770. J. Birrell, ‘Peasant craftsmen in the medieval forest’, *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 17, (1969), pp.96-7, explains that a certain individual was referred to as both ash-burner and charcoal-burner.

⁴⁰² WaRO, CR1998/LCB/26, 40, Throckmorton MSS. A ‘tabberer’ is probably a musician, a tabor player. Hearth tax was collected by a parishioner, though the ‘chimney finder’ mentioned in Beoley accounts in 1669 may have been a government official checking that the job was done properly. (Barnard, ‘Some Beoley parish accounts 1656-1700’, p. 24.)

⁴⁰³ WaRO, Coughton parish register, 1758, Richard Kent, musician. WaRO, MI163, Coughton RC registers, 1771-1794 mention Thomas Davis of the Ridgeway, Feckenham, variously described as innkeeper, weaver and fiddler.

⁴⁰⁴ Redditch Library, *A Description of Redditch 1776*, (copy of a MS by Joseph Monk).

⁴⁰⁵ WoRO, QS 549/51,52, (1797) and QS 519/58 (1790) and 529/35 (1792).

⁴⁰⁶ *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* 14 June 1764 reports the publication of her book of poems in London.

⁴⁰⁷ Tables 7.2 and 7.4.

various denominations, book-keeper, land-surveyor, road-surveyor, relieving officer, sheriff's officer, insurance agent, poor-rate collector, justice of the peace, registrar, exciseman, parish-clerk, pound-keeper and other parish officers, and various commercial clerks or clerks for various public bodies. Many of these roles were combined with others. Redditch's medical doctor, Dr Taylor also ran the post-office with his daughter, while William Henry Boulton, grocer and mercer, was also agent for the Birmingham Fire Office and the Stourbridge and Kidderminster Bank.⁴⁰⁸

Outriders or commercial travellers appear more frequently now.⁴⁰⁹ Soldiers and seamen occasionally receive mention in local records and, more specifically, ensigns, volunteers, Greenwich pensioners and Chelsea pensioners.⁴¹⁰ Policemen first appear on the scene in the 1840s in the Worcestershire parishes, while night-guards and watchmen are listed in Redditch, perhaps guarding the needle-factories and warehouses. Studley had a fire-brigade some time before 1850.⁴¹¹ A Redditch prostitute figures in legal documents, while a female prisoner is in Redditch jail in 1841.⁴¹²

References occur to various other occupations such as trumpeter, organist, viola-player, fiddler, comedian and portrait painter. Many of these were perhaps part-time roles, which come to light because a greater number and variety of sources survive than was the case in earlier centuries. Traditional lore was still practised by the white-witch in Crabbs Cross, while the modern age was represented by the chemist's servant and

⁴⁰⁸ Lewis's *Worcestershire Directory 1820*, Pigot's *Worcestershire Directory 1828-9*, Pigot's *Worcestershire Directory 1835*, Robson's *Birmingham and Sheffield Directory 1839* and Pigot's *Worcestershire Directory 1842*.

⁴⁰⁹ For instance in WoRO, Redditch baptisms 1813-1840 they are sometimes referred to merely as 'travellers', which causes confusion with 'travellers' meaning gypsies.

⁴¹⁰ WaRO and WoRO, 1841 and 1851 censuses.

⁴¹¹ Griffin, *This Noble Duty, A History of Fire-fighting in Warwickshire*, p. 13, suggests, as with Alcester that the Studley brigade may have been founded to counter the work of incendiaries circa 1830. The fire-fighters must have been part-time, appearing under other occupations in the censuses.

⁴¹² SCLA, DR37/2/Box124/66 and WoRO, 1841 census.

chemical labourers in Lower Bentley (in Tardebigge), who perhaps worked at the new chemical works in nearby Stoke Prior.⁴¹³

Those termed as ‘gentlemen’ were always present.⁴¹⁴ Some ‘gentlemen’ circa 1700 were in fact ironmasters, while later ‘gentlemen’ included nouveaux riches, who had profited from the needle-trade, for example the Millwards of Tardebigge.⁴¹⁵ Although the typical gentleman or esquire was literate and held much farming stock and property, this was not always the case.⁴¹⁶ As noted earlier, gentlemen often followed professional occupations such as land-steward or attorney, while one Studley gentleman acted as a commissioner for Aston Cantlow’s enclosure in 1743.⁴¹⁷

In Period A the only servant for whom probate documents survive was John Wilson; however, he is not a poor underling, but well-connected, probably a steward.⁴¹⁸ Domestic servants remain elusive in local records until the nineteenth century. In 1831 there were 49 male servants over twenty and 16 under twenty and 445 female servants (7.7% of total females). In baptisms 1813-1840 only 1% of fathers were servants.⁴¹⁹ The 1841 census shows that some 5.1% of adult males were servants, while the percentages of servants in the other age and gender groups were, as expected, much higher.⁴²⁰ Some

⁴¹³ A. Foxall, *Old Redditch Pubs*, (Warwick, Token Books, 2002), p. 204, mentions the white witch. WoRO, Tardebigge 1841 census, the chemical workers.

⁴¹⁴ Gentlemen are not included in the statistics of known occupations in my tables.

⁴¹⁵ WoRO, probate of James Millward, Tardebigge, gentleman, 1785, and of John Millward, Tardebigge, gentleman, 1791. Some of the parishes had resident gentry or aristocracy whose probate is listed under that parish whereas others had absentee landlords. The probate of several gentlemen, ‘esquires’ and also baronets, such as Sir Francis Throckmorton of Coughton, were handled by the PCC, but unfortunately inventories do not exist to enlighten us about their investments.

⁴¹⁶ Gentlemen’s probate inventories ranged from WoRO, probate of Thomas Measey, Redditch, (Tardebigge), gent, 1685, £11-12-6 to that of William Sowley, Bordesley, (Tardebigge), gent, 1689, £1764-6-0. The latter was in fact an ironmaster.

⁴¹⁷ WaRO, B. AST. Pec.(P), Aston Cantlow enclosure award, 1743, mentions the commissioner, Edward Chambers of Studley.

⁴¹⁸ WoRO, probate of John Wilson, Ipsley, servant to Sir John Huband, 1680, (no inventory). His wife was from a wealthy family of tanners, the Chestons.

⁴¹⁹ Table 7.6.

⁴²⁰ See Table 7.8 above.

domestic servants' jobs are specified in various sources, such as footman and stable-master to the Earl of Plymouth. Charwomen in the censuses appear under a variety of local spellings.⁴²¹

Throughout the two centuries travellers occasionally feature in local records, which sometimes describe their means of earning an honest crust.⁴²² From 1720 to 1750 the term 'sojourner' appears, someone resident in the parish for longer than the average traveller, but not legally settled there.⁴²³ By the mid-nineteenth century so many different occupations are now in evidence, but there were still those like John Boswell of Mappleborough Green, 'no occupation, blind'.⁴²⁴

Summary for the Northern (Needle) District 1660-1840

In Periods A and B this zone's farmers and craftsmen served the local populace, but they also produced many items in large enough quantities to sell outside the zone: cheese, cattle, corn, malt, textiles, wooden products such as ploughs and carts, leather, shoes, gloves, nails and needles. The conversion of watermills to industrial use had begun with the papermills on the Arrow, probably in the seventeenth century.

This zone, the least densely populated of the four zones in the seventeenth century, attracted incomers. As in Skipp's nearby Arden parishes, the rapidly growing population was prepared to try a variety of by-employments to survive or thrive.⁴²⁵ Settlements such as Sambourne were becoming small industrial communities, well-placed to partake in the midland hardware district boom, but by no means all its artisans

⁴²¹ WaRO and WoRO 1841 and 1851 censuses list 'chairwomen', 'charewomen' and female 'chairers'.

⁴²² WaRO, Studley parish register 1716, baptism of the child of John Floyd, tinker, 'born at William Banks's'. Floyd may be an attempt at showing the Welsh pronunciation of Lloyd. Several travellers seem to have Welsh names. 'Tinker' here probably means a travelling mender of pots and pans.

⁴²³ For example, WaRO, Studley parish register, 1721, mentions Thomas White, sojourner.

⁴²⁴ WaRO, Studley baptisms 1813-1816 and QS76, jurors' lists.

⁴²⁵ As is evident from the parish registers of Feckenham, Coughton and Studley circa 1700.

worked in metal.⁴²⁶ Circa 1700 Coughton and Sambourne's inhabitants pursued a considerable number of secondary sector trades.⁴²⁷ However, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century the needle trade's dominance emerged in this zone and then continued for two centuries. Weavers and nailmakers retreated as the local economy specialised. However, the need to feed Birmingham's hardware district perhaps led to more intensive grazing of the commons, thus limiting the spread of cottage industrial workers.⁴²⁸ Agriculture remained an economically viable use of land in this zone, bereft as it was of iron ore and coal.

Lacking mineral resources, this zone contained no Whickham.⁴²⁹ More research would be needed in order to ascertain exactly why somewhere like Sambourne became the focus of early industrialisation. Yes, it was a wood-pasture settlement with a large tract of commonland on which incomers could settle, but there must have been other factors.⁴³⁰ Zell comments that the Wealden's gavelkind inheritance system encouraged its occupants to seek out non-agricultural by-employments.⁴³¹ Perhaps Sambourne's Borough English inheritance customs were a factor.⁴³² Be that as it may, from Sambourne and Studley the needlemaking phenomenon spread to outlying parts of Feckenham and Tardebigge parishes including the hamlet of Redditch. The success of

⁴²⁶ From the three parish registers of the time which yield occupational information we find the following percentages of the male workforce working in metal: Coughton 20%, Studley 10% and Feckenham 6%. Even in Coughton less than half of the secondary (industrial) sector worked in metal. This shows that specialisation was not as pronounced as in some parishes noted by Buchanan between 1600 and 1650, e. g. in Belbroughton 70% of industrial workers were metal workers and in Dudley 90%. (Buchanan, 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries', 19, pp. 47-53.)

⁴²⁷ In Coughton (with Sambourne) baptism register 1696-1707 needlemakers form 7.2% of the adult male workforce, nailmakers 7.8%, blacksmiths 7.8% (perhaps making nails and needles as well?), bakers 5.9%, weavers 4.6%, tanners 4.6% and besom-makers 3.3%. See also Table 7.18.

⁴²⁸ P. Large, 'Urban growth and agricultural change in the West Midlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in P. Clark, ed., *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800*, (London, Hutchinson, 1984), p. 173, shows this happening in nearby Bromsgrove, Clent and Belbroughton.

⁴²⁹ D. Levine and K. Wrightson, *The Making of an Industrial Society*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991).

⁴³⁰ As discussed earlier in this chapter.

⁴³¹ Zell, *Industry in the Countryside*, p. 232.

⁴³² In the Borough English system the youngest son inherited from the father.

the local needle trade in the eighteenth century caused this zone to follow a very different economic path from Zone B and even Zone C which shared many of the characteristics which could have led to industrialisation. The Needle District's rapid demographic growth was more the consequence than the cause of early industrialisation.⁴³³

The zone's speciality of needlemaking increased its percentage of the local workforce substantially during the eighteenth century. The demand for needles led to some mechanisation, harnessing horse- and water-power. Water-mills were also utilised in the papermaking trade, but this was only a small employer. Other metal working occupations declined, losing out to competition from elsewhere in the west midlands. In particular, the forges, which had made bar-iron, ceased production in the 1720s. As a consequence of the huge influx of workers into the needle industry, by 1750 the zone had more than 20% of its adult male workforce in secondary sector occupations, while the figure for individual settlements may have been as high as 78.5%.⁴³⁴ Although many craftsmen continued to produce their own food, industrial workers became increasingly dependent on a growing band of shopkeepers for food, clothing and luxuries.

In Period C Feckenham held its own as a minor service centre, while Redditch was rapidly transforming from a hamlet to a small manufacturing town. Like Zell's Wealden communities earlier, Sambourne, once at the forefront of proto-industrialisation hereabouts, began to de-industrialise, while places such as Studley and Beoley capitalised on their water-power. Despite ups and downs, the needle industry was still expanding, attracting incomers and providing work for inhabitants of all ages. Taking the economic lead in the late eighteenth century, the Needle District dragged Alcester (Zone A) along with it into the new, more specialised world of manufactures. This burgeoning

⁴³³ As Zell also noted for the Weald. Zell, *Industry in the Countryside*, p. 234.

⁴³⁴ Tables 7.1 and 7.14.

population needed food and other commodities, so agriculture continued to develop, while workers in the building, transport and allied trades were also in demand, but the leather and textile trades were in decline.

In the early nineteenth century the success of the needle and fishing tackle trade brought prosperity to this zone, but progress was not smooth. Both competition and co-operation existed between large and small firms, and, as Hudson comments about the west midlands region: ‘diversification of products and markets... left a place for smaller firms in the industrial structure’.⁴³⁵ ‘Capital deepening’ in the factories introduced technological innovation, which allowed less skilled, poorer paid wheel-turners to replace skilled workers.⁴³⁶ Some workers lost out and therefore rioted or struck in order to make their fears felt.⁴³⁷ The wage-earning needlemakers in Redditch’s Victorian factories lived a very different life from their great-grandfathers on Sambourne Heath.⁴³⁸ Women and children played an important role in needlemaking, and there are signs that some unmarried female needlemakers managed to support themselves.⁴³⁹

The industrial focus had shifted within the Needle District as proto-industry evolved into a more mature industrialisation and urbanisation around Redditch along the lines of other places in the midland hardware district.⁴⁴⁰ As in Smith’s Nottinghamshire towns, demographic growth brought with it more trades and services to cater for the

⁴³⁵ Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 126.

⁴³⁶ The term ‘capital deepening’ is taken from Atack, ‘Capital deepening and the rise of the factory’, p. 586.

⁴³⁷ As well as the riots and strikes mentioned above, Richardson, *The Book of Redditch*, p. 65, mentions the year-long strike which commenced in 1846, when needle-pointers objected to new extractor fans to remove metal dust, which they feared would reduce their pay.

⁴³⁸ Like the workers described in Mendels, ‘Proto-industrialization: the first phase of the industrialization process’, p. 261, and in Frost, ‘Yeomen and metalsmiths: livestock in the dual economy in south Staffordshire 1560-1720’.

⁴³⁹ This needs further investigation, but several unmarried women needlemakers (with or without children) remain unmarried from the 1820s through to 1851.

⁴⁴⁰ As described in various studies such as Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, and Court, *The Rise of the Midland Industries*, and Timmins, *Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District*.

bigger population, but at this stage the tertiary sector did not rival that of the market town of Alcester.⁴⁴¹

More than other zones the Needle District, with its emphasis on metal-working, embraced the mineral economy, but occupations of yesteryear, such as charcoal-burners, curriers and weavers, survived in small numbers.

⁴⁴¹ Smith, 'Population growth and economic change in some Nottinghamshire market towns', pp. 35-39.

CHAPTER EIGHT

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND POINTERS TO FURTHER RESEARCH

In this chapter, as well as making some general conclusions, I briefly examine some themes not sufficiently covered in previous chapters. There is not space in this study to develop these themes, but I make some observations and raise some pointers for further research.

The sources used and occupational structure

By using various sources in Chapters 4 to 7 I have shown that occupational structure in each of the four zones followed different paths over the 180 years of this study. Of course, the limitations of these sources only allow an incomplete picture of occupational structure even among adult males. Before 1813, in the absence of other records, probate and marriage licence data give pointers and allow discussion about the changing economy in different zones. By and large there is consensus between these two sources regarding the overall shifts in primary, secondary and tertiary occupations in the four zones. However, each type of record used has a different bias, as analysed in earlier chapters.¹

Undoubtedly, baptism registers giving fathers' occupations (from 1813 in most cases, but earlier in some parishes) present the most comprehensive view of adult male occupations before the 1841 census.

Information gleaned from other sources and discussed in each chapter helps to fill in some of the blank pages in our understanding of the local economy as presented by the main sources used. For example, the inland revenue apprenticeship books indicate the

¹ See Tables 2.1, 4.9, 5.10, 6.10, 7.23 and 7.24 in Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

significant presence of needlemakers in the eighteenth century, who may otherwise have gone unnoticed. I hope my analysis and observations will be informative for those interested in the occupational structure of certain parishes in the study area and also for those interested in the development of different industries or trades.

Although it was not possible in this study, further research could take the analysis back before 1660 using probate, or if suitable, marriage licences. Another possible line for research would be to bring the analysis forward using the censuses after 1841.² Although space does not allow analysis of later censuses here, Appendix 11 compares results from the baptism registers 1813-40 with the 1851 census for parishes in the Alcester Registration District.

The discussion in Chapters 4 to 7 was organised according to my geographical zones, but it may be enlightening here to pull information together here for the whole study area.

Table 8.1 Occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from probate data in The Whole Study Area 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-1858	1660-1699	1700-1749	1750-1799	1800-1858
Primary (including all labourers)	59.1	65.7	61.2	57.5	52.3
Primary (without labourers)	55.0	61.8	58.7	52.1	47.1
Secondary	30.2	27.4	30.2	31.7	31.7
Tertiary	10.6	7.0	8.5	10.9	16.0
Total males with known occupations (n)	3033.5	723.5	912.5	562	835.5

Taking probate data for the whole study area we can see the steady decline of the primary sector and the growth of tertiary. The secondary sector was already well established in Period A, but in this source it showed little growth after Period B.³

² At present such research would be possible to 1911.

³ For a comparison of the occupational structure in probate in the different zones see Appendix 26.

Table 8.2 Occupational structure in specific occupational groupings from probate data in The Whole Study Area 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-1858	1660-1699	1700-1749	1750-1799	1800-1858
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	54.9	61.8	58.5	51.9	47.1
All labourers	4.1	3.9	2.5	5.3	5.2
Extractive	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.7
Building (excl. carpenters)	2.2	2.1	1.6	1.2	3.7
Tailors/bodice makers	1.9	2.1	2.5	2.1	1.1
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	2.8	3.2	3.7	2.4	1.7
Shoemakers/cordwainers	2.7	1.7	3.6	3.0	2.4
Other leather, horn and tallow	2.9	5.0	3.8	2.1	0.5
Carpenters/joiners	2.5	3.0	1.8	2.3	3.0
Other woodworkers	1.9	1.9	2.1	1.1	2.3
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.9	1.9	3.5	2.9	3.0
Metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.7	1.1	0.6	1.0	0.2
Needles/hooks/pins	4.2	0.6	2.8	6.9	6.9
Transport	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.6
Innkeepers/victuallers	3.1	1.9	2.1	3.0	5.1
Other food, retail, service, dealing	8.2	6.5	6.2	9.6	11.0
Domestic servants	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4
Professional	4.0	2.7	3.9	4.3	5.1
Total males with known occupations (n)	3033.5	723.5	912.5	562	835.5

This table shows the steady decline of farmers as a share of the workforce, while labourers leaving probate never exceed 5.3 %. The brickmakers, lime-burners and stone-cutters (extractive) leaving probate remain less than 1% throughout. After a decline, building workers rally in the last period. Perhaps surprisingly, tailors leaving probate fall in the last period, while the decreased share for other textile workers in that period is more expected.

The shoemakers' share changes little, but other leatherworkers show a steady decline. In this source the pattern for carpenters, other woodworkers and blacksmiths is less clear. After a large increase needlemakers and associated trades plateau in the last period. The trend for other metalworkers is generally downward. Although transport workers form only a tiny share of the workforce leaving probate, they show steady growth.

Innkeepers, retailers, dealers and professionals generally show growth as one would expect in the tertiary sector over the study period. Domestic servants leaving probate were always a small percentage of the total.

Table 8.3 Occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from marriage licence data in The Whole Study Area 1680-1837 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1680-1837	1680-1699	1737-1754	1780-1799	1810-1837
Primary (with all labourers)	60.5	64.4	55.6	62.9	58.3
Primary (without labourers)	53.5	64.1	47.0	52.4	50.4
Secondary	31.1	30.2	36.1	30.2	27.3
Tertiary	8.4	5.4	8.3	6.9	14.4
Total males with known occupations (n)	1653	410	421	479	343

As for reasons of convenience I only analysed certain years in marriage licences, the total sample is only half the number of the probate sample. Maybe for that reason Table 8.3 does not show such a steady pattern as that in probate, but it may be that, with gaps between the sampled year groups, this table is more sensitive to short-lived trends, perhaps showing a swing back towards agriculture between Periods B and C.

Table 8.4 Occupational structure in specific occupational groupings from marriage licence data in The Whole Study Area 1680-1837 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1680-1837	1680-1699	1737-1754	1780-1799	1810-1837
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	53.4	64.1	46.8	52.2	50.4
All labourers	6.9	0.2	8.6	10.5	7.9
Extractive	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	2.4	1.7	2.9	2.7	2.0
Tailors/bodice makers	1.9	3.4	3.1	0.6	0.4
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.6	0.9
Shoemakers/cordwainers	3.1	5.4	3.2	1.7	2.3
Other leather, horn and tallow	2.0	3.7	2.4	1.0	0.9
Carpenters/joiners	2.9	3.2	2.9	2.3	3.5
Other woodworkers	1.8	1.7	2.6	1.9	0.9
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.1	2.2	1.9	1.9	2.3
Metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6
Needles/hooks/pins	6.3	0.7	8.0	9.6	6.1
Transport	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.3
Innkeepers/victuallers	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.8	1.2
Other food, retail, service, dealing	8.3	7.4	8.1	6.4	12.1
Domestic servants	1.1	0.0	2.6	1.3	0.6
Professional	3.8	2.6	2.9	3.1	7.6
Total males with known occupations (n)	1653	410	421	479	343

Table 8.4 highlights this possible swing back towards agriculture in Period C. Figures for other trades here probably indicate real decline or growth with the exception of the needle trade where the decline in Period D is deceptive.⁴

Table 8.5 Occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from baptism registers in the Whole Study Area 1813-1840 (as % of fathers with known occupations)

	1813-1840	1813-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840
Primary with agricultural labourers *	52.6	56.0	52.7	50.0
Primary without labourers	10.3	11.8	10.6	8.9
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers *	41.8	39.2	41.7	43.6
Secondary without labourers	35.5	32.6	35.5	37.6
Tertiary	5.7	4.9	5.6	6.4
Total males with known occupations (n)	18506	4913	6689	6904

* Labourers allocated according to the 1831 census

⁴ As noted earlier, perhaps many of the needlemakers in Period D were not in a financial position to make use of marriage licences. See Table 8.6.

The source in Table 8.5 is more comprehensive than probate and marriage licences.

Table 8.5 shows that during Period D the secondary and tertiary sectors continued to grow while primary declined.

Table 8.6 Occupational structure in specific occupational groupings from baptism registers in the Whole Study Area 1813-1840 (as % of fathers with known occupations)

	1813-1840	1813-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	8.5	9.5	8.6	7.7
All labourers	48.5	50.8	48.3	47.1
<i>Agricultural labourers *</i>	42.3	44.2	42.1	41.0
<i>Non-agricultural labourers *</i>	6.3	6.5	6.2	6.1
Extractive	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.2
Building (excl. carpenters)	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.4
Tailors/bodice makers	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.5
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	0.8	1.3	0.7	0.4
Shoemakers/cordwainers	4.0	3.3	4.1	4.6
Other leather, horn and tallow	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.4
Carpenters/joiners	2.9	3.2	3.0	2.5
Other woodworkers	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.0	1.8	1.6	2.6
Metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.4
Needles/hooks/pins	15.5	13.5	15.9	16.6
Transport	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.9
Innkeepers/victuallers	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.5
Other food, retail, service, dealing	4.8	4.3	5.0	4.8
Domestic servants	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
Professional	1.5	1.2	1.4	1.7
Total males with known occupations (n)	18506	4913	6689	6904

** Labourers allocated according to the 1831 census*

Table 8.6 shows that those involved in the needle trade were in reality still on the increase.

Table 8.7 Occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from the 1841 census in the Whole Study Area (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females Under 20
Primary with agricultural labourers	45.8	11.9	17.6	2.8
Primary without labourers	9.8	2.8	1.2	0.2
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers	41.8	46.1	45.0	33.4
Secondary without labourers	37.2	44.3	42.1	33.4
Tertiary	12.4	42.0	37.4	63.7
Total (m & f) with known occupations (n)	6295	1703	1145	891

Although we must assume that there is much under-recording of women and children's work in the census, Table 8.7 confirms their important role in the secondary and tertiary sectors.⁵

Table 8.8 Occupational structure in specific groupings from the 1841 census in The Whole Study Area (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	9.6	2.8	1.2	0.2
All labourers	40.6	10.9	19.3	2.6
Agricultural labourers	36.0	9.1	16.4	2.6
Non-agricultural labourers	4.6	1.8	2.9	0.0
Extractive	0.8	0.0	0.4	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	4.1	0.0	1.8	0.0
Tailors/bodice makers/dressmakers	1.7	5.1	2.3	2.2
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	0.7	2.3	0.5	0.8
Shoemakers/cordwainers	3.7	0.3	2.3	0.1
Other leather, horn and tallow	0.3	2.9	0.2	0.3
Carpenters/joiners	2.9	0.0	1.6	0.0
Other woodworkers	2.4	0.1	1.0	0.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.2	0.1	1.1	0.0
Metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	15.1	31.9	29.3	30.0
Transport	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	1.3	1.0	0.0	0.1
Other food, retail, service, dealing	5.4	4.3	2.1	0.3
Domestic servants/charwomen/nurses	5.3	35.2	35.3	63.0
Professional	2.3	2.7	0.7	0.3
Total (m & f) with known occupations (n)	6295	1703	1145	891

⁵ For a comparison of the occupational structure in the different zones in the 1841 census see Appendix 26.

Table 8.8 shows that proportionally more women and adolescents than adult males may have been involved in the needle trade. The role of women and adolescents in domestic service also contrasts with that of adult males.

The role of women and children

Although the sources used for this study concentrated on male occupations, some observations on the role of women and children are appropriate here. In Chapters 4 to 7 I have noted sporadic references to women in various occupations. The Victorian censuses show local women heavily involved in domestic service and the needle and glove trades, with a fair scattering of other occupations such as milliner, strawbonnet-maker, dressmaker and seamstress. Earlier references show females mantua-making, spinning and carding. Censuses and also earlier sources such as overseers of the poor accounts show women in the role of nurses or midwives, while they also played an important part as innkeepers and shopkeepers or assistants.

If it were not for Rev. Heath's comments on Inkberrow's women weavers in the 1790s, we might be unaware of that side of their involvement in the textile trade. Other women, usually widows, could be found running all manner of businesses, such as needlemakers, ironmongers and tanners.

Much women's work would have been part-time or irregular, and therefore under-recorded even in the 1851 census.⁶ Agriculture afforded some such opportunities, but women's involvement in agriculture probably lessened during the study period, so that by the mid-nineteenth century 'work for women in agriculture does seem limited'.⁷ Work in

⁶ L. Shaw-Taylor in N. Goose, *Women's Work in Industrial England*, (Hatfield, Local Population Studies, 2007), p. 40.

⁷ P. Sharpe in Goose, *ibid.*, p. 75.

hemp and flax plots receded, but dairying and market-gardening would offer some employment for women in 1840.

It is noticeable that in 1831 there were more females than males in Alcester and Redditch. This may partly be explained by the possibility of jobs in the service sector, but the needle industry also provided opportunities for women's work.⁸ Different communities perhaps had different attitudes towards working women according to the employment opportunities. In Redditch there were several women recorded as needlemakers in the registers 1813-1840 when they baptised their illegitimate children. Some of these can be identified in the 1851 census, still unmarried and still working in the needle-trade.⁹ It may be that the stigma of having illegitimate children had precluded marriage, but it could also be that they felt no need to marry, as employment in the needle-trade allowed them a certain independence, enabling them to provide for themselves and their children.¹⁰

Apart from apprenticeship records the child's role in the workforce is largely hidden in local archives until the 1851 census. However, apprenticeships were served in many occupations (including housewifery) and children must have been occupied in spinning and various agricultural pursuits such as bird-scaring and minding livestock. In the nineteenth century many girls as well as women in the west of the study area were outworkers for the Worcester gloving industry.

⁸ 1831 census. 53.4% of Alcester's population were female, while the figure for the Worcestershire part of Tardebigge parish (including Redditch) was 53.3%. Some small parishes also had more females than males, which may be explained by the presence of a 'big house' with many female domestic servants. In the quarrying parish of Temple Grafton only 45.7% of the population was female.

⁹ WoRO, Redditch baptisms 1813-40, and Redditch 1851 census.

¹⁰ C. Jones in Goose, *Women's Work in Industrial England*, pp. 289-313, mentions 'never-married' and 'ever-married' women needlemakers in Alcester in 1881.

Throughout the study period the under-recording of women and children's work seriously distorts the economic picture. People pursuing more than one occupation also cause difficulties with analysis. Although multiple occupations have been discussed as appropriate in earlier chapters, some thoughts on this theme are brought together here.

Dual or multiple occupations

The database, allowing the tracking of individuals in different sources, showed that many people pursued more than one occupation. Certain descriptors are source-related. For example, many people are referred to as 'gentleman' in legal documents, when they are in fact attorneys, tanners or mercers, and bankruptcy reports in newspapers often add 'dealer and chapman' after the specific occupational reference.¹¹

The occurrence of multiple occupations shows diversity and flexibility by individuals and communities. Sometimes historians refer to by-employments or secondary occupations, but at the level of the individual it is often difficult to know which was the main occupation and which subsidiary.¹² Some alternative occupations were seasonal, but others were interspersed according to demand, whim or weather. Sometimes alternative occupations used common skills, for example, needlemakers could turn their hand to fish-hook making. In other cases location was important, so the pub, smithy or tailor's shop could also serve the community as a general store. In such cases and others the involvement of the family in one of the occupations was commonplace. Other occupations such as fiddler, parish-clerk and constable, although not the main earners, were often seen

¹¹ For example, *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 3 Feb. 1791, regarding the bankruptcy of Richard Hind, Alcester, grocer, baker, dealer and chapman.

¹² The main occupation may be the one on which more time was spent or the one which brought in most income, not necessarily the same thing.

as important roles within the community, perhaps eclipsing the day-job in this respect. Many alternative occupations arose because the individual had the right contacts and knowledge, so the fish-hookmaker moved into fishing tackle manufacture, while the carrier's family also kept the village-shop. The miller often doubled as baker or maltster and also dealt in corn and flour.

Other occupational changes are age-related. An individual perhaps changed career, for example a needlemaker joined the army and then returned to needlemaking. Others built up capital which enabled them to buy a farm or a pub in middle age, either leaving off or continuing their earlier occupation. The descriptor 'apprentice' was naturally associated with those in the age-range 12 to 21 and 'servants' were also more likely to be under 30. Other terms in the Victorian censuses such as 'errand-boy' also show individuals at the start of their working life, while 'wheel-turners' (presumably in the needle factories) tend to be under 20 or elderly. Needle District mythology relates that needle-pointers died young. Before the introduction of extractor fans to remove metal dust, many must have died from respiratory diseases, but there are examples of older needle-pointers too.¹³ However, old age, ill-health and accidents no doubt caused many people to change their job.

Perhaps by Adam Smith's time the society of Alcester's hinterland had not 'improved' as much as Smith would have liked. Many manufacturers, retailers and professionals were still involved in farming, whether as labourer, hands-on farmer or investor, as shown by probate inventories up to Smith's time. Unfortunately, when

¹³ Though they may not have been needle-pointing all their working lives.

inventories cease, it is more difficult to detect the involvement of tradesmen and craftsmen in agriculture. However, records such as wills, directories and land tax assessments demonstrate some such involvement. Victorian Redditch factory-hands probably ‘took a holiday’ to help with hop-picking or harvest, but were less involved with the land on a day to day basis than their cottage needlemaking forebears.

The precise analysis of multiple occupations is both problematic and fascinating. I have made no attempt in this study to quantify frequency of multiple occupational combinations, but Appendix 22 includes observations on occurrences in the study area. In that appendix I have omitted farming as it was such a commonplace alternative employment. Some other trades were also so closely associated as to be regarded as synonyms.¹⁴ Despite the move towards a more specialised economy, multiple occupations were alive and well in the nineteenth century.¹⁵ The balance between specialisation and diversification of communities and individuals is discussed below.

Specialisation and diversification

Communities and individuals involved in the study area’s manufactures may have had less to do with farming in 1840 than in 1660, but specialisation and diversification went hand in hand. Chapters 4 and 7 discussed division of labour within the gun trade and needle-trade, but as production was more minutely demarcated, so new opportunities arose for other products. The diversification from needles into fish-hook and fishing tackle manufacture has been mentioned above.

¹⁴ For example, the plumber-glazier-painter and the carpenter-joiner.

¹⁵ See M. Woollard, ‘The classification of multi-occupational titles in the 1881 census of England and Wales’, *Local Population Studies*, 72, (2004), pp. 34-49.

Workers in trades like the needle-trade needed to be adaptable and so did the community as a whole.¹⁶ Redditch had become a manufacturing town by 1840, dependent on needles and fishing tackle, but just as the Birmingham metalworkers produced a myriad of products, the Redditch folk made all manner of different items within the overarching umbrella of the needle and fishing tackle industry. Some of these specialised products had not even existed in 1750.

As Redditch urbanised, shops and other suppliers proliferated in the early nineteenth century stocking tea, sugar and all manner of other items which would have been largely uncalled for a hundred years earlier. Trade directories show an increasing number of makers, dealers and service providers. Alcester and to a lesser extent many villages (particularly the industrial settlements) also showed signs of diversification in the nineteenth century, offering more services and a wider selection of shop goods on sale.

The situation regarding specialisation or diversification is complex. As certain communities industrialised, others concentrated more on farming, with a decrease in the traditional country pursuits of weavers and leatherworkers. In 1840 some trades and workplaces kept up the diversification which had begun in earlier periods. So the masons of Bidford still cut the stone at the quarry, shaped it, dressed it, sold it, sculpted it, with some of them also using it themselves for building work. In 1840 there were still several water-mills where needles and corn were made on the same site. As communications improved, it became increasingly viable to bring in certain products from outside the study area rather than making them here. The tailor of 1840 was more likely to sell goods made by others, (probably outside the area), than his counterpart in 1660. Rather than ordering

¹⁶ Later in the nineteenth century local workers also adapted their skills to make springs and cycles.

your new shoes from the village cordwainer you could now visit the shoe-dealer in Redditch and choose from a wider variety.

After 1800 the Needle District, (now with Alcester on board), may have specialised in the manufacture of needles and associated items, but in other ways the occupations on view in the study area were more varied than in earlier times, as discussed in this brief survey of different parishes below.

Communities of different sizes and different types

Although tables in Chapters 4 to 7 analysed occupational structure in different zones, the structure for individual parishes was mainly confined to comments in the text. Here I will briefly examine different communities and their respective occupational structures and discuss some of the reasons for differences between communities. Patten noted that ‘increasing settlement size tended to be accompanied by increasing numbers [of occupations] and increasing specialization of function.’¹⁷ As various writers have indicated, this begs the question: how self-contained was each settlement and how much did it rely on its neighbouring towns and villages for certain services?¹⁸

Tables 8.9 to 8.12 show the number of different male occupations in the parishes of the study area in probate 1660-1858. They are grouped in geographic zones but population totals from the 1801 census are included.¹⁹ Although of course the parishes grew at

¹⁷ J. Patten, ‘Village and town: an occupational study’, *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, 20, (1972), p. 8.

¹⁸ For example, Patten, *ibid.*, p. 16. Brown in Dyer, *The Self-contained Village?*, pp. 114-137, and Mills, *Rural Community History from Trade Directories*.

¹⁹ Billesley (population 27 in 1801) is included with its neighbour, Haselor, (population 306).

different rates over the study period, these tables afford a starting point for discussion of occupations found in different sized populations.²⁰

Table 8.9 Number of different male occupations in probate in Zone A Alcester 1660-1858

	Population in 1801	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Alcester	1625	35	37	34	34

Table 8.10 Number of different male occupations in probate in parishes of Zone B The Southern (Champion) Country 1660-1858

	Population in 1801	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Bidford on Avon	928	11	17	13	19
Cleeve Prior	287	4	4	3	5
Dorsington	100	3	3	1	1
Harvington	262	2	3	4	4
Long Marston	242	3	3	4	7
Pebworth	579	8	6	10	8
Salford Priors	758	6	4	4	11
Weethley	51	0	1	2	2
Welford on Avon	516	8	11	12	15
Weston on Avon	139	1	2	1	1
Southern (Champion) Country	3862	20	24	22	26

²⁰ As the periods differ in length and in the numbers in probate this is of course a very crude measure of occupations in different communities but allows some observations. The scope of this study did not allow a more detailed analysis. For population totals apart from 1801 see Chapter 3. In Tables 8.9 to 8.12 yeoman, husbandman and farmer are counted as one occupation, and needlemaker and fish-hook maker are counted as one. Gentlemen are excluded from the figures.

Table 8.11 Number of different male occupations in probate in parishes of Zone C The Central (Wood-pasture) Belt 1660-1858

	Population in 1801	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Abbots Morton	191	5	3	5	4
Arrow	388	4	5	4	12
Aston Cantlow	721	11	13	7	11
Billesley & Haselor	333	4	3	3	4
Binton	217	5	4	3	5
Dormston	85	2	1	1	1
Exhall	129	2	3	2	4
Great Alne	290	9	7	5	5
Inkberrow	1335	7	9	9	15
Kington	110	2	3	3	2
Kinwarton	26	2	3	1	1
Morton Bagot	194	2	5	2	1
Oldberrow	113	3	2	2	2
Rous Lench	231	7	6	3	6
Spennall	90	5	5	3	3
Stock & Bradley	181	2	3	3	2
Temple Grafton	216	2	3	3	8
Wixford	116	1	3	2	2
Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	4966	24	27	19	26

Table 8.12 Number of different male occupations in probate in parishes of Zone D The Northern (Needle) District 1660-1858

	Population in 1801	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-58
Beoley	630	5	11	4	8
Coughton	729	12	13	4	7
Feckenham	1830	20	17	14	19
Ipsley	478	9	4	6	8
Studley	1037	10	15	10	17
Tardebigge (including Redditch)	2322	9	19	12	29
Northern (Needle) District	7026	27	35	25	38

Tables 8.9 to 8.12 show, as may be expected, that (in probate) larger communities generally had more occupations than smaller communities. Space here does not allow detailed analysis, but some general observations can be made. Tardebigge, (in Table 8.12), includes the hamlet of Redditch which grew into a manufacturing town. This is shown by the increase in the last period. Alcester, the market town, always had the most variety of

occupations in probate of any parish throughout the study period. The apparent drop evident in many parishes in Period C is to a large extent caused by fewer probate records.

It is often difficult to determine whether a populous rural community had more occupations because it was a service-centre for the neighbourhood or just because the law of averages dictated that more people meant more variety. Places like Aston Cantlow, Bidford and Inkberrow appear to fulfil an intermediate niche between town and small village, as centres which serviced their neighbours. Industrial colonies in Sambourne (in Coughton parish) and in Studley account for the large number of occupations in those parishes. Feckenham was an established service centre, but also had its pockets of industrial workers. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century industrial colonies in Feckenham, Tardebigge and Ipsley parishes, for example Headless Cross and Crabbs Cross, developed rapidly, which contributed to the numbers of occupations in those parishes.

While Tables 8.9 to 8.12 allow comparison of the situation in different parishes over the whole study period, Tables 8.13 to 8.16 are much more accurate in portraying the occupational variety for the period 1813 to 1840, taken as they are from baptism registers.²¹ The population of each parish in the 1841 census is included to allow a comparison between population size and occupational variety.²²

²¹ As in Tables 8.9 to 8.12, in Tables 8.13 to 8.16 yeoman, husbandman and farmer are counted as one, and all types of needlemaker and fish-hook and fishing tackle makers are counted as one. Gentlemen are omitted. Occupations of residents of each parish are counted. (In some cases these were found in baptism registers elsewhere in the study area.)

²² Some parishes such as Redditch grew much more rapidly than others between 1813 and 1840, but the 1841 census is taken as a guide for population size.

Table 8.13 Number of different male occupations (n) in baptisms 1813-1840 in the zones of the Study Area

	Population in 1841	(n)
Zone A Alcester	2399	66
Zone B Southern (Champion) Country	5351	48
Zone C Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	6672	52
Zone D Northern (Needle) District	12310	72
Whole Study Area	26732	85

Table 8.14 Number of different male occupations (n) in baptisms 1813-1840 in Zone B The Southern (Champion) Country

	Population in 1841	(n)
Bidford on Avon	1567	37
Cleeve Prior	366	10
Dorsington	141	5
Harvington	347	17
Long Marston	337	12
Pebworth	829	20
Salford Priors	865	19
Weethley	57	3
Welford on Avon	738	25
Weston on Avon	104	5
Southern (Champion) Country	5351	48

Table 8.15 Number of different male occupations (n) in baptisms 1813-1840 in Zone C The Central (Wood-pasture) Belt

	Population in 1841	(n)
Abbots Morton	234	13
Arrow	543	18
Aston Cantlow	1089	26
Billesley	31	2
Binton	269	17
Dormston	115	5
Exhall & Wixford	328	11
Great Alne	404	17
Haselor	360	21
Inkberrow	1809	35
Kington	151	7
Kinwarton	67	4
Morton Bagot	170	7
Oldberrow	63	3
Rous Lench	280	15
Spennall	107	5
Stock & Bradley	251	10
Temple Grafton	401	10
Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	6672	52

Table 8.16 Number of different male occupations (n) in baptisms 1813-1840 in Zone D The Northern (Needle) District

	Population in 1841	(n)
Beoley	657	26
Coughton	955	26
Feckenham	2800	45
Ipsley	1029	35
Redditch	3314	54
Studley	1992	45
Tardebigge (excluding Redditch)	1563	31
Northern (Needle) District	12310	72

As expected, each parish showed more occupational variety in baptisms 1813-40 (Tables 8.13 to 8.16) than in probate 1800-58 (Tables 8.9 to 8.12). In baptisms Alcester

(66) had more occupations than other parishes, with Redditch (54) as its closest rival. Even though Redditch had a higher population than Alcester by 1841, the old market town still showed more occupational variety than the new manufacturing town.

The figures in Tables 8.13 to 8.16 only tell part of the story. Rather than the number of occupations it is the different occupational descriptors present in each parish, which really highlight the contrasts between different communities. While it is not possible here to compare all the parishes, the adult male occupations in four parishes with a population in 1841 of 330 to 370 are compared in Table 8.17.

Table 8.17 Comparison of four parishes of similar size (population between 330 and 370 in 1841)

Parish	Population in 1841	Male occupations in baptisms 1813-40
(with no. of different male occupations in brackets)		(occupations in bold type are common to all four parishes)
Cleeve Prior (10)	366	tailor, shoemaker , shopkeeper, farmer , builder, carpenter/joiner , bricklayer, mason/slater, stone-cutter, labourer
Harvington (17)	347	parish-clerk, innkeeper, tailor, shoemaker , farmer , gardener/seedsman, wheelwright, carpenter/joiner , mason/slater, ploughwright, butcher, miller, baker, maltster, papermaker, blacksmith, labourer
Haselor (21)	360	exciseman, music-master, domestic servant, shoemaker , dealer, farmer , gardener, horse-dealer, carpenter/joiner , plumber, wheelwright, ploughwright, butcher, miller, baker, maltster, sawyer, basketmaker, stone-cutter, blacksmith, labourer
Long Marston (12)	337	clergyman, innkeeper, domestic servant, shoemaker , farmer , gardener, wheelwright, carpenter/joiner , weaver, sawyer, blacksmith, labourer

While there are four occupations in common amongst all the parishes in Table 8.17, (shown in bold type), there are also some descriptors which appear in certain parishes but not in others. Geography explains some differences, such as the stone-cutters who appear in the two quarrying parishes, and the millers and papermakers in parishes where their respective mills were situated. Perhaps weavers, (who a hundred years earlier may have been omnipresent), now mainly appear in settlements with few alternative non-agricultural employments. Sometimes personal circumstances cause the differences in the parish's list of occupations, such as the exciseman and the musicmaster in Haselor, who presumably could have lived in any local village, but chose to live there. In communities as small as these (and smaller) there may only be one blacksmith and one tailor in the village, and, if they were not of the age to be baptising children, naturally they do not appear in the data.²³ Multiple or dual occupations also conceal the presence of certain jobs, so, although Haselor and Cleeve Prior had public houses, the publicans may appear as farmers or other occupations in baptisms. So the list of occupations is incomplete even for adult males, but is worthy of further investigation.

²³ In this circumstance trade directories would fill such gaps in occupational data in certain parishes before the Victorian censuses, as advocated in Mills, *Rural Community History from Trade Directories*.

Table 8.18 Comparison of three parishes of similar size (population between 820 and 960 in 1841)

Parish	Population in 1841	Male occupations in baptisms 1813-40
(with no. of different male occupations in brackets)		(occupations in bold type are common to all three parishes)
Coughton (26) (including Sambourne)	955	exciseman, clergyman, surgeon, innkeeper , gamekeeper/servant, shoemaker , shopkeeper, coal dealer, farmer , gardener , surveyor, carpenter/joiner , bricklayer, mason/slater , wheelwright , butcher, greengrocer, miller, baker , grocer, sawyer, cooper, brickmaker, blacksmith needlemaker/fish-hookmaker, labourer /shepherd
Pebworth (20)	829	innkeeper , tailor, shoemaker , farmer , gardener , pig dealer, carpenter/joiner , bricklayer, mason/slater , plasterer, wheelwright , butcher, weaver, miller, baker , maltster, basketmaker, tinman, blacksmith , labourer
Salford Priors (19)	865	clergyman, parish-clerk, schoolmaster, innkeeper , gamekeeper, builder, tailor, shoemaker , farmer , gardener , carpenter/joiner , bricklayer, mason/slater , wheelwright , weaver, baker , sawyer, blacksmith , labourer

There are ten occupations in common amongst the three larger parishes compared in Table 8.18. These larger communities include all four common occupations (farmer, carpenter, shoemaker, labourer) from Table 8.17, but were also more likely to support a blacksmith, wheelwright and mason than smaller communities. Perhaps surprisingly, tailor still does not appear in all parishes. Coughton's needlemakers perhaps fulfil the niche of the weavers in the other two parishes, as alternative non-agricultural employment. As with the parishes in Table 8.17, some differences can be explained by geography and others by personal circumstance or other factors.

Life and work contrasted greatly in settlements of different sizes or of a different nature, such as industrial or purely agricultural communities. Where occupations are given in pre-1813 registers, it is also possible to compare changes over time, and to compare communities with large or small acreages of common or waste land, and note changes before and after enclosure. Sambourne and Studley, with large commons, differ from their neighbour Coughton, which was a more closed community.²⁴

The reasons for contrasting occupational structures in different communities is complex. More microcosmic analysis would raise further questions, but would also furnish some answers to explain the differences. Analysis of trade directories and Victorian censuses would also help to chart the differing occupation structure in rural parishes later in the nineteenth century as the general trend away from self-containedness continued.

²⁴ Table 7.20 in Chapter 7 compares these communities.

Wealth, status and mobility

The scope of this study did not allow detailed analysis of these three topics, but some comments are appropriate here. Although occupational descriptors can be misleading, different occupations may be associated with different levels of wealth. For example, a humble labourer would be expected to be less well off than a gentleman, but what of other trades? Table 8.19 shows the ranking of average (mean) inventory totals for different occupations. This is a very crude indicator as certain possessions and landholdings are not included in inventories and there may be many people in each occupation (particularly among the labourers, journeymen and petty tradesmen) who were not included in probate at all. Nevertheless, the rankings at least warrant some discussion.²⁵ For the most part the rankings speak for themselves, but a few comments may be needed. Masons are included in the building sector although many were also involved in quarrying. Those in the extractive sector are brickmakers, lime-burners and stone-cutters. The domestic servant sector is perhaps misleading as most in that category were probably not adult males like the four included in probate here. The transport section is comprised of one wagoner.²⁶

²⁵ For a more detailed analysis of inventories of those with rural occupations see L. Shaw-Taylor, 'The nature and scale of the cottage economy' on the Cambridge Group's website: www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk

²⁶ Salters are included under the section entitled other food, retail, service and dealing.

*Table 8.19 Ranking of male occupational groups
by mean (average) of total inventory values 1660-1779*

Male occupational groups (no. of inventories in brackets)	Value to nearest £
Mercers/drapers (11)	414
Chandlers (12)	364
Gentlemen (122)	340
Professional (31)	275
Tanners (19)	227
Butchers (20)	188
Maltsters (15)	186
Agriculture (excl. labourers) (852)	175
Metalworkers (excl. blacksmiths/needles/hooks/pins) (13)	163
Textile, clothing & paper (excl. tailor/weavers) (19)	155
Woodworkers (excl. carpenters/joiners) (29)	145
Needles/hooks/pins (30)	128
Millers (17)	111
Bakers (25)	109
Innkeepers/victuallers (28)	109
Other food, retail, service, dealing * (9)	85
Blacksmiths (incl. farriers) (45)	83
Leatherworkers (excl. tanners/shoemakers) (26)	79
Shoemakers (37)	63
Building (excl. carpenters) (27)	62
Carpenters/joiners (36)	51
Weavers (27)	51
Tailors/bodice makers (34)	46
Domestic servants (4)	42
Extractive (9)	33
Labourers (54)	24
Transport (1)	14

This crude ranking approximates to perceptions of different occupations. Unfortunately, inventory totals do not survive to inform us about wealth of those after 1780. People's aspirations changed over time, so, for example, even the humble labourer's clothing and diet changed from 1660 to 1840. Men of certain occupations were more likely to be literate, but this also changed during the study period. Social status was also associated with occupations, and for the most part those higher ranked in the table above were more likely to have served as jurors, churchwardens and overseers. Parish-clerks were usually from lower down the social scale; many were shoemakers.²⁷

Throughout the study period individuals can be traced who moved up or down the social scale for a variety of reasons. Amongst those who were given the opportunity to move upwards were poor boys chosen to serve a parish apprenticeship. As noted in earlier chapters, certain trades were also associated with geographic mobility. Educated, gentry and professional families were likely to move further than poor labourers, but certain trades such as millers and papermakers often had to move long distances in order to find their next opportunity. Other groups such as soldiers and pedlars were of necessity more mobile. Sometimes several members of a certain community moved to seek out better opportunities, such as the needlemakers from Long Crendon who deserted Buckinghamshire for the more robust economic opportunities of Redditch's needle-trade in the early nineteenth century. Some of these Long Crendon needlemaking families demonstrate exceptional continuity within the trade, a theme explored below.

²⁷ Perhaps shoemakers were also more able to leave off their shoemaking work to attend to parish business than a blacksmith or quarryman.

Occupational continuity within families

Many examples have come to light of certain occupations continuing within families over three generations or more. As may be expected, where the family is associated with a workplace such as a farm, quarry, inn or workshop, such continuity is likely, but skills and social status also limited the choice of occupation for young men. Marcia Evans has charted Somerset and Dorset families in the blacksmith trade over several generations.²⁸ Similar studies would be fruitful for parishes and occupations in the study area, especially if reasons for continuity or change of occupation within families can be established.

Study area families who demonstrate extended occupational continuity include Appleby (blacksmiths in Binton and Temple Grafton 1670-1788), Osborne (blacksmiths in the Bidford area 1710-1851) and Badson (needle makers 1677-1851). The Clarksons of Feckenham were weavers from 1663 to 1781 and shoemakers from 1760 to 1851 and parish-clerks throughout much of that time.²⁹

However, a more detailed investigation of such families would be needed to ascertain how many sons followed their fathers' occupations and why certain sons of the same generation did not. Where there is an apparent break in continuity, a business is sometimes kept in the family by handing it over to a son-in-law with a different surname. In other cases continuity is achieved by passing a business to a former apprentice or employee.

²⁸ M. Evans, *The Place of the Rural Blacksmith in Parish Life 1500-1900*, (Taunton, Somerset and Dorset Family History Soc., 1998)

²⁹ Some of these families may have been in the same trade before or after the period of study and may have moved outside the study area to continue their trade.

General conclusions

In this chapter I have reviewed the occupational trends in the study area as a whole and also brought together findings concerning various themes, which run as a thread through the thesis. The summaries in Chapters 4 to 7 highlighted change, continuity, contrasts and similarities between zones and periods, and earlier in this chapter I highlighted the different economic roles of individual parishes. Here I make some further points regarding specific questions posed in Chapter 1.

I have demonstrated that industry, for example weaving, was a widespread activity in the countryside from the start of the study period. In the case of the needle industry the early industrialisation led to a more mature industrialisation. Certain sectors such as leather, textiles, bar-iron production and nailmaking retreated while needlemaking showed exceptional growth. Certain settlements such as Sambourne show signs of de-industrialisation, while others such as Redditch and Studley undergo continued industrialisation and urbanisation. The location of certain industries can be explained by various factors, such as the presence of rivers for water-power and transport or suitable quarries for stone for the building trade. In other cases human decisions or serendipity may have influenced the local economic scene, as in the case of William Lea setting up as a needlemaker in Studley.

By means of occupational structure I have demonstrated the spreading tide of industrialisation though the timing of this spread remains obscure in some places. Where early sources are more comprehensive, such as the parish registers of Coughton and Studley, we have seen that a variety of industries were present in the late seventeenth century, but in the early eighteenth century these communities began to specialise in the needle trade. Although the local needle industry later spread to the market town of

Alcester, it originated in an area of particularly low population density in the seventeenth century. More detailed research could be undertaken to see how this compares with the origins of other specialist industries, for example other metalware trades in different parts of the west midlands.

Local occupational statistics seem to endorse Stobart's statement that 'industrialisation was a long-drawn-out process with deep historical roots.'³⁰ Musson comments that: 'The older view of the Industrial Revolution - that it was a sudden cataclysmic transformation, starting around 1760 - clearly is no longer tenable. The 'pre-industrial' economy had been gradually becoming more industrialized...'³¹ Industry in the countryside in the hinterland of Alcester was certainly established early, as noted by Court and Rowlands for other parts of the west midlands, though in the case of the needle industry around Redditch it shifted up a gear in the late eighteenth century.³² In other places the increasing comparative advantage of agriculture probably stemmed the industrial tide.

Throughout the study period Alcester was more than a large village, offering various services and acting as a centre for local agriculture and trades. Redditch and some other settlements in the Needle District became more urbanised, while larger villages such as Inkberrow and Bidford continued to serve their smaller neighbours. The influence of nearby towns outside the study area has been shown, for example, Worcester as a provider of work for gloveresses and Bromsgrove as a centre for the flax trade. Various sources show that the study area was integrated into the west midlands network. For example, the Needle District had links with the Foleys and later with Matthew Boulton. Like Boulton

³⁰ J. Stobart, *The First Industrial Region: North-West England 1700-1760*, (Manchester, MUP, 2004), p. 1.

³¹ A. E. Musson, *The Growth of Industry*, (London, Batsford, 1981), p. 61.

³² As confirmed by Table 7.2 in Chapter 7 and by population growth in Chapter 3.

the study area's needle masters learnt to be adaptable and to respond quickly to market forces, making needles or hooks, as required.³³

I hope this survey has made a new contribution in the study of occupational structure in various ways. Firstly, I have made a detailed commentary on use of various occupational descriptors and their changed usage over time. Secondly, I have demonstrated that marriage licence data can be used as an alternative source for occupational information. Thirdly, my survey has highlighted the different responses of different communities and put the needle trade into perspective. S. Jones's study looked at early needlemakers up to 1750. I have added to his findings in various ways. Firstly, I have traced the later developments in the needle trade, including the shift in geographical focus brought about by the use of suitable water-mills to scour needles. The use of a wider range of sources than that used by Jones has enabled me to discover the timing of some significant developments in the trade, for example the diversification into pinmaking and fish-hook manufacture in the mid-eighteenth century and the first references to division of labour at around the same time. My use of inland revenue apprenticeship books has confirmed the participation of women and children in the trade before 1750 and has demonstrated that the trade was spreading in Feckenham and Tardebigge parishes before 1750 as well as in Studley and Coughton parishes. My discussion of the early needle industry shows some similarities with the metalware trades discussed by Frost and Rowlands, but also some contrasts. The needle industry was later on the scene than some

³³ P. Jones discusses this quick response by Birmingham manufacturers in P. Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment*, (Manchester, MUP, 2008), p. 42.

of the other metal trades, and needlemakers were perhaps slower to abandon agriculture than their Black Country cousins.

In a wider context my findings regarding occupational structure may be compared with surveys of other regions, for example those undertaken by the Cambridge Group. An industrialising zone such as the Needle District exhibits similarities to certain other industrial areas. The PST figures for Studley and Coughton in the eighteenth century make an interesting comparison with West Yorkshire at that time, with similar percentages.³⁴

Other parishes in my study exhibit relative occupational stability like Masten's Hertfordshire parishes, while Sambourne's lack of suitable water-power led to partial de-industrialisation like certain Northamptonshire parishes.³⁵ My study takes the figures back earlier than most completed projects by the Cambridge Group, but as their projects and other surveys are completed there will be more studies with which to compare my own findings about early industrialisation.³⁶

Although there will undoubtedly be exceptions, the PST make-up of many places may well prove to have been established earlier than once thought. My Table 8.1 above shows little change in secondary from the early figure, while the tertiary sector was well-established before 1700 and continued to grow throughout the study period, though the greatest growth was apparently between Periods C and D.³⁷

³⁴ Compare my Table 7.24 above with Table 1 in L. Shaw-Taylor and A. Jones, 'An industrializing Region? The West Riding of Yorkshire c. 1755-1871' on the Cambridge Group website: www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk
The occupations behind the percentages are of course quite different. I am grateful to the Cambridge Group for permission to quote their findings in this preliminary report and in the reports referred to below.

³⁵ V. Masten, 'Male occupational structure in Hertfordshire', and L. Shaw-Taylor and A. Jones, 'Male occupational structure in Northamptonshire 1777-1851', both on the website: www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk

³⁶ P. Kitson, 'The male occupational structure of Bedfordshire c. 1700-1871' on the website: www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk produces PST figures c. 1725 similar to my own for 1700-1749 in Table 8.1 above.

³⁷ For example, see Table 8.1.

In looking at the wider picture we should never lose sight of the differences between the working lives of different individuals. Gender, age, health, marital status, family, abode, aspiration, attitude and serendipity all influence the occupational paths followed by an individual and, consequently, the occupational structure of whole communities.

Appendix 1: Parish Gazetteer

Information about Parishes in the Study Area¹

A short summary follows of each of the parishes included in this survey with essential information to help place the various communities in their correct context. The market town of Alcester (Zone A) is described first, followed by descriptions of the other parishes grouped into the subdivisions of Zone B, The Southern (Champion) Country, Zone C, The Central (Wood-pasture Belt) and Zone D, The Northern (Needle) District. Approximate compass directions and distances (in miles) to Alcester and other local or important market centres are included.²

Zone A, Alcester - a parish of 1758 acres including the ancient market town of Alcester at the confluence of the Alne and Arrow and at the crossing of Icknield Street and the ancient Saltway from Droitwich to Stratford; also including hamlet of Kings Coughton). Described as a free borough from the time of Henry I. Market held on Tuesdays from the thirteenth century; also various fairs. The town was described as 'a very good market for corn' in 1746 and a corn exchange was built in 1857. Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Alcester division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire and Alcester Union. London 103 SE, Birmingham 20 N, Coventry 25 NE, Gloucester 35 SW, Warwick 15 NE, Worcester 15 W, Alvechurch 11 N, Redditch 7 N, Kings Norton 15 N, Sutton Coldfield 25N, Coleshill 23 NE, Henley-in-Arden 8 NE, Solihull 16 NE, Kenilworth 24 NE, Leamington 20 NE, Southam 25 E, Kineton 20 E, Stratford-upon-Avon 8 E, Shipston-upon-Stour 18 SE, Chipping Campden 14 SE, Moreton-in-Marsh 20 SE, Stow-on-the Wold 23 SE, Winchcombe 20 S, Cheltenham 25 S, Evesham 11 S, Pershore 12 SW, Fladbury 11 SW,

Upton-upon-Severn 19 SW, Tewkesbury 22 SW, Droitwich 12 W, Bromsgrove 12 NW, Kidderminster 21 NW, Halesowen 20 NW, Stourport 22 NW, Bewdley 24 NW, Dudley 24 NW, Stourbridge 22 NW. The Greville and Brooke families (sometime Earls of Warwick) held the manor until 1813 when it was sold to the Marquess of Hertford, whose seat was at nearby Ragley Hall. There must have been much early enclosure but the award of 1771 enclosed Alcester Heath and the common field. A post town.

Zone B, The Southern (Champion) Country

Bidford-on-Avon - a large parish of 3311 acres including the considerable village of 'drunken' Bidford and the hamlets of 'beggarly' Kings Broom, Barton and Marlcliff; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Stratford Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire, but Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 4, Evesham 7, Stratford 7. For most of the period Bidford manor was held by the Skipwith family. Bidford Grange, Marlcliff and Barton had been separate manors, but became part of the main manor of Bidford. Broom was originally two separate hamlets, namely Burnells Broom and Kings Broom. Burnells Broom became depopulated before the seventeenth century. Kings Broom, sometimes included in the constabulary of neighbouring Temple Grafton, was held by the Throckmorton family. From the thirteenth century Bidford had been a market centre, but the market was discontinued before the end of the eighteenth century and the market cross was already in ruins by 1639. Fairs in April and September until 1872. The Avon (navigable at this point) and the Arrow flow through the parish. An important bridge

¹ Information about the various parishes is mainly from VCH, but supplemented with information from Rudder for Gloucestershire parishes.

² These distances are only approximate as the road system changed over time.

crosses the Avon on ancient Ryknild Street. Enclosure of Bidford common field 1766, Broom 1767 and Barton and Marlcliff 1777.

Cleeve Prior - parish of 1518 acres on the Avon; Pershore deanery, Worcester diocese; upper division of Oswaldslow Hundred, Worcestershire; Evesham Union. Alcester 5, Bidford 2, Evesham (post) 5. The manor house and certain lands were rented from the Dean and Chapter of Worcester by the Bushell family. Common Enclosure award for common 1776. The soil is clay and the subsoil lower lias.

Dorsington - a small parish of 974 acres; Campden deanery, Gloucester diocese; Upper Kiftsgate Division of Gloucestershire, (transferred to Warwickshire in twentieth century). Stratford Union. Alcester 7, Bidford 3, Stratford 4, Chipping Campden 7, Evesham 7. The manor was held by the Rawlins family. Almost entirely agricultural, mainly arable. Enclosed 1776.

Harvington - a parish of 1348 acres on the Avon, (not to be confused with the other place of the same name which is in Chaddesley Corbett, NW Worcs.); Pershore deanery, Worcester diocese; middle division of Oswaldslow hundred, Worcestershire; Evesham Union. Alcester 6, Evesham (post) 4, Bidford 4. The soil is sand with a subsoil of gravel

and keuper marl. Enclosure award 1787. Manor belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester. Ferry across Avon and river wharf.

Long Marston - alias Marston Sicca or Dry Marston, a parish of 1573 acres; Campden deanery, Gloucester diocese; Upper Division of Kiftsgate Hundred, Glos., (transferred to Warks. in twentieth century). Stratford Union. Alcester 8, Bidford 4, Chipping Campden 6, Stratford 6. 'Flat vale country, yet the greater part of the parish is arable land'. Great scarcity of water in summer. The manor was held by the Sheldon family (see Beoley). Mainly agricultural, chiefly arable, but some weavers (established pre-1608) and other crafts. Enclosure 1774.

Pebworth - a parish of 3086 acres including Broad Marston and Ullington; Campden deanery, Gloucester diocese; Upper Division of Kiftsgate Hundred, Gloucestershire (transferred to Worcestershire in the twentieth century). Evesham Union. Alcester 7, Bidford 3, Stratford 8, Chipping Campden 5, Evesham 7, Broadway 7. Rich soil with fine grass and corn 'pretty equally divided into pasture and arable'. The main manor of Pebworth belonged to the Fortescue family. Another manor was held by the Martin family with a dependance on the Duchy of Lancaster, the inhabitants therefore claiming to be toll-free throughout the kingdom. The manor of Broadmarston was held by the earls of Salisbury. Enclosure award 1814.

Salford Priors - a large parish of 4808 acres at the confluence of the Arrow and Avon, including Iron Cross, Pophills, Wood Bevington, Cock Bevington, Dunnington and Abbots

Salford; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Stratford Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire; Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 5, Bidford 2, Stratford 8, Evesham 6. The manor of Salford Priors (including Cock Bevington and Dunnington) was held by the Skipwith family until 1790 when it was purchased by the Marquess of Hertford. The manor was probably enclosed by agreement in the early eighteenth century, except Dunnington Heath which was enclosed in 1783. Names associated with the manor of Salford Minor or Abbots Salford were Stanford, Sheldon, Berkeley and Eyston. Wood Bevington was held by St John's College, Oxford and leased to the Archer family until 1791 when it passed into the family of the Marquess of Hertford, who also took over the manor of Pophills in 1812, previously held by the Rawlins family.

Weethley - a very small parish of 642 acres, greatly depopulated before the seventeenth century; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Alcester Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire, and Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 3, Evesham 8. On the Ridgeway. Manor of Weethley held by the Fortescues of Cookhill, then Jennens and Curzon family. The soil is clay. Maybe included in the lost enclosure award of Kinwarton in 1803.

Welford-on-Avon - a parish of 3130 acres lying in a meander of the Avon, including the large village of Welford and the hamlets of Bickmarsh and Little Dorsington; Campden deanery, Gloucester diocese. Chiefly in the upper division of Deerhurst Hundred, Gloucestershire, but Bickmarsh and Little Dorsington were in Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire; Stratford Union. Alcester 5, Stratford 4, Bidford 4, Chipping Campden 9.

‘Rich soil abundantly fertile in corn and pasture’,³ but with little timber. The manor of Welford was held by the earls of Middlesex and then the Sackville family, earls and dukes of Dorset and in the mid-nineteenth century by Lady Amherst. The Griffin family and later the Lords Harrowby held the manor of Bickmarsh. Enclosure award in 1801.

Weston-on-Avon - a parish of 1560 acres with a very small population where the Warwickshire Stour joins the Avon, including the small village of Weston and the hamlet of Milcote; Campden deanery, Gloucester diocese; chiefly in the upper division of Kiftsgate Hundred, Gloucestershire, but the hamlet of Milcote lay in Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire. Stratford Union. Alcester 5, Stratford 4, Bidford 5, Chipping Campden 9. The manors of Milcote, Weston-on-Avon and Weston Mauduit, like Welford, were held by the earls of Middlesex and Dorset and from the mid-nineteenth century by the lords Sackville and Earl Amhurst. No record of parliamentary enclosure.

Zone C, The Central (Wood-pasture) Belt

Abbots Morton - alias Stony Morton, a parish of 1463 acres including Morton Spirt; Pershore deanery, Worcester diocese; lower division of Blackenhurst Hundred, Worcestershire; Alcester Union. Alcester 5, Evesham 7, Pershore (post) 9, Worcester 12. The subsoil is keuper marl and the surface is stiff red clay. Enclosure 1802. The manor passed through several families including Folkingham, Brooke, Gale, Bulleine, Ellins, Ballard, Hunt, Cowley and Perks. Enclosure award 1803.

³ Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire*, vol. 1, p. 110.

Arrow - a large parish of 4087 acres situated on the River Arrow, including the hamlets of Ragley, Kingley and Oversley; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; The greater part of the parish is in Alcester Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire, but Oversley was in the Stratford Division. Both parts were in Alcester Union, indeed the Union Workhouse was built in Oversley in 1837. Alcester (post) 2, Stratford 8, Evesham 9. Ragley Hall was the seat of the Seymour-Conway family, Marquesses of Hertford, lords of the manor of Arrow (which included the former manors of Kingley and Ragley). The manor of Oversley (including the parishes of Exhall, Wixford, Temple Grafton and at least part of Kings Broom) was held by the Throckmortons of Coughton Court. Oversley Bridge carried the Alcester to Stratford road over the Arrow. The roads from Evesham to Alcester and Redditch also go through the parish. The land rises from the Arrow to the Warwickshire county boundary on the Ridgeway. No record of parliamentary enclosure.

Aston Cantlow - a large parish of 4966 acres in valley of River Alne, including Wilmcote, (which became a separate parish in 1863), Little Alne, Newnham, Shelfield and Pathlow; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Stratford Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire, Alcester Union. Alcester 4, Henley (post) 4, Stratford 5. Various important routes through the parish including the old saltway from Droitwich to Warwick, the Old London Road and the Birmingham to Stratford road. Enclosure award 1744. The Nevill family Barons, Earls and Marquesses of Abergavenny held the manor of Aston Cantlow (including Shelfield) throughout the period. Little Alne was held by the Skinner and Fulwood families. Wilmcote was originally separate, but had become part of the main

manor before 1743. Aston Cantlow had its own guildhall and was granted a market in 1227, but the market appears to have died out before 1660.

Billesley - a very small, depopulated parish of 841 acres; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Stratford division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire. Alcester 4, Stratford (post) 4, Henley 6. Manor held in succession by the Lee and Whalley families before 1721 and then by the Sherlock and Mills families. No separate parliamentary enclosure.

Binton - a parish of 1284 acres on the River Avon including Red Hill; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Stratford division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire. Stratford Union. Alcester 4, Stratford (post) 4, Bidford 4. The manor of Binton was held by the Marquesses of Hertford from 1670. The separate manor of Binton Grange was in the hands of the Kempson family until 1778 when it was sold to Lord Beauchamp. Enclosed with the hamlet of Drayton in Old Stratford parish by an act of 1779. The soil is clay on lower lias limestone.

Dormston - a small parish of 828 acres; Pershore deanery, Worcester diocese; upper division of Pershore Hundred, Worcestershire; Pershore Union. Alcester (post) 7, Pershore 8, Worcester 10, Evesham 10. The manor of Dormston was held by several families including Russell, Lutwyche, Timbrill, Keeling and Homer. Enclosure 1791. The soil is stiff clay and subsoil lower lias.

Exhall - a small parish of 833 acres including Little Britain and part of Ardens Grafton; (not to be confused with Exhall near Coventry); Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Stratford Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire; Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 2, Bidford 2, Stratford 6, Evesham 9. Part of the manor of Oversley, held by the Throckmorton family. Enclosure 1767 with Wixford and Broom.

Great Alne - a parish of 1697 acres on the river Alne; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese. Alcester Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire; Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 2, Henley 5, Stratford 6. The soil is sand and marl, subsoil sand and clay. Manor was held by the Greene, Bloxham, Lyttelton and Holyoake families. Perhaps included in lost enclosure award of Kinwarton 1803.

Haselor - a parish of 2250 acres including Upton and Walcote; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Stratford Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire; Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 2, Stratford 6, Henley 6. The soil is rich marl with sandy subsoil. The manor of Haselor was held by the Grevilles, Earls of Warwick, until 1804, when it was sold to William Froggatt. By 1850 it was held by the Throckmortons, who were also associated with the manor of Upton. Walcot, sometimes treated as a separate manor, was in the possession of the Salt family of Cheshire in the early nineteenth century. Enclosure award 1767.

Inkberrow - a very large parish of 6847 acres including Bouts, Cladswell, Cookhill, Stockwood, Holberrow Green, Edgioake and part of the Ridgeway; Pershore deanery;

Worcester diocese; middle division of Oswaldslow hundred, Worcestershire; Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 5, Droitwich 9, Pershore 10, Worcester 11. Various soils: sand, clay and marl, subsoil of Keuper marl with occasional bands of sandstone. Stone pits. Lords of the manor of Inkberrow were the Nevills, Marquesses of Abergavenny. The manors of Morton Underhill and Thorn had various lords. Cookhill was in the hands of the Fortescue family for much of the period. Enclosure 1818. The Ridgeway on Inkberrow's eastern boundary forms the border with Warwickshire. In the mid-nineteenth century a market was held here.⁴

Kington -a parish of 1036 acres; Pershore deanery, Worcester diocese; Halfshire Hundred, Worcestershire; Pershore Union. Alcester (post) 7, Pershore 7, Worcester 10. Subsoil clay and sand. Two manors - one held by the Wolmer family and from 1714 by the Vernons of Hanbury and the other manor passing through several families including Bickerton, Carpenter, Haynes, Benton Keyte and Millard. Much depopulation before 1750. Enclosure award 1782.

Kinwarton - a very small parish of 500 acres on the Alne; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Alcester Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire and Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 1, Henley 6, Stratford 7. The rector of Kinwarton also officiated for Great Alne and Weethley chapelries. Manor held by Greville family, Lords Brooke, until the nineteenth century and then by the Brown family. Enclosure award 1803.

⁴ Gaut, *A History of Worcestershire Agriculture and Rural Evolution*, p. 256.

Morton Bagot - a parish of 1129 acres with no main village, but including the hamlets of Netherstead, Greenhill and Morton Common; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Alcester Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire, and Alcester Union. Alcester 6, Henley (post) 3. Much depopulation from nineteenth century. Morton Common enclosed in 1807. The manors of Morton Bagot and Netherstead were held by the Holyoake family. Enclosure award 1807.

Oldberrow - a parish of 1215 acres; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; lower division of Blackenhurst Hundred, Worcestershire, (transferred to Warwickshire in 1896); Alcester Union. Alcester 7, Henley (post) 2. The surface soil is loam and clay and the subsoil keuper marl. The manor descended through several families, namely Knightley, Foley, Fulwood, Packwood and Knight. No separate parliamentary enclosure.

Rous Lench - a parish of 1426 acres including Radford; Pershore deanery, Worcester diocese; middle division of Oswaldslow Hundred; Worcestershire. Evesham Union. Alcester (post) 7, Evesham 7. The manor was held by the Rous(e) or Rouse-Boughton family. The soil is sand and marl with subsoil of keuper marl and lower lias. Enclosure award 1779.

Sperrall - a parish of 1060 acres on the Arrow; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Alcester Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire; Alcester Union. Alcester 4, Redditch 4, Henley 5. The soil consists of lower keuper marls, gravels associated with River Arrow and Arden sandstone with a seam of gypsum. Manor held by the

Throckmortons. Much depopulation before 1600. Some early enclosure; no parliamentary enclosure.

Stock & Bradley – a detached chapelry of 1151 acres in the parish of Fladbury; Pershore deanery, Worcester diocese; Oswaldslow Hundred, Worcestershire; Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 6, Droitwich 6, Redditch 5. Enclosure award 1829.

Temple Grafton - a parish of 2054 acres including part of Ardens Grafton and the deserted village of 'haunted' Hillborough; in the seventeenth century the Bidford hamlet of Kings Broom was included in the civil parish for a time; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Stratford division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire. Stratford Union. Alcester (post) 3, Stratford 5, Bidford 2. The manor of Grafton was held by the Sheldon family in the seventeenth century followed by the Burdett and then the Fullerton families. The manor of Hillborough on the Avon was held by the Huband family until 1729 when it was purchased by the Vernon family of Hanbury, Worcestershire. The soil is light clay and sand with a subsoil of lower lias limestone. Enclosure award 1815.

Wixford - a very small parish of 569 acres with a bridge over the Arrow; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Stratford Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire; Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 2, Bidford 2, Stratford 7, Evesham 8. It formed part of the manor of Oversley held by the Throckmorton family. Enclosure 1767 with Exhall and Broom.

Zone D, The Northern (Needle) District

Beoley - a large parish of 4713 acres in the Arrow valley including the main settlement of Holt End and also Branson's Cross and the Portway; Droitwich deanery, Worcester diocese; upper division of Pershore Hundred, Worcestershire; Bromsgrove Union. Alcester 8, Bromsgrove (post) 7, Birmingham 10, Kings Norton 6, Redditch 2, Henley 7. The manor of Beoley was held by the Sheldon family until the 1780s when it passed to Thomas Holmes, who died intestate causing much confusion. Some working colliers called Stanton claimed the manor, but in 1854 Miss Holmes was the lady of the manor. The soil is chiefly marl and the subsoil marl, clay and sandstone. No parliamentary enclosure.

Coughton - or Great Coughton, situated on the Arrow, an extensive parish of 4263 acres including Sambourne which became a more populous settlement than Coughton itself; Warwick deanery, diocese of Worcester; Alcester Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire and Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 2, Redditch 5, Henley 7, Bromsgrove 10. The soil is keuper red marl, sandstone with pebbles in the river bed. The ford across River Arrow carries an important, old route from east to west. The ancient Ryknild Street traverses from north to south. To the west the land rises to the Worcestershire border along the Ridgeway. The separate manors of Sambourne and Coughton were both held by the Catholic Throckmorton family of Coughton Court. Some enclosure had taken place before 1600, but enclosure award for Sambourne Heath was in 1773. Some early enclosure; no parliamentary enclosure for Coughton manor.

Feckenham - a very large parish of 6929 acres including the hamlets of Astwood Bank, Norgrove, Shurnock, Callow Hill, Hunt End, Walkwood, Berrow Hill and part of Crabbs Cross, Headless Cross and Bradley Green; Pershore deanery; Worcester diocese; upper division of Halfshire Hundred, Worcestershire; Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 7, Bromsgrove 7, Droitwich 8. The town of Redditch grew up on the northern boundary of Feckenham parish, some 4 miles from Feckenham parish church. In 1850 the northern part of the parish was assigned to the new ecclesiastical parish of Headless Cross. Originally a market centre for Feckenham Forest which was disafforested in 1629. Soil: strong clay, marl, sand and gravel. The ancient Ridgeway on Feckenham's eastern boundary forms the border with Warwickshire. Another important route is the Saltway from Droitwich to Alcester. From 1632 the lords of the manor of Feckenham were the Earls of Coventry. From 1637 the manor of Norgrove descended with Bentley manor in neighbouring Tardebigge parish. The manor of Shurnock belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester until the end of the eighteenth century when it passed to the Bearcroft family of Hanbury. Some earlier enclosure, but parliamentary enclosure for Beanhall Fields 1771 and further parliamentary enclosure in 1812 and 1832.

Ipsley - a parish of 2677 acres on the River Arrow, including parts of Crabbs Cross, Headless Cross and Redditch; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Alcester Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire, (transferred to Worcestershire in 1931) and Alcester Union. Increasing population as the town of Redditch grew up on Ipsley's western boundary. Ipsley now forms part of that town. Alcester 6, Henley (post) 6, Bromsgrove 8, Birmingham 12. The manor was held by the Huband family until 1740 and then by the

Savage family and Walter Savage Landor and his descendants. No parliamentary enclosure.

Studley - a large parish of 4322 acres on the River Arrow including Skilts, Washford, Littlewood Green and Mappleborough Green; Warwick deanery, Worcester diocese; Alcester Division of Barlichway Hundred, Warks., and Alcester Union. Alcester (post) 4, Redditch 3, Henley 5, Birmingham 13. Important roads through the parish include those from Alcester to Birmingham and Bromsgrove, and one from Henley to Bromsgrove. Manor of Studley held by the Knottesford family until 1766 and then by the Knight family of Barrels near Henley-in-Arden. A separate manor of Studley St Johns was held by various families from 1660 to 1860 including Huband, Chambers and Holyoake. Skilts in the north of the parish was held by the Sheldon and then the Willan families. The lords of the manor of Studley Hay (which included Mappleborough Green) were the Gage and Shelley families. The manorial divisions in Studley are complex and other manors included Gattacks, Gorcott and Studley Castle. Enclosure award 1824.

Tardebigge - a very extensive parish of 9555 acres on the Arrow, including Bentley Pouncefoot (Upper and Lower), Hewell, Sheltwood, Webheath, Bordesley, Redditch and Tutnall and Copley and part of Blackwell, Crabbs Cross and Headless Cross; Droitwich deanery, Worcester diocese; upper division of Halfshire Hundred, Worcestershire, although Tutnall and Copley was in the Alcester division of Barlichway Hundred, Warwickshire until 1832. Part Alcester and part Bromsgrove Union. In 1855 a new ecclesiastical parish of Redditch was formed, although the chapelry of Redditch had kept a

separate parish register from the late eighteenth century. Parts of Tardebigge parish were also assigned to the new Headless Cross parish in 1850. Alcester 8, Bromsgrove (post) 3, Kings Norton 8, Birmingham 13, Henley 12. The manor of Tardebigge was held by the Windsor, Clive and Archer family, earls of Plymouth. Bentley Pouncefoot was held by the Cookes family until the nineteenth century when it was purchased by the Hemming family. Extensive wharves on the Birmingham to Worcester Canal at Tardebigge hamlet. Redditch grew from a hamlet in the seventeenth century to become a manufacturing and market town in the nineteenth century, approximately 3 miles from Tardebigge church and hamlet. Enclosure award for Redditch Common and Webheath 1771 and Bentley Pouncefoot 1772.

Appendix 1a

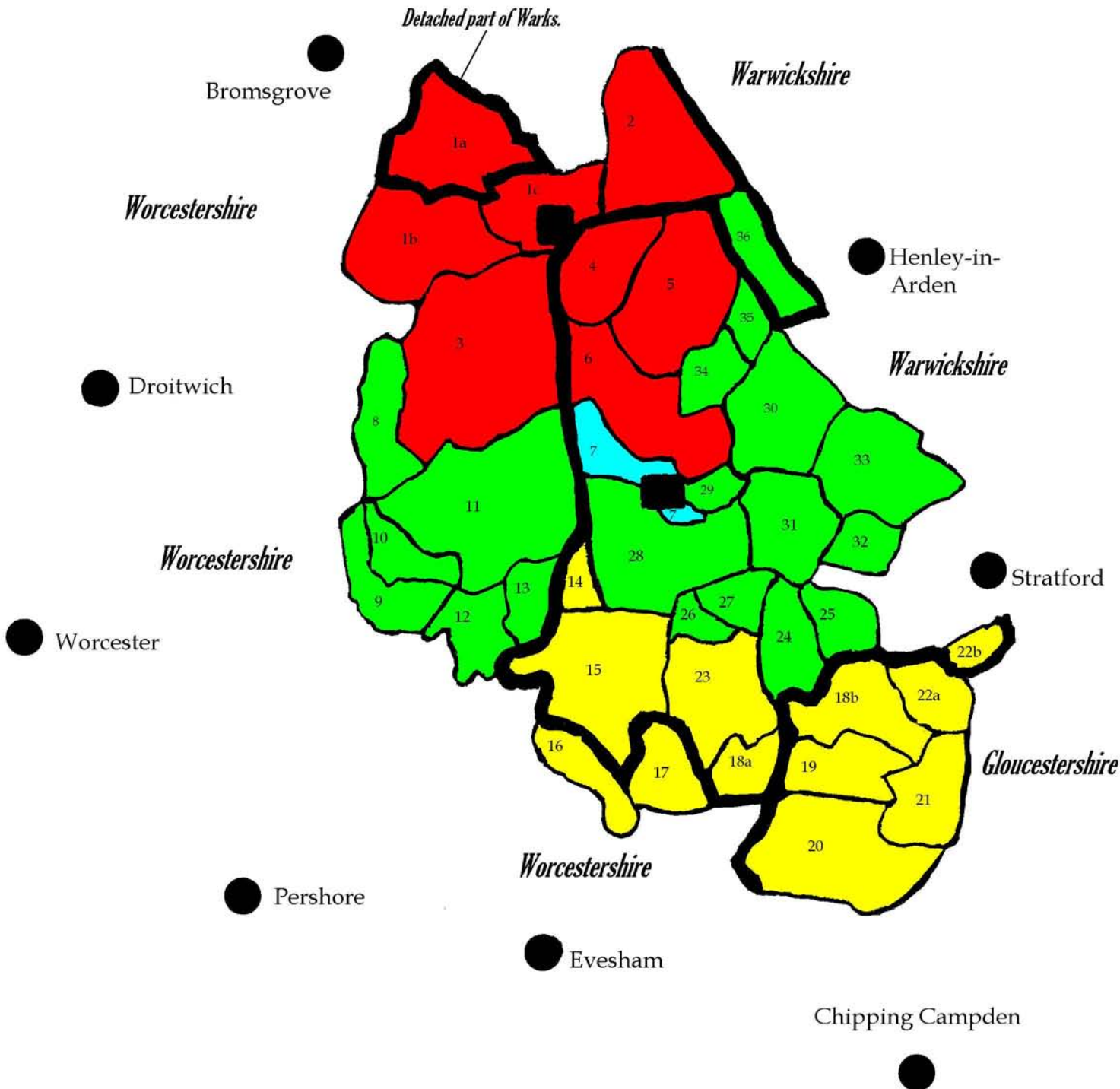
● Birmingham

Parishes of the Study Area

(key on following page)

● Solihull

1c = Redditch
7 = Alcester



Appendix 1a: Key to Map of Parishes in the Study Area

(map on preceding page)

Zone A, shown in blue on map: **Alcester 7**

Zone B, The Southern (Champion) Country

(shown in yellow on map)

14 Weethley, 15 Salford Priors, 16 Harvington, 17 Cleeve Prior,

18a Bickmarsh (Warwickshire part of Welford on Avon)

18b Welford on Avon (Gloucestershire part)

19 Dorsington, 20 Pebworth, 21 Long Marston,

22a Weston upon Avon (Gloucestershire part),

22b Milcote (Warwickshire part of Weston upon Avon),

23 Bidford on Avon

Zone C The Central (Wood-pasture) Belt

(shown in green on map)

8 Stock & Bradley, 9 Kington, 10 Dormston, 11 Inkberrow,

12 Rous Lench, 13 Abbots Morton, 24 Temple Grafton, 25 Binton,

26 Wixford, 27 Exhall, 28 Arrow, 29 Kinwarton, 30 Great Alne,

31 Haselor, 32 Billesley, 33 Aston Cantlow, 34 Sperrall,

35 Morton Bagot, 36 Oldberrow

Zone D The Northern (Needle) District

(shown in red on map)

1a Tutnall and Cobley (Warwickshire part of Tardebigge parish)

1b Webheath (part of Tardebigge), 1c Redditch (part of Tardebigge),

2 Beoley, 3 Feckenham, 4 Ipsley, 5 Studley, 6 Coughton

Appendix 2: Occupational descriptors and groupings used for analysis

The Cambridge Group's general classification: PST

As explained in Chapter 2, for analytical purposes in this study I have used the Cambridge Group's classification of occupations into Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary. Primary includes agriculture, fishing, quarrying and mining, Secondary embraces manufactures, while Tertiary includes professionals, dealers, retailers and the service sector.¹

Specific occupational groupings

Although my analysis using the PST system will allow comparison with studies elsewhere, in order to discuss and analyse occupations at a more specific level I have adopted my own groupings, which I explain here. Some of these groupings cut across different PST sectors: for instance, my **Extractive industries and building** grouping, which allows me to discuss the inter-relationship of masons, brickmakers and bricklayers.

For consistency I use the same subheadings in each chapter to allow comparison between zones and periods. The occupational subheadings used for discussion are:

Agriculture, Extractive industries and building, Textile, clothing and paper, Leather, horn and tallow, Wood and charcoal, Metal, Transport, Marketing, dealing, retailing, food and drink, and lastly Professionals, gentry, domestic servants and others.

Below is an explanation of the occupations included in each of my groupings, with notes on some descriptors which change with time or are unusual or problematic. Some

¹ For a full explanation of the PST system see the Cambridge Group's website: www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/categorisation

general comments regarding occupational terminology are also given below and female occupations are included. In some sources before 1730 descriptors are in Latin, which can cause problems of interpretation. These comments on occupational descriptors are brought together for convenience here, but these points and other similar observations are dealt with more closely in the text in Chapters 4 to 8.

Agriculture:

Male: yeoman, husbandman, farmer, farm bailiff, grazier, gardener, horse dealer, veterinary surgeon, castrator/cutter, warrener, cow leech, dealer in cattle/pigs, pig-driver, drover, shepherd, farm labourer and other farmworkers.

Female: dairymaid, milkmaid, jobbing woman?

Sometimes it is relevant to treat yeomen, husbandmen and farmers together, sometimes not. The term 'farmer' began to gain currency in this area from the early eighteenth century, but by Victorian times husbandmen, and more particularly yeomen, are still mentioned. In some records other terms for farmers are used such as renters, copyholders and freeholders. 'Gardener' may mean different things according to context.

Extractive industries and building:

Male: surveyor, builder, bricklayer, (stone)mason, slater, plasterer, painter, plumber, glazier, pavier, road labourer, road mender, thatcher, stone-quarrier, stone-cutter, quarryman, quarry labourer, limeburner, brickmaker.

The term 'builder' was not used locally until the late eighteenth century. Carpenter is always discussed in the **Wood and charcoal** section.

Textile, clothing and paper:

Male: clothier, weavers (of various types), webster, hatter, hosier, tailor, bodice-maker, staymaker, dyer, woolstapler, woolcomber, jersey-comber, flax-dresser, hemp-dresser, ropemaker, ropier, feltmaker, clothworker, papermaker, oilclothmaker, men's frockmaker, straw hat maker.

Female: sempstress, seamstress, dressmaker, mantua-maker, milliner, bonnet-maker, tailoress, weaver, spinner, spinster.

Leather, horn and tallow:

Male: shoemaker, cordw(a)in(d)er, clogmaker, (shoe-)heelmaker, pattenmaker, glover, saddler, harness-maker, collar-maker, (tallow) chandler, comb-maker, horner, fellmonger, skinner, currier, tanner, leather-dresser, breechesmaker.

Female: glover(ess), shoe-binder, boot-binder, boot-closer.

Although the terms bootmaker, shoemaker, cordwainer, cordwinder and cobbler may have meant slightly different things to local folk in the past, they were often used interchangeably and are grouped together for analysis. In practice, the term 'cobbler' was rarely used locally, and another term for a cobbler, 'translator' only occurs in the 1680s. Clogmakers, pattenmakers and heelmakers may be using other materials than leather but are generally discussed in this section. Breechesmakers occur in the period 1750-1820, no doubt when such clothing was in fashion. In most cases the breechesmakers appear to be working in leather. The Latin 'coriarius' may mean 'tanner' or 'currier'. Skinners, glovers and fellmongers were often the same people.

Wood and charcoal:

Male: charcoal burner, (wood-)collier, besom-maker, lath-maker, lath-ripper, lath-cleaver, lath-render, teugerer, splentmaker, basketmaker, cooper, (wood-)turner, chairmaker, sawyer, wheelwright, ploughwright, carpenter, joiner, cabinetmaker, upholsterer, millwright, machine-maker, timber merchant, putchin-maker, coach-maker.

‘Carpenter’ in 1660 (the time of timber-framed buildings) may sometimes have meant a general builder, but is dealt with in this section. Millwrights and machine-makers used other materials as well as wood, but are also grouped in this section. ‘Teugerer’ and ‘splentmaker’ mean ‘lath-splitter’, while a ‘putchin-maker’ made eel and fish traps out of basketry.

Metal:

Male: gunsmith, gunlock-filer, gunlock-maker, tinman, brazier, whitesmith, brightsmith, locksmith, blacksmith, farrier, nailer, nailmaker, nailsmith, ironmonger, cutler, watchmaker, toymaker, clockmaker, pinmaker, fish-hook maker, needler, needlemaker and all specialists in needlemaking processes and associated trades. (See Appendix 20.)

Female: many types of needle and pinmakers.

Although some makers of fishing tackle used materials apart from metal they are discussed with the fish-hook trade, of which they were an offshoot. The button-maker may also have used other materials but is dealt with in this section.

Transport:

Male: railway worker, toll-collector, tollgate-keeper, turnpike-gatekeeper, roadman, carrier, letter-carrier, postman, postboy, messenger, warehouseman, boatman, canal employee, coach-keeper,

Female: (letter-) carrier, tollgate-keeper.

The terms 'wagoner' or 'coachman' can imply a farm worker or a domestic servant respectively, but sometimes indicates an independent carrier or coach-driver.

Marketing, dealing, retailing, food and drink:

Male: innkeeper, innholder, victualler, beerhousekeeper, shopkeeper, hawker, higgler, pedlar, dealer, factor, coal dealer, milkman, butcher, fishmonger, greengrocer, fruiterer, wine and spirit merchant, vintner, grocer, tobacconist, miller, corn-dealer, flour-dealer, baker, confectioner, maltster, brewer, draper, mercer, haberdasher, haberdasher of hats, salter, earthenware dealer, glass-dealer, provision dealer.

Female: innkeeper, shopkeeper, grocer, charwoman, laundress.

The term 'loader' is used to mean an assistant in a corn-mill. From the 1780s the term 'mealman' comes in as an alternative description for a miller, perhaps implying a dealer in meal. The nineteenth century 'outrider' appears to mean a commercial traveller, while 'tradesman' may sometimes be used with this same meaning or to mean 'dealer'. 'Waterman' in Redditch in the 1770s perhaps means a supplier of water rather than a boatman.

Professionals, gentry, domestic servants and others:

Male: postmaster, excise officer, clergyman, parish clerk, soldier, sailor, policeman, lawyer, attorney, book-keeper, writing clerk, surgeon, physician, doctor, apothecary, druggist, schoolmaster, teacher, preacher, minister, domestic servant, auctioneer, actor, musician, comedian, gentleman, esquire, independent, annuitant, traveller.

Female: postmistress, schoolmistress, governess, nurse.

Terms such as esquire, gentleman and yeoman signify status rather than occupation. Esquires and gentlemen often included wealthier businessmen or professionals, such as tanners or attorneys. Attorneys are rarely described as such locally before 1780, and solicitors only occur after that date.

‘Traveller’ usually means an itinerant (usually of lowly status), perhaps a travelling tinker or gypsy. However, in Redditch in the early nineteenth century it was used to mean a commercial traveller, particularly in the needle and fish-hook trade. Although gentlemen, esquires, annuitants, independents, gypsies and other travelling folk are discussed in the text in each chapter, they are not included in the analytical tables which deal only with men of known occupations.

Occupational analysis and tables

Certain occupational descriptors are so often interchanged that they have been grouped together in analysis, for instance plumber, glazier and painter. In my specific occupation tables I show some common occupations such as carpenters/joiners in their own right, separate from others in their section. This table below shows the categories used for analysis throughout Chapters 4 to 8.

Agriculture without labourers
Labourers
Extractive
Building without carpenters
Tailors/bodice makers
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture
Shoemakers/cordwainers
Other leather, horn and tallow
Carpenters/joiners
Other woodworkers
Blacksmiths/farriers
Other metal without needles/hooks/pins
Needles/hooks/pins
Transport
Innkeepers/victuallers
Other food, retail, service, dealing
Domestic servants
Professional

Certain individuals pursued more than one occupation. This fact sometimes emerges from different sources. If an individual is referred to by more than one occupation in the same source, then he is entered as 0.5 for each occupation in any analysis. Appendix 22 gives examples of multiple occupations.

Appendix 3: Male probate inventory values 1660-1759

Average (mean) male probate inventory values by zone 1660-1759

Zone		1660-1679	1680-1699	1700-1719	1720-1739	1740-1759
A Alcester	(£)	£137	£228	£232	£99	£196
	(n)	54	48	60	59	18
B Southern (Champion) Country	(£)	£129	£92	£154	£180	£139
	(n)	25	46	47	45	7
C Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	(£)	£100	£133	£166	£157	£148
	(n)	160	138	138	180	33
D Northern (Needle) District	(£)	£102	£146	£186	£178	£170
	(n)	150	198	164	212	48
Whole Study Area	(£)	£110	£139	£180	£163	£164
	(n)	436	487	448	538	114

As this table demonstrates, apart from a blip in Zone B between 1680 and 1699 the mean probate inventory values for males in each zone continued to rise until 1719, but then fell back in the twenty-year period 1720-39, which had the highest number of probate inventories in the whole study period. Perhaps the epidemic of 1727 to 1730 carried people off before they had built up their wealth, thus accounting for the lower figures, but it may also reflect the pause in national economic growth, as described by Little.¹ Probate values make only an insignificant recovery in the mid-eighteenth century. However, the practice of retaining inventories was becoming less common, as reflected in the small number of inventories after 1740, so these later values are perhaps less reliable.² These values are used as crude indicators to personal wealth to compare periods and zones. The handful of probate inventories after 1759 are probably not representative of their period and are thus not analysed here.

¹ Little, *Deceleration in the Eighteenth Century British Economy*, p. 10.

² Discussion of personal wealth in each zone appears in Chapters 4 to 7.

Appendix 4: Occupational information for the Whole Study Area from the 1801

census

Zone	Persons chiefly in agriculture (n)	Persons chiefly in trade, manufactures or handicraft, (n)	Others (n)	% chiefly in agriculture	% chiefly in trade, manufactures or handicraft	% others
A, Alcester	68	370	1187	4.2	22.8	73.0
B, Southern (Champion) Country	1395	518	1949	36.1	13.4	50.5
C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	2676	483	1781	54.0	9.7	35.9
D, Northern (Needle) District	2033	2207	2786	28.9	31.4	39.7
Whole Study Area	6172	3578	7703	35.3	20.5	44.1

Occupational data from the 1801 census (shown in Appendix 4) is rather inconsistent. Some enumerators appear to include working women and children whereas others (for example in Alcester) perhaps do not. However, as expected from other sources, Zones B and C are predominantly agricultural in contrast with Zones A and D.

Appendix 5: Occupational information for the Whole Study Area from 1811, 1821 &

1831 censuses

Whole Study Area	Total no. of families (n)	% of families chiefly in agriculture	% of families chiefly in trade, manufacture or handicraft	% of other families
1811 census	3997	56.7	34.3	9.0
1821 census	4638	58.2	33.1	8.7
1831 census	5363	46.5	40.0	13.5
<i>Average (mean) 1811, 1821 & 1831</i>		53.3	36.1	10.6

While the figures for 1801 seem somewhat erratic, later censuses appear more reliable. During the years 1811 to 1831 (shown in Appendix 5) the biggest shift in the balance between agriculture and industry and commerce seems to have taken place in the 1820s.

Appendix 6: Comparison of different zones. Average (mean) percentages for different occupational sectors in the 1811, 1821 and 1831 censuses

Zone	% of families chiefly in agriculture	% of families chiefly in trade, manufacture or handicraft	% of other families
Zone A, Alcester	16.0	52.1	31.9
Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country	76.4	17.2	6.4
Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	71.6	19.8	8.6
Zone D, Northern (Needle) District	39.3	51.6	9.1
Whole Study Area	53.3	36.1	10.6

Appendix 6 shows the statistics from the censuses of 1811 to 1831 aggregated in order to smooth out any quirks in enumeration. As may be expected from other sources, Zones A and D are the most industrialised.

Appendix 7: 1831 census: Labourers and the female/male split in population

	Total no. of labs	% of labs in agric.	% of non-agric. labs	Males as % of total population	Females as % of total Population
Zone A, Alcester	105	54.3	45.7	46.6	53.4
Bidford-on-Avon	158	93.0	7.0	49.0	51.0
Cleeve Prior, Worcs.	73	94.5	5.5	50.5	49.5
Dorsington, Glos.	28	100.0	0.0	46.7	53.3
Harvington, Worcs.	53	100.0	0.0	46.2	53.8
Long Marston, Glos.	50	98.0	2.0	50.8	49.2
<i>Pebworth</i>	69	100.0	0.0	51.1	48.9
<i>Broad Marston</i>	36	100.0	0.0	51.9	48.1
Pebworth, Glos.	105	100.0	0.0	51.4	48.6
Salford Priors	149	94.6	5.4	48.4	51.6
Weethley	9	100.0	0.0	48.4	51.6
<i>Bickmarsh/Lit.Dors., Warks</i>	13	100.0	0.0	49.2	50.8
<i>Welford-on-Avon, Glos</i>	101	100.0	0.0	50.7	49.3
Welford-on-Avon, Glos.	114	100.0	0.0	50.5	49.5
<i>Milcote, Warks</i>	2	100.0	0.0	46.7	53.3
<i>Weston-on-Avon, Glos</i>	30	100.0	0.0	55.9	44.1
Weston-on-Avon, Glos.	32	100.0	0.0	54.6	45.4
Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country	771	96.9	3.1	49.5	50.5

Appendix 7 continued: 1831 census: Labourers and the female/male split in population

	Total no. of labs	% of labs in agric.	% of non-agric. labs	Males as % of total population	Females as % of total Population
Abbots Morton,Worcs.	41	100.0	0.0	55.4	44.6
<i>Arrow</i>	38	97.4	2.6	46.0	54.0
<i>Oversley</i>	29	93.1	6.9	51.4	48.6
Arrow & Oversley	67	95.5	4.5	48.1	51.9
Aston Cantlow	170	94.7	5.3	53.5	46.5
Billesley	5	100.0	0.0	54.2	45.8
Binton	45	95.6	4.4	51.6	48.4
Dormston,Worcs.	31	100.0	0.0	51.6	48.4
Exhall	41	68.3	31.7	53.1	46.9
Gt Alne	59	96.6	3.4	52.2	47.8
Haselor	68	85.3	14.7	51.6	48.4
Inkberrow, Worcs.	254	95.7	4.3	51.4	48.6
Kington, Worcs.	24	100.0	0.0	50.3	49.7
Kinwarton	8	100.0	0.0	52.5	47.5
Morton Bagot	31	100.0	0.0	54.7	45.3
Oldberrow, Worcs.	8	100.0	0.0	55.4	44.6
Rous Lench, Worcs.	48	100.0	0.0	48.2	51.8
Spernall	19	94.7	5.3	49.5	50.5
Stock & Bradley	37	97.3	2.7	52.5	47.5
Temple Grafton	57	77.2	22.8	54.3	45.7
Wixford	22	100.0	0.0	54.6	45.4
Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt	1035	93.7	6.3	52.0	48.0

	Total no. of labs	% of labs in agric.	% of non-agric. labs	Males as % of total population	Females as % of total population
Beoley,Worcs.	101	98.0	2.0	53.9	46.1
<i>Coughton</i>	40	82.5	17.5	42.7	57.3
<i>Sambourne</i>	88	72.7	27.3	52.4	47.6
Coughton & Sambourne	128	75.8	24.2	49.4	50.6
Feckenham, Worcs.	239	68.2	31.8	50.0	50.0
Ipsley	30	100.0	0.0	49.4	50.6
Studley	175	74.3	25.7	49.4	50.6
<i>Tutnall & Cobley,Warks</i>	84	88.1	11.9	52.5	47.5
Tardebigge, Worcs.	171	62.6	37.4	46.7	53.3
Tardebigge, Worcs & Warks.	255	71.0	29.0	47.4	52.6
Zone D, Northern (Needle) District	928	75.4	24.6	49.1	50.9
Total for Whole Study Area	2839	87.1	12.9	49.6	50.4

The above tables show the share of agricultural and non-agricultural labourers in each parish. Quarrying parishes such as Temple Grafton and Exhall have a high percentage of non-agricultural labourers.

In the Study Area taken as a whole the balance between males and females is fairly even. The male/female split in population differs markedly between parishes. For example, the Worcestershire part of Tardebigge (which includes Redditch) has a high number of females, some working in the needle trade and others in services and retailing. Quarrying parishes have a higher percentage of men than many others.

For comparative purposes the male/female split is shown below for earlier censuses too.

Appendix 7a: Population split between males and females in the Whole Study Area in censuses 1801 to 1831

	Male (%)	female (%)
1801	48.9	51.1
1811	48.9	51.1
1821	49.8	50.2
1831	49.6	50.4

Appendix 8: Harvington Collection upon brief 10th April 1695

'for the late dreadful fyre in Warwicke'

(included in Harvington parish register at WoRO)

There were 8 unspecified males and 12 women (3 of the latter were servants).

Males with known occupations are shown below.

	(n)	(%)
Husbandman	9	37.5
Yeomen	3	12.5
Shepherd	1	4.2
Labourer	3	12.5
Ropier	1	4.2
Carpenter	1	4.2
Blacksmith	1	4.2
Clergyman	1	4.2
Servants	3	12.5
Mercer	1	4.2
Total males with known occupations	24	100.0

For comparison with other sources the primary, secondary and tertiary groupings are shown below.

	(n)	(%)
Primary	16	66.7
Secondary	3	12.5
Tertiary	5	20.8
Total males with known occupations	24	100.0

Servants are counted here as tertiary and labourers as primary.

Appendix 9: Adult male occupational information
from the 1608 Muster for the parishes of Dorsington,
Long Marston, Pebworth and Welford-on-Avon

	(n)	% of males with known occupations
Yeoman	8	11.6
Husbandman	20	29.0
Tailor	3	4.3
Carpenter	1	1.4
Miller	1	1.4
Blacksmith	1	1.4
Shoemaker	1	1.4
Weaver	6	8.7
Labourer	10	14.5
Servant	18	26.1
Total of males with known occupations	69	

Information gleaned from J. Smith, *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire, 1608*, (reprinted Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1980). This muster document, subtitled ‘a census of able-bodied men’ lists 92 men, 23 of whom had unspecified occupations. These 23 include one gentleman and one ‘colyger’, possibly a wood-collier/charcoal-burner, or does it mean someone attending a college? Those classified as servants may include farm-servants. Judging by the nature of these parishes the labourers would have been almost entirely agricultural.

Appendix 10: Bidford: Male occupational structure in baptisms 1813-1840 and in the 1831 and 1841 censuses

Appendix 10a: Male occupational structure in Bidford from various sources (primary, secondary and tertiary) (as % of males with known occupations)

Primary,Secondary, Tertiary	Fathers in baptisms 1813-20	Fathers in baptisms 1821-30	Fathers in baptisms 1831-40	Fathers in baptisms 1813-40	Males 20+ in 1831 census	Males 20+ in 1841 census
Primary with agricultural labourers *	71.5	76.4	70.9	73.0	62.2	54.5
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers *	22.9	19.8	21.9	21.5	33.3	36.5
Tertiary	5.6	3.8	7.2	5.6	4.5	9.0

* for baptism data labourers are allocated to primary or secondary according to the 1831 census. Gentlemen and those classed as independent are omitted from these tables.

Appendix 10b: Male occupational structure in Bidford from various sources in specific groupings (as % of males with known occupations)

Specific occupational Groupings	Fathers in baptisms 1813-20	Fathers in baptisms 1821-30	Fathers in baptisms 1831-40	Fathers in baptisms 1813-40	Males 20+ in 1831 census	Males 20+ in 1841 census
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	5.6	6.6	6.0	6.1	7.3	8.2
Labourers	55.7	59.9	60.0	58.8	54.1	47.8
Agricultural labourers	51.8	55.6	55.8	54.7	50.3	45.2
Non-agricultural labourers	3.9	4.3	4.2	4.2	3.8	2.6
Extractive	14.1	14.2	9.1	12.2	0.8	1.8
Building (excl. carpenters)	0.3	2.0	2.6	1.8	15.7	14.0
Tailors/bodice makers	1.0	0.0	1.2	0.7	0.6	2.4
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.5
Shoemakers/cordwainers	2.3	1.8	4.0	2.7	3.4	3.7
Other leather, horn and tallow	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.9	0.0	0.5
Carpenters/joiners	3.9	1.5	1.6	2.2	4.5	3.7
Other woodworkers	2.0	1.0	1.4	1.4	3.4	1.6
Blacksmiths/farriers	0.0	1.8	2.3	1.5	1.7	1.8
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.0	0.5	1.2	0.6	0.6	1.1
Needles/hooks/pins	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transport	0.3	1.0	3.0	1.6	1.1	0.8
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.0	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.8	1.1
Other food, retail, service, dealing	8.2	7.4	4.2	6.4	4.8	6.9
Domestic servants	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	1.8
Professional	3.6	1.0	1.6	1.9	0.8	2.4

For commentary on these tables see Chapter 5.

Appendix 11: Male occupational structure in the 1851 census in Alcester

enumeration district compared with entries of fathers' occupations in

baptisms in the same parishes 1813-40¹

Appendix 11, Table 1

	Baptisms 1813-1840	Baptisms 1813-1840	1851 census	1851 census
Primary including agricultural labourers	6579.5	51.2	1950	43.9
Secondary including non-agricultural labourers	5467	42.5	2012	45.2
Tertiary	808.5	6.3	513	10.9
Total males with known occupations	12855	100	4446	100.0

The continued growth of the secondary and tertiary sectors and the corresponding decline of primary after 1840 is shown by the table above. Labourers in the baptism data were allocated to primary or secondary according to the figures for agricultural or non-agricultural labourers in the 1831 census. This inflates the figures for secondary, as some of the non-agricultural labourers were involved in quarrying, which is a primary sector trade. However, the same is true of the 1851 census, so the figures may be compared.

Many occupational groupings have similar percentages in both sources (as can be seen in Appendix 11, Table 2 below). The largest difference is seen in agricultural labourers where the 1851 figure is almost 10% lower than that in baptisms. By contrast the farmers' share increases by more than 3% over the same period. Other

¹ The parishes in Alcester Enumeration District are: Alcester, Arrow, Bidford, Salford Priors, Weethley, Abbots Morton, Aston Cantlow, Exhall, Great Alne, Haselor, Inkberrow, Kinwarton, Morton Bagot, Oldberrow, Spennall, Stock and Bradley, Temple Grafton, Wixford, Coughton, Feckenham, Ipsley, Studley and the Warwickshire part of Tardebigge parish. Data is included from Tardebigge baptisms, but not from Redditch baptisms. (Redditch lay in the Worcestershire part of Tardebigge parish.)

sectors which increased their share significantly after 1840 include needlemakers, other metal workers, professionals and those in food, retailing and dealing.

Appendix 11, Table 2

	Baptisms 1813-1840	Baptisms 1813-1840	1851 census	1851 census
	(n)	% of males with known occupations	(n)	% of males with known occupations
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	1071.5	8.3	516	11.6
Agricultural labourers (incl. shepherds & farm servants)	5259	40.9	1385	31.2
Other labourers	980	7.6	332	7.5
Extractive	350	2.7	80	1.8
Building (excl. carpenters)	297	2.3	185	4.2
Tailors	153	1.2	67	1.5
Other textile, clothing & paper Manufacture	80	0.6	21	0.5
Shoemakers/cordwainers	569.5	4.4	156	3.5
Other leather, horn and tallow	78	0.6	16	0.4
Carpenters/joiners	387	3.0	122	2.7
Other woodworkers	304	2.4	114	2.6
Blacksmiths/farriers	262	2.0	91	2.0
Metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	56	0.4	66	1.5
Needles/hooks/pins	1751.5	13.6	714	16.1
Transport	93.5	0.7	44	1.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	200	1.6	56	1.3
Other food, retail, service, dealing	653.5	5.1	284	6.9
Domestic servants	112	0.9	67	1.0
Professional	197.5	1.5	130	2.9
Total adult males with known occupations	12855	100.0	4446	100.0

Appendix 12: Markets in or near the study area 1660-1840¹

Markets within the study area

Alcester (Tues)²

Aston Cantlow – market in Middle Ages, but probably defunct before 1660.

Bidford – (Fri) revived in 1754.³ Probably again defunct before 1800.

Feckenham (Sat) – probably defunct before 1800.⁴

Inkberrow (Wed) – market in the early nineteenth century, changed to Thursday from 1847.⁵

Oldberrow – had a market charter in Middle Ages, but most likely defunct before 1660.⁶

Redditch (Sat) – no charter, but a market in the nineteenth century, perhaps taking over from Feckenham and Alvechurch.

¹ The information shown here is correct for the first half of the nineteenth century, but in most cases the markets were held on the same days throughout the period of this study. Gloucestershire information is from T. Rudge, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Gloucester*, (London, Phillips, 1807), except for Moreton-in-Marsh, which is from *1830 Pigot's Directory of Glos.* Warwickshire information is from *1835 Pigot's Directory of Warks.* except for Birmingham information, which is from *1783 Bailey's Directory of Birmingham.* Worcestershire information is from *1835 Pigot's Directory of Worcs.*, supplemented by information on the city of Worcester from *VCH Worcestershire*, vol. iv, pp. 377-390, and information on Halesowen from J. Noake, *Guide to Worcestershire*, (London, Longman, 1868), pp. 179-183. Extra information is also included from contemporary newspapers, where relevant.

² *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 3 Oct. 1765 states that in future the market would be toll free except for horses.

³ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 6 June 1754 reports its revival. It was to be toll-free, with eminent dealers in corn and other merchandise.

⁴ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 13 Aug 1795 mentions a Tuesday market, but this is most likely erroneous and actually means Alcester market. Astwood Bank in the parish of Feckenham had a market place at the end of the nineteenth century, but its origin and its day of operation are not known.

⁵ R. Gaut, *A History of Worcestershire Agriculture*, p. 256. It is not known whether there was a market before the nineteenth century, nor when the market ceased.

⁶ T. Slater, *A History of Warwickshire*, p. 53.

Markets surrounding the study area 1660-1840

North Worcestershire:

Alvechurch (Sat)⁷; Bewdley (Sat)⁸; Bromsgrove (Tues); Droitwich (Fri); Dudley (Sat); Halesowen (formerly Shropshire) (Sat)⁹; Kidderminster (Thurs and Sat); Kings Norton (Sat); Stourbridge (Fri); Stourport (Wed and Sat) from the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

South Worcestershire:

Evesham (Mon); Pershore (Tues) (changed to Fri 1807)¹⁰; Shipston-upon-Stour (Sat); Upton-upon-Severn (Thurs)¹¹; Worcester (Wed, Fri and Sat).¹²

North Warwickshire:

Birmingham (Mon, Thurs, Sat); Coleshill (Wed); Coventry (Wed and Fri); Kenilworth (Wed); Leamington (Wed); Solihull (Wed); Sutton Coldfield, revived 1748, but perhaps defunct again before 1800¹³; Warwick (Tues and Sat).

South Warwickshire:

Henley-in Arden (Mon); Kineton (Tues); Southam (Mon); Stratford-upon-Avon (Fri).¹⁴

North Gloucestershire:

Cheltenham (Thurs); Chipping Campden (Wed); Gloucester (Wed and Sat); Moreton-in-Marsh (Tues); Stow-on-the-Wold (Thurs); Tewkesbury (Wed and Sat); Winchcombe (Sat).

⁷ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 24 Oct. 1754 mentions its revival at that time, but how long it lasted is not known.

⁸ Bewdley held a general market, but *Worcester Postman*, 11 Oct 1717, states that a hop market was starting at Bewdley every Saturday.

⁹ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* 10 Nov 1766 states that Halesowen held a market every Monday, which would be toll-free in future.

¹⁰ *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, Jan to April 1807 mentions controversy as some locals wished the market day to change back to Tuesday.

¹¹ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 23 July 1752 carries a notice asking for corn from Herefordshire and Worcestershire to be brought to Upton market for sale. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 4 Oct 1781 states that corn would be sold at Upton market in future, (implying that sale of corn had previously ceased).

¹² *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 20 May 1779 stated that Worcester's market for butter, cheese and eggs will move from the Cross and soils adjoining into the Guildhall.

¹³ *Worcester Journal* 8 Dec. 1748 reports its revival. Its day of operation is not known.

¹⁴ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 11 March 1790 reports that in future Stratford market was to close earlier each week (at 1.30 p.m.). A report in the *Worcester Journal* 3 Nov. 1748 states that Stratford market was on Thursday, not Friday at that time.

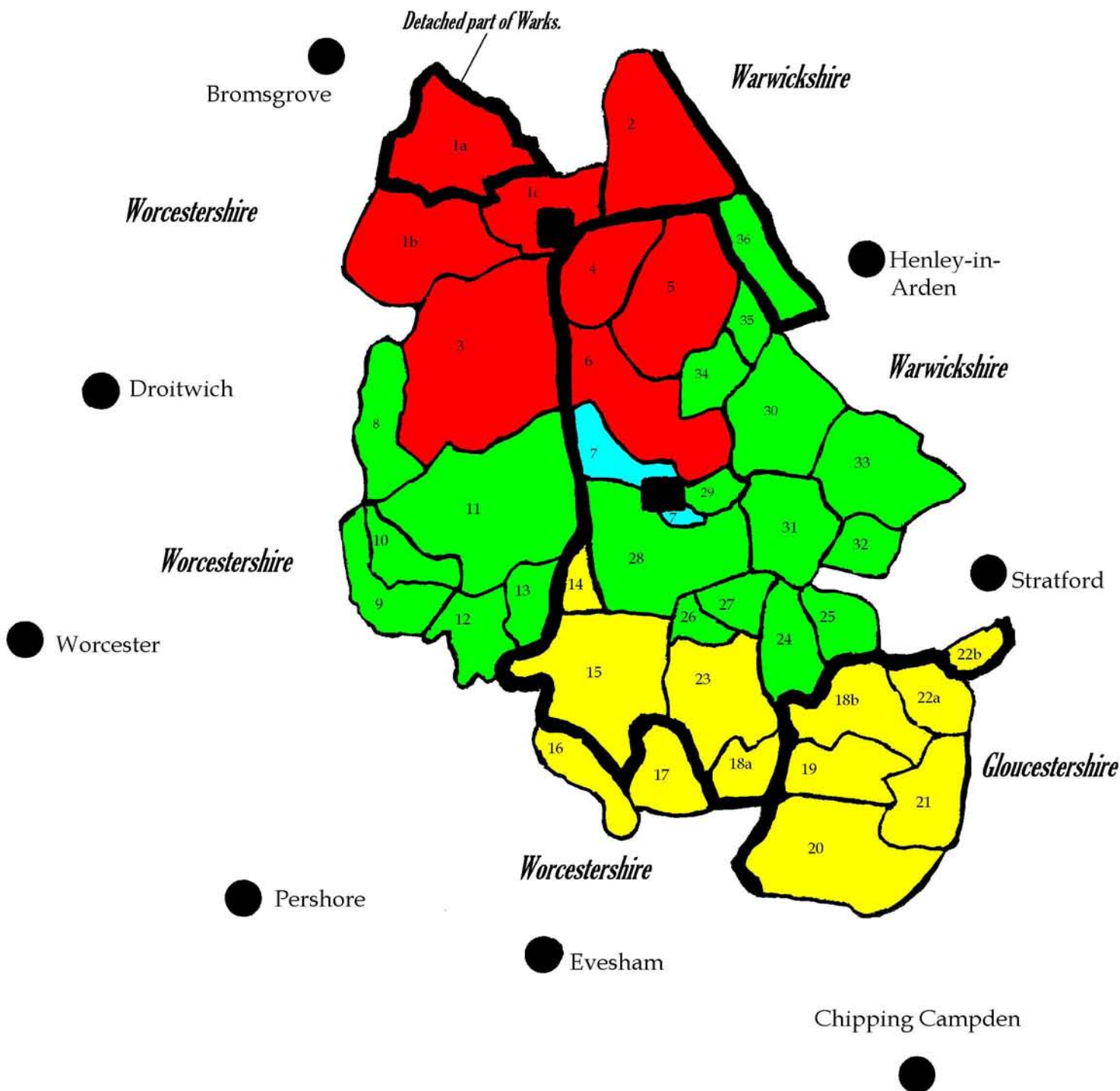
Appendix 12a

● Birmingham

The Study Area showing surrounding market towns

● Solihull

1c = Redditch
7 = Alcester



Appendix 13: Fairs held in parishes of the study area 1660-1840¹

Alcester:

January Fair: Tues. before 29 Jan.²

March Fairs or First Spring Fairs: Tues. before 18 March and Tues. before 25 March³

April Fair: 3rd Tues. in April⁴

May Fair or Other Spring Fair: Around 18 May. Mainly livestock sales in the nineteenth century.⁵

July Fair: Last Tues. in July⁶

Michaelmas Mop Fair or Statute Fair: Statute or Mop fair for hiring of servants on Wed. 9 Oct. in 1754, with ox roast and girls' foot race for a holland shift.⁷ 23 Sept. in 1761⁸ Before Michaelmas c.1782.⁹ September Fair 3rd Tues. in Sept.¹⁰ Tues. before and Tues. after Michaelmas in 1854.¹¹ In October later in the nineteenth century.¹²

October Fair: Not the same as the Mop Fair. Nicknamed Stuffgut Fair c.1810. Changed from 6 Oct. to 17 Oct. and six following days in 1752.¹³

December Fair: 1st Tues. in Dec.¹⁴

Aston Cantlow¹⁵

Aston Cantlow Wake: around 6 July, c.1850

Mop Fair: eight days before Old Michaelmas in early nineteenth century¹⁶

Little Alne Wake: Whit Sunday, pre-1850

Newnham Wake: Trinity Sunday, pre-1850

Pathlow Wake: Easter Sunday, c. 1850

Shelfield Wake: Sept., pre-1850

Wilmcote Wake: around 30 June, within the octave of St Peter, c. 1850

Wilmcote Wake: around 11 Nov., c. 1850

¹ Information is mainly from *VCH Warwickshire* and *VCH Worcestershire* supplemented with information from other sources.

² *1854 PO Directory of Warks.*

³ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 6 March 1760 and 12 March 1761. *1845 & 1854 PO Directories of Warks.* and *VCH Warwickshire*, vol. iii, p.13. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 6 Sept 1753 states that the First Spring Fair will be held on the Tues. before Lady Day.

⁴ *1845 and 1854 PO Directories of Warks.*

⁵ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 6 Sept 1753 states that the other Spring Fair will be every 18 May. In the mid-nineteenth century it was still 18 May (as reported in *1845 & 1854 PO Directories of Warks.*). In 1807 it was changed (just for that year) from Mon 18 May to Sat 16 May to avoid a clash with Evesham Fair, (as reported in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 14 May 1807).

⁶ *1845 and 1854 PO Directories of Warks.*

⁷ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 3 Oct 1754.

⁸ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 1 Oct. 1761.

⁹ WaRO, DR259/45/14, Aston Cantlow settlements.

¹⁰ *1845 and 1854 PO Directories of Warks.*

¹¹ *1854 PO Directory of Warks.*

¹² *VCH Warwickshire*, vol. iii, p. 13.

¹³ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 27 Aug 1752 and 6 Sept 6 1753 and 4 Oct 1781. Also *1845 and 1854 PO Directories of Warks.*

¹⁴ *1845 and 1854 PO Directories of Warks.*

¹⁵ Aston Cantlow information is from *VCH Warwickshire*, vol. iii, p. 34 unless stated otherwise.

¹⁶ WaRO, DR259/45/46, Aston Cantlow settlements.

Beoley

Wake: Sunday following Old St Bartholomew's Day (early Sept.?)¹⁷

Bidford

April Fair: 9 April¹⁸

Trinity Fair: May in nineteenth century¹⁹

September Fair: 8 Sept.²⁰

Late September Fair: 25 Sept. Toll-free, for cheese, all sorts of cattle, corn and other merchandise, in 1754 changed to 6 Oct. in future (unless a Sunday in which case 7 Oct.).²¹

Mop Fair: 10 Oct. 'as usual' in 1754.²² Old Michaelmas Day in 1831.²³

Feckenham

March Fair: for cattle 26 March until mid-nineteenth century.²⁴

May Fair: 27 May, c.1860.²⁵

Wake: 1st Sun. after St John the Baptist.²⁶

September Fair: Statute or 'Mapp' Fair for hiring servants 30 Sept.²⁷ For cattle 30 Sept. until mid-nineteenth century.²⁸

Hunt End Wake: early August until early twentieth century.²⁹

Great Alne

Wake: 21 July in 1730, but not c. 1850.³⁰

Inkberrow

Mop Fair: 12 Oct. until early twentieth century.³¹

Morton Bagot

Wake: June 1841 around the time of the 1841 census³²

¹⁷ VCH Worcestershire, vol. iv, p. 13.

¹⁸ 1854 PO Directory of Warks.

¹⁹ 'Local Past', Spring 1986, (*Journal of ADLHS*).

²⁰ 1854 PO Directory of Warks.

²¹ Berrow's Worcester Journal 19 Sept. 1754.

²² Ibid.

²³ WaRO, DR399/271/14, Salford Priors settlements.

²⁴ VCH Worcestershire, vol. iii, p. 115, and 1798 UBD, 1829 Pigot's Directory of Worcs.

²⁵ R. C. Gaut, *A History of Worcestershire Agriculture and Rural Evolution*, p. 319.

²⁶ VCH Worcestershire, vol. iii, p. 115. Continues to the present day.

²⁷ Berrow's Worcester Journal 21 Sept. 1758.

²⁸ VCH Worcestershire, vol. iii, p. 115, and 1798 UBD, 1829 Pigot's Directory of Worcs.

²⁹ Information from Graham Downie of Studley.

³⁰ VCH Warwickshire, vol. iii, p. 24.

³¹ Information from Graham Downie of Studley.

³² WaRO, 1841 census for Morton Bagot records 22 extra people (8 males, 14 females, mainly children) in the parish because of the wake

Studley

Mop Fair: hiring fair around 28 Sept. Fourteen days before Old Michaelmas in early nineteenth century.³³ In mid-nineteenth century it was also a fair for cattle and sheep, formerly 8 Sept., Feast of Nativity of the Virgin in 'Dr Thomas' time'.³⁴

Tardebigge

Headless Cross Cherry Wake: 2nd Sat. in July until twentieth century.³⁵

Redditch Fairs: 1st Mon. in August and 3rd Mon. in Sept., both for cattle in mid-nineteenth century. Fairs in the seventeenth century on St Stephen's Day and Sun. after feast of St Peter ad Vincula.³⁶ Redditch Fair (or 'Meeting') for buying and selling all sorts of cattle and a mop for hiring servants, in 3rd week of Sept. in 1762.³⁷

Welford

Wake: 2nd Mon. following St Peter's Day.³⁸

³³ WaRO, DR399/271/17, Salford Priors settlements.

³⁴ *VCH Warwickshire*, vol. iii, p. 179. Dr Thomas's time meaning circa 1730.

³⁵ Information from Graham Downie of Studley. Also, A. Foxall, *Old Redditch Pubs*, p. 203.

³⁶ *VCH Worcestershire*, vol. iii, p. 224.

³⁷ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 16 Sept 1762.

³⁸ J. Fendley, ed., 'Notes on the Diocese of Gloucester by Chancellor Richard Parsons c.1700', p. 47.

Appendix 14: Carrying network

Below are shown the destinations of carriers from places within the study area. (Destinations within the study area are shown last in italics.) Although in the later period carriers from some hamlets can be identified, (for example within large parishes such as Inkberrow), they are included here under the name of the main parish. Information is from trade directories and *Berrow's Worcester Journal*.

1760 to 1820

Alcester: Birmingham, Coventry, Evesham, London, Stourbridge, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwick, Worcester, *Feckenham, Redditch, Studley*

Feckenham: Worcester, *Alcester*

Studley: Birmingham, Evesham, *Alcester, Redditch*

1821 to 1840

Alcester: Birmingham, Evesham, Henley-in-Arden, Stratford, Warwick, Worcester, *Bidford, Feckenham, Redditch, Studley*

Arrow (Oversley)

Aston Cantlow: Warwick

Bidford: Stratford, Warwick

Feckenham: Birmingham, Droitwich, Worcester, *Redditch*

Inkberrow: Worcester

Kington: Worcester

Redditch/Tardebigge: London, Birmingham, Bromsgrove, Kidderminster, Worcester, *Alcester, Feckenham*

Rouse Lench (Radford): Worcester

Studley: Birmingham, *Alcester*

1841 to 1860

Alcester: Birmingham, Cheltenham, Evesham, Henley-in-Arden, Leamington, Stratford, Warwick, Worcester, *Bidford, Inkberrow, Redditch, Studley*

Aston Cantlow: Stratford

Beoley: Birmingham

Bidford: Birmingham, Evesham, Stratford, *Alcester*

Binton: Birmingham, Stratford

Feckenham: Birmingham, Bromsgrove, Worcester, *Redditch, Studley*

Harvington: Evesham, *Alcester*

Inkberrow: Bromsgrove, Evesham, Worcester, *Alcester, Redditch*

Ipsley: Bromsgrove, *Redditch*

Kington: Worcester

Long Marston: Stratford

Pebworth: Evesham, Stratford

Redditch/Tardebigge: Birmingham, Bromsgrove, Evesham, Worcester, *Alcester, Studley*

Salford Priors: Worcester

Studley: Birmingham, Cheltenham, Evesham, Stratford, *Alcester, Redditch*

Temple Grafton: Stratford, *Alcester*

Welford: Evesham, Stratford, *Bidford (Barton)*

Known carrying links between towns and villages within the study area 1760-1860

Alcester: Bidford, Coughton, Feckenham, Harvington, Inkberrow, Redditch, Studley, Temple Grafton

Bidford: Alcester

Feckenham: Alcester, Redditch, Studley

Harvington: Alcester

Inkberrow: Alcester, Redditch

Ipsley: Redditch

Redditch: Alcester, Feckenham, Inkberrow, Studley

Studley: Alcester, Redditch

Temple Grafton: Alcester

Welford-upon-Avon: Bidford

Towns and cities outside the study area which were destinations for carriers

Alcester, Redditch and the villages of the study zone may be grouped according to the places with which there were known carrying links.

London: Alcester

Birmingham: Alcester, Beoley, Bidford, Binton, Feckenham, Inkberrow, Redditch, Studley, Tardebigge

Bromsgrove: Feckenham, Inkberrow, Ipsley, Redditch

Cheltenham: Alcester, Studley

Coventry: Alcester, Feckenham

Droitwich: Feckenham

Evesham: Alcester, Bidford, Coughton, Harvington, Inkberrow, Pebworth, Redditch, Studley, Welford

Henley-in-Arden: Alcester

Leamington Spa: Alcester

Stourbridge: Alcester

Stratford-upon-Avon: Alcester, Aston Cantlow, Bidford, Binton, Long Marston, Pebworth, Studley, Temple Grafton, Welford

Warwick: Alcester, Aston Cantlow, Bidford, Feckenham

Worcester: Alcester, Feckenham, Inkberrow, Kington, Rouse Lench (Radford), Redditch, Salford Priors

Appendix 15: Turnpike Roads and Coach Routes

Appendix 15: Table 1: Dates of turnpike road acts or improvements in or close to the Study Area

1714 Droitwich to Worcester.
1720s Bromsgrove to Birmingham
1725 Stratford to Birmingham.
1726 Droitwich to Bromsgrove
1726 Roads around Worcester
1728 Roads around Evesham and Evesham to Worcester
1729 Shipston-on-Stour to Stratford
1754 Stratford to Alcester, continuing to Bromsgrove with a branch to Lickey Common. Also Alcester to Bradley Green (on the Saltway to Droitwich).
1755 Roads into Droitwich
1756 Dunnington to Norton (to join Stratford to Evesham road)
1756 Evesham to Chipping Campden
1767 Sperrall Ash (just south of Studley) to Birmingham
1777 Alcester to Norton (to join Stratford to Evesham road). With a branch from Dunnington to Crabbs Cross
1779 Alcester to Worcester turnpike mentioned (as if an established road) through Upton Snodsbury
1780 Worcester to Bradley Green turnpike mentioned
1814 Alcester to Wootton Wawen
1817 Mickleton to Tredington
1818 Chipping Camden to Stratford
1824 Broadway to Mickleton
1825 Birmingham to Pershore (via Redditch, only completed to Weethley)
1825 Worcester to Pershore and Upton Snodsbury
1826 Arrow to Pothooks Lane End (between Inkberrow and Worcester).

Appendix 15: Table 2: Coaches to and from the Alcester area from trade directories, etc.

1812 Wrightson's Birmingham Directory

Birmingham to Redditch, Studley, Alcester and Evesham

Light day coach from Saracen's Head Inn, Bull St, 7 a.m. Tues, Wed, Fri

1816-1817 Pigot's Birmingham Directory

Birmingham to Alcester and Evesham

Neptune Post Coach 6.30 a.m. daily

1821 Pigot's Warwickshire Directory

Coaches through Alcester: *Britannia, Pilot* and *Shamrock* as in 1828/9

1822 Pigot's Worcestershire Directory

Redditch to Birmingham

Needle, from Red Lion, 8 a.m. Mon, Thurs, Sat, return same day 9 p.m.

Kidderminster to London via Redditch and Alcester

Britannia, calling at Unicorn, Redditch, 7 a.m. Mon, Wed, Fri

London to Kidderminster via Alcester and Redditch

Britannia, calling at Unicorn, Redditch, 8 p.m. Tues, Thurs, Sat

1825 Warwick Advertiser (28 May 1825)

Leamington to Alcester and Cheltenham

Columbia, calling at Angel, Alcester, Tues, Thurs and Sat

1828 Pigot's Warwickshire Directory and 1829 Pigot's Warwickshire Directory

Kidderminster to London via Alcester, Stratford, Banbury, Bicester, Aylesbury

Britannia, calling at Swan, Alcester, 8 a.m. Mon, Wed, Fri,

London to Kidderminster via Aylesbury, Stratford, Alcester, Redditch, etc.

Britannia, calling at Swan, Alcester, 8 p.m. Tues, Thurs, Sat

Alcester to Birmingham

Shamrock, from Swan, 1 p.m. Tues, Thurs, Sat

Shamrock, from Swan, 4 p.m. Mon, Wed, Fri

Leicester to Bristol via Alcester, Evesham, Cheltenham, Gloucester

Pilot, from Swan, Alcester, 10 a.m. Mon, Wed, Fri

Bristol to Leicester via Alcester, Stratford, Warwick, Coventry, Hinckley

Pilot, from Swan, Alcester, 6 p.m. Tues, Thurs, Sat

1829 Pigot's Worcestershire Directory

Kidderminster to London via Redditch

Britannia calls at Unicorn Hill, Redditch, 7 a.m. Mon, Wed, Fri

London to Kidderminster via Redditch

Britannia calls at Unicorn Hill, Redditch, 8 p.m. Tues, Thurs, Sat

Redditch to Birmingham

Needle, from Red Lion, 8 a.m. Mon, Thurs, Sat, returns same evening 9 p.m.

1830 West's Warwickshire Directory

Alcester to Redditch, Bromsgrove and Kidderminster

Britannia (from London via Aylesbury and Stratford) from Swan, 8 p.m. Tues, Thurs, Sat

Alcester to Stratford, Aylesbury, London

Britannia, (from Kidderminster, Redditch, etc), from Swan, 8 a.m. Mon, Wed, Fri

Alcester to Stratford, Warwick, Coventry, Hinckley and Leicester

Pilot, (from Bristol via Gloucester) from Swan, 6 p.m. Tues, Thurs, Sat

Alcester to Gloucester, Bristol

Pilot, (from Leicester, Coventry, etc), from Swan, 10 a.m. Mon, Wed, Fri

Alcester to Birmingham

Shamrock from Swan, 1 p. m. Tues, Thurs, Sat

and 4 p.m. Mon, Wed, Fri

Birmingham to Alcester

from Castle, 7 a.m. every day except Fri

Birmingham to Redditch

from Black Boy or Woolpack 5 p.m.

1830 Pigot's Birmingham and Worcester Directory

Birmingham to Alcester, Evesham, Cheltenham and Bath

Post Coach from Castle and Saracen's Head Inns 7 a.m. daily except Fri
Coach from Three Tuns, Digbeth, 7 a.m. daily

Birmingham to Redditch

Rocket, from Woolpack, St Martin's Lane, 5 p.m. Mon, Thurs, Sat

London to Stratford, Alcester and Kidderminster

Britannia, Tues, Thurs, Sat (6 p.m. at Shakespeare in Stratford)
returns Mon, Wed, Fri (9 a.m. at Shakespeare in Stratford)

1831 to 1834 Papers of John Stephens of the Swan, Alcester. (WaRO, CR1596)

Kidderminster and Aylesbury (via Alcester?)

King William, 2 night coaches

Worcestershire to Aylesbury and Amersham (via Alcester?)

Hero

Destination unknown (via Alcester?)

Monarch, 2 night coaches

1835 Pigot's Warwickshire and Worcestershire Directory

Birmingham to Redditch and Alcester

Rocket from Woolpack Inn 7 a.m. daily
and from Castle and Woolpack Inns 5 p.m. Mon, Thurs, Sat

Birmingham to Studley, Alcester, Evesham, Cheltenham and Gloucester

Tally Ho from Castle and Saracen's Head Inn, St George's Tavern and Nelson
Hotel 7 a.m. daily except Sun

Evesham to Bidford, Stratford, Warwick and Leamington

Imperial (from Cheltenham) from White Hart 12 noon daily, return at 4 p.m.

Evesham to Alcester, Stratford and Warwick

Pilot (from Cheltenham) Crown 4 p.m. return at 12 noon

Leamington to Stratford, Bidford, Evesham and Cheltenham

Coach from Royal and Bath Hotels 8.30 a.m. daily except Sun
Imperial from Bedford Hotel 12 noon daily

Stratford to Alcester, Feckenham and Worcester

Star (from Leamington) from Shakespeare and White Lion Inns 1.30 p.m.
Tues, Thurs, Sat

Worcester to Alcester, Stratford, Warwick and Leamington

Star from Star and Garter 12 noon Mon, Wed, Fri

Alcester to Birmingham

Rocket from Globe daily 12.35 p.m.
Tally Ho (from Bristol) from Swan 12.30 p.m. Mon – Sat, returns 9.30 a.m.

Alcester to Stratford, Banbury, Buckingham and Bristol (sic)

Tally Ho (from Birmingham) from Swan 9.30 a.m. daily

Alcester to Stratford and Leamington

Star (from Worcester) from Angel 2 p.m. Mon, Wed, Fri

Alcester to Worcester

Star (from Leamington) from Angel 2.30 p.m. Tues, Thurs, Sat

Redditch to Alcester and Birmingham

Rocket calls at Fox and Goose, Redditch, about noon daily

1839 Robson's Birmingham and Sheffield Directory

Birmingham to Alcester

Market Coach from Saracen's Head 4 p.m.; Castle, Thurs only

Birmingham to Alcester, Evesham, Cheltenham and Gloucester

Tallyho from Saracen's Head, Bull St, 7.45 a.m. daily except Thursday

Return 4.30 p.m.

Quicksilver from Albion; Nelson Hotel 5 p.m. daily

Return 10 p.m.

Birmingham to Redditch

Hope from Woolpack, St Martin's Lane, 5 p.m. daily

Return 10 a.m.

Redditch to Birmingham

From Red Lion, 8 a.m. Mon, Thurs, Sat return same evening

1842 Pigot's Worcestershire Directory

Redditch to Birmingham

Quicksilver (from Evesham) calls at Unicorn Inn 11 a.m. Mon-Sat

Dart from Fox and Goose, 8 a.m. Mon, Thurs, Sat and 10.30 a.m. Tues, Wed, Fri

Redditch to Evesham

Quicksilver (from Birmingham) calls at Unicorn Inn, 7 p.m. Mon-Sat

1845 PO Warwickshire Directory

Alcester to Birmingham

Tally Ho from Swan 2.30 p.m. Mon – Sat, returns 11.30 a.m.

Britannia from Globe 7 a.m. Mon, Thurs, Sat, returns same day 7 p.m.

Quicksilver from Bear 7 a.m. Mon – Sat, returns 7.30 p.m.

Alcester to Evesham

Tally Ho from Swan 11.30 a.m. Mon – Sat, returns 2.30 p.m.

Alcester to Stratford, Warwick and Leamington

Shakespeare from Globe 8.45 a.m. Mon – Sat, returns 7 p.m.

Star (from Worcester) from Angel 2.15 p.m. Mon, Wed, Fri, returns 1 p.m. next day

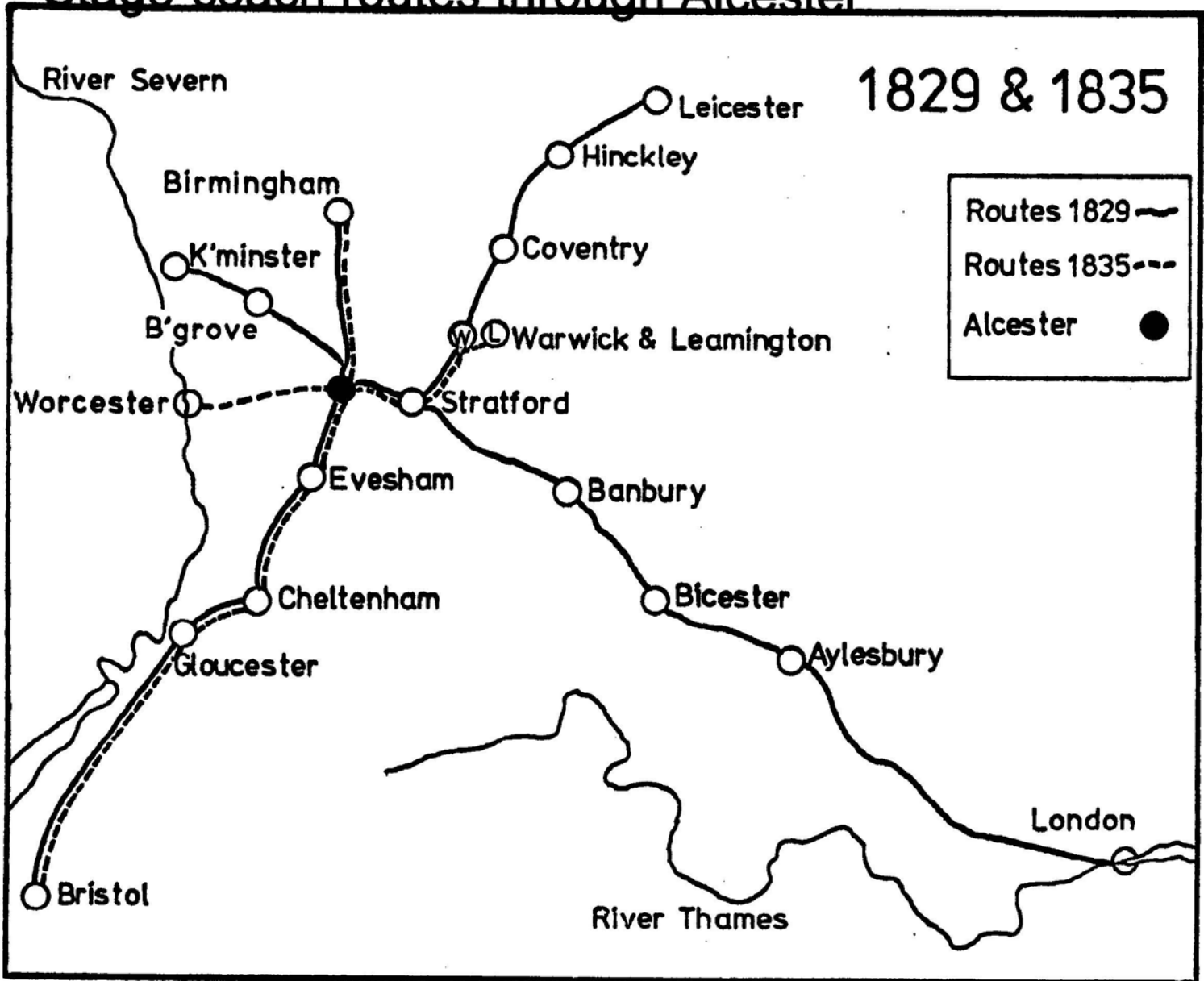
Studley to Birmingham

Quicksilver (from Alcester) from Bell 7.30 a.m. Mon, Thurs, Sat and 8.30 a.m. Tues, Wed, Sat, returns 8 p.m. Mon – Sat

Britannia (from Alcester) from Barley Mow 8 a.m. Mon, Thurs, Sat, returns 8 p.m.

Clark's (from Evesham) 3 p.m. Mon – Sat, returns 10.30 a.m.

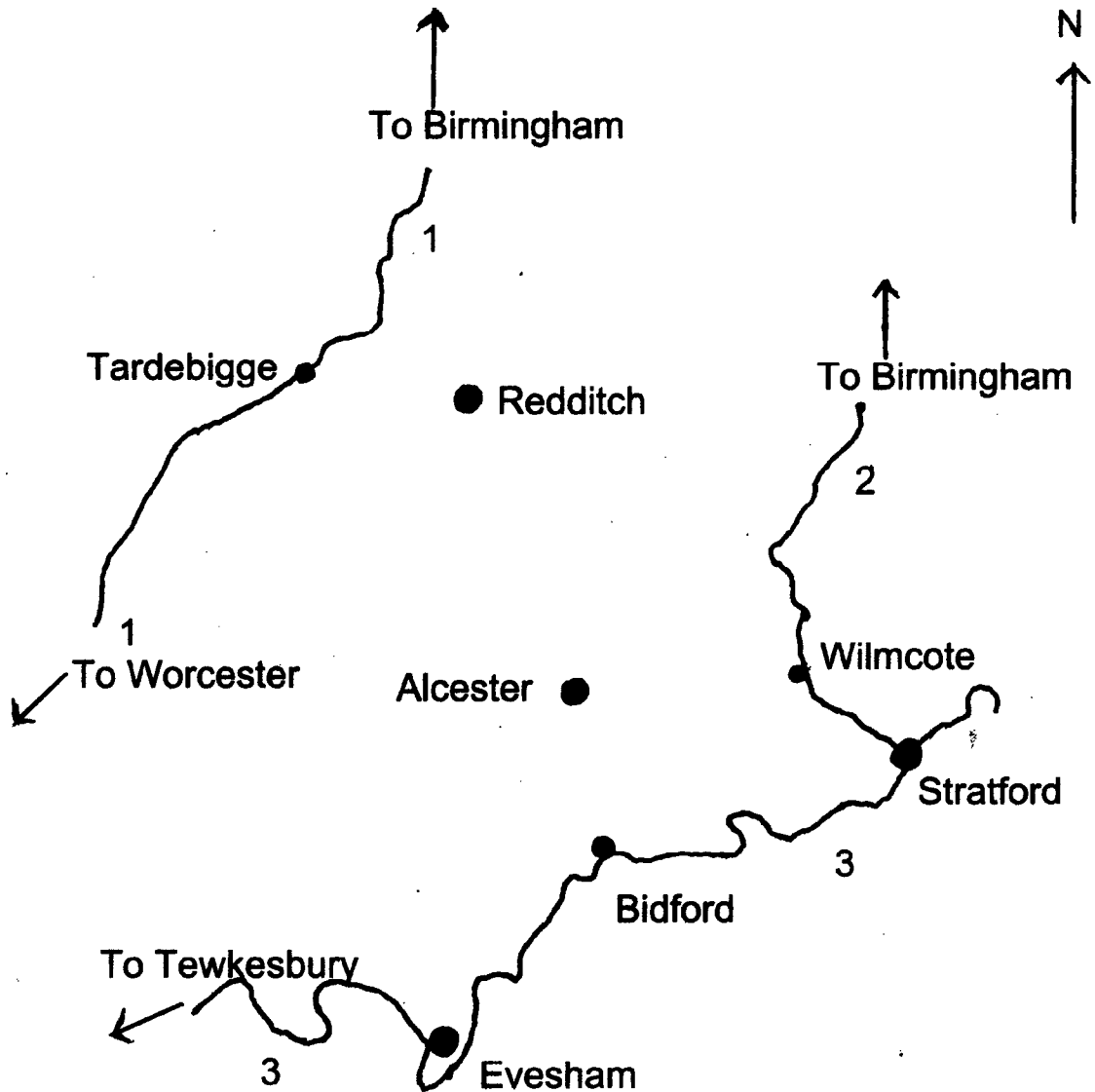
Appendix 15a: Stage-coach routes through Alcester



Map showing stage-coach routes through Alcester from information in 1829 Pigot's Warwickshire Directory and 1835 Pigot's Warwickshire Directory.

Reproduced with kind permission of Cyril Johnson from his 'Stage-Coach Routes Through Alcester', ADLHS, OP5, (1976)

Appendix 16: Navigable Rivers and Canals



N.B. Alcester to Wilmcote is approximately 5 miles

- 1 = Worcester and Birmingham Canal
(completed 1815)
- 2 = Stratford upon Avon Canal
(completed 1816)
- 3 = River Avon

Appendix 17: Water-mills and Windmills in the Study Area 1660-1840

Parish	No. of water-mills	Use of water-mills	No. of windmills	Use of windmills
Alcester	2	2n+c		
Bidford-on-Avon	2	1c, 1p+c		
Cleeve Prior	1	1c		
Dorsington				
Harvington	1	1p+c		
Long Marston				
Pebworth			1	1c
Salford Priors	1?	1c?		
Weethley				
Welford-on-Avon	1	1c		
Weston-on-Avon				
Abbots Morton				
Arrow (including Oversley)	2 or 3	2c, 1n?		
Aston Cantlow	2?	2c+p		
Billesley				
Binton				
Dormston				
Exhall				
Gt Alne	1	1c		
Haselor	1	1n+c		
Inkberrow	2?	2c	2	2c
Kington	1	1c		
Kinwarton				
Morton Bagot	1	1c(+n?)		
Oldberrow				
Rous Lench	1	1c	1	1c
Sperrall	1	1f		
Stock & Bradley				
Temple Grafton				
Wixford				
Beoley	2	2p+c		
Coughton (including Sambourne)	2	2c		
Feckenham	3	2n+c, 1c	2	2c
Ipsley	2	1c,1i		
Studley	2	2n+c		
Tardebigge (including Redditch)	4?	1c, 1p+c, 1i+n, 1n?	1	1n

c = corn, i = iron, f = fulling, n = needle, p = paper

This table shows mills for which evidence has been found some time between 1660 and 1840. Some may have operated for all that period, others only for a short time. Some parishes (left blank) apparently had no mills at this period.

Although a miller lived in Salford Priors in the late seventeenth century, he may have worked the mill at Cleeve Prior. Despite claims to the contrary, no evidence has been found for paper-mills in Inkberrow nor for a water-mill making needles in Sambourne at this period.

Appendix 18: Parishes with quarries, plaster pits and brickmakers

Table showing evidence for brickmakers (b), quarries (q) and plaster pits (p)

Parish	1660-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-60
Alcester	b	b	b	b, q?
Abbots Morton	b	b		
Arrow		b	q	b, q
Aston Cantlow	b, q	b, q	q	b, q
Beoley				b
Bidford	q	b, q	b, q	b, q
Cleeve Prior	q	q	q	b, q
Coughton	b?			b
Great Alne			q	b
Harvington				b
Haselor				q
Inkberrow	q	q	q	b, q
Exhall			b	
Feckenham				b
Ipsley				b
Morton Bagot	q	q	q	
Oldberrow				b
Pebworth				b
Rous Lench	b	b		b
Sperrall	b, p,	b,p	p?	p?
Stock & Bradley				b
Studley			b	b
Tardebigge	b, q?	b, q?	b, q	b, q
Temple Grafton			q	q
Wixford			q	

N. B. The last period includes evidence from the 1851 census and trade directories.

Appendix 19: Parishes with schools before 1800

Below is a list of parishes showing approximate dates for which there is evidence of schools or schoolmasters before 1800.

Alcester 1660-1800
Feckenham 1660-1800
Beoley c. 1670
Tardebigge/Redditch 1685-1800
Coughton 1710-1722
Studley c. 1680-1800
Salford Priors 1660-1780
Long Marston 1660-c. 1760
Haselor 1680s
Inkberrow c.1760
Aston Cantlow 1690-1740
Temple Grafton c. 1683
Stock & Bradley 1680s
Arrow 1680s?
Welford c. 1730?
Exhall 1749

The hamlet of Ardens Grafton (in Temple Grafton parish) and Redditch (in Tardebigge parish) both had Sunday schools before 1800.

More details of the information above can be found in **Chapters 4-7**.

Appendix 20: The Needle Industry and Associated Trades

Specific occupational descriptors (male and female) noted in the needle industry and associated trades in Redditch and surrounding parishes to 1851

Needlemaking processes and marketing

Needlemaker, needler, needleman, needlemaster, needle-manufacturer, needle-agent, needle-factor, needle-merchant, needle-seller, needle-traveller, needle-warehouseman, needle brightmaker, needle brightworker, needle-counter, needle-cutter, needle-driller, needle-eyer, needle-filer, needle-finisher, needle-foreman, needle-forewoman, needle-grinder, needle-hammerer, needle-hander, needle-hardener, needle-header, needle-labeller, needle-packer, needle-paperer, needle-picker, needle-pointer, blue-pointer, bluer, needle-polisher, needle-preparer, needle-quarterer, needle-scourer, needle-setter, needle-shaker, needle-softworker, needle-sorter, needle-spitter, needle-squarer, needle-stamper, needle-straightener, hammer-straightener, hard-straightener, needle-temperer, needle-tucker, needle-worker,* needle-wrapper, needle-hardener's lad, shopman, wheelturner.

*Some of those termed 'needle-worker' were perhaps sewing, not making needles.

Specific types of needles

Bodkin-maker, bodkin-eyer, bodkin-lipper, bodkin-stamper, bodkin-manufacturer, crochet-needlemaker, packing needlemaker, fancy needlemaker, surgeon's needlemaker, sail-needlemaker.

Pins

Pin-manufacturer, pin-maker, pin-buncher, pin-carder, pin-header, pin-paperer, pin-pointer, pin-sheeter, pin-stamper.

Fish-hook, fishing tackle and hook and eye manufacture

Fish-hookmaker, (general and fancy) fish-hook manufacturer, fish-hook bender, fish-hook binder, fish-hook carder, fish-hook counter, fish-hook filer, fish-hook hardener, fish-hook paperer, fish-hook setter, fish-hook stamper, fish-hook shopgirl, fish-hook traveller, sail-hook maker, sea-hookmaker, fishing tackle maker, fishing tackle manufacturer, fishing tackle factor, fishing tackler, fishing line maker, fishing line spinner, (artificial) fly-dresser, floatmaker, hookmaker, hook and eye maker, hook and eye stitcher, hook and eye carder, swivel maker, sailors' palm-maker, twist-hook maker, harpoon-maker, tambour crochet hook maker.

Needlemakers and associated trades in England and Wales (entries of fathers' occupations in baptisms) 1813-1820.¹

Needlemakers

Worcestershire 513, Warwickshire 176, Leicestershire 142, Nottinghamshire 114, Buckinghamshire 33, Derbyshire 26, Cheshire 20, Lancashire 14, Gloucestershire 6, Surrey 5, Middlesex 2, Wiltshire 2, Northamptonshire 1, Shropshire 1.

Pinmakers

Gloucestershire 182, Surrey 65, Lancashire 24, Warwickshire 21, Middlesex 20, Yorkshire West Riding 15, Staffordshire 10, Cheshire 7, Nottinghamshire 7, Herefordshire 5, Sussex 5, Northamptonshire 4, Somerset 4, Berkshire 2, Cambridgeshire 2, Essex 2, Denbighshire 1, Shropshire 1.

Fish-hook makers

Worcestershire 71, Westmorland 10, Warwickshire 5, Cumberland 5, Middlesex 1.

Fishing tackle makers

Middlesex 27, Surrey 7, Shropshire 4, Somerset 3, Kent 2, Worcestershire 2, Cumberland 1.

¹ I am indebted to Dr Peter Kitson of the Cambridge Group for making this information available to me.

Appendix 21: Occupational database: example of record

ID	Main Occupation	Surname	Forename	Parish	Address	Subsidiary occupation
40	shoemaker	Adkins	Samuel	Redditch	Windsor St	

Earliest	Latest	Father	POB	YOB	YOD	Other parishes
1817	1851		Glos, Campden	1783		Bidford

Source	Other information
Bidford bapts 1817; 1831 census, Bidford; 1851 census, Redditch	als Atkins; m Sarah; 1831 census at Bidford workhouse, possibly workhouse master?

Above is an example of a record from the database showing Samuel Adkins, shoemaker. His is a fairly full record with only three blank columns.

Appendix 22: Multiple occupations

This appendix lists combinations of male occupations noted in the Study Area. Some occupations are very closely associated such as plumbers, glaziers and painters or carpenters and joiners, others are less obvious combinations. Farming and labouring, which went hand in hand with many occupations, are not included here. Domestic servants, soldiers and gentlemen are also excluded from the list. There has been no attempt to quantify the frequency with which a certain combination occurs, though some are very frequent and others are rare or occur only once.

The occupations in bold type are shown below in my groupings (as discussed in Appendix 2). It will be seen that many combinations of occupations are from within the grouping, but there are also many examples of combinations of quite different trades.

Agriculture

Fisherman – publican, blacksmith, carpenter, boatman

Gardener – seedsman, parish clerk, schoolmaster, nurseryman, baker, stonemason, weaver

Nurseryman - gardener

Seedsman – gardener, saddler, woolstapler, publican

Veterinary surgeon – farrier, needlemaker, publican, shopkeeper

Extractive industries and building

Bricklayer – mason, builder

Brickmaker – tilemaker, publican, builder

Builder – bricklayer, mason, carpenter, brickmaker

Glazier – plumber, painter, publican, plasterer

Lime burner – lime merchant, stonemason, stone cutter

Plasterer – painter, builder

Road-mender - blacksmith

Slater – stonemason, plasterer, publican

(Stone)mason – publican, thatcher, lime burner, slater, sculptor, engraver, schoolmaster, bricklayer, brickmaker, builder, plasterer, stone cutter, quarryman, gardener, shopkeeper, cider maker

Thatcher – parish clerk, mason

Tilemaker - brickmaker

Textile, clothing and paper

Clothier – draper, weaver

Clothworker - publican

Dyer – weaver, woolcomber

Feltmaker - hatter

Flax-dresser - ropemaker

Hatter - feltmaker

Papermaker – shopkeeper, corn miller, needlemaker

Ropemaker – publican, (sacking) weaver, flax-dresser

Staymaker – victualler, shopkeeper, tea dealer, tailor

Strawhat maker - shoemaker

Tailor – bodicemaker, staymaker, draper, publican, breechesmaker, shopkeeper, weaver, grocer, needlemaker, schoolmaster, habitmaker

Weaver – webster, whitener, baker, tailor, publican, ropemaker, parish clerk, gardener, clothier, dyer, needlemaker

Woolcomber/woolstapler – seedsman, fellmonger, dyer

Leather, horn and tallow

Cordwainer/shoemaker – bootmaker, needlemaker, parish clerk, publican, shopkeeper, carrier, baker, maltster, strawhat maker, timbermerchant, draper

Currier – tanner, maltster

Fellmonger – woolstapler, skinner, glover, woolman, publican

Saddler – whittawer, collarmaker, haberdasher, harness maker, bagmaker, maltster, publican, horse dealer

Skinner – cutter, castrator, fellmonger, glover, publican, maltster

(Tallow) chandler – ironmonger, grocer, butcher, draper, shopkeeper, soap boiler, maltster, merchant

Tanner - needlemaker

Wood and charcoal

Basketmaker – sievemaker, putchinmaker

Carpenter/joiner – wheelwright, pumpmaker, publican, timber dealer, tollgate keeper, builder, ironmonger, millwright, sawyer, ploughwright, thatcher, cooper, fisherman

Charcoal burner/wood-coller - publican

Cooper – carpenter, wheelwright, publican

Sawyer – chairmaker, carpenter, needlemaker, timber dealer, publican, bricklayer, haulier

Sievemaker – basketmaker, teugerer

Teugerer – besom-maker, sievemaker

Timberdealer – timber merchant, beer retailer, publican, carpenter, cooper, shopkeeper, lathmaker, wheelwright, builder, sawyer

Turner – chairmaker, beer retailer, maltster

Wheelwright – ploughwright, maltster, carpenter, shopkeeper, victualler, blacksmith, machinemaker, carrier, agricultural implement maker, cooper, coachmaker

Metal

Blacksmith – whitesmith, PO, clockmaker, needlemaker, publican, minister, fisherman, maltster, road-mender, ironmonger

Brazier – tinman, shopkeeper, ironmonger

Clockmaker/watchmaker – shopkeeper, gunsmith, cutler, blacksmith

Cutler - clockmaker

Fish-hookmaker – needlemaker, fishing tackle maker

Gunsmith - locksmith

Ironmonger – tinman, brazier, shopkeeper, carpenter, builder, whitesmith, hawker, broker, nail-factor, chandler, saddler, plumber, glazier, maltster, blacksmith

Nailmaker - shopkeeper

Needlemaker – publican, blacksmith, shopkeeper, grocer, veterinary surgeon, pinmaker, fish-hookmaker, papermaker, gardener, seedsman, barber, wiredrawer, boilermaker, shoemaker, bricklayer, schoolmaster, china dealer, tanner, weaver

Pinmaker - needlemaker

Toyman – shopkeeper, publican

Whitesmith – blacksmith, printer

Transport

Boatman – fisherman, coal dealer

Carrier – publican, shopkeeper, huckster, fruiterer, wheelwright, haulier, higgler, blacksmith, carpenter, sawyer, gamekeeper

Coach proprietor - publican

Haulier – sawyer, carrier, coal dealer

Tollgate keeper - publican

Wharfinger - publican

Marketing, dealing, retailing, food and drink

Baker – confectioner, publican, maltster, butcher, shoemaker, shopkeeper, banker, grocer, tollgate keeper, gardener

Bookseller – stationer, printer, engraver

Butcher – publican, baker, grazier, dealer, shopkeeper

Chapman – dealer, draper, needlemaker, fish-hook maker

China dealer – grocer, needlemaker

Coal dealer – brickmaker, sawyer, haulier, publican, bricklayer, carrier, boatman, butcher, needlemaker

Dealer – publican, butcher, saddler, tanner, baker, cooper, miller, chandler, maltster, tailor, hawker

Draper – hosier, mercer, tailor, clothier

Fruiterer – carrier, huckster, blacksmith, tripe dealer

Grocer – publican, provision dealer, tea dealer, shopkeeper, mercer, baker, sawyer, druggist, coal dealer, brickmaker, chandler, draper, blacksmith, china dealer

Haberdasher – saddler, mercer

Hawker – toydealer, shopkeeper

Maltster – shoemaker, publican, baker, miller, shopkeeper, carpenter, dealer, brewer, parish clerk, auctioneer, currier, mason, chandler, cooper, tanner, turner, glazier, collarmaker, wheelwright, skinner, weaver, mercer, nailmaker, blacksmith, Baptist minister

Mercer – draper, shopkeeper, haberdasher, grocer, weaver, saddler, glover, blacksmith, tailor

Miller – publican, baker, flour dealer, corn dealer, millwright, mealman, land agent, steward, needlemaker, papermaker, turner

Pawnbroker – tailor, draper, shoemaker, clothier

Printer – schoolmaster, publican

Publican – maltster, brewer, baker, wine and spirit merchant, cooper, wine cooper, shopkeeper, timber merchant, carpenter, stonemason, butcher, tollgate keeper, tailor, collarmaker, blacksmith, gamekeeper, coach proprietor, shoemaker, fellmonger, glazier, farrier, veterinary surgeon, needlemaker, toyman, ploughwright, schoolmaster, clothier, glass dealer, hawker, china dealer, auctioneer, fish-hook maker, provision dealer, grocer, plasterer, horse dealer, fisherman, clothworker, staymaker, seedsman

Shopkeeper – publican, wheelwright, veterinary surgeon, farrier, blacksmith, hawker, tinman, brazier, ironmonger, toyman, nailmaker, needlemaker, shoemaker, broker, tailor, draper, mercer, beer retailer, gardener, seedsman, butcher, baker, chairmaker, ironmonger, saddler, PO, papermaker, coal dealer, fruiterer, bricklayer, mason, carrier, carpenter, pig dealer

Stationer – bookseller, mercer, draper

Professionals and others

Apothecary – surgeon, man midwife

Attorney – solicitor, schoolmaster

Auctioneer – land surveyor, publican, broker, upholsterer, shoemaker, needlemaker

Barber – surgeon, perukemaker, victualler, hairdresser, netmaker

Clergyman – schoolmaster

Exciseman – publican, gardener, seedsman, surgeon

Gamekeeper – publican

Minister – blacksmith

Parish clerk – weaver, shoemaker, PO, ironmonger, carpenter, draper, tailor, crier, bricklayer, breechesmaker, schoolmaster, shopkeeper, gardener, glover, publican, carpenter, needlemaker, chandler, thatcher

PO – grocer, publican, printer, stationer, parish clerk, coaldealer, draper, carpenter

Registrar - surgeon

Schoolmaster – clergyman, stonemason, sculptor, engraver, scrivener, attorney, tailor, gardener

Solicitor – attorney, surgeon

Surgeon – barber, solicitor, registrar, PO, apothecary, man midwife

Although this is only a preliminary list and not all combinations are recorded in both directions, the combinations involving publican, maltster and shopkeeper

stand out as particularly numerous. In the case of malting many tradesmen with room and capital could make malt. Malting for the most part was not labour-intensive, so allowed the part-time maltsters time to pursue their other trades. In the case of shops and public houses womenfolk may often have played a large part in the day to day running of the business, while the menfolk were busy with their other trades.

Other combinations of occupations are often where similar trades are pursued by the same man. For example, the saddler who also made harness, horse-collars and leather bags. In other combinations it is the place of work which dictates the trades pursued, as where a corn-mill is also geared up to make paper or needles.

Appendix 23 Inland revenue apprenticeship books 1710-1804

Analysis of the inland revenue apprenticeship books between 1710 and 1804 indicates which trades were taking on official apprentices. The tables below do not accurately represent the overall occupational structure; some trades such as farming are hardly represented, if at all. Nevertheless these returns do provide another source for comparison between the zones. Apprentices in these returns were predominantly male, but there were some female apprentices and indeed some female business owners. The figures below are of masters or business owners (including females) recorded in the returns.

Appendix 23a Occupational structure in Zone A, Alcester as a % of masters or business owners in inland revenue apprenticeship books 1710-1804

	1710-1749	1750-1779	1780-1804
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	0.0	0.0	0.0
Labourers	0.0	0.0	0.0
Extractive	0.0	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	0.0	4.3	0.0
Tailors/bodice makers	6.7	5.7	10.9
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	20.0	4.3	10.9
Shoemakers/cordwainers	10.0	22.9	16.4
Other leather, horn and tallow	23.3	14.3	3.6
Carpenters/joiners	6.7	7.1	10.9
Other woodworkers	3.3	2.9	3.6
Blacksmiths/farriers	6.7	2.1	0.0
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	6.7	2.1	3.6
Needles/hooks/pins	3.3	4.3	7.3
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	6.7	27.1	20.0
Domestic servants	0.0	0.0	0.0
Professional	6.7	2.9	12.7
Total (m & f) with known occupations	30	70	55

Appendix 23b Occupational structure in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country as a % of masters or business owners in inland revenue apprenticeship books 1710-1804

	1710-1749	1750-1779	1780-1804
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	0.0	2.0	0.0
Labourers	0.0	0.0	0.0
Extractive	0.0	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	0.0	10.2	0.0
Tailors/bodice makers	0.0	18.4	20.8
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	15.8	16.3	16.7
Shoemakers/cordwainers	31.6	16.3	33.3
Other leather, horn and tallow	5.3	4.1	0.0
Carpenters/joiners	5.3	4.1	8.3
Other woodworkers	5.3	6.1	4.2
Blacksmiths/farriers	0.0	8.2	4.2
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	5.3	0.0	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	31.6	14.3	12.5
Domestic servants	0.0	0.0	0.0
Professional	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total (m & f) with known occupations	19	49	24

Appendix 23c Occupational structure in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture Belt) as a % of masters or business owners in inland revenue apprenticeship books 1710-1804

	1710-1749	1750-1779	1780-1804
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	4.3	0.0	10.5
Labourers	0.0	0.0	0.0
Extractive	0.0	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	4.3	3.6	5.3
Tailors/bodice makers	30.4	18.2	0.0
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	8.7	10.9	10.5
Shoemakers/cordwainers	26.1	25.5	21.1
Other leather, horn and tallow	4.3	0.0	0.0
Carpenters/joiners	4.3	7.3	10.5
Other woodworkers	0.0	10.9	0.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	4.3	18.2	26.3
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.0	0.0	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	4.3	3.6	0.0
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	8.7	1.8	15.8
Domestic servants	0.0	0.0	0.0
Professional	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total (m & f) with known occupations	23	55	19

Appendix 23d Occupational structure in Zone D, Northern (Needle) District as a % of masters or business owners in inland revenue apprenticeship books 1710-1804

	1710-1749	1750-1779	1780-1804
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	0.0	0.8	0.0
Labourers	0.0	0.0	0.0
Extractive	0.0	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	0.0	2.4	0.0
Tailors/bodice makers	8.2	10.6	9.7
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	7.1	3.3	0.0
Shoemakers/cordwainers	9.4	15.4	20.8
Other leather, horn and tallow	6.5	3.3	2.8
Carpenters/joiners	1.2	2.4	2.8
Other woodworkers	2.4	4.9	4.2
Blacksmiths/farriers	4.7	7.3	1.4
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	0.0	0.0	0.0
Needles/hooks/pins	56.5	45.5	54.2
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0
Innkeepers/victuallers	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other food, retail, service, dealing	4.1	2.4	4.2
Domestic servants	0.0	0.0	0.0
Professional	0.0	1.6	0.0
Total (m & f) with known occupations	85	123	72

The dominance of the needle trade in Zone D is evident.

Appendix 24 : Land tax returns 1798 and parish population density 1801

The tables below show the acreages (as supplied by the Cambridge Group) followed by information from the 1798 land tax returns at TNA (IR23/91 for the Warwickshire parishes, IR23/97, 98 for the Worcestershire parishes and IR23/31 for the Gloucestershire parishes). The seventh column shows the percentage of fathers in agriculture in the baptism registers 1813-1820. The last column shows the number of persons per acre in the 1801 census.

Appendix 24a: Zone A, Alcester

	Acreage	Land tax total	No. of land-owners	% paid by largest land-owner	% paid by 5 largest land-owners	% of adult males in agriculture 1813-1820	Persons per acre 1801
Alcester	1758	£314.5.9	112 or 113	37.54	52.95	20.2	0.92

Appendix 24b: Zone B, The Southern (Champion) Country

	Acreage	Land tax total	No. of land-owners	% paid by largest land-owner	% paid by 5 largest land-owners *	% of adult males in agriculture 1813-1820	Persons per acre 1801
<i>Broom Manor</i>		£34.18.8	15	60.12	87.43		
<i>Bidford-on-Avon Manor</i>		£235.1.8	47	39.86	67.07		
Bidford-on-Avon	3311					57.4	0.28
Cleeve Prior	1518	£49.10.2	15	32.37	74.59	87.4	0.19
Dorsington	974	£50.0.0	3	40.00	100.00	93.6	0.10
Harvington	1348	£85.1.9	11	17.35	72.74	74.6	0.19
Long Marston	1573	£115.14.0	17 or 18	17.92	56.01	85.1	0.15
Pebworth	3086	£176.7.6	23	37.35	81.15	75.9	0.19
Salford Priors	4808	£319.16.8	12	37.31	87.21	77.8	0.16
Weethley	642	£42.13.4	2	78.12	100.00	100.0	0.08
<i>Bickmarsh,, Warks</i>		£76.1.4	5	70.24	100.00		
<i>Welford-on-Avon, Glos</i>		£186.17.6	42	51.62	75.27		
Welford-on-Avon, (Glos. & Warks.)	3130					71.3	0.16
<i>Milcote, Warks.</i>		£80.0.0	1	100.00	100.00		
<i>Weston-on-Avon, Glos.</i>		£133.16.0	2	98.51	100.00		
Weston-on-Avon, (Glos. & Warks.)	1560					100	0.09

* Where there are fewer than 5 proprietors the percentage given in this column is the total.

Appendix 24c: Zone C, The Central (Wood-pasture) Belt

	Acreage	Land tax total	No. of land-owners	% paid by largest land-owner	% paid by 5 largest land-owners *	% of adult males in agriculture 1813-1820	Persons per acre 1801
Abbots Morton	1463	£79.4.0	18	15.63	60.59	85.7	0.13
<i>Arrow</i>		£217.5.4	1	100.00	100.00		
<i>Oversley</i>		£160.7.0	5 or 6	47.75	99.64		
Arrow & Oversley	4087					62.2	0.09
Aston Cantlow	4966	£320.2.2	37	50.98	80.89	70.4	0.14
Billesley	841						0.03
Binton	1284	£80.0.0	4	91.84	100.00	65.4	0.16
Dormston	828	£43.19.0	8	30.44	92.27	88.0	0.10
Exhall	833	£40.0.0	11	32.25	95.83		0.15
Gt Alne	1697	£152.14.4	39 or 40	18.00	55.01	75.9	0.17
Haselor	2250	£186.4.11	17	35.90	77.88	67.9	0.13
<i>Cookhill +</i>		£235.6.3	39 or 40	39.95	70.13		
<i>Edgioake</i>		£99.19.2	33	17.33	54.79		
<i>Inkberrow village, etc</i>		£95.12.3	30	18.43	63.03		
<i>Morton under Hill</i>		£128.19.3	30	22.12	58.57		
Inkberrow	6847					82.6	0.19
Kington	1036	£84.2.4	15 or 17	43.32	88.87	93.1	0.11
Kinwarton	500	£42.13.4	3	80.30	100.00	100.0	0.05
Morton Bagot	1129	£124.16.4	6	42.37	99.97	75.8	0.17
Oldberrow	1215	£61.16.6	11	33.36	78.84	100.0	0.09
Rous Lench	1426	£80.2.8	15	65.17	95.19	77.6	0.16
Spernall	1060	£69.7.4	4	75.61	100.00	96.0	0.08
Stock & Bradley	1151	£79.19.5	31	16.18	53.52	67.9	0.15
Temple Grafton	2054	£206.9.4	14	35.58	89.28	60.9	0.11
Wixford	569	£40.0.7	6	71.52	99.62	55.2	0.20

* Where there are fewer than 5 proprietors the percentage given in this column is the total.

+ N. B. The figures for Cookhill may include some payments from other parts of Inkberrow Parish

Appendix 24d: Zone D, The Northern (Needle) District

	Acreage	Land tax total	No. of land-owners	% paid by largest land-owner	% paid by 5 largest land-owners *	% of adult males in agriculture 1813-1820	Persons per acre 1801
Beoley	4713	£250.19.0	18	86.47	92.81	71.4	0.13
<i>Coughton</i>		£125.12.0	2	98.94	100.00		
<i>Sambourne</i>		£144.16.11	16	84.68	93.99		
Coughton & Sambourne	4263					47.2	0.17
<i>Astwood</i>		£22.16.3	9	32.26	87.72		
<i>Beanhall</i>		£25.3.8	13 or 14	21.76	72.63		
<i>Berrow Hill</i>		£39.9.10	19	16.89	69.84		
<i>Callow Hill</i>		£41.4.11	17	36.02	80.26		
<i>Feckenham village, etc</i>		£46.13.4	43	18.27	49.70		
<i>Hunt End</i>		£19.4.10	19	43.14	80.87		
Feckenham	6929					33.6	0.26
Ipsley	2677	£222.2.4	14 or 16	38.50	91.24	42.4	0.18
Studley	4322	£330.17.4	62	17.58	49.95	39.5	0.24
<i>Bentley</i>		£108.12.4	25	14.25	54.63		
<i>Redditch</i>		£133.9.8	42	16.80	58.99		
<i>Webheath</i>		£109.0.0	29	18.35	52.14		
<i>Tutnall & Cobley, Warks.</i>		£170.13.4	18 or 19	64.87	83.72		
Tardebigge, (Worcs. & Warks.)	9555					27.3	0.24

* Where there are fewer than 5 proprietors the percentage given in this column is the total.

Appendix 25 Alcester and Redditch in selected trade directories 1792 - 1835

Appendix 25a Male occupational structure (primary, secondary, tertiary) in Alcester and Redditch showing % of male-led businesses in selected trade directories

	Alcester	Alcester	Redditch
	UBD 1792	Pigot Warks. 1835	Pigot Worcs. 1835
Primary	7.0	2.4	0.0
Secondary	55.4	54.7	62.4
Tertiary (without gents.)	37.6	42.9	37.6
Total males with known occupations (n)	121	166	136

Appendix 25b Male occupational structure in specific occupational groupings in Alcester and Redditch showing % of male-led businesses in selected trade directories

	Alcester	Alcester	Redditch
	UBD 1792	Pigot Warks. 1835	Pigot Worcs. 1835
Agriculture (excl. labourers)	7.0	2.4	0.0
Labourers	0.0	0.0	0.0
Extractive	0.0	0.0	0.0
Building (excl. carpenters)	5.0	6.6	4.4
Tailors/bodice makers	3.3	7.3	2.6
Other textile, clothing & paper manufacture	5.8	4.2	0.0
Shoemakers/cordwainers	4.5	6.0	5.2
Other leather, horn and tallow	5.8	3.3	2.2
Carpenters/joiners	2.5	1.8	1.1
Other woodworkers	5.0	3.6	0.0
Blacksmiths/farriers	2.9	1.8	3.0
Other metal (excl. needles/hooks/pins)	5.0	3.6	3.3
Needles/hooks/pins	5.0	2.4	32.5
Transport	1.7	1.2	2.2
Innkeepers/victuallers	12.8	12.7	11.8
Other food, retail, service, dealing	23.1	28.1	22.5
Domestic servants	0.0	0.0	0.0
Professional	10.7	14.8	9.2
Total males with known occupations (n)	121	166	136

In 1792 for the first time Alcester appears in a surviving trade directory, (but Redditch and other parishes do not appear in directories until later).¹ For commentary on these figures see Chapters 4 and 7.²

¹ For information on other directories for the study area see Chapter 2 and Sources and Bibliography. In these tables if someone has two occupations a value of 0.5 is allocated to each. Where a firm is listed thus: Archer and Mascall, needlemakers, the entry was counted as two people (although many more were employed by them).

² In addition to the figures shown here *UBD 1792* also included 24 businesses run by women, and *Pigot's Directories for 1835* listed 21 Alcester businesses and 16 Redditch businesses run by women. Such businesswomen are discussed in the text, but in order to be consistent with most other sources the tables here show male-led businesses only.

Appendix 26: Comparison of occupational structure in different zones in probate and in the 1841 census

Probate data

These probate data tables based on Tables 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1 and 8.1 in Chapters 4 to 8 are brought together here to allow easy comparison between zones.

Table 1 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from probate data in Zone A, Alcester, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-1858	1660-1699	1700-1749	1750-1799	1800-1858
Primary (including all labourers)	19.0	17.5	16.4	20.2	22.5
Primary (without labourers)	17.9	16.3	14.7	19.1	22.5
Secondary	54.6	59.6	60.3	51.1	46.2
Tertiary	26.4	22.9	23.3	28.7	31.3
Total males with known occupations (n)	379	83	116	89	91

Table 2 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from probate data in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-1858	1660-1699	1700-1749	1750-1799	1800-1858
Primary (including all labourers)	64.6	72.9	70.3	60.0	53.8
Primary (without labourers)	60.3	69.7	67.4	53.6	48.3
Secondary	26.2	21.5	22.8	30.9	31.1
Tertiary	9.2	5.7	6.8	9.1	15.1
Total males with known occupations (n)	599.5	158.5	168.5	110	162.5

Table 3 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from probate data in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-1858	1660-1699	1700-1749	1750-1799	1800-1858
Primary (including all labourers)	72.9	75.2	73.3	76.2	68.3
Primary (without labourers)	66.9	68.6	70.5	65.9	61.8
Secondary	19.7	19.9	21.2	17.1	19.7
Tertiary	7.3	4.9	5.6	6.7	12.0
Total males with known occupations (n)	922	226	286	164	246

Table 4 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from probate data in Zone D, Northern (Needle) District, 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-1858	1660-1699	1700-1749	1750-1799	1800-1858
Primary (including all labourers)	58.4	68.4	61.8	57.3	47.9
Primary (without labourers)	55.0	65.6	59.6	54.8	42.4
Secondary	20.5	17.2	21.3	20.9	22.0
Tertiary	21.1	14.5	16.8	21.9	30.1
Total males with known occupations (n)	1133	256	342	199	336

Table 5 Male occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from probate data in The Whole Study Area 1660-1858 (as % of males with known occupations)

	1660-1858	1660-1699	1700-1749	1750-1799	1800-1858
Primary (including all labourers)	59.1	65.7	61.2	57.5	52.3
Primary (without labourers)	55.0	61.8	58.7	52.1	47.1
Secondary	30.2	27.4	30.2	31.7	31.7
Tertiary	10.6	7.0	8.5	10.9	16.0
Total males with known occupations (n)	3033.5	723.5	912.5	562	835.5

The 1841 census

These 1841 census tables based on Tables 4.7, 5.7, 6.7, 7.7 and 8.7 in Chapters 4 to 8 are brought together here to allow easy comparison between zones.

Table 6 Occupational structure in the 1841 census in Zone A, Alcester (primary, secondary and tertiary) shown as % of those with known occupations in each group

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Primary with agricultural labourers	13.1	1.1	0.9	3.4
Primary without labourers	4.2	1.1	0.9	0.0
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers	65.4	54.2	76.4	27.0
Secondary without labourers	54.6	53.7	70.9	27.0
Tertiary	21.5	44.7	22.7	69.7
Total (n)	538	190	110	89

Table 7 Occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from the 1841 census in Zone B, Southern (Champion) Country (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Primary with agricultural labourers	63.8	26.5	29.6	1.9
Primary without labourers	10.7	4.6	2.5	0.0
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers	25.9	14.8	20.1	1.0
Secondary without labourers	21.8	11.2	15.7	1.0
Tertiary	10.4	58.7	50.3	97.1
Total (n)	1280	196	159	103

Table 8 Occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from the 1841 census in Zone C, Central (Wood-pasture) Belt (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Primary with agricultural labourers	61.9	31.2	37.2	11.0
Primary without labourers	13.3	6.2	1.2	1.3
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers	27.6	20.5	12.8	4.5
Secondary without labourers	21.2	14.5	8.1	4.5
Tertiary	10.6	48.3	50.0	84.4
Total (n)	1649	300	258	154

Table 9 Occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from the 1841 census in Zone D, Northern (Needle) District (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Primary with agricultural labourers	34.4	5.4	9.4	0.6
Primary without labourers	8.4	1.8	1.0	0.0
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers	53.0	58.1	59.2	48.8
Secondary without labourers	50.4	57.7	57.9	48.8
Tertiary	12.5	36.5	31.4	50.6
Total (n)	2828	1017	618	545

Table 10 Occupational structure (primary, secondary and tertiary) from the 1841 census in the Whole Study Area (as % of entries showing occupations in each gender and age group)

	Males 20+	Females 20+	Males under 20	Females under 20
Primary with agricultural labourers	45.8	11.9	17.6	2.8
Primary without labourers	9.8	2.8	1.2	0.2
Secondary with non-agricultural labourers	41.8	46.1	45.0	33.4
Secondary without labourers	37.2	44.3	42.1	33.4
Tertiary	12.4	42.0	37.4	63.7
Total (m & f) with known occupations (n)	6295	1703	1145	891

Sources and Bibliography

Primary Sources

Church of England parish registers (baptisms, marriages and burials) have been consulted for each parish. They are available under each parish name on microfilm at Warwickshire or Worcestershire Record Office.

References in footnotes are given thus:

WoRO, Feckenham parish register, burial of John Smith, 1778.

Non-Anglican parish registers cited:

WaRO, MI163, Coughton RC registers.

TNA, RG4/3280, Redditch circuit Wesleyan Methodist register.

TNA, RG6/230, Worcester Society of Friends register.

TNA, RG8/96 and RG4/3367, Alcester Presbyterian registers.

TNA, RG4/2016, 2067, Alcester and Astwood Bank Baptist registers.

TNA, RG4487, Redditch Independent Congregational register.

Censuses

1841 and 1851 censuses were viewed on microfilm (under each parish name) at Warwickshire or Worcestershire Record Office.

References in footnotes are given thus:

WoRO, 1841 census, Feckenham.

1831 censuses have survived for three parishes:

WaRO, DR734/40, Oversley 1831 census, and HR71/43, Bidford, 1831 census.

WoRO, BA8552, (ref. 850), Tardebigge and Redditch 1831 population account.

Probate

Probate records (wills, inventories or administration documents) were viewed in microform at GlosRO or WoRO. They are indexed by surname and year.

References in footnotes are given thus:

WoRO, probate of John Smith, Feckenham, cordwainer, 1778.

Where an inventory is available, the total inventory amount is also included to give further information to the reader, as in this example:

WoRO, probate of Robert Weigham, Alcester, woolwinder, 1710, £57-5-6.

In some cases documents from the special ‘miscellaneous probate’ section at WoRO are cited thus:

WoRO, BA3585, (ref. 008.7) miscellaneous probate.

And those from the special Greenbank probate collection at WoRO:

WoRO, Bx1B3/76/788(iii)/76, (Greenbank probate collection).

Marriage licences

The short-hand term ‘marriage licence’ is used here to cover diocesan documentation regarding licences, including bonds or allegations, which generally appear together on microfilm. They can be searched by year and month.

References in footnotes are given thus:

WoRO, marriage licence of John Smith, Feckenham, cordwainer, May 1756.

Trade directories consulted

- 1767 Sketchley's Directory of Birmingham*
- 1774-5 Swinney's Directory of Birmingham*
- 1777 Pearson & Rollason's Directory of Birmingham*
- 1780-1 Pearson & Rollason's Directory of Birmingham*
- 1783 Bailey's Western & Midland Directory*
- 1790 Grundy's Worcester Royal Directory*
- 1792 Universal British Directory*
- 1794 Grundy's Worcester Royal Directory*
- 1800 Chapman's Directory of Birmingham*
- 1808 Chapman's Directory of Birmingham*
- 1812 Wrightson's Directory of Birmingham*
- 1816-7 Pigot's Directory of Birmingham*
- 1820 Lewis's Directory of Worcs.*
- 1821 Wrightson's Directory of Birmingham*
- 1821-2 Pigot's Directory of Warks.*
- 1822 Pigot's Directory of Worcs.*
- 1828-9 Pigot's Directory of Warks.*
- 1828-9 Pigot's Directory of Worcs.*
- 1830 Pigot's Birmingham and Worcester Directory*
- 1830 Pigot's Directory of Glos.*
- 1830 West's Directory of Warks.*
- 1835 Pigot's Directory of Worcs. and Warks.*

1837 Directory to the City and Suburbs of Worcester

1839 Wrightson's Birmingham Directory

1839 Robson's Birmingham and Sheffield Directory

1840 R. Haywood's Worcester Directory

1841 Pigot's Directory of Warks.

1841 Bentley's Directory of Worcs.

1842 Pigot's Directory of Worcs.

1845 P. O. Directory of Warks. excluding Birmingham

1850 Slater's Directory of Warks.

1850 White's Directory of Warks.

1850 Slater's Directory of Worcs.

1851 Lascelle's Directory of Worcester and Neighbourhood

1854 P.O. Directory of Worcs.

1854 P.O. Directory of Warks. (excluding Birmingham)

1855 Billing's Directory of Worcs.

1856 P. O. Directory of Glos.

1860 Cassey's Directory of Worcs.

1860 P.O. Directory of Birmingham

Newspapers

Adam's Weekly Courant

Aris's Birmingham Gazette

Berrow's Worcester Journal

Worcester Post or Western Journal

Worcester Postman

The Times

Other primary source documents cited in the thesis

Birmingham Reference Library

MS3069/Acc1906-002/192563 to 192568, property deeds.

Gloucestershire County Record Office (GlosRO)

D3549/3/2/4, Chancellor Lloyd's papers.

Q/SR/1793/C, list of Gloucestershire flax growers, 1793.

Herefordshire County Record Office (HeRO)

E12/VI/KBc/55, E12/VI/Kac/109, E12/VI/KC/67, 78, 79, 80, 95, 112, Foley MSS.

National Needle Museum, Redditch

Day-book and copy letter book of John and Matthew Mills.

Redditch Library

A Description of Redditch 1776, (copy of a MS by Joseph Monk).

Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive, Stratford upon Avon (SCLA)

BRT/198, Stratford upon Avon apprenticeship records.

DR5/1196, 2489, 2504, 2590, 4278. Sambourne manor court records.

DR12/63, property deeds.

DR18/17, miscellaneous papers.

DR37/2/Box124/66, miscellaneous papers.

DR57/16, miscellaneous papers, property deeds, etc.

DR134/31, 54, miscellaneous property deeds.

DR165/1247/5-8, miscellaneous property deeds, etc.

DR333/49/6, 7, 20 miscellaneous property deeds, etc.

DR444/6/2/31/11, miscellaneous papers.

ER3/464, 4132, 4150, property deeds.

ER8/1, papers relating to Stratford to Moreton Tramway.

ER 10/2/104, miscellaneous legal papers.

ER11/23, private deeds.

ER13/15/1, miscellaneous papers.

ER42/1, 2, 3 Warwickshire Militia records, 1807-8.

ER139/135,141, 142, miscellaneous papers, property deeds, etc.

The National Archives (TNA)

WO30/48, Particulars of inns and alehouses in England, 1686.

IR23/31, 91, 97, 98, Land tax returns for 1798 for Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and
Worcestershire

IR1/41-71 Inland revenue apprenticeship books 1710-1804

Warwickshire County Record Office (WaRO)

B. AST. Pec.(P), Aston Cantlow enclosure award.

CR114A/226, Return of mills, carts, etc., 1798.

CR1505/16, Sambourne manor court records.

CR1596, property deeds and private papers.

CR1886/416 and CR1886/BL/1791, 1827, 1860, 1873, 1883, Greville of Warwick Castle MSS, property deeds, etc.

CR1886/1315, Alcester manor court rolls.

CR1998/15, Throckmortons' estate map 1695 (Spernall).

CR1998/26, 40, Throckmorton MSS, 1660s and 1670s.

CR3434, Coughton overseers of the poor accounts.

CR3916/1, Wheelwright's account book, 1790-1820, (catalogued as from Long Marston, but actually from Pebworth).

CR4174, Sambourne overseers of the poor accounts.

CRO 1886/M9, Lord Brooke's estate map 1754 (Kinwarton).

DR259/45, Aston Cantlow settlements.

DR259/49, Aston Cantlow removal orders.

DR275/25, Spernall overseers of the poor accounts.

DR360/63, Alcester churchwardens' accounts.

DR360/79, Alcester apprentice records.

DR360/80, Alcester settlement papers.

DR360/86, Alcester bastardy and settlement bonds.

DR360/92, Alcester constables' accounts.

DR360/141, deed regarding the purchase of a house for the use of Alcester's poor.

DR399/269, 271, Salford Priors settlements.

DR536/1 Studley churchwardens' accounts.

DR536/32, accounts for building Studley workhouse, 1740.

DR911/18, Welford on Avon settlements.

DRB19/73/8, Tanworth in Arden removal orders.

N1/95, 96, 97, Napton on the Hill parish papers.

QS9/12/1, Aston Cantlow enclosure award.

QS11/15, Hearth tax records.

QS17, King's moieties for conviction of unlicensed stage-coaches.

QS35/1, and QS35/2, Warwickshire licensed victuallers' returns.

QS76/3, Warwickshire jurors' lists.

QS89/2, List of users of weights and measures, 1796.

Y1/2, Bidford enclosure award.

Worcestershire County Record Office (WoRO)

b140, BA8/4, Cleeve Prior enclosure award.

s143, BA307/2, Redditch Common and Webheath enclosure award 1771.

BA2289, Worcester diocese churchwardens' presentments.

BA2449, Worcester diocesan calendar of surgeons' licences.

BA2697, Worcester diocesan subscription book.

BA2724, Worcester diocesan act book.

BA2951, Worcester diocesan visitation book.

BA3586, Feckenham apprentice records.

BA4284, Feckenham overseers of the poor accounts.

BA5589/130(x), records of the manor of the vicarage of Inkberrow.

BA9202/6, Pebworth churchwardens' accounts.

BA10631/2, Rous Lench enclosure award.

QS93, 98, 105, 139, 195, 205, 234, 239, 280, 305, 313, 314, 315, 321, 394, 519, 523, 529, 531, 534, 539, 549, 552, 556, 557, Worcestershire quarter sessions records.

388.110942449, manuscript by H. Gwilliam, 'Coach travel and turnpike roads in Worcestershire'

899.749/8782 /59/22, Worcester City Library Collection, property deeds.

Secondary sources

Many books and articles were consulted, but the list below is of the books actually cited in the text.

General books cited

Arkell, T., et al, eds., *When Death Do Us Part*, (Oxford, Leopard's Head Press, 2000)

Armstrong, L., *Woodcolliers and Charcoal Burning*, (Horsham, Coach Publishing, 1978)

Ashton, T. S., *Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800*, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1959)

Bavel B. van and Hoppenbrouwers, P., eds., *Landholding and Land Transfer in the North Sea Area*, (Turnhout Belgium, Brepols Publishers, 2004)

Berg, M., *The Age of Manufactures 1700-1820*, (London, Routledge, 1994)

Bristow, J., *The Local Historian's Glossary of Words and Terms*, (Newbury, Countryside Books, 2001)

Camden, W., *Britannia*, (London, Times Newspapers, 1971)

- Clark, P., ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol. 2*, (Cambridge, CUP, 2000)
- Clark, P., ed., *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800*, (London, Hutchinson, 1984)
- Clarkson, L.A., *Proto-industrialization: The First Phase of Industrialization?*, (London, Macmillan, 1985)
- Crafts, N., *British Economic Growth during the Industrial Revolution*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985)
- Daunton, M., *Progress and Poverty*, (Oxford, OUP, 1995)
- Dyer, C., ed., *The Self-contained village?*, (Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press, 2007)
- Evans, M., *The Place of the Rural Blacksmith in Parish Life 1500-1900*, (Taunton, Somerset & Dorset Family History Soc., 1998)
- Gatley, D., *An Introduction to the 1831 Census*, (Stafford, Staffordshire University, 2003)
- Gibson, J. S. W., *Bishop's Transcripts and Marriage Licences, Bonds and Allegations*, (Bury, Federation of Family History Societies, 1997)
- Glass, D., and Eversley, D., eds., *Population in History*, (London, Edward Arnold, 1965)
- Goose, N., ed., *Women's Work in Industrial England*, (Hatfield, Local Population Studies, 2007)
- Heber, M., *Ancestral Trails*, (Stroud, Alan Sutton, 1997)
- Heseltine, A. *Baskets and Basketmaking*, (Princes Risborough, Shire Publications 1982)
- Higgs, E., *Making Sense of the Census Revisited*, (London, University of London, 2005)
- Hudson, P., ed., *Regions and Industries*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1989)
- Hudson, P., *The Industrial Revolution*, (London, Edward Arnold, 1992)
- Jenkins, J. G., *Traditional Country Craftsmen*, (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978)
- Jones, E. L., ed., *Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815*, (London, Methuen, 1967)
- Laslett, P., *The World we have Lost – Further Explored*, (London, Routledge, 1994)

- Levine, D., and Wrightson, K., *The Making of an Industrial Society*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991)
- Little, A. J., *Deceleration in the Eighteenth Century British Economy*, (London, Croom Helm, 1976)
- Mann, J de L., *The Cloth Industry in the West of England*, (Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1987)
- Mills, D., ed., *English Rural Communities: The Impact of a Specialised Economy*, (London, Macmillan, 1973)
- Mills, D., *Rural Community History from Trade Directories*, (Aldenham, Local Population Studies, 2001)
- Mossley, C., *News from the English Countryside, 1750-1850*, (London, Harrap, 1979)
- Musson, A. E., *The Growth of British Industry*, (London, Batsford, 1981)
- Ogilvie, S., and Cerman, M., *European Proto-industrialization*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1996)
- Ogilby, J., *Britannia*, (London, Ogilby, 1675)
- Porter, R., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, (London, Penguin, 1990)
- Overton, M., *Agricultural Revolution in England*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1996)
- Overton, M., et al, eds., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750*, (London, Routledge, 2004)
- Overton, M., *A Bibliography of British Probate Inventories*, (Newcastle, University of Newcastle, 1983)
- Ramsay, G., *The English Woollen Industry 1500-1750*, (London, Macmillan, 1982)
- Schurer, K., and Arkell, T., eds. *Surveying the People*, (Oxford, Leopard's Head Press, 1992)
- Smith, A., *The Wealth of Nations*, (London, Penguin, 1982)
- Rogers, A. and L., eds., *The State of the Poor by Sir Frederic Morton Eden*, (London, Routledge, 1928)
- Shorter, A. H., *Studies on the History of Papermaking in Britain*, (Aldershot, Variorum, 1993)
- Snooks, G. D., ed., *Was the Industrial Revolution Necessary?*, (London, Routledge, 1994)

- Levine, D., and Wrightson, K., *The Making of an Industrial Society*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991)
- Little, A. J., *Deceleration in the Eighteenth Century British Economy*, (London, Croom Helm, 1976)
- Mann, J de L., *The Cloth Industry in the West of England*, (Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1987)
- Mills, D., ed., *English Rural Communities: The Impact of a Specialised Economy*, (London, Macmillan, 1973)
- Mills, D., *Rural Community History from Trade Directories*, (Aldenharn, Local Population Studies, 2001)
- Mossley, C., *News from the English Countryside, 1750-1850*, (London, Harrap, 1979)
- Musson, A. E., *The Growth of British Industry*, (London, Batsford, 1981)
- Ogilvie, S., and Cerman, M., *European Proto-industrialization*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1996)
- Ogilby, J., *Britannia*, (London, Ogilby, 1675)
- Porter, R., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, (London, Penguin, 1990)
- Overton, M., *Agricultural Revolution in England*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1996)
- Overton, M., et al, eds., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750*, (London, Routledge, 2004)
- Overton, M., *A Bibliography of British Probate Inventories*, (Newcastle, University of Newcastle, 1983)
- Ramsay, G., *The English Woollen Industry 1500-1750*, (London, Macmillan, 1982)
- Schurer, K., and Arkell, T., eds. *Surveying the People*, (Oxford, Leopard's Head Press, 1992)
- Smith, A., *The Wealth of Nations*, (London, Penguin, 1982)
- Rogers, A. and L., eds., *The State of the Poor by Sir Frederic Morton Eden*, (London, Routledge, 1928)
- Shorter, A. H., *Studies on the History of Papermaking in Britain*, (Aldershot, Variorum, 1993)
- Snooks, G. D., ed., *Was the Industrial Revolution Necessary?*, (London, Routledge, 1994)

Stobart, J., *The First Industrial Region: North-West England 1700-1760*, (Manchester, MUP, 2004)

Styles, J., *The Dress of the People*, (London, Yale University Press, 2007)

Tate, W. E., *The Parish Chest*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 1983)

Thirsk, J., ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640*, vol. IV, (Cambridge, CUP, 1967)

Thirsk, J., ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1640-1750*, vol. V, (Cambridge, CUP, 1985)

Tranter, N. L., *Population and Industrialization*, (London, Black, 1973)

Waters, C., *A Dictionary of Old Trades, Titles and Occupations*, (Newbury, Countryside Books, 1999)

Wilson, C., *England's Apprenticeship 1603-1763*, (London, Longman, 1965)

Wright, J., *English Dialect Dictionary*, (Oxford, OUP, 1961)

Wrigley, E. A., et al, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1729*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1997)

Wrigley, E. A., *Poverty, Progress and Population*, (Cambridge, CUP, 2004)

Zell, M., *Industry in the Countryside*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1994)

General articles and occasional papers cited

Atack, J., et al, 'Capital deepening and the rise of the factory', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 58, (2005)

Birrell, J., 'Peasant craftsmen in the medieval forest', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 17, (1969)

Broad, J., 'Cattle plague in eighteenth-century England', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 31, (1983)

Clarkson, L. A., 'The leather crafts in Tudor and Stuart England', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 14, (1966)

Coleman, D., 'Proto-industrialization: a concept too many', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 36, (1983)

Dyer, A., 'The bishops' census of 1563: its significance and accuracy', *Local Population Studies*, 49, (1992)

- Dyer, A. and Palliser, D., eds., 'The diocesan population returns for 1563 and 1603', OUP/British Academy, *Records of Social and Economic History, New Series*, 31, (2005)
- Edwards, P., 'The horse trade of the midlands in the seventeenth century', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 27, (1979)
- Evans, C., et al, 'Baltic iron and the British iron industry in the eighteenth century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 55, (2002)
- French, H. R., 'Urban agriculture, commons and commoners in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the case of Sudbury, Suffolk', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 48, (2000)
- Frost, P., 'Yeomen and metalsmiths: livestock in the dual economy in south Staffordshire 1560-1720', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 29, (1981)
- Glennie, P., 'Distinguishing men's trades': occupational sources and debates for pre-census England', *Historical Geography Research Series*, 25, (1990)
- Habakkuk, H. J., 'English population in the eighteenth century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 6, (1953)
- Hayman, R., 'Charcoal ironmaking in nineteenth century Shropshire', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 61, (2008)
- Holderness, B. A., 'Credit in English rural society before the nineteenth century, with special reference to the period 1650-1720', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 24, (1976)
- Hoskins, W. G., 'Harvest fluctuations and English economic history, 1620-1759', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 16, (1968)
- McCants, A., 'Poor consumers as global consumers: the diffusion of tea and coffee drinking in the eighteenth century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 61, (2008)
- Mendels, F., 'Proto-industrialization: the first phase of the industrialization process', *Journal of Economic History*, 32, (1972)
- Palliser, D. and Jones, L. J., 'The diocesan population returns for 1563 and 1603', *Local Population Studies*, 30, (1983)
- Patten, J., 'Village and town: an occupational study', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 20, (1972)
- Schwarz, L. D., 'English servants and their employers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 52, (1999)
- Sharpe, P., 'The female labour market in English agriculture during the Industrial Revolution: expansion or contraction?', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 47, (1999)

Smith, C., 'Population growth and economic change in some Nottinghamshire market towns, 1680-1840', *Local Population Studies*, 65, (2000)

Solar, P., 'Poor relief and English economic development before the industrial revolution', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 48, (1995)

Stobart, J., 'Food retailers and rural communities: Cheshire butchers in the long eighteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, 79, (2007)

Tawney, A. and Tawney, R., 'An occupational census of the seventeenth century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 5, (1934)

Travers, B., 'Trading patterns in the east midlands, 1660-1800', *Midland History*, 15, (1990)

Trinder, B., 'Food in probate inventories 1660-1750', *Local Historian*, 38, (2008)

Whiteman, A., ed., 'The Compton Census of 1676, a critical edition', *Records of the Social and Economic History Soc., New Series*, 10, (Oxford, OUP), (1986).

Woollard, M., 'The classification of multi-occupational titles in the 1881 census of England and Wales', *Local Population Studies*, 72, (2004)

Wrigley, E. A., 'English county populations in the later eighteenth century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 60, (2007)

Books cited concerning Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Gloucestershire

Alcock, N., *People at Home: Living in a Warwickshire Village 1500-1800*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 1993)

Aston, J., ed., *Dugdale's Topography of Warwickshire*, (Coventry, J. Aston, 1817)

Atkyns, R., *The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*, (Wakefield, EP Publishing, 1974)

Bailey, De Witt and Nie, D. A., *English Gunmakers: The Birmingham and Provincial Gun Trade in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (London, Arms and Armour Press, 1978)

Booth, D., *Warwickshire Watermills*, (Warwick, Midland Wind and Watermill Group, 1978)

- Bradbrook, W., *History of the Parish of Inkberrow and Local Government*, (Evesham, Sharp Bros., 1902)
- Bradford, A., ed., *Old Redditch, (being an early history of the town from 1800 to 1850 by William Avery)*, (Redditch, Hunt End Books, 1999)
- Bridges, T., *Churches of Worcestershire*, (Logaston, Logaston Press, 2005)
- Brill, E., *Life and Tradition in the Cotswolds*, (Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1987)
- Cooper, W., *Henley in Arden*, (Birmingham, University of Birmingham, 1946)
- Court, W., *The Rise of the Midland Industries, 1600-1838*, (Oxford, OUP, 1938)
- Fox, L., ed., *The Correspondence of the Rev Joseph Greene, Parson, Schoolmaster and Antiquary, 1712-1790*, (London, Dugdale Soc./Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1965)
- Dick, M., ed., *Joseph Priestley and Birmingham*, (Studley, Brewin Books, 2005)
- Foxall, A., *Old Redditch Pubs*, (Warwick, Token Books, 2002)
- Gaut, R. C., *A History of Worcestershire Agriculture and Rural Evolution*, (Worcester, Worcester Press, 1939)
- Gover, J. et al, eds., *The Place-names of Warwickshire*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1970)
- Griffin, A., *This Noble Duty, a History of Fire-fighting in Warwickshire*, (Warwick, Feldon, 1989)
- Griffith, G., *The Free Schools of Worcestershire*, (London, Charles Gilpin, 1852)
- Hadfield, C. and Norris, J, *Waterways to Stratford*, (London, David & Charles, 1962)
- Hopkins, C., *Joseph Bentley's History of Worcestershire*, (Durham, C. Hopkins, 1985)
- Hopkins, E., *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, (Stroud, Sutton, 1998)
- Hunt, R. and Jackson, R., *Inkberrow Folk and Farms*, (Inkberrow, Jackson, 1978)
- Hunt, R. and Jackson, R., *The Inkberrow Book*, (Inkberrow, Jackson, 1974)
- Johnson, H. C., et al, eds., *Warwick County Records*, vols. 1-9, (Warwick, E. Stephens, 1936-1964)
- Jones, A., *The Cotswolds*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 1997)

- Jones, P. M., *Industrial Enlightenment*, (Manchester, MUP, 2008)
- Land, N., *The History of Redditch and the Locality*, (Studley, Brewin, 1986)
- Lloyd, D., *A History of Worcestershire*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 1993)
- Matthews, J., *'Dancing Marston'*, (Long Marston, J. Matthews, 2001)
- McKenna, J., *Watch and Clockmakers of the British Isles – Warwickshire*, (Birmingham, Pendulum Press, no date)
- Money, J., *Experience and Identity: Birmingham and the West Midlands 1760-1800*, (Manchester, MUP, 1977)
- Nash, T., *Collections for the History of Worcestershire*, (London, J. White, 1781)
- Noake, J., *Guide to Worcestershire*, (London, Longman, 1868)
- Norris, J. *The Stratford and Moreton Tramway*, (Guildford, Railway and Canal History Soc., 1987)
- Page, W., et al, eds., *Victoria County History of Worcestershire*, (Oxford, OUP, 1971)
- Richardson, R., *The Book of Redditch*, (Buckingham, Barracuda, 1986)
- Rowlands, M., *Masters and Men in the West Midland Metalware Trades before the Industrial Revolution*, (Manchester, MUP, 1975)
- Rudder, S., *A New History of Gloucestershire (1779)*, (reprinted Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1977)
- Rudge, T., *A History of the County of Gloucestershire*, (Gloucester, G. F. Harris, 1803)
- Rudge, T., *General View of the Agriculture of Gloucestershire*, (London, R. Phillips, 1807)
- Salzman, L. F., et al, eds., *Victoria County History of Warwickshire*, (Oxford, OUP, 1965)
- Saville, G. E., ed., *Alcester – a History*, (Studley, Brewin Books, 1986)
- Saville, G. E., *King's Coughton: a Warwickshire Hamlet*, (Kineton, Roundwood Press, 1973)
- Saville, G. E. and Churchley, R., *Parish of Sperrall – a History*, (Alcester, ADLHS, 1984)

Skipp, V., *Crisis and Development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden 1570-1674*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1978)

Slater, T., *A History of Warwickshire*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 1997)

Slater, T., and Jarvis, P., eds., *Field and Forest, an Historical Geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire*, (Norwich, Geo Books, 1982)

Smith, J., *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire, 1608*, (reprinted Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1980)

Styles, P., *Studies in Seventeenth Century West Midlands History*, (Kineton, Roundwood Press, 1978)

Thomas, W., ed., *William Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated*, (London, John Osborn and Thomas Longman, 1730)

Thomson, J. A., *Salford Priors – The Tower in the Vineyard*, (Salford Priors, Thomson, 1976)

Timmins, S., *Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District*, (London, Hardwicke, 1866)

Ugnow, J., *The Lunar Men*, (London, Faber and Faber, 2002)

Upton, C., *A History of Birmingham*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 2001)

White, A., *The Worcester and Birmingham Canal*, (Studley, Brewin Books, 2005)

Articles, occasional papers and theses cited concerning Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Gloucestershire

Arkell, V. T. J., 'An enquiry into the frequency of the parochial registration of Catholics in a seventeenth century Warwickshire parish', *Local Population Studies*, 9, (1972),

Austin, R., 'Linen-weaving in North Gloucestershire', *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, 38, (1915)

Barnard, E., 'Some Beoley parish accounts, 1656-1700', *Trans. of Worcestershire Arch. Soc.*, 25, (1948)

Barratt, D. M., ed., 'Ecclesiastical terriers of Warwickshire parishes, vol. 2', *Dugdale Soc.*, 27, (1971)

- Buchanan, K., 'Studies in the localisation of seventeenth century Worcestershire industries, 1600-1650', *Trans. of Worcestershire Arch. Soc.*, 17, 18 and 19, (1940-2)
- Chapman, K. F., 'The Langley plough', *Warwickshire History*, 12, (2002)
- Duggan, E. P., 'The impact of industrialisation on an urban labour market', *PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin*, (1972)
- Elrington, C. R., 'Survey of Church Livings in Gloucestershire 1650', *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, 83, (1964),
- Fendley, J., ed., 'Bishop Benson's survey of the diocese of Gloucester 1735-1750', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., Record Series*, 13, (2000)
- Fendley, J., ed., 'Notes on the Diocese of Gloucester by Chancellor Richard Parsons c.1700', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., Record Series*, 19, (2005)
- Gowing, D., 'The population geography of Samuel Rudder's Gloucestershire', *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, 101, (1983)
- Jones, J., ed., 'Stratford upon Avon inventories, 1538-1699, vol. 2, 1626-1699', *Dugdale Soc. Publications*, 40, (2003)
- Jones, S. R. H., 'The development of needle manufacturing in the West Midlands before 1750', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 31, (1978)
- Lane, J., 'Apprenticeship in Warwickshire 1700-1834', *PhD thesis, University of Birmingham*, (1977)
- Large, P., 'Economic and social change in North Worcestershire during the seventeenth century', *PhD thesis, University of Oxford*, (1980)
- Martin, J. M., 'The parliamentary enclosure movement and rural society in Warwickshire', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 15, (1967)
- Martin, J. M., 'The rise in population in eighteenth-century Warwickshire', *Dugdale Soc.*, OP23, (1976)
- Martin, J. M., 'The social and economic origins of the Vale of Evesham market gardening industry', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 33, (1985)
- Martin, J. M., 'Village traders and the emergence of a proletariat in South Warwickshire, 1750-1851', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 32, (1984)
- Percival, A., 'Gloucestershire village populations', *Local Population Studies*, 8, (1972)

Probert, R. and D'Arcy Brown, L., 'Catholics and the Clandestine Marriages Act of 1753', *Local Population Studies*, 80, (2008)

Ransome, M., ed., 'The State of the Bishopric of Worcester 1782-1808', *Worcestershire Historical Society, New Series*, 6, (1968)

Ripley, P., 'Village and town: occupations and wealth in the hinterland of Gloucester, 1660-1700', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 32, (1984)

Rowlands, M., 'Society and industry in the west midlands at the end of the seventeenth century', *Midland History*, 4, (1977)

Saville, G. E., 'A history of the public houses of Alcester', *ADLHS*, OP25, (1981)

Saville, G. E., 'Alcester Constabulary', *ADLHS*, OP27, (1982)

Saville, G. E., 'A short history of Alcester's schools, 1490-1912', *ADLHS*, OP7, (1978)

Saville, G. E., 'Look at Alcester 2: the seventeenth century, part 2', *ADLHS*, OP10, (1979)

Saville, G. E., ed., 'Needlemakers and needlemaking of the Alcester, Sambourne and Studley area', *ADLHS*, OP24, (1981)

Saville, G. E., 'Roads of the Alcester area', *ADLHS*, OP8, (1978)

Saville, G. E., 'Seventeenth century inventories of Alcester, Warwickshire', *ADLHS*, (1979)

Saville, G. E., 'The story of Alcester market', *ADLHS*, OP26, (1982)

Seaby, W., 'A Warwickshire clockmaker: Richard Houton of Oversley Green, near Alcester', *ADLHS*, OP6a, (1977)

Schafer, R., ed., 'The records of Philip Foley's Stour Valley Ironworks, 1668-1674', pt. 1, *Worcestershire Historical Soc.*, 9, (1978)

Yelling, J., 'Changes in crop production in East Worcestershire 1540-1867', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 21, (1973)

Other sources

CD ROM

Cox, N., et al., eds., *The Gloucester Port Books Database 1575-1765, CD-ROM* (Marlborough, Adam Matthews Publications/University of Wolverhampton, 1998)

Websites

www.a2a.org.uk Access to Archives

www.bti.bham.ac.uk British Book Trade index

www.familysearch.org

www.histpop.org.uk

www.historicaldirectories.org

www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/categorisation

The PST system

www.hpss.geog.cam.ac.uk

Male occupational change and economic growth, c. 1750-1851

Jones, A. and Shaw-Taylor, L., 'An industrializing region? The West Riding of Yorkshire c. 1755-1871'

Kitson, P., 'The male occupational structure of Bedfordshire, c. 1700-1871'

Kitson, P., 'The recording of occupations in the Anglican baptism registers of England and Wales, 1690-1799'

Masten, V. and Shaw-Taylor, L., 'Male occupational structure in Hertfordshire'

Shaw-Taylor, L., 'An introduction to the project'

Shaw-Taylor, L. and Jones, A., 'An industrializing region? The West Riding of Yorkshire c. 1755-1871'

Shaw-Taylor, L., 'The nature and scale of the cottage economy'

Shaw-Taylor, L. and Wrigley, E. A., 'The occupational structure of England c. 1750-1871: a preliminary report'

Shaw-Taylor, L., 'What do occupational descriptors really tell us?'

Jones, A. and Shaw-Taylor, L., 'Male occupational structure Northamptonshire 1777-1851'

Ward, M., 'The economic development of a county town during the industrial revolution: Aylesbury, 1700- c. 1850'

Wrigley, E. A., 'English county populations in the later eighteenth century'

Wrigley, E. A., 'Mapping the geography of English population growth 1761-1841'

www.oxforddnb.com

<http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/webbsredditch>