EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MANCHESTER AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE MANCHESTER MERCURY, 1752-1794

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this thesis is to trace the development of Manchester by throughly examining the local newspaper press, as illustrated by the Manchester Mercury, and to determine the role that it played in reflecting and formulating a local public consciousness in the town between 1752 and 1794. The decision to limit the use of primary source materials almost exclusively to the columns of the Mercury, was arrived at for several reasons. First, this newspaper had an unbroken publication span for the entire period under consideration, unlike the majority of eighteenth century provincial publications, and provides the historian with a consistent source of information. Second, original sources such as minute books for various institutions, diaries, private correspondence, and contempory documents, are either not published, compiled, or are inaccessible to the public. Finally, the emphasis of most historical research on the eighteenth century public opinion has been restricted, until very recently, to London and the metropolitan press. The number of secondary sources dealing with provincial public opinion and the role of the newspaper press is still very limited. Therefore, the bulk of the information used in this thesis has been drawn from the columns of the Mercury, both by necessity and by design.

Exclusive use of the newspaper as primary research material presents certain problems for the historian. The issues discussed

in the local press are often biased and incomplete, and must be interpreted in the light of other research. Items which are selected for publication do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the entire populace, and at times discussion of important political or religious issues is completely absent. However, despite these drawbacks the Manchester Mercury does provide a representative sampling of issues which Mancunians experienced during these years.

In order to trace the growth of public opinion in the town the research in this thesis has centered around four major issues. First, the industrialization of the Lancashire cotton manufacture and the subsequent expansion of the town, with its accompanying urban problems. Second, local education and the emergence of a class consciousness among both the industrial poor and the merchant-manufacturing interests. Third, the development of an organized body of public opinion within both groups and their interaction with local and national issues. Finally, a study of local response to political and religious issues between 1788 and 1794, which had been noticeably absent after 1745.

After examining these issues, which ranged from local urban and commercial problems, to questions of a religious and political nature, it has been concluded that the provincial newspaper press, as exemplified by the Manchester Mercury, played an important role reflecting the growth of public consciousness in Manchester. However, there was insufficient evidence to conclude that the Manchester Mercury was actively involved in formulating public opinion in the town.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is two-fold to examine and evaluate the role of the eighteenth-century newspaper press in shaping and reflecting contemporary events, and to trace the development of a public consciousness as illustrated in the press in Manchester between 1750 and 1795. It was during this period that Manchester began its transition from a large market town to one of the foremost industrial centers in England During these same years England was experiencing the upheavals of the Seven Years War, the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and a growing internal clamour for popular representation in the governing of the country. These events occurred against the background of accelerating changes in industry which affected all segments of English society.

The vehicle which will be used to follow events in eighteenth century Manchester is the Manchester Mercury, founded in March, 1752, by Joseph Harrop [1] Except for minor title changes in 1752 and 1757 this newspaper had an uninterrupted publication span under the same printer until 1788, when it was taken over by Joseph Harrop's son and continued until its demise

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[1]The first edition of the Manchester Mercury was printed for distribution on March 3, 1752.

in 1823.[2] The Mercury was essentially a non-partisan publication until about 1790, and had the good fortune to be managed by two capable journalists during its existence.[3] In many ways it was typical of the provincial press during the latter decades of the century, and for this reason provides a representative organ on which generalizations about the press and its role in eighteenth century provincial society can be based It has been said that "the eighteenth-century provincial newspapers had few aspirations to influence or even to reflect local opinion."[4] It is the purpose of this thesis to evaluate this generalization by examining in detail the function and role of the Manchester Mercury in Manchester during the latter half of the eighteenth century

The history of the newspaper press in Manchester dates back to about 1719, but the founding of Harrop's paper in 1752 marks the first time a local publication had more than an "ob-

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[2]The Mercury began publication as Harrop's Manchester Mercury, and General Advertiser on April 28, 1752 From July 12, 1757, the title was continued as The Manchester Mercury and Harrop's General Advertiser For brevity and convenience this publication will hereafter be referred to in the text as the Manchester Mercury, or simply, Mercury

[3]In the most exhaustive treatment of the provincial press available the author notes that "it is gratifying to record that this forthright, unpretentious local printer, Joseph Harrop, was entirely successful in establishing his new paper, even though two other weekly newspapers were being published in Manchester at this time " Refer to R. M Wiles, Freshest Advices, Early Provincial Newspapers in England (Ohio State University 1965), p 33

[4]Donald Read, Press and People 1790-1850 (London 1961), p.68.

scure and checquered" existence.[5] When the first edition of the Manchester Mercury was brought out there were already two rival publications, Whitworth's Manchester Magazine, which had been in existence under various names since 1730, and the resurrected Weekly Journal (later known as the Manchester Journal), the first number of which was issued by Orion Adams in January, 1752 The Journal does not appear to have lasted the year out, while Whitworth's newspaper (by then called the Manchester Advertiser) came to an unprofitable end on March 25, 1760. In June, 1762, the first issue of the Manchester Chronicle or Anderton's Universal Advertiser appeared, but it also came to an early demise Ten years later John Prescott began publishing his Manchester Journal on March 23, 1771, but this paper lasted only until 1774. By 1800 three weekly newspapers of "respectable solidity" were in circulation, the Mercury, Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle, founded in 1781, and Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette, established in 1795.

One of the most impressive illustrations that the newspapers in the latter half of the eighteenth century were more than "a luxury open only to a select few," are the circulation figures which have survived.[6] As early as March, 1782, Wheeler

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[5]W H. Chaloner, "Manchester in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, XLII (1959), 57-58

[6]Donald Clare, "The Local Newspaper Press and Local Politics in Manchester and Liverpool, 1780-1800," Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society Transactions, LXXIII-LXXIV (1966), 107

could claim a circulation of nearly 1,600 for the Manchester Chronicle. By the end of the month, 1,700 were being sold each week. In the late autumn of 1782, Wheeler declared a circulation of 2,000 papers weekly, of which 500 were sold in Manchester The others were distributed in a circuit of thirty miles about the town and to the principal coffee houses in London by post. Although delivery included Halifax, Yorkshire, across the Pennines, this paper circulated mostly in Lancashire. A special courier travelled to North Lancashire, including stops at Bolton, Chorley and Preston By March, 1793, circulation had increased to the impressive figure of 4,750.

A little more than two years after Harrop began publishing the Mercury its circulation included "Bolton, Leigh, Wigan, Chorley, Preston, Lancaster, Kendall, Stockport, Macclesfield, Congleton, Leek, and all Places adjacent."[7] It was noted that his couriers also delivered parcels to these towns "with the greatest Safety and Dispatch." By May of the following year circulation also included Radcliff Bridge, Chowbent and Blackrod.[8] In December of 1755 Harrop could boast of "the great Advantage of Necessity of advertising" in his paper because "upwards of 2,000 of the said Paper being sold

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[7]Manchester Mercury, November 26, 1754.

[8]Ibid., May 27, 1755.

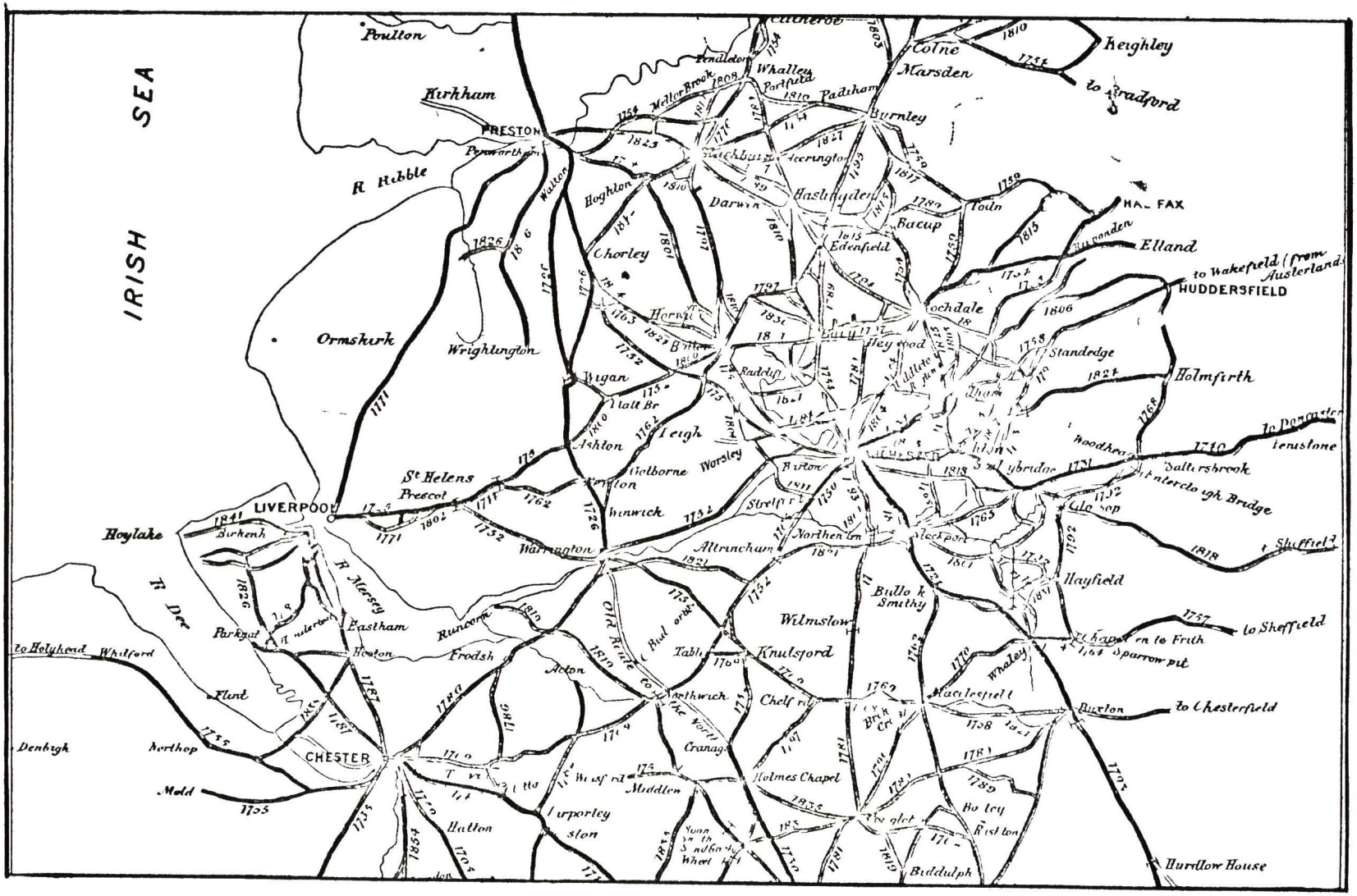

Fig 3.— Map of Central Lancashire showing the principal Towns around Manchester

each Week."[9] By February 19, 1760, Harrop's Mercury was delivered to Warrington, Prescot, Liverpool, Ormskirk, Blackburn, Bury, Haslingden, Rossendale, Burnley, Coln, Paduam, Qholey, Clithero, Rochdale, Halifax, Bradford, Leeds, Wakefield, Pontefract, Barnsley, Huddersfield, Sheffield, Chesterfield, Rotherham, Tideswell, Bakewell, Eyam, Chapel en le Frith, Heyfield, Mottram, Ashton, "and all other Places adjacent to the above Towns."[10]

The original cost of the Mercury for subscribers was two pence but due to an increase of the newspaper tax this was increased to two pence half-penny in 1776.[12] In May, 1756, Harrop announced to his reading public that he had purchased "a compleat Fount of Types" cast by William Caslon of London [13] This was done in order that "not only the Mind may be entertained with Variety of News contained in it, but the Eye be pleased with the Beauty of the Letter." In 1759, due to the

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[9] Ibid., December 23, 1755 In November, 1786, Wheeler declared that his Chronicle had a circulation of about 2,000 weekly and that this exceeded any other paper published in the area by about 700 Harrop's estimate appears likely considering the large area of his circulation but it is difficult to ascertain whether Wheeler's figures were simply an advertising device to attract readers or Harrop was being overly enthusiastic, because considering the rapid influx of population after 1760 it seems unlikely that his subscribers would decrease so markedly.

[10] Ibid., February 19, 1760

[11] Ibid., March 3, 1752.

[12] Ibid., July 9, 1776

[13] Ibid , May 18, 1756.

increase in circulation, and accompanying increase of advertisements, Harrop decided to use "at least One Hundred Lines more Type of News."[14] In 1767 Harrop changed the format of the Mercury, increasing each of the four pages from three columns of news to four columns.[15] In order to execute this design he purchased a new set of types from Mr Wilson, of Glasgow. His aim was to have the Mercury "contain more News, especially in the Post previous to the publication, than any other in this Neighbourhood." At the same time "the most respectful Deference will be paid to the Favours of Correspondents "

The majority of Harrop's foreign and national news, like most provincial newspapers, was extracted verbatim from the London press. His sources included "the London Gazette, the London General, Whitehall, and St. James' Evening-Posts, Evening Advertiser, etc."[16] In 1756, in cooperation with Robert Whitworth, the printer of the Manchester Advertiser, he entered into an agreement "to join in the Expence of having an Express forwarded from Derby . . . so as to bring the Saturday's London Gazette and other Evening Papers here, by Monday Afternoon, and to continue that Method of bringing them for six Months."[17] Apparently Whitworth declined to carry this

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[14] Ibid., October 9, 1759

[15] Ibid., May 5, 1767.

[16] Ibid., October 7, 1755.

[17] Ibid., October 12, 1756.

venture through, but Harrop decided to carry out his promise to his readers at his "sole Expence" which he, "out of Gratitude to the Public for the kind Receiption they have given his Paper, and to his Subscribers and Friends for their Encouragement of it, has resolved to continue." Harrop repeated this venture again, at his own expence, in 1762 [18]

One of the largest distributors of the London press to provincial towns in England, Scotland and Ireland, was Taylor and Co. of Fleet Street, London.[19] All the major London papers were delivered nationally thrice weekly at a cost of three pence half-penny per paper, or at a yearly subscription of £2 5s. 6d. which could be paid quarterly or semi-annually Early subscriptions cost only three pence per paper, or £1. 19s. annually. Any cancellation of this subscription resulted in a refund of two pence half-penny per paper. It was possible for these prices to be reduced by ordering only papers already read in the London coffee houses but this firm flattered themselves "that the Neatness and strict Regularity" which had distinguished them for the past twenty years "will be a stronger Recommendation to the public Favour than the specious Abatement of a few Pence per Quarter in the Price."

The provincial newspaper played an important role in familiarizing the inhabitants of rural England outside the metropolis with national and foreign news. The papers contained

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[18] Ibid., March 9, 1762

[19] Ibid., December 9, 1777.

up to date reports of parliamentary debates after 1772, and summaries of reports from the Carribean, India and North America, although the news from the latter might take as long as four months to reach the reading public. The bulk of the information was usually advertisements covering up to as much as sixty percent of the available space. Usually local news coverage was given the least space, ranging from one-third of a column to as much as one and a half columns of the four columns per page after May 5, 1767. Despite its many shortcomings the provincial press was the only available means of disseminating regular news throughout the country. Its value to provincial culture is commented upon by a new-comer to Lancashire in 1766.[20] He writes to Harrop

> My favourite Reading, ever since I could read, has been the Newspaper, and to them I am indebted for all my Knowledge, and the greatest Part of my Amusement. This Declaration may at first Sight, appear somewhat extraordinary, but I dare say it would cease to be so, if most of the fine Gentlemen about Town would be as candid and ingenuous as myself. They too would freely confess, that the Figure they make in Company is entirely owing to the Occurrences of the Day, with occasional Essay, and Literary Articles in the public Papers.

He goes on to compliment Harrop on his publication and is "pleased to see in it some smart Things shine through the dark Cloud of Politics, in which all our Newspapers have long been envellop'd." One of his criticisms of the contemporary press is the scissors-and-paste composition which tends to lack continuity and lead to confusion, or boredom of the reader.

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[20] Ibid., December 23, 1766.

> When you have once perused the four Pages of unconnected Occurrences, and Miscellaneous Advertisements, the abrupt transition from Article to Article, without the smallest Connection between one Paragraph and another, overload and confuse the Memory so much, that when you are questioned, you can never give a tolerable Account of what you have been reading Hence it is, that one so often sees People peruse two or three News-papers, and throw them down, one after another, with the constant Complaint of 'Not a Syllable of News . Nothing at all in the Papers,' to the great Discredit of those daily Vehicles of Intelligence, and the great Detriment of you, Mr. Printer, and the rest of your Brethren

The problem, as the author sees it, is "in the Readers having taken too copious a Dose of politics, religion, pick-pockets, puffs, casualties, deaths, marriages, bankruptcies, preferments, resignations, executions, lottery tickets, India bonds, Scotch pebbles, Canada bills, French chicken gloves, auctioneers and quack doctors." He concludes his observation with the pseudonym, PAPYRUS CURSOR.

In an honest effort to make his publication palatable to the public, and profitable to himself, Harrop went great lengths to improve the Mercury. It has been mentioned previously that within a space of eleven years he purchased two new sets of type for both beautification of the printed copy and to enable a greater amount of news to be published on a single page In a note to his readers, following the publication of both sides of an argument in a lengthy dispute, he invited them to forward any items for publication "so as the same tends to the real advantage of the Public, or the rational Entertainment of the Private."[21] Yet at all times Harrop re-

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[21] Ibid., February 7, 1758.

fused to let his publication be used by the public to delve into topics of a controversial nature, or any which might tend to slander the individual On February 14, 1758, the Mercury included a note from Harrop addressed to R. R. and P. W. stating that he did not intend to publish their letters because

> One forsook the Argument, and exhibited a Piece little better than Scolding, and the other mention'd a Gentleman's Name at full length who is not concern'd in any of the late Disputes.

Similarly in 1772 he refused to publish correspondence from a "Lancashire Freeholder" because it contained "personal Invectives against a worthy Magistrate in this County."[22] Harrop's desire to remain aloof from local disputes is also reflected in a May edition of the same year. He had received a request from Mr. R. C. to publish his correspondence as a personal favour

> But as the Subject is not very proper for a Weekly News-Paper he hopes he shall be excused from inserting it, especially as it might be the Cause of a Controversy being carried on, which the Printer would not willingly introduce.[23]

As well, Harrop refused "to insert Anonoymous letters on any Account whatever "[24]

The rapid rise of the provincial newspaper press in the eighteenth century can be attributed primarily to the growth of

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[22] Ibid., December 8, 1772.

[23] Ibid., May 12, 1772.

[24] Ibid , November 2, 1779.

a new widespread reading public which had not existed at the turn of the century.[25] The reading public of Addison's time was restricted both geographically and socially. It was confined to London since communication between the metropolis and the provinces was very limited. With the commercial expansion of industry about mid-century, marking the early years of the industrial revolution, and the accompanying rise of large urban centers like Manchester and Birmingham, a new provincial culture began to emerge During the early decades of the century provincial society had remained regional and largely insular in nature. These towns owed their existence to economic factors which, although essentially dependent on local initiative and resources, still had to contend with national fiscal and political policies formulated in London. The provincial newspaper press enabled local manufacturers and gentry to maintain an updated account of foreign and national affairs which directly affected their own livelihoods.

The London press contributed overwhelmingly to the content of the fledgling provincial press, and until well after mid-century they retained essentially a "scissor-and-paste" format. Yet, even with their glaring inadequacies they were the only means by which the latest trends in fashion, politics, foreign affairs and national developments could be regularly

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[25]A. S. Collins, "The Growth of the Reading Public during the Eighteenth Century," The Review of English Studies, II (1926), 284-294, 428-438.

communicated to rural England. These towns thrived on the latest information transmitted from the polite society of the metropolis, and were quick to establish all the fashionable amenities of London These included theatres, spas, hospitals, conversation clubs, literary and philosophical societies, musical festivals and concerts.

Locally, the provincial press was perhaps the largest single factor contributing to the growth of a regional public consciousness. In a time of dynamic social change the newspaper provided the reading public with accounts of the many events and activities occuring in their own neighbourhood. It served as a medium in which meetings could be advertised and widely circulated and in which incidents could be reported Above all, it provided a forum in which the public could contribute their ideas for local improvement. After 1760, the press began to abound with letters to the printer advocating new building programs, criticizing social vices, commenting on local public affairs, and generally, shaping the ideas or opinions of citizens who congregated at public houses, reading rooms, and coffee houses to obtain and debate the latest "freshest advices."

During the disturbances of the Seven Years War, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution, local affairs became increasingly sensitive to national policies. For this reason the provincial press gained a new importance. The influential role of the press throughout England between 1701

and 1760 is attested to by the sheer volume of new publications which were begun.[26]

The press also served to broaden the base of education in the provinces The appearance of regular publications must have been a definite incentive for those who had acquired a rudimentary education and who now had an opportunity to use their learning for personal advantage. Ultimately the press became a very powerful educative influence which permeated all areas of society by contributing to the formation of a broad, national public opinion. The Manchester Mercury, for example, devoted at least one of its four pages to advertising new publications, whether exerpts from magazines, religious and political tracts, or guides for the layman in mathematics, common law, and agricultural techniques. By 1760 the urbanization of provincial centers like Manchester was in full swing and even observers in the metropolis noted that

> The several great cities, and we might add many poor country towns, seem to be inspired with an ambition of becoming little Londons of the part of the Kingdom wherein they are situated.[27]

In Manchester the press reported extensively on the food riots of the "fifties" and "sixties," the growth of industrial combinations, disputes about civic improvements, developments in industry, and numerous other developments as

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[26] R. M Wiles in his study of the provincial press outlines 150 publications begun between 1701 and 1760. Refer to his Appendix C, pp.374-519.

[27] Annual Register (1761),p.205, cited by Collins, p.294.

the large market town of 1700 was transformed into the industrial metropolis of 1800. Although most Mancunians wished to extricate the town from the economic agitation and political disturbances which the nation experienced in the latter decades of the century, in favour of peaceful commercial objectives, extraneous pressures beyond the control of local officials forced the town into a position which necessitated a broadening of their regional horizons After mid-century Manchester became inextricably involved in the mainstream of national commercial, political and educational movements. It is in these areas that the newspaper press played a fundamental role in disseminating information and shaped the growth of the public consciousness which was dramatically revealed in the crises the nation encountered in the 1780's and 1790's.

I. THE GROWTH OF MANCHESTER AND THE LANCASHIRE COTTON INDUSTRY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The growth of Manchester during the eighteenth century from a rural village to a provincial town is directly associated with the expansion and industrialization of the Lancashire textile manufacture. This industry originated during the sixteenth century but there were relatively few changes in methods of production and distribution until towards the middle of the eighteenth century.[1] Before the invention of steam power and its application to machinery the location of manufacturing sites was dependent on geography for an adequate water supply to power the mills. The high hills of south east Lancashire and the readily accessible fast-flowing streams provided a suitable environment. The need for water power resulted in very few areas of concentrated population in this region before the eighteenth century

By 1700 Manchester was beginning to show definite signs of commercial expansion. Within an area of three miles south of the town, along the banks of the Mersey river, there had been constructed sixty water-powered mills.[2] The growing im-

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[1] A. P. Wadsworth and J. de l. Mann, The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire 1600-1780 (Manchester 1931), p.4.

[2] Paul Mantoux, The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century (London 1928), p.247.

portance of the entire Lancashire region is reflected in the national population statistics which show that in the first half of the eighteenth century the population of Great Britain increased by nearly one million, and that about one-third of this increase occurred in the counties of Lancashire, Durham, and West Yorkshire.[3] By mid-century Lancashire had become the third largest county in England and by 1800 the population had risen from 240,000 to 672,000.

A similar trend in expansion can be seen in the growth of the joint township of Manchester and Salford.[5] Between 1758 and 1773 the population of this community increased by a-

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[3]Arnold Toynbee, Toynbee's Industrial Revolution, A Reprint of Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England, Popular Addresses, Notes and Other Fragments, ed T S Ashton (Newton Abbot David and Charles, 1969), pp.34-35. Mantoux, pp.350-352.

[4]Mantoux, p.355.

[5]Manchester and Salford are actually separate townships existing side by side with their own institutions However, the scope of this thesis is not limited by legal restrictions and in the area of public opinion Salford is actually a suburb of Manchester because although "a stroke of a Norman baron's pen divorced Manchester and Salford" this affected all areas except "their devotions " In the opinion of one of Manchester's foremost historians, Salford "is to Manchester what Southwark is to London." All future reference to Manchester will be assumed to include Salford and the immediate neighbourhood. John Aiken, A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester (New York: Augustus M Kelly, 1968), p 202 James Tait, Medieval Manchester and Beginnings of Lancashire (1904), p.10, cited by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Local Government, Vol. II· The Manor and the Borough (London 1908), p 53.

bout thirty percent to reach 43,000, by the end of the century this figure had trebled.[6] Information on population growth can be found both in the local press[7] and in contemporary town directories.[8] For example, the average number of christenings between 1765 and 1767 was 900, but between 1783 and 1785 this figure had risen to 1,838.[9] Similarly, the number of marriages for the same two periods rose from an average of 367 to 807.[10] A more informative source of information about the commercial populace can be found in the local directories. Between 1774 and 1781 the number of principal inhabitants rose from 1,530 in 1773, to 1,920 in 1781, finally reaching 5,544 in 1794.[12]

Descriptions of Lancashire and Manchester in contemporary issues of the Encyclopedia Brittanica reveal a significant change in the area.[13] The article on Lancashire in the sec-

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[6]Wadsworth and Mann, pp 509-511.

[7]The Manchester Mercury usually reported births, deaths, and marriages every January or February for the preceding year. Frequently the vital statistics for other provincial towns such as Liverpool, Chester, Birmingham, Lancaster and Preston would be included for public record.

[8]Refer to Appendix A.

[9]Manchester Mercury, January 14, 1766, January 13, 1767, January 12, 1768

[10]Ibid.

[11]Wadsworth and Mann, p 254.

[12]Cited by Witt Bowden, Industrial Society in England towards the End of the Eighteenth Century (New York· 1925), p.106.

[13]Ibid., pp.104-105.

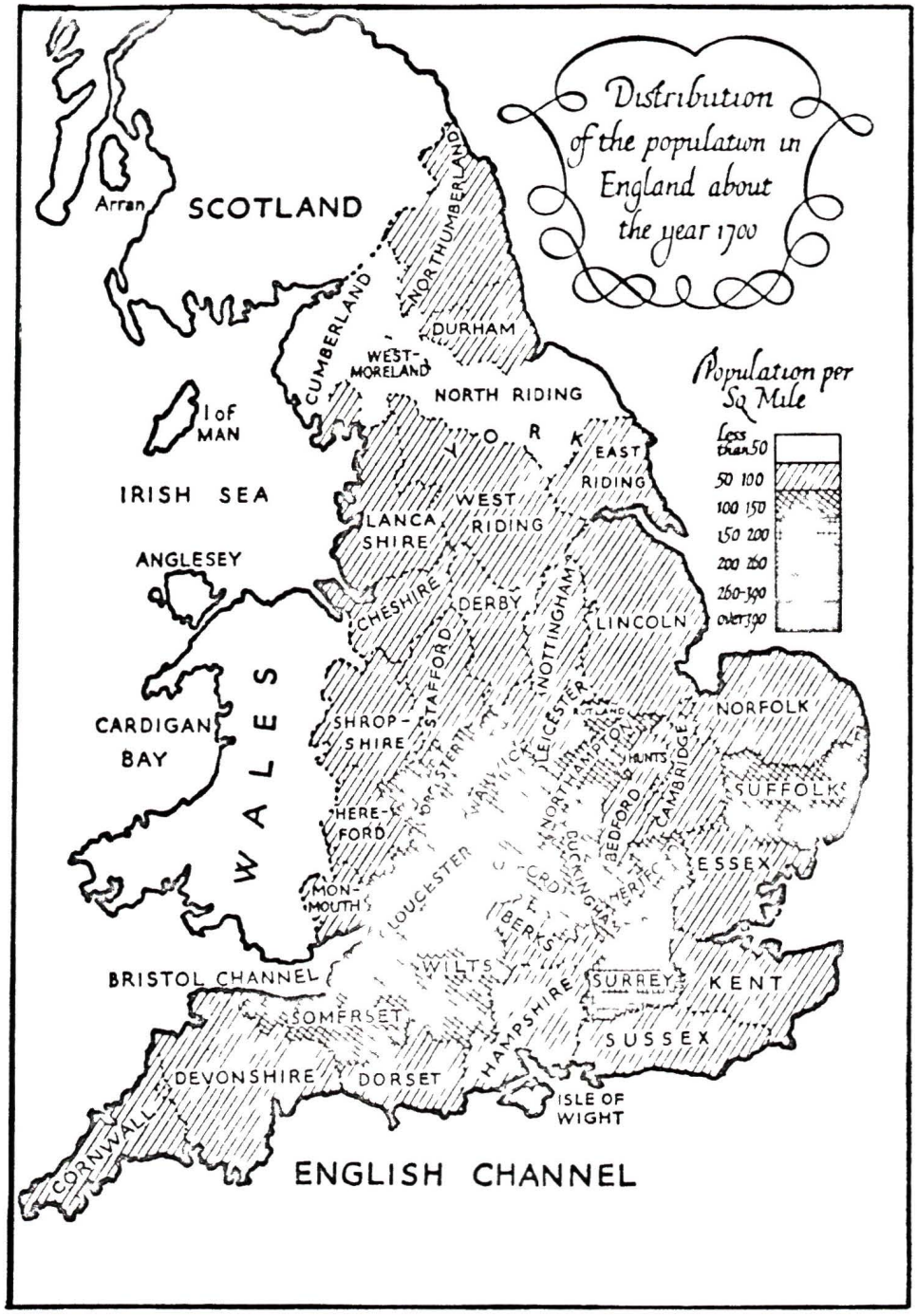
Distribution of the population in England about the year 1700
Population per Sq Mile
Less than 50
50 100
100 150
150 200
200 250
250-300
over 300
SCOTLAND
Arran
NORTHUMBERLAND
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
WEST-MORELAND
NORTH RIDING
I of MAN
IRISH SEA
YORK
EAST RIDING
WEST RIDING
LANCA-SHIRE
ANGLESEY
CHESHIRE
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
LINCOLN
CARDIGAN BAY
WALES
SHROP-SHIRE
STAFFORD
LEICESTER
NORFOLK
HERE-FORD
HUNTS
CAMBRIDGE
SUFFOLK
MON-MOUTH
BEDFORD
ESSEX
BERKS
WILTS
SURREY
KENT
BRISTOL CHANNEL
SOMERSET
HAMPSHIRE
SUSSEX
DEVONSHIRE
DORSET
ISLE OF WIGHT
CORNWALL
ENGLISH CHANNEL

Figure 1.


Distribution of the population in England about the year 1750
Population per Sq Mile
Less than 50
50 100
100 150
150 200
200 260
260 390
over 390
SCOTLAND
Arran
I of MAN
IRISH SEA
ANGLESEY
CARDIGAN BAY
WALES
BRISTOL CHANNEL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
ISLE OF WIGHT
NORTHUMBERLAND
CUMBERLAND
WEST-MORELAND
DURHAM
NORTH RIDING
YORK
EAST RIDING
WEST RIDING
LANCA-SHIRE
CHESHIRE
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
LINCOLN
STAFFORD
SHROP-SHIRE
HERE-FORD
MON-MOUTH
GLOUCEST
OXFORD
BERKS
WILTS
HANTSHIRE
SOMERSET
DEVONSHIRE
DORSET
CORNWALL
NORFOLK
SUFFOLK
ESSEX
CAMBRIDGE
HUNTS
KENT
SUSSEX

Figure 2.

ond edition, published as late as 1780, mentions in detail the streams of the country, stating that the region is "thoroughly watered," but aside from this the only significance attributed to the area is that one of the streams produced the fattest eels in England The article on Manchester in the same edition does not mention inventions and merely states that the town is prosperous. However, in the third edition, written about 1790, there is a description of the industrial processes going on along the rivers and canals of the Lancashire region. The article on Manchester gives a detailed picture of the growth of the town in wealth, industry and population It also states that about 20,000 of the inhabitants were employed in factories connected with the cotton manufacture. In 1770 one observer commented that·

> Manchester is the stock of that vast tree which has lately grown with such wonderful rapidity, and spread its branches through so large an extent of country, the cotton manufacture.[14]

A reporter from the National Board of Agriculture complained in 1793 that visitors should·

> Never enquire about the cultivation of land or its produce within ten or twelve miles of Manchester, the people know nothing about it speak of spinning jennies, and mules, and carding machines, they will talk for days with you.[15]

By the end of the century Manchester had become the commercial nucleus of the entire Lancashire textile industry.[16]

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[14]Cited by Ibid., p.108.

[15]Cited by Ibid., p 95.

[16]Louis W. Moffit, England on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution (London 1925), pp.140-142 Wadsworth and Mann, p.67.

The expansion of Manchester originated from the interaction of its convenient geographical position with the rapid development of traditional modes of production and distribution In Lancashire there were three main branches of the textile industry the fustian makers, the check makers, and the worsted small-wares manufacturers.[17] The merchants who imported the cotton wool and linen yarn began to supply the material to the workers and pay piece rates for spinning and weaving. This "putting-out" system characterized the nature and development of the domestic manufacturing process in Lancashire. Usually the wealthy merchant-manufacturer resided in Manchester and from a central office distributed the raw materials to his agents in the surrounding district for manufacture of the finished product. If the manufacturer had his mills near the town he would often take charge of this operation himself. However, if his manufacturing sites were scattered about the countryside, as was more often the case in the fustian branch, he would employ a "putter-out" on a commission basis.[18] This agent resided in the district and assumed the responsibility for the distribution of raw materials, the collection of the finished product, and the payment of the workers. During this period there also arose another class of merchant known as the

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[17]Each of these industries is outlined and discussed briefly in Wadsworth and Mann, pp.113-116.

[18]Wadsworth and Mann, pp.78-91.

"fustian master."[19] His position was that of an independent putter-out and he served as a resident employer for the country workers. His salary was paid by the Manchester merchants, not on commission, but from the profit on the amount of cloth sold.

The organization of the putting-out system and its relation to Manchester is illustrated in the 1772 Directory By this time separate branches of the cotton industry could be distinguished, although many manufacturers were involved in more than one area.[20] There were 106 manufacturers in the fustian trade, 64 in the check trade, 49 in the small-wares trade, 50 in the silk and linen trades, and 26 in the woolen trade.[21] The country manufacturers regarded Manchester as the center of business for the Lancashire district. In 1772 there were seventy-seven country fustian manufacturers in twenty-five towns with warehouses in Manchester, as well as twenty-six checkmakers in sixteen surrounding towns with warehouses in Manchester.[22] The early directories also exhibit the importance of Manchester as a center for the finishing trades. Between

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[19]George W Daniels, The Early English Cotton Industry (London· 1920), p.39

[20]Ibid., p.67.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., p.69

1773 and 1781 the number of manufacturers involved in the finishing processes had risen from 122 to 158.[23] This trend eventually led to Manchester monopolizing all the marketing function of the trade. By 1781 one-quarter of all the principal firms were engaged in various aspects of the finishing industry,[24] a trend which continued until after the end of the eighteenth century.[25]

Between 1773 and 1788 the number of fustian manufacturers in Manchester and Salford rose from 81 to 184.[26] In the same period the population of check manufacturers remained fairly stable but those who combined checks with fustians increased from sixteen to twenty-seven.[27] The number of smallware manufacturers dropped from forty-six to twenty-seven.[28] The location of these manufacturers in the Manchester neighbourhood illustrates that Manchester was the major commercial center with minor concentrations at Leigh, Bolton and Oldham.[29] The fustian manufacturers formed an outer semi-circle about Manchester, the check makers formed an inner circle, and the

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[23] Wadsworth and Mann, pp.258-259.

[24] Ibid., p 254.

[25] Ibid., p.252. This can be seen in a comparison of the local directories outlined in Ibid., pp.255-260

[26] Ibid., pp.255-260.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Daniels, p.56.

finishing trades (crofters and dyers) concentrated in the immediate vicinity of the town.

The introduction of new inventions and the application of steam power to machinery further intensified the trend of centralizing the cotton industry in the Manchester region. This was accompanied by a significant migration of unskilled labour into Lancashire attracted by factory employment.[30] By 1788 there were 143 water-powered factories of the Arkwright design operating in England, 41 of these were in Lancashire [31] The first steam engine used to power a cotton mill was built by Arkwright in Manchester about 1780 but remained inoperable for many years due to patent problems.[32] Steam had begun to replace water power as the motive force in the spinning industry during the 1790's and by 1800 there were approximately fifty steam-powered mills in Manchester.[33] With the introduction of steam power coal resources became a matter of paramount importance. Manchester's proximity to coal resources[34] and the adjacent port of Liverpool provided a natural manufacturing locale for steam-powered machinery on a large scale.

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[30]Moffit, pp.151-154. Wadsworth, pp.311-313.

[31]Mantoux, p.246.

[32]Wadsworth and Mann, p.491.

[33]Mantoux, pp 337-338, 358.

[34]In 1795 coal was "derived from pits about Oldham, Ashton, Dukinfield, Hyde, Newton, Denton, etc., at present by land carriage," Aiken, p.205. A description of the St. Helen's coal mines is given in the Manchester Mercury, December 1, 1761.

The entire area continued to be characterized by its economic and social regionalism until well after the middle of the eighteenth century. The commercial influence of Manchester was still bounded by the proximity of the neighbouring towns until the 1770's Apart from London there were few provincial towns with permanent business connections throughout the nation. The development of communication routes and new modes of transport greatly assisted the development of the Lancashire cotton industry and facilitated the growth of Manchester to a provincial town of national prominence. The growth of the town was directly stimulated by improved communication routes designed to aid in distribution of finished products.

The earliest and most primitive method of distribution was a system characterized by travelling merchants known as "chapmen." According to a contemporary historian·

> When the Manchester trade began to extend, the chapmen used to keep gangs of pack horses, and accompany them to the principal towns with goods in packs, which they opened and sold to shopkeepers, lodging what was unsold in small stores at the inns The pack-horses brought back sheep's wool which was bought on the journey and sold to the makers of worsted yarn at Manchester, or to the clothiers at Rochdale, Saddleworth, and the West Riding of Yorkshire.[35]

One Manchester merchant wrote that

> He was from home the greatest part of every year, performing his journeys entirely on horseback His balances were received in guineas, and were carried with him in his saddle bags He was exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather, to great labour and fatigues and to constant danger.[36]

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[35]Aiken, pp 83-84.

[36]Mantoux, p.110.

This system predominated until almost the middle of the eighteenth century when it was replaced by the "riders-out" who later employed the use of public carriers. Riders-out differed from chapmen in that they ceased to travel with their goods. Instead they carried patterns and solicited orders, dispatching the merchandise at a later date by carrier. Aiken notes that "it was during the forty years from 1730 to 1770 that (Manchester) trade was greatly pushed by sending these riders all over the Kingdom "[37] By 1772 there were forty-six regular carriers leaving Manchester for thirty-one separate destinations throughout the country. Six of these travelled exclusively to London on a daily basis, usually thrice weekly.[38] During the first fifty years of the century this means of distribution was severely hampered by the inadequate conditions of the roads.

A report on Lancashire roads issued about 1670 remained an accurate description until well into the following century.

> In the Counties of Chester and Lancaster there are many and sundry great and deep rivers, which run cross and through the common and public highways and roads within the said Counties, which many times cannot be passed over without hazard and loss of lives and goods of the inhabitants and and travellers within the said Counties.[39]

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[37] Aiken, p 184 The Manchester Mercury carried advertisements for riders-out in editions as late as August 15, 1777, November 7, 1780, May 13, 1781, and December 24, 1782.

[38] Daniels, p.71. Refer to Appendix B.

[39] William Harrison, "The Development of the Turnpike System in Lancashire and Cheshire," Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, IV (1886), 82.

Consequently carts and wagons were a very slow and expensive mode of transport under these conditions, which explains the persistent existence of the pack-horse for so many years. Although the improved system of turnpiking roads[40] was introduced in the late seventeenth century, Lancashire did not obtain its first turnpike road until 1705, and Manchester as late as 1724.[41]

During the period 1700 and 1750 there were only three roads turnpiked leading into Manchester and but five others in the entire county of Lancashire.[42] By mid-century the value of these road improvements had become obvious to merchants who desired to expand their markets and increase the efficiency of their trade. Roads turnpiked in Lancashire after 1750[43] included those leading out of Manchester to Warrington, Bolton, Wigan, and Duxbury in 1752. In the same year the road from Prescot to Warrington was completed, joining Manchester to Liverpool. In 1754 the roads from Crumpsoll to Bury, Radcliffe, and Rochdale were finished, as were two sections of road uniting Skipton and Preston — one by Burnley and Blackburn, the other by Clitheroe. In east Lancashire a network of turnpiked roads connected Rochdale, Todmorden, Burnley, Edenfield, Blackburn, Bolton, Bury, and

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[40] S. and B Webb, Ibid., Vol.IV Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes, pp.152-234, passim.

[41] Harrison, 83.

[42] Moffit, p.290. Refer to Appendix C.

[43] Harrison, 80.

other towns. During the same era the turnpiking of roads in Cheshire also assisted the expansion of Lancashire trade because the main network of national highways passed through Cheshire to London.[44] With the improvement of roads and the subsequent expansion of Manchester's commercial influence the town began to assume the characteristics of a thriving urban center. By 1795 a citizen of Manchester observed that "the town has now in every respect assumed the style and manners of one of the commercial capitals of Europe "[45]

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[44] Ibid., 87.

[45] Aiken, p.184.

II. LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND EARLY PUBLIC CONCIOUSNESS IN MANCHESTER, 1764-1776

Between 1700 and 1800 the population of Manchester increased from 10,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.[1] During this same period the system of government remained as it had been for the past two centuries. The street conditions in Manchester reflected the inability of the manorial Court Leet to maintain orderly progress in this rapidly industrializing center. As early as 1755 one irate citizen complained

> We cannot walk the streets without being annoyed with such filth as is a public nuisance . . . Our streets are no better than a common Dunghill.[2]

This medieval form of government was based on the assumption of personal cooperation among the citizens, who were to contribute both time and funds for civic maintenance.[3] The rapid

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[1]Wadsworth and Mann, p.311.

[2]John Clayton, Friendly Advice to the Poor, written and published at the request of the late and present Officers of the Town of Manchester, 1755, cited by Arthur Redford, The History of Local Government in Manchester, Vol. I: The Manor and the Township (London 1939), p 80

[3]In all the offices "service was compulsory upon all adult male residents within the Manor, and could be enforced by summary fine and distraint on any recalcitrants It was taken for granted . . that every respectable male resident was liable under legal obligation to serve the Manor in his turn, without salary or other remuneration . Every service requisite for the simple life of the little community was a duty imposed, as a condition of tenure or an obligation of status, upon some individual resident or another If every man did his duty in obeying the law of the land and the customs of the Manor . . all would be well But as men were perverse and weak, . . ." S. and B. Webb, The Manor and the Borough, p.29.

growth of the community after mid-century led to the erosion of traditional ties and ultimately resulted in a general depersonalization of relationships among the inhabitants.

The citizens of Manchester were satisfied with their antiquated system of government for several reasons. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Lancashire fustian industry evolved wih few of the regulations imposed by the stringent Tudor legislation enforced in other clothing districts.[4] Manchester expanded as a commercial center in a district where urban and rural interests were, to a large ex-

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[4]The Tudor code covered the regulation of wages, the limiting of competition by enforcing and restricting apprenticeship, providing work for the poor and punishment for the idle, and elaborate supervision of the manufacturing process. In the opinion of A. P. Wadsworth·

> Until the eve of the factory system the Tudor attempt to stratify social classes retained vitality as an idea, the corporate towns maintained some of their old exclusiveness, and the workers cherished the ideal of an industry of craftsmen for a generation after machinery and factories had begun to break up the old industrial structure.

Lancashire, like the West Riding of Yorkshire, had few corporate towns, which explains the minimal effect of the legislation in the Manchester district For example, the clothing district was exempted from the Weaver's Act of 1558. This meant the opening of a freer field for the expansion of a country industry since no restrictions were placed on the number of looms country weavers or clothiers might keep in their houses, or the number of apprentices they might employ. The Statute of Apprentices of 1563 waived, in the case of Lancashire textiles, the property qualification which, in other major clothing districts, had been compulsory in order to protect artificers from the competition of the children of the agricultural class Wadsworth and Mann, pp.54-70. Also see J. D. Mackie, The Oxford History of England, Vol VII The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558 (Oxford 1952), pp 464-470.

tent, identical [5] The final consideration was voiced by James Ogden in 1783.

> Nothing could be more fatal to its trading interest, than if it should be incorporated and have representatives in Parliament. For such is the course of popular contests that in places, where the immediate dependence of the inhabitants is not upon trade, the health and morals of people are ruined upon these occasions. How much more fatal would the effects be in such a town as this?[6]

Consequently Manchester remained an "open town" until well into

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[5]In Lancashire the main growth of industry occurred outside the corporate towns, and the struggle between town and country interests was generally less acute than in the older clothing districts. The principal market areas were those served by Manchester, Bolton, Rochdale, Bury and Blackburn. In these towns there were no special restrictions on trade other than market regulations, concerning weights and measures, conditions of sale, and the like. The interests of the town were so bound up with those of the surrounding countryside that there was no need for protecting the urban craftsman against his counterpart in the country Although corporate towns such as Liverpool, Wigan, Lancaster and Preston attempted to enforce the Tudor legislation between 1560 and 1660, this came to an end during the Civil Wars By the middle of the eighteenth century the struggle between urban and country interests "had become largely a quarrel between shopkeepers and between a few handicrafts." Manchester remained the pattern of the open town and successfully defeated two attempts to tax outside traders who attend its market The first attempt was by the local authorities, shortly after the Restoration, to tax the "foreign tradesmen." The other was an attempt by the lord of the manor, in 1690, to impose a toll on goods bought or sold within the town, burgesses excepted. Wadsworth and Mann, pp.55-67.

[6]William E A Axon, Manchester A Hundred Years Ago Being A Description of Manchester by a Native of the Town, J. Ogden, published in 1783 (Manchester 1887), pp.93-94. Reports of election disturbances throughout Lancashire and the rest of England appeared frequently in the Manchester Mercury

October 25, 1757	-	riots at Liverpool elections
August 22, 1758	-	riots at Liverpool elections
December 8, 1767	-	drunkeness at London elections
April 26, 1768	-	illegal tactics used in Preston
July 4, 1769	-	disturbances at election in Essex, Bucks
July 11, 1769	-	disturbances at election in London
January 25, 1774	-	bribery at Worcester election

nineteenth century.[7] As late as 1795 one observer remarked

> With respect to government, it remains an open town, destitute (probably to its advantage) of a corporation and unrepresented in Parliament [8]

The popular view was that the only alternative to the Court Leet would be an oligarchical municipal corporation which might try to control and restrict the town's growth in its own narrow interests.[9] The inhabitants chose economic freedom in place of efficient regulation Residents were prepared to tolerate numerous inconveniences if they did not interfere with the phenomenal commercial progress Manchester was experiencing during these years. At the same time the clumsy machinery of the feudal Court Leet still managed to function without any interference in commercial pursuits.

The rapid urbanization of Manchester in the latter decades of the eighteenth century created a myriad of problems which ultimately became issues of social concern. Novel and concentrated by-products of this industrializing society "resolved the ancient problems of distress, disease and disorder into their component parts and contributory causes."[10] These

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[7] Manchester was not incorporated until 1838.

[8] Aiken, p 191

[9] W. H Chaloner, "Manchester in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, XLII (September, 1959), 51.

[10] L. S. Marshall, The Development of Public Opinion in Manchester, 1780-1820 (Syracuse 1946), pp.9-10.

included unemployment, wages and prices, housing, sanitation, market facilities, traffic and other forms of congestion, policing, mass behaviour, ignorance and the supply of essential services. Divergent reactions to these problems created the issues upon which the citizens of Manchester voiced their opinions and made their decisions. In the opinion of S. and B. Webb

> The Suppression of Nuisances, was the root out of which sprang such services as the Maintenance of Roads, the Drainage of Towns, the Paving and Cleansing and Lighting of Streets, and the whole of what we now call Public Health.[11]

The inhabitants were forced to try to readjust their institutions in order to control the environment being created by steam-powered machinery. As a result Manchester was brought into closer contact with the revolutionary currents of eighteenth century society.

The inefficacy of the Court Leet manifested itself in a variety of areas, particularly town planning and the suppression of nuisances. Within Manchester this is adequately illustrated by an examination of the business center of the community, the Market place and the Exchange.[12] There were several streets leading to and from the market place but none was satisfactory One went under the Old Coffee-House in front of the Exchange and continued in a line with a corner shop towards Market-street-

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[11]Sidney and Beatrice Webb, The Manor and the Borough, p.26.

[12]Axon, pp.63-65.

lane. Another route, designed for carriages, passed through a narrow gateway over which was constructed a stairway leading to the Old Coffee-House rooms. The rooms on the ground floor were rented to shopkeepers, one of which had become a cobbler's stall. There was barely enough space for pedestrians to avoid carriages and they were forced to bolt through the doorway whenever there was a pause in the traffic. There were two recesses along the corridor —— one in front of the Dog Inn, and one in a corner by the Goose Inn door, opposite the Exchange Coffee-House. This way was also awkward because "the difficulty of passing that corner was great in a line of carriages, as an old building projected against it on the opposite side, and made it difficult to gain the direct opening this way to St. Ann's square."[13] The only other exit from the Market place for pedestrians was through an entrance which led to the stairs of the Old Coffee-House, and across a small court This corridor was partially blocked by a pump situated at one end It was "so gloomy and dismal, even at noon day that it deservedly acquired the denomination of the Dark-entry."[14] Both this passage and that from the Exchange became exceedingly filthy during the busy seasons of the year. Mobility was limited not only by the pump, but also by the location of an old building at the entrance to the

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[13] Ibid., p.64.

[14] Ibid.

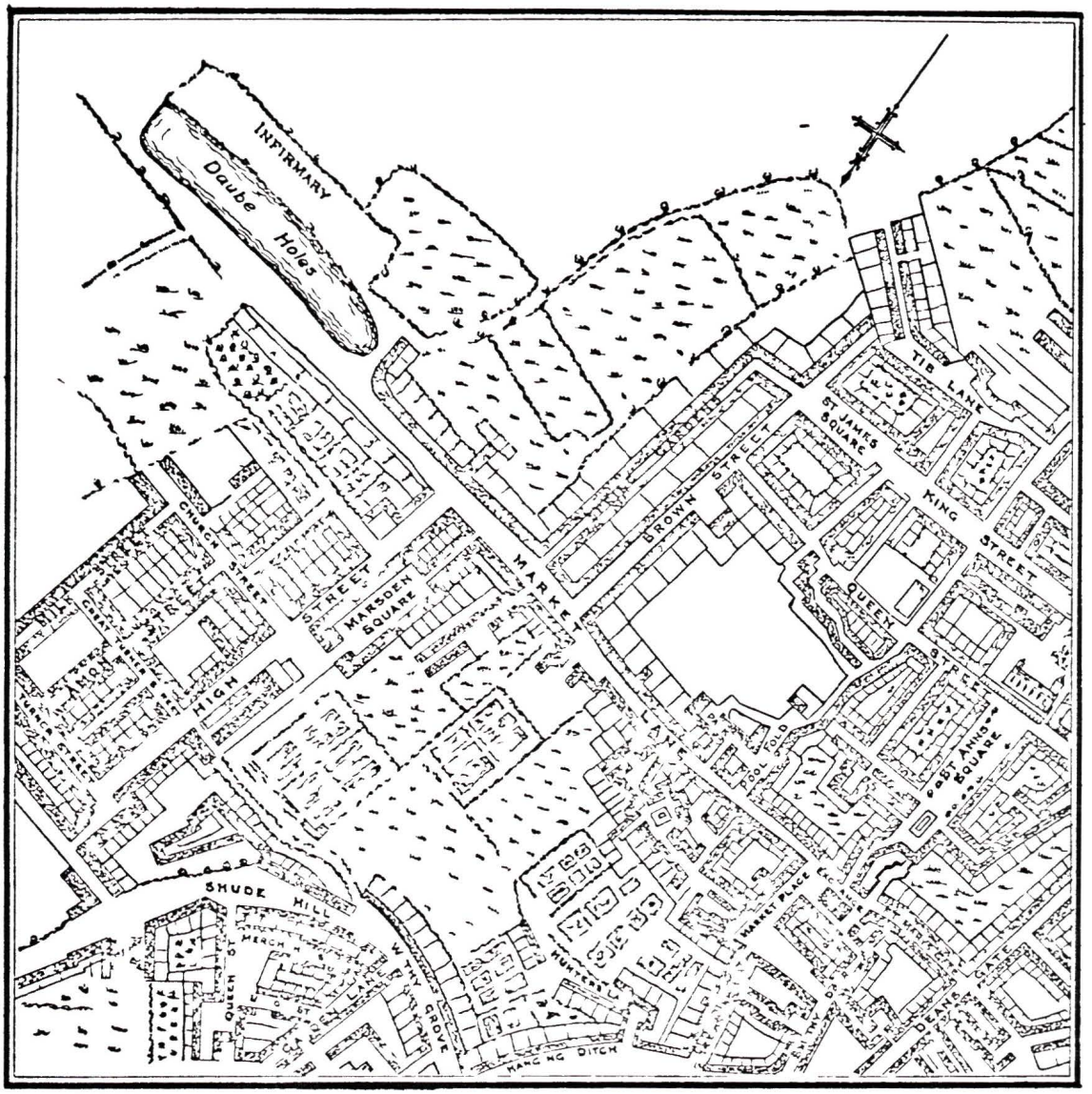

Fig. 4 — Street Map of Central Manchester

square, which made a sharp angle with it "The town's-people, from a knowledge of this dark entry, made a pause at either end, if they heard any one had entered it at the other, for there was no seeing them, and when the passage was open they pushed off on their turn."[15] Unfortunately for the citizens it was at very infrequent intervals that "the Cimmoerian gloom . was cleared with a little light from the sky "[16] By 1795 the situation had changed little for the better

> Manchester may bear comparison with the metropolis itself in the rapidity with which whole new streets have been raised, and in its extension on every side towards the surrounding country, so it unfortunately vies with, or exceeds, the metropolis, in the closeness with which the poor are crowded in offensive, dark, damp, and incommodious habitations [17]

Throughout the eighteenth century the Court Leet concerned itself almost exclusively with the suppression of urban nuisances and the instituting of laws for regulation of the streets.[18] One of the distinguishing features of the Court Leet was the number of officers appointed to enforce the regulations.[19] Most of the offences after mid-century were

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[15] Ibid , pp 64-65.

[16] Ibid., p 64.

[17] Aiken, p 192.

[18] S. and B. Webb, Manor and Borough, p.100.

[19] The executive chief of the Court Leet was the Boroughreeve, who presided at all public meetings and can be considered as the official representative of the town. Second in authority were the two Constables, who were always appointed together, and who served as the Boroughreeve's principal lieutenants. Besides these dignitaries the Leet annually appointed an ever-increasing number of other officials, in-

directly related to the inability of the Leet to supervise the rapidly expanding community The Manchester Mercury abounds in advertisements and warnings issued by the Boroughreeve and constables relating to assorted types of vandalism which included the breaking of street lamps,[20] the destruction of public property,[21] the theft of street grates,[22] the destruction of locks on canals,[23] and miscellaneous offences.[24] With the rapid influx of transient factory workers a more unstable element was introduced which created new offences These included problems with transients as early as 1753,[25]

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cluding scavengers, market-lookers and muzzlers of mastiff dogs. It appears to have been a traditional practice to appoint an officer with special duties whenever any new function or particular nuisance arose. Once an office was created, it continued to be filled annually, even if its function had become obsolete, and positions thus created usually evolved into sinecures Manchester's Court Leet was typical in this respect The earliest record shows that on October 4, 1552, there were 59 officers appointed, this figure had risen to 110 by October 5, 1686, and 138 as of October 15, 1756. The Manchester Mercury announced on March 9, 1784, a complete list of citizens that the Court Leet was employing as scavengers during the forthcoming year. Ibid., pp 102-103.

[20]Manchester Mercury, March 10, 1752, February 23, 1768, November 7, 1780.

[21]Ibid , January 6, 1756

[22]Ibid., May 13, 1766.

[23]Ibid., May 30, 1775.

[24]Ibid., February 7, 1778, January 20, 1781, October 1, 1782.

[25]Ibid., July 23, 1753.

pickpockets,[26] gamblers,[27] swindlers,[28] beggars,[29] robberies,[30] molestations,[31] and counterfeiters.[32]

The majority of offences and convictions were related to maintaining order in the Market place and the streets.[33] Prosecutions resulted from neglect of duties of repairing roads,[34] obstructions in the streets and market area,[35] crimes in the market place,[36] and general violations of sanitation regulations.[37] Miscellaneous offences included neglecting to

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[26] Ibid., May 3, 1761.

[27] Ibid., January 12, 1762, April 14, 1767.

[28] Ibid., August 17, 1779.

[29] Ibid., November 23, 1784.

[30] Ibid., April 8, 1783.

[31] Ibid., November 11, 1777.

[32] Ibid., July 2, 1771, March 26, 1776, March 18, 1777; March 17, 24, June 9, July 7, November 10, 1778, September 7, 1779, December 12, 1780, July 10, November 13, 1781.

[33] S. and B. Webb, Manor and Borough, p.105.

[34] Manchester Mercury, October 4, 11, 1760

[35] Ibid , December 4, 1764, December 15, 1767, July 25, 1780, November 4, 1783.

[36] Ibid., May 14, 1765, January 28, 1766, March 10, 1772, September 13, 1774, April 22, 1783, May 20, 1783, February 3, 1784.

[37] Ibid , January 17, 1769

sweep chimnies,[38] littering the streets[39] and public property with dung,[40] and street cleaning violations [41] The inefficacy of the Court Leet in organizing and enforcing regulations governing civic maintenance created a situation where conscientious citizens began to voice their opinions. These found expression in the establishment of local organizations based on common interest among certain elements of the populace, and in letters to the printer from private citizens

With the significant increase of population in Manchester accompanying the consolidation of industry in and about the township, a new community spirit began to develop which, in its formative stages, centered around local issues At first these issues were largely problems of urban growth and tended to be of a local nature. However, as they multiplied and the town expanded, they began to occupy an increasing amount of local attention and Mancunians began to take a new interest in community affairs Since urban development was directly related to commercial pursuits, the merchants and manufacturers, along with other prominent citizens, began to express their views in the local press. At the same, Joseph Harrop regularly made the columns of the Mercury available to any member of the public who had a legitimate complaint of concern to the community, or who

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[38] Ibid., January 21, 1766.

[39] Ibid., April 2, 1771.

[40] Ibid., January 12, 1779.

[41] Ibid., November 6, 1779; July 24, 1781.

was prepared to advocate a proposal which might improve conditions in the town. Widespread community involvement in determining the direction of local developments marks one of the earliest points at which the gradual mobilization of public opinion is evident in Manchester. At the same time, the passive authority of the vested interests was overshadowed by the relentless energy and growing influence of the new manufacturing class, whose ideas and actions began to permeate the entire structure of Manchester society.

The consistent failure of the Court Leet resulted in the inhabitants of Manchester, and other towns with similar problems, taking the initative to deal with problems left unsolved by the officials [42] On May 1st, 1769, a meeting was held by the "Gentlemen, Clergy, Tradesmen and Others" of Salford to enter into a "Subscription to prosecute all Burglaries and Felonies, that shall hereafter be committed within that Township, at a Joint Expence "[43] The reason for establishing this association was that "Offenders have frequently escaped Justice, for Want of a sufficient Fund to carry on the necessary Prosecutions against them."[44] A similar association was formed in Cheshire twelve years later among thirty-one leading citizens of Gawsworth, Merton, Northrode

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[42] S. and B. Webb, Statutory Authorities . . . ., pp.447-432.

[43] Manchester Mercury, May 16, 1769.

[44] Ibid.

and Bosley.[45] Their notice explained that "Whereas divers Burglaries and Felonies have been committed, and the Offenders, too frequently, have escaped Justice, through Tenderness, or for Want of a proper Fund."[46] The gentlemen and merchants of Stockport also found it necessary to enter into a subscription to prevent "the Offences of House Breaking and Thefts of divers kinds."[47]

The "Gentlemen, Tradesmen, and others, in this Town and Neighbourhood" of Manchester met at Crompton's Coffee House on February 1st, 1774, to enter into a subscription "For the more effectual security of this Town, the neighbouring Towns, and the Country adjacent, against House-breakers, Thieves, and Receivers of stolen or embezzled Goods "[48] This association was "not confined to the Views and Interests of particular Persons, or limited in the Number of Subscribers" and it was hoped that many citizens would "subscribe to this Plan, intended for their general Advantage " A reward of ten guineas was offered for any information leading to a conviction. The committee established to organize the subscriptions consisted of nine persons from Manchester and four others from Newton, Pendleton, Prestwich and Gorton. Most of the members from

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[45] Ibid., August 7, 1781.

[46] Ibid

[47] Ibid , July 12, 1774.

[48] Ibid., February 4, 1772.

Manchester were dyers and crofters.

An advertisement submitted by this same committee three years later gives some insight into the success of the association. The purpose of the meeting was to obtain additional funds to ensure the continuation of the subscription [49] The committee members had "with Pleasure observed, the good Effects of this Association, as it has sensibly operated to the Prevention of Offences, as well as to the Dectection and successful Punishment of Offenders."[50] The amount collected since the first subscription called in 1772 totalled £47 15s. 6d. of which £23 18s. 6d. had been spent "For Printing and distributing Advertisements, for the Detection and conducting of Offenders to Manchester, from distant Parts of the Kingdom "[51] The sum of £23 17s. was expended for the "Prosecution and actual Conviction of Nine Offenders."[52]

The number and nature of these committees was determined by the needs of each community or concerned faction therein. Advertisements in the press ranged from associations of local gentry to prevent poaching[53] to those formed by concerned merchants to prevent the spread of counterfeiting [54]

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[49] Ibid , February 28, 1775

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid , August 31, 1773, January 4, 1774.

[54] Ibid., March 17, May 24, June 9, 1778.

The severity of the latter problem during 1778 led to the establishment of similar associations in other provincial towns,[55] including Birmingham.[56]

Letters to the printer of the Manchester Mercury about local issues appear to fall into two general categories those with an intent to moralize on some widespread social malady such as prostitution,[57] and those written as a comment on a local issue such as bridge repairs.[58] The frequency with which letters to the printer were published increased dramatically after 1770 with the rapid expansion of population and accompanying problems. However, correspondence from local citizens was not always limited to local issues. In 1757 Harrop printed letters from two citizens commenting on the execution of Admiral Byng.[59]

In 1780 Harrop presented his own views on the frequency and serious consequences of robberies lately committed in Manchester.[60] They "call for the most vigorous Efforts of the Magistrates, who, we hear, are determined, to exert the utmost diligence in bringing those lawless Invaders to punishment "

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[55] Ibid., October 13, 1778.

[56] Ibid., December 15, 1778.

[57] Ibid., July 14, 1752.

[58] Ibid., September 5, 1769.

[59] Ibid., April 12, 1767.

[60] Ibid., April 8, 1780.

He continues that "tis a melancholy reflection, that a Tradesman, while he is taking that rest which Nature requires, shall not only lose the Property which renders his Circumstances comfortable, but even, if he should happen to be alarmed, runs the imminent hazard of being Butchered within his own Walls." Harrop "hoped a stop will be speedily put to their Depredations."

The first issue which occasioned a widespread expression of opinion in Manchester did not occur until the mid 1770's. The occasion was the organizing and raising of a subscription to embark on a major program of street repairs and local improvements. Manchester and Salford had been granted a Cleaning and Lighting Act in 1765[61] but its limited

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[61] 5. George III, c.81. This Act was very narrow in its scope. Its main purpose was to obtain legal powers for the more adequate provision of fire engines and firemen in Manchester and Salford The Act also included various other provisions for the prevention of fires Areas covered were the removal of stalks of wood, faggots, furze, kids or other fuel, to a distance of at least one hundred yards from any house or building. There were also orders against the wilful firing of chimnies, which had recently became a common offence. The Commissioners under the Act were given the authority to break up pavement to get at water supplies for the pumps as well as to fix fire plugs in the main or other water pipes. The Commissioners included the Warden and Fellows of the College of Christ Church, the Boroughreeve and two constables, together with nearly two hundred of the most prominent citizens. However, this potentially powerful group of citizens were content to let the Court Leet retain the custody of the fire engines, and the constables continued to pay the rent of the engine houses from the town's leys. Refer to Appendix D for full details of the Act. A Redford, The Manor and the Township, p 100. Manchester Mercury, July 9, 16, November 5, 1765

nature failed to satisfy the growing needs of the town [62] In December,1772,a meeting was called to discuss the necessity of applying to Parliament for a new Bill to outline the lighting and maintenance of the town.[63] Between January, 1773, and the spring of 1776 the Mercury contained reference to this issue in nearly every edition.

Local interest in public improvement began to appear in the press about the time of Manchester's application to Parliament for an Act concerning street lighting and cleaning [64] Harrop received a letter from PHILO PUBLICUS in late December, 1764, containing a plan for local improvement.[65] The author had recently attended a meeting to discuss the intended Act for lighting the town He expected "to have heard some Proposals for opening the Passage betwixt the Square and Exchange, but was disappointed . . . ."[66] In order to finance the cost of such a program he suggests that a new bridge be constructed "at the Bottom of Dole Field, and a Toll Bar erected upon it " The letter continues with an outline of pro-

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[62] Manchester Mercury, December 1, 1772. In this issue a concerned citizen voiced his opinion on the ineffectiveness of the office the Police Commissioners established by the 1765 Act and suggested changes which might increase their authority.

[63] Ibid., December 15, 1772.

[64] The first mention of Manchester's intention to apply for such an Act appeared in the Mercury on December 4, 1764.

[65] Ibid., December 25, 1764.

[66] Ibid.

posed renovations and adds that any extra sum could be raised by subscription PHILO PUBLICIUS was "credibly informed that a great Person would give Stone for the Bridge." He estimates the total cost to be approximately £4,000

In 1767 Harrop printed a letter declaring that enforcement of a certain part of the 1765 Cleaning and Lighting Act was having an adverse effect on the business of the local sign painters

> It is a received Maxim in Politics, that private Interest should yield to public Benefit, a Maxim to which I most readily subscribe, though at the same time I could wish it were possible on every Occasion, to reconcile the Interest of Individuals to that of the Common-Wealth. I have been led into this Reflection, by considering the Nature and Consequences of the Act lately passed for the better Paving, Lighting, and Cleansing this Metropolis In spite of the opposition which this scheme encountered at its first setting out, it must be confessed that the Town is exceedingly improved by these new Regulations.[67]

One of the regulations of this Act was that all swinging signs were to be removed and affixed to the side of the building "but now, that it is placed flat against the Building, a Sign, like a Portrait, needs no reverse, and the Painter is consequently deprived of Half his Profit "[68] To compensate for this loss of income the author recommends that all private persons have their name painted on signs and place them on the front of their residence.

The earliest mention of a scheme for local improvement of the streets and buildings appeared in the December issues of the Manchester Mercury in 1774. The author of a letter to the

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[67] Ibid , February 24, 1767.

[68] Ibid.

printer, signed only as J. M., writes

> The Project for purchasing the Old Coffee-House, and other ruinous Buildings, which have so long obstructed the Passage from the Exchange, into St Ann's Square, and been so great a Nuisance as well as Disgrace to the opulent Town of Manchester, being again revived, I take the Liberty of offering my Thoughts upon the Subject, with a View of facilitating this great and good Work [69]

He proposed that such a scheme could be financed from funds derived from a double window tax to be continued for several years, and concluded

> The Sums paid Yearly by the Individuals would thus be, not only proportionable to their Means and Rank, but very moderate, and as far as I have yet found, would be chearfully submitted to [70]

This proposal received criticism two weeks later in a letter signed P Q.[71] He asked Harrop to reprint a letter addressed to T. B Bayley from A. B. commenting on the same subject. Although A B agreed that certain rennovations are necessary he was not in favour of a window tax, "for a many different Mechanicks do not allow themselves a sufficient Quantity of light their Business requires "[72] It also appeared to him that

> There is a Necessity of removing the Butcher's temporary Stalls out of the Street where they now fix them up, before this great Plan is put into Execution, there not being hardly room for one other Stall, without entirely obstructing the Road [73]

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[69] Ibid., December 6, 1774

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid., December 20, 1774

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

A. B. estimated there were about eighty stalls in the Exchange and Market Place areas His letter ends with a suggestion that a public meeting be held to discuss the problem

The December 27th edition of the Mercury contained a letter dated December 24, 1774, from AN INHABITANT OF MANCHESTER which commented on the above mentioned proposals by J. M. and P. Q.[74] This correspondent thought a window tax would be unjust as well as unacceptable because the inhabitants of one part of town would not finance improvements that would not benefit them. He also pointed out that any proposed tax on landowners would be disagreeable and suggested that a small tax on horses and carriages be employed because·

> In what Manner can Money be levied other than by a Toll of some Denomination or other? If upon Horses and Carriages, all Commodities brought to and sent out from Manchester and Salford, will be included.[75]

This INHABITANT goes beyond merely proposing a plan to raise funds and strikes at the very core of the problem Manchester was experiencing during these years of accelerating change

> Cities and Corporate Towns have corporate Funds, out of which they are enabled to effect such Improvements as are deemed necessary for the Health and Convenience of their Inhabitants. In Manchester we have no such Fund, but if the florishing State of the Town is adverted to, it will be universally admitted, that we have not experienced the Inconveniences of a limited Corporation, which will be found to preponderate against the most striking Advantages enjoyed by any City or Corporate Town, and we shall with Pleasure, submit to a Taxation, for the Removal of the Runious Buildings, and the Improvement of the narrow Passages, in the Center of the

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[74] Ibid., December 27, 1774.

[75] Ibid.

> Town, which are at present, not only a Disgrace to it, but are prejudicial to the Health of its Inhabitants, by rendering the Air impure and unwholesome.[76]

A letter from S T , dated December 26, 1774, also appeared in the December 27th edition. S. T. agreed with a proposal presented by P Q for levying a tax of 6d. per ton on all commodities brought into Manchester by water routes. The rationale behind his proposal was that local and foreign consumers would ultimately pay the tax because retailers would raise their prices accordingly. S. T. argued, "that in every part of the World where a Piece of Manchester Goods is worn, there will be Contributions to this Tax."

A week later another letter was received from EM. LOH. MED. DON. which contained an extensive plan for street repairs and suggesting that the inhabitants of the town petition parliament to hold a lottery to raise £50,000 for improvements.[77] In his opinion

> To those of narrow Minds, and confined Ideas, I doubt not this Scheme will appear Chimerical, to them I write not, but to those, who, blessed with superior Understanding, and more liberal and enlarged Sentiments, wish with me, the Health, the Prosperity, the Convenience, and the Elegance of the Town in which we dwell

On Friday, January 6, 1775, a meeting of all interested inhabitants in Manchester was held at the Exchange "to consider of the Expediency of opening certain Streets and Passages

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[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., January 3, 1775.

[78] Ibid.

for the Convenıency and Safety of the Inhabitants."[79] This meeting was attended by the Boroughreeve, the two constables, and fifty-one gentlemen. Any seven or more of those present were nominated to serve on the planning committee which was appointed to consider all proposals to raise money for the improvements A small subscription was also opened to cover expences incurred by this committee in procuring plans and estimates The January 17th Mercury advertised that this committee would issue their report at a public meeting in the Exchange the following morning at 10·00 A. M.

A letter to the printer of the Mercury from PHILANTHROPOS, dated January 23, 1775, clarifies the decision reached at the public meeting of January 18.[80] The proposal to raise funds accepted at that meeting was to place an additional toll bar at every end of the town. PHILANTHROPOS objected to this scheme because not only would the toll bars "render the Streets less commodious, less airy, and very inelegant," they would also raise the price of incoming staple products such as wheat, oats, potatos, poultry and dairy products.[81] He continued

> As many of you are Men of large Fortunes, you will not feel these Inconveniences, but surely you ought to consider the middle Rank in Life, and above all you ought to consider the Poor The Poor find it difficult enough

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[79] Ibid., January 10, 1775.

[80] Ibid., January 24, 1775.

[81] Ibid.

> already to Support themselves, and will you make it more difficult for them to live? I know you will not, I know you are Men of Humanity, and shall therefore say no more on this Head. I shall only add my Wishes, that you would not make us all Prisoners in a free Place, and that the Town of Manchester may not appear like a Town blockaded, or infected with the Plague

Another meeting of the landowners and inhabitants was scheduled for the morning of Friday, February 17th [82] The purpose of this meeting was to reconsider the plans for raising funds because the method approved at the January 18th meeting had since met with considerable opposition [83] The conflict appears to have been over the means of raising funds rather than the necessity of improvements. The two factions involved were those representing the planning committee established at the public meeting on January 6, 1775, who usually met at the Bull's Head Tavern, and an opposition group consisting of sixteen men who congregated at the Windmill Tavern. In order to formulate a solution to the dilemma

> The Gentlemen of the Windmill propose to send eight, including their Chairman, to wait upon the Gentlemen at the Bull's Head . for an amicable Conference to fix upon the least exceptionable Method to raise a fund to improve the Towns of Manchester and Salford.[84]

This meeting took place on January 30th and the decision reached was that no action in Parliament would be taken without mutual agreement over the proposals.

A letter received from James Massey of Salford sheds

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[82] Ibid , February 7, 1775.

[83] Ibid

[84] Ibid., February 14, 1775.

some light on a later meeting held on February 17th [85] He accused the members of the Windmill Tavern faction of spreading a rumor that the planning committee intended to petition parliament for permission to erect the previously discussed toll gates at the edge of the town. The result of this rumor was to

> Alarm the whole Country round, by pressing all Ranks and Degrees of People to give their Attendance, at a Meeting to be held at the Exchange . . when you had the strongest Assurances given . . that no such Petition would be presented.[86]

A reply to Massey's charges from the sixteen gentlemen concerned, declared that the turnpike proposal was "pregnant with Ruin to the Trade, the Peace, and good Government of the Town and Neighbourhood."[87] This group regarded any proposed parliamentary petition which would empower a governing body to organize the toll, as an attempt to monopolize the government and development of the town In their words

> They saw a Plan of Improvement, Just in Itself, and sober in its extent, by the natural Operation of Fancy and Folly, dilated into a Scheme infinitely extravagant and wild They saw the projected Means of executing this to be such, as no Conveniences, no Embellishments would repay, a heavy Impost upon the Trade of the Town and Neighbourhood, that threatened to crush it by its Weight And they saw some Gentlemen eagerly preparing to invest themselves with Powers, under the Sanction of an Act of Parliament, and the Pretence of removing Obstructions, that appeared truly formidable to themselves, and would

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[85] Ibid., February 21, 1775.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid., February 28, 1775.

> probably prove the ready Instrument of Oppression to the Town and Neighbourhood. They therefore opposed the Whole.[88]

As a result it was decided that a public meeting should be scheduled for March 2, 1775, to open a subscription to finance the proposed improvements.[89]

The projected goal for the subscription was £10,000 and by April 18, 1775, £9,079 14s 6d. had been promised.[90] By June 20, 1775, £10,745 19s. 6d. had been deposited in the bank.[91] Throughout July and August meetings were held by those subscribing £20 or more to the improvement fund, to establish a committee and organize the building program.[92] This program included improving and enlarging the Old Milngate, the St. Mary's Gate, and the passage between St. Ann's Square and the Exchange.[93] Public notice was also given that this committee intended to apply to parliament for an Act to effect the above improvements.[94]

By March 26, 1776, this program had been completed and a meeting was called to discuss the use of the remaining

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[88] Ibid

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid., April 18, 1775.

[91] Ibid., June 20, 1775.

[92] Ibid., July 11, 18, August 15, 1775.

[93] Ibid., September 5, 1775.

[94] Ibid.

funds.[95] It was mentioned at this meeting that a letter had been received from PROBUS, dated March 21st, Salford Bridge, criticizing the organization of the committee responsible for civic improvements. It was addressed "To the Subscribers of less than Twenty Pounds towards the Improvements of the Town," and complained that not all subscribers to the fund had a voice in deciding the building program [96] The Secretary of the Committee, Joseph Chippindall, declared this letter "an inflammatory Paper, and the Author of it, an Enemy to the Town."[97] A reply to this accusation from John Whitaker, the author of the letter, was also included in the same edition of the Mercury. It began

> The ridiculous resolution above is scarcely worthy even of a smile from the author. He is infinitely above the reach of such pop-gun shooters. He should not therefore have taken the least notice of it, if he had consulted only his own feelings But for the sake of others, who may fancy something terrible in the brute thunder even of such a resolution, He just deigns to say in return, That he was the author of the paper alluded to, and believes every suggestion in it to be literally and punctually true. That ready to acknowledge whatever he does, glorying in an address so virtously meant and so honourably conducted, he dated it from the place of his abode on purpose to show he was the author and That, as long as he is blest with the power to speak and the ability to write, he shall think himself obliged to employ both against that TYRANNICAL PARTY, which for so many months past has disturbed the happiness of the town, by their bold and desperate attempts at the government of it.[98]

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[95] Ibid , March 26, 1776.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid.

That the more public-minded citizens first voiced a growing interest in the area of local improvements is indicative of a wider social philosophy which became increasingly prevalent during the latter decades of the century This philosophy, adopted by the ever-growing class of merchant-manufacturers and professional men, appears to be founded on the principles of materialism, utilitarianism, and empericism. Mancunians placed commercial pursuits before urban regulation, efficacy in works before abstract political philosophy, business before pleasure. As early as 1739 this attitude can be seen in the observation of a local historian

> As its trade is great so are its riches, the Inhabitants having been very industrious and applied themselves closely to their respective business, always contriving and inventing something new to improve or sett off their goods, and having not much followed the extravagance that too much prevails in other places, as in Dress, Servants, Equipages, Wine, Entertainments, etc By these means they have acquired very many of them very handsome fortunes, and live thereupon in a plain and useful and regular manner after the custom of their forefathers.[99]

These men were practical, materialistic, and steeped in the arcana of trade, with designs on consolidating their position in the community by expanding investments through the unfettered advancement of business interests in local industry. As one pamphleteer wrote in 1756·

> See, as the Owners of old Family Estates in your Neighbourhood, are selling off their Patrimonies, how your Townsmen are constantly purchasing, and thereby laying the Foundation of a new Race of Gentry Not adorn'd, it's true, with Coats of Arms and long Parchment Pedigree of

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[99]Burton MSS, Vol. VII, p.33, cited by Wadsworth and Mann, pp.241-242.

> useless Members of Society, but deck'd with Virtue and Frugality, and who, knowing both how, and when to be content, retire, decently to enjoy their well-got Wealth, leaving the Coast open, for new Adventures, to follow their worthy Example [100]

The new spirit of involvement in community affairs not only reflects the practical interests of their class but also foreshadows an increasingly activist attitude which came into existence when the future of industrial Manchester became directly associated with the direction of national policies.

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[100] Joseph Stot, Cobbler, A Sequel to the Friendly Advice to the Poor (Manchester 1756), p.13, cited by Wadsworth and Mann, p.242.

III. EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL MANCHESTER, 1752-1789.

Educational movements in Manchester after mid-century are highlighted by two interrelated trends first, the rapid growth of a large upper middle class population which demanded the restructuring of an education system in which they had previously had only a small part; and second, the appearance of a new approach to curriculum which reflected the rise of a new attitude towards culture in provincial Manchester. Until about 1760 education had been limited to the orthodox teachings of the Manchester Grammar School and the superficial instruction at the several charity schools. The industrialization of the town in the last three decades of the century saw the establishment of an active middle class element which had an entirely different approach to the role of education. Professional men, wealthy tradesmen, and manufacturers all wanted their children to be educated in a way which would prepare them for future careers in business or the professions At the same time the urbanization of the town saw the spread of educational opportunities, previously very limited, which included adult night schools, foreign language schools, dancing schools, music teachers, trade schools, a conversation club, a Literary and Philosophical Society, an Agricultural Society, and several libraries, to mention a few. An intellectual elite also began to form which later took an

active interest in science, technology, urban affairs, philanthropic ventures, and ultimately national political issues. To understand the new attitudes which began to prevail it is necessary to examine the educational background of the community.

The oldest institution for formal education in Manchester was the Manchester Grammar school. The school was founded about 1506 by Hugh Oldham who endowed the institution with an income to be derived from the local corn mills,[1] and was governed by the warden and fellows of the College of Our Lady of Manchester, the Collegiate Church.[2] The original indenture declared that·

> Often considering and intimately desiring . . . that grace, virtue, and wisdom should grow, flower, and take root in youths during their boyhood, especially in boys of the country of Lancaster, who for a long time through the default of teaching and instruction . had wanted such . . . in their youths, as well through their fathers' poverty as through the absence and want of any such person who could instruct and educate such children . . . Therefore, to remove this defect, and with the intention that such a fit person, eminent for wisdom, character, and virtue, and for example in his own person, shall freely ., and without anything being given therefore or taken by him, teach and instruct others, as well youths as grown-up persons, in his learning and wisdom, that so perservering to their old age they may show the same in many ways and daily, the said parties have agreed.[3]

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[1]The major part of the endowment of the school was the corn-mills of Manchester, with certain lands on the banks of the Irk river. This included a fulling mill or "walk" mill on the same river. As late as 1834 the income from the mill brought in £2,000 a year William Farrer and J. Brownhill (eds.), The Victoria History of the Country of Lancaster, Vol II (8 vols., London 1911), p.580.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p 581

The scholars of the school were assisted after 1691 by the Hulme Exhibitions, designed to encourage further study.[4]

The curriculum of the Grammar School was essentially orthodox and founded on "the principles and practices of the Christian religion, in order that the child might perform his duties to God and to his neighbours "[5] However, by the middle of the eighteenth century the patrons and overseers of the school realized that "a period had arrived when it was . . . no longer feasible to train the lower classes in the Church Catachism and Bible and the upper classes in the Classics."[6] The mercantile and industrial population had increased so enormously that their children needed more training than they had previously received in order to prepare them for the increasingly industrialized community. The old formal training continued but attempts were made to modernize the curriculum by using translations, extracts, stories, biographies and an introduction to the Classics. In most cases

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[4]William Hulme, by his will of October 24, 1691, bequeathed lands at Heaton Norris, Ashton-under-Lyne, Redditch, and Manchester, upon the decease of his wife,

> To the intent and purpose that the clear and annual rents . . . shall be paid and distributed to and amongst such four of the poorest sort of Bachelors of Arts taking such degrees in Brazenose College in Oxford as from time to time shall resolve to continue and reside there by the space of four years after such degree taken.

Ibid., p.586.

[5]Lewis Mumford, The Manchester Grammar School 1515-1919 (London 1919), p 138.

[6]Ibid.

elementary instruction in Latin grammar and literature was free, but extra fees were charged for out-of-school tuition, and arrangements were made for special tutors in areas such as French, Italian, and Mathematics In order to facilitate these offerings associated teachers were hired "to make up the deficiency of the cirriculum."[7]

Between 1740 and 1765 the total enrollment of the school was 672 students.[8] Mumford's analysis of student origins concludes that

> The large proportion were those in which traditions of learning were ingrained for professional or other reasons. Next in number are occupations [parental] which brought men into touch with a large variety of their fellows, and caused them to appreciate the advantages of education more readily than those whose circle of acquaintances was more limited.[9]

Sons of nobility and gentry accounted for about ten percent of the total enrollment, those with backgrounds in the professional classes such as divinity, medicine and law for about eleven percent, and sons of freemen, yeoman, innkeepers, tradesmen, dyers and hatters for about thirty percent [10] The overwhelming majority of pupils came from parents involved in minor trades or classified as artisans They formed about forty-seven percent of the total enrollment between 1740 and

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[7] Ibid

[8] Ibid., p.170.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

1765.[11] A further analysis shows that nearly half of these were boarders and fifty percent of the boarders went on for an English university education. It appears that the majority of the day students came from poorer backgrounds and few of these proceeded beyond completion of their time at the Grammar school.

In 1735 John Clayton opened a grammar school in Salford, called St. Cyprian's, after its patron saint.[12] Apparently this institution was established for the sons of wealthier parents "who desired a more markedly religious atmosphere than was afforded by the . . . Manchester School, and who wished their children to avoid the supposed contamination of being mixed up with the boys of a less favoured social level."[13] Its pupils were primarily recruited from the wealthy Jacobite and Tory families, and they usually continued their education and training to become distinguished clerics, physicians, or attornies.[14]

In the second half of the century the mercantile and industrial population increased so enormously that their children needed more training than they had previously received in the existing educational institutions. Public writing-masters, arithmeticians, and mathematicians had long

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid , pp.160-161

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., p 174

been employed, without official relation to the Manchester Grammar school. At this time music and dancing masters were also employed. However, there was a growing tendency for those specialists to group together in commercial academies which offered an education, alternative rather than supplementary, to that of the traditional Grammar schools. As trade prosperity and general luxury increased wealthier members of the growing middle classes soon found the exacting demands of fashionable life incompatible with the domestic cares of a family.[15] Consequently the custom of sending young children to fashionable boarding schools became common. The keeping of a boarding school for older boys became an acknowledged source of income for school-masters at the Grammar schools.[16]

The private commercial academies and boarding schools which claimed to prepare boys in a more modern way than Grammar School or University soon became prevalent in the growing urban centers like Manchester. The emphasis of their curriculum on the more practical aspects of education in preparing youths for commercial and professional careers had a considerable appeal to the parents of those children who now began to form the bulk of the population in the industrial towns. The growing trend towards the popularity of these schools can be easily traced from their advertisements in the contem-

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[15] Ibid., p.138.

[16] Ibid., pp.138-139.

porary newspaper press.[17]

Between 1752 and 1760 there were sixteen separate advertisements for schools offering training in different areas. Between 1761 and 1770 the number had increased to thirty, and between 1771 and 1782 there were another twenty-eight advertisements. For the period 1752-1782 advertisements were published in the Mercury for twelve dancing schools, thirteen foreign language schools, nine music schools, eleven schools for girls, twelve schools for boys, three trade schools, two business schools, a riding academy, and a fencing school. Although the quality of instruction in these schools must have varied greatly it is obvious that the range of choice for both full and part-time instruction offered an important substitute for traditional education in Manchester. An examination of the more detailed advertisements reveals the type of instruction available.

At a boarding and day school for young ladies, operated by Mrs. Grace Ridge and her two sisters, the public was assured that·

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[17]The statistics given for the establishment of private schools, boarding schools, etc., have been compiled from a systematic examination of advertisements in the Manchester Mercury for the first thirty years of its existence, 1752-1782. It is impossible to define the nature of each school from these advertisements and therefore it has been assumed that a "private" school included all types of academies and tutors offering a variety of private lessons. The role of home and private tutors is discussed generally in Nicholas Hans, New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century (London 1951), pp 181-193.

> No Care will be wanting to forward the Improvement of young Ladies, in all Sorts of Needle Work, that proper Masters will be provided to teach Writing, Dancing, Musick, etc. and they may depend on their united Endeavours, to do every Thing that will promote the compleat Accomplishment of Young Ladies.[18]

Richard Higham operated a school for boys "in a commodious room at Mr. Liptrot's house" where they were·

> Taught Reading, Wrighting in all the Hands, Arithmetic, in whole Numbers, Fractions Vulgar and Decimal, Mensuration, Surveying and Mapping of Land, also Merchants Accompts.[19]

R. Rowlinson's school in Newton-Lane offered an even more varied curriculum·

> English and Latin, Writing and Arithmetic, Merchants' Accompts, vulgar and decimal, Geometry and Stereometry, viz. Mensuration of Solids and Superfices, Gauging, both by Pen and Sliding-Rule, with their Use and Application, Extraction of the Square and Cube Roots. English Grammar (in such a Manner, that Youth may understand their own Language near equal to those who have had a more Liberal Education) bearing Analogy to the Latin Rules, whereby other Languages may with greater Facility be attained, this Method he hopes will be encouraged by Masters of the highest Class Also Spelling, division of Syllables, Pauses and their Time, proper Accents . . . The Use of the Plainsphere, that Persons Young or Old may understand the constituent Parts of the World, by their Maps, who read the Bible or other Histories, etc.[20]

With the increasing industrialization of Manchester in the latter decades of the century, private schools began to cater to the increasing population of middle class merchants and industrialists. One of the earliest to do so was Jeremiah Ainsworth who opened his school on June 24, 1768, in a large

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[18] Mercury, February 2, 1762.

[19] Ibid., March 23, 1762.

[20] Ibid., January 8, 1765.

room near the Grammar School.[21] His curriculum offered writing and geography, but also instruction in mathematical instruments, bookkeeping, gauging trigonometry, conic sections, geometry, mensuration, land surveying, astronomy, navigation, algebra, annuties for lives, fluxions, mechanics, and "every branch of Newtonian Philosophy." His intention was to "give such general Rudiments and Instruction, as will be the best Qualification for Trade and Business, or for a more liberal Education at the University."[22]

In a similar vein,H. Clarke's "Commercial and Mathematical School", situated in nearby Salford, offered English, writing, mathematics, and modern geography, as well as foreign exchanges, mercantile precepts, drawing, and the Italian method of bookkeeping.[23] The school operated from 8 00 to 11·00 A.M. and 1·00 to 4·00 P.M. He also taught writing and accounts each evening between 6 00 to 9·00 P.M. Advertisements for his school were still appearing in the Mercury as late as January 9, 1781.

Other schools with a commercial accent were Mr. Wilford's Academy, the proprietor of which boasted ten year's experience in mercantile affairs in London and Amsterdam,[24]

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[21] Ibid., June 14, 1768.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., December 29,1772.

[24] Ibid., April 26, 1774.

Samuel Hope's architectural school,[25] and Mr. Williamson's school for Shorthand.[26] Citizens wishing an outlet for recreational interests could also attend Mr. Dea's riding school,[27] Mr. Moore's military academy,[28] or H. Graff's school for lessons in the martial art of sword fighting.[29]

One of the earliest schools in Manchester to reflect a growing interest in, and consciousness of, the relation of science to the industrial community was Peter Clare's "Philosophical School" which opened January 19, 1778. He offered a course of studies "in which young Persons will be instructed in the general Principles of Mechanics, Hydro-statics, Pneumatics, Electricity, Chemistry, etc."[30] Pupils were provided with philosophical and chemical apparatus and were taught to do experiments. The subscription fee for the school was one guinea. This school was a product of the popularization of science by lecturers who had been travelling throughout the country since the 1740's.[31] After 1760 lecturers in natural

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[25] Ibid., September 12, 1775.

[26] Ibid., October 1, 1776.

[27] Ibid., December 15, 1772.

[28] Ibid., January 25, 1780.

[29] Ibid., April 1, 1783

[30] Ibid., January 6, 1778.

[31] A. E. Musson and Eric Robinson, Science and Technology in the Industrial Revolution (Manchester, 1969), p.103.

philosophy visited Manchester almost annually.[32]

Most of these lecturers were itinerant. Some of them were nationally famous in their day, others were rather more local figures. Their contribution to eighteenth century culture lies not so much in the realm of scientific discovery, although many were in touch with leading scientists such as Joseph Priestley, but rather in the area of popularizing science among the masses In the words of a contemporary, it is to these lecturers that

> We must attribute that general diffusion of scientific knowledge among the practical mechanics of this country, which has, in a great measure, banished those antiquated prejudices, and erroneous maxims of construction, that perpetually mislead the unlettered artist artisan .33

Several of them took with them on their tours quite large collections of working models and scientific apparatus. One such lecturer was a Mr. Pitt who lectured in natural and experimental philosophy. His apparatus consisted of:

> The Grand Orrery, Planetarium, Cometarium, Globes, Whirling Table, the Air-Pump, and all its Appendages, the Electrical Machine complete, with all its new Experiments, all the Mechanical Powers, Cranes, Pile Driver, Sawing Engine, etc , the Loadstone and Artificial Magnets of every kind, all sorts of Optical Instruments, Reflectors, Refractors, and Doland's Acromatic Patent Telescopes, Convex and Concave Glasses, Lenses, etc., Solar and Compound Microscopes, Prisms, Camera Obscura, Diagonal Mirrour, Anamorphases, etc., Engines to raise Water without Water-wheel, Man, or Beast, the Bucket Engine to raise Water, called the perpetual Engine, the Steem Fire Engine to raise Water by Fire, the Centrifugal Machine used on board Ships, all Sorts of Fountains, Syphons, and working Models of Pumps, the Hydrostatic Paradox,

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[32]Refer to Appendix E

[33]D. Brewster, Ferguson's Lectures, Vol. I (2d ed., 1806), pp.V-X, cited by Musson and Robinson, p.103.

> Tantalus's Cup, Archimedes's Spiral Pump, a Complete Model to a Half Inch Scale of London Bridge Water Works, the Barometer, Thermometer, Hydrometer, Hygrometer and Pyrometer, to prove the expansion of Metals [34]

These lecturers were varied in their educational backgrounds and social antecedents [35] Many of them had degrees from universities in Scotland where scientific research fluorished during this period. Others were products of the Dissenting Academies or almost entirely self-educated. Nearly all of them had strong practical interests and several had one or two minor inventions to their credit One such lecturer was Peter Clare, the Manchester clock-maker.[36] Men like him played a very important role in diffusing scientific knowledge, by making apparatus for lecturers, sometimes demonstrating the experiments or lecturing themselves, running schools, and by publishing books on mechanical and scientific subjects.

The subscription fee for a course of lectures might vary from a few shillings to a guinea, according to the duration of the course and the popularity of the lecturer. Their audience probably consisted of prosperous manufacturers and the more intellectually advanced craftsmen. It was not unusual for these gentlemen to recommend lecturers to each other throughout the country which tended to ensure a steady stream

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[34] Manchester Mercury, March 16, 1779.

[35] Musson and Robinson, p.109.

[36] He lectured in Manchester from about 1772 In 1778 he established his above-mentioned Philosophical School but also continued to give public lectures for many years. Clare was

of up-dated information.[37] The subscription list for the publications of the better known lecturers reflect the wide interest in lectures on mechanics and science. In 1795 John Banks published his Treatise on Mills which was based largely on the public lectures he had been delivering for twenty years in which he discussed engineering problems in a realistic manner.[38] The list of subscribers shows the wide variety of people interested in buying such a book.[39] It included Richard Broadley, engineer, Manchester, David Broad, architect, Manchester; Peter Clare, watch-maker, schoolmaster and lecturer, Manchester; John Dalton, William Hirst, engineer, William Kirk, watch-maker, Manchester; John Knowles, mathematics teacher, Liverpool, Robert Owen, Joseph Priestley, Thomas Rider, ironfounder, Salford, John Samuels, engineer, Manchester, William Sharrett, engineer, Manchester; Thomas and Richard Walker, merchants, Manchester.

The Manchester Mercury also contained a wealth of advertisements for books of a scientific or technological nature. These included Benjamin Martin's General Magazine of Arts and

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a close friend of and secretary for John Dalton in later years He also became one of the secretaries of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society That he also had industrial interests outside his profession is evidenced by his participation in the establishment of a water-powered spinning mill near Warrington in 1789, and invention of a pumping machine for raising water advertised in 1794. Ibid., pp.109-110.

[37] Ibid., p.108.

[38] Ibid., p.108.

[39] Ibid., p.109.

Sciences,[40] The New and Compleat Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, by a Society of Gentlemen,[41] The Circle of Sciences, sold by A. Clarke, bookseller, Manchester,[42] Charles Hutton's Treatise on Mensuration,[43] William Nicholson's Introduction to Natural Philosophy,[44] B. W. Emerson's The Principles of Mathematics, described as being "extremely useful to all sorts of Artificers, particularly to Architects, Engineers, Shipwrights, Millwrights, Watch-Makers, etc. or any that Work in a Mechanical Way,"[45] A. Fletcher's The Universal Measurer and and Mechanic, "a work equally useful to the Gentleman, Tradesman and Mechanics,"[46] and William Casson's proposed book on fire engines which was to cover every side of the mechanical operation of steam engines.[47]

To these must be added the many encyclopedias and dictionaries which discussed machines and mechanical pro-

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[40] Manchester Mercury, January 7, 1755.

[41] Ibid., October 21, 1755.

[42] Ibid., December 30, 1755.

[43] Ibid., May 21, 1771.

[44] Ibid., December 3, 1782.

[45] Ibid., December 7, 1773.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., January 18, 1785.

cesses, often illustrating them with drawings Books and dictionaries were sometimes published in parts so that they were within reach of the artisan's limited income.[48] Some were printed locally, others were printed in London for well known publishers of scientific books. In addition to scientific books, there was a great increase in scientific periodicals from 1780 to 1800. Journals were also important in disseminating knowledge of scientific papers, the proceedings of philosophical societies, new industrial processes, and patents of inventions.

For those who could not afford to buy these books and periodicals, Manchester had several repositories which included similar titles. Manchester was noted for the establishment of the first free public library in the country, Chetham's Library, founded in 1653.[49] John Dalton wrote in

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[48]Musson and Robinson, pp.112-113. Harrop frequently printed exerpts from London publications during the 1750's on morals and manners, the arts, and contemporary social issues, which served to keep Mancunians informed about public opinion trends in the capital As Manchester began to develop its own identity these were discontinued in favour of essays and letters on local issues. Although the Mercury published very little "theoretical" scientific and technical information, it did include items which were of particular interest to its readers These included essays ranging from two columns to a full page on the application of inventions to industry, industrial techniques, modern methods of irrigating, fertilizing, and growing crops, and animal diseases and cures. Manchester Mercury, September 24, 1754, July 20, 1756, July 13, 1767, March 29, November 1, 15, December 20, 1768, August 15, December 19, 26, 1769, November 27, 1770, passim.

[49]"The public library . . . has now a very valuable collection of books in all sciences and languages, amounting to the number of 10,000 " Aiken, p 194. The majority of governors of this institution were either merchants or professional men in the town or members of county families. They took considerable interest in the kinds of books purchased for the

1794 that "there is in this town a large library, furnished with the best books in every art, science and language, which is open to all, gratis . . . "[50] The acessions book and printed catalogues reveal a considerable number of scientific works, both British and foreign, purchased in the latter years of the century [51] After its establishment in 1781, the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society also began to build up its own library, which was particularly strong in works on natural philosophy.[52] The decision to establish a library was made at a meeting held on April 9, 1783.[53] Books were to be selected and ordered at meetings held quarterly but were not to be removed from the premises of the Society's reading room. Therefore access to these materials was limited to members of the society. The expansion of this library relied primarily on donations and exchange with other similar institutions or private sources [54] Its first librarian was Thomas Robinson, who was elected at a meeting held April 28,

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library and frequently sent the librarian to London so that he might bring back lists of the most recent publications and submit them to small sub-committees. Mumford, p.178 Musson and Robinson, p.113.

[50]Cited by Francis Nicholson, "The Literary and Philosophical Society 1781-1851," Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, LXVIII (Manchester, 1924), 114.

[51]Musson and Robinson, p.113.

[52]Nicholson, 98, Musson and Robinson, p.113.

[53]Nicholson, 127.

[54]Ibid.

1784.[55]

In addition to these two institutions there was a subscription library established in the Exchange, in 1757, which acquired many scientific works.[56] Other possible sources for the dissemination of similar information and ideas might have been at a reading club which was taking its first subscription in 1755,[57] and a circulating library which was begun in 1761.[58]

The first formal institution organized in Manchester designed to stimulate the exchange and advancement of ideas relating to science, technology,and industry, was the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society established on February 28, 1781.[59] The formation of this society and others at Norwich, Northampton, Exeter, Bristol, Bath, Plymouth, Birmingham, Derby and Newcastle are now regarded as a natural extension of the Scientific Revolution which began in London during the seventeenth Century, and evolved into primarily a provincial movement by the end of the eighteenth century.[60] The preface

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[55] Ibid.

[56] Musson and Robinson note that the correct date for the establishment of this library might be 1765. Musson and Robinson, p.113.

[57] Manchester Mercury, March 25, 1755.

[58] Ibid., July 28, 1761.

[59] Nicholson, 98.

[60] Musson and Robinson, pp.88-89.

to the first volume of the Manchester Society's Memoirs pointed out the utilitarian as well as the scientific value of these learned societies. Those founded in different parts of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had "been not only the means of diffusing knowledge more extensively but have contributed to produce a greater number of important discoveries, than have been effected in any other equal space of time."[61] Their journals had publicized "many very valuable discoveries, or improvements in arts, and much useful information in the various branches of science."[62] But although several French provincial societies had been instituted, "in England, they have been almost confined to the Capital."[63] It was therefore urged that "the promotion of arts and sciences" would be "more widely extended by the forming of societies, with similar views, in the principal towns of this Kingdom."[64]

The Manchester society grew out of informal meetings, which had been held for some years previously, of "a few Gentlemen of the town, who were inspired with a taste for literature and philosophy" and who had formed themselves into a kind of weekly club, for the purpose of conversing on sub-

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[61] Memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, I (1785), v-vi, cited by Musson and Robinson, p.89.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

jects of that nature."[65] These meetings were first held in Dr. Thomas Perceval's house and their subjects of conversation included natural philosophy, theoretical and experimental chemistry, polite literature, civic law, general politics, commerce and the arts (manufactures) [66] There were twenty-five founding members in the Literary and Philosophical Society, most of whom were "busy professional men and merchants, who devoted their spare time to the cultivation of literature and philosophy, the latter including science in all its branches."[67] They included seven gentlemen, a minister, a tutor, and a magistrate, but the other fifteen were physicians, surgeons or apothecaries.[68] However, during the first year of its existence many new members were added. These included eight ministers, four gentlemen, four physicians and apothecaries, three lawyers, and nine gentlemen involved in commercial or manufacturing pursuits.[69] Membership in the society was restricted to forty until May 16, 1781, but by October 25, 1786, had risen to sixty [70] The original subscription fee was one guinea and after April, 1783, an extra one guinea admission

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[65] Nicholson, 97. Refer to Appendix F.

[66] Musson and Robinson, p.89.

[67] Nicholson, 98.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid., 101-104.

[70] Ibid., 104.

fee was added [71] As of June 20, 1781, the meetings were held at the Exchange Coffee House, but in October moved to a room at the Cross Street Chapel.[72] It was not until December 20, 1799, that the Society moved into a new building erected especially for the members.[73]

One of the earliest methods that the Society used to advance the aims which it had proposed was by the reading of papers followed by discussion and debate. The nature of these papers is specifically outlined in the laws of the society recorded in the first volume of the Memoirs. Law VIII states

> That the subjects of conversation comprehend natural philosophy, theoretical and experimental chemistry, polite literature, civic law, general politics, commerce and the arts. But that religion, the practical branches of physic, and British politics, be deemed prohibited, and that the chairman shall deliver his veto whenever they are introduced.[74]

and Law IX

> That each member, who shall favour the Society with any interesting facts and observations, respecting philosophy, polite literature, etc , which may occur to him either from reflection, experiments reading or correspondence shall send his paper to one of the secretaries the Monday before the meeting of the Society.[75]

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[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid., 119.

[73] Ibid , 121

[74] Cited by Ibid., 130.

[75] Ibid.

A gold medal was awarded annually for the best experimental paper on any subject relative to arts and manufactures.[76]

Other activities entered into by the Society included the encouragement of the College of Arts and Sciences founded at Manchester in 1783, donations to Joseph Priestley's research expences, and sending consultants to advise on improvements at the port of Bristol in 1791.[77]

The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society made a point of detaching itself from local political and religious participation as outlined in Law VIII of its constitution. In February, 1786, an Academy was established in Manchester, under Unitarian auspices, designed "to be a place of education of university standard, but without religious tests."[78] Apparently this institution was promoted by several membews of the Literary and Philosophical Society and a rumor began which implied that the Society was promoting a dissenting academy. A resolution made by the Society at a meeting held March 15, 1786, denouncing any official affiliation was published in the Manchester Mercury

> Whereas an inference has been drawn from a passage in the first page of the Report of the new Institution now called, or intended to be called, the Manchester Academy, that this Society as such, favours the principle and design of that intended Academy, Resolved that this Society having

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[76] Manchester Mercury, May 11, 1784.

[77] Nicholson, 139-141.

[78] Ibid., 140

> at its first Institution, totally disavowed, and still continuing to disavow all bias toward, or intercourse with any religious opinion or sect whatever, do hereby declare their independence, and that they do not mean to afford any patronage to the above-named Academy.[79]

In 1791 the Society enforced its intention not to be connected with British politics.[80] In this year Joseph Priestley, an honorable member of the Society, had his house destroyed by a Birmingham mob who disapproved of his political connections. A resolution was moved by Samuel Jackson on October 21st that a letter of sympathy be sent to Priestley but this resolution was rescinded at a later meeting. As a result Thomas Cooper, James Watt, junior, Thomas Walker, and Jackson resigned their membership in the Society in protest

Throughout the eighteenth century the training for "active life" provided by the Nonconformist academies had established itself as an educational tradition in the Lancashire district.[81] It was especially useful for those youths destined for country life, mercantile careers, or the professions of medicine, law, and the military. Academies available to Manchester scholars included the Manchester Academy (1693-1712), the Whitehaven Academy (1757-1786), and the Kendal Academy [82] The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society was strongly influenced by the ideas and tra-

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[79] Manchester Mercury, July 18, 1786, Nicholson, 140.

[80] Nicholson, 105.

[81] Mumford, p 176.

[82] Ibid., pp.176-177.

ditions of the Warrington Academy, several of its leading members, Thomas Perceval and Thomas Barnes, being Warrington alumni.[83] The attempt to build up a culture based on liberal studies and science instituted at Warrington Academy was continued in Manchester in a similar spirit of combined utility and idealism.[84]

Thomas Henry pointed out that "several branches of Natural Philosophy seem peculiarly adopted to fill up the vacant hours in which the tradesmen can withdraw from his employments. A general knowledge of all will tend to open and enlarge his understanding . . . While the study of some, in particular (such as mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, and chemistry), may . . . supply him with a kind of information which he may turn to good account . . . ."[85] In a similar vein Rev. Thomas Barnes expressed the hope that "the happy art might be learned, of CONNECTING TOGETHER, LIBERAL SCIENCE and COMMERCIAL INDUSTRY."[86] As a result of these papers read

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[83]Musson and Robinson, p.90. Refer to Appendix G.

[84]Ibid., p.91.

[85]Thomas Henry, "On the Advantages of Literature and Philosophy in General, and especially on the consistency of Literary and Philosophical with Commercial Pursuits," read on October 3, 1781, Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society Memoirs, I (1785), 7-29, cited by Musson and Robinson, p 91.

[86]Thomas Barnes, "A Plan for the Improvement and Extension of Liberal Education in Manchester," read on April 9, 1783, Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society Memoirs, II (1785), 16-29, cited by Musson and Robinson, p.91.

to the Society it was decided to establish a College of Arts and Sciences in Manchester, apparently the first institution of its kind in England.[87] It was instituted on June 6, 1783.[88]

The College was "intended to provide a Course of Liberal Instruction, compatible with the Engagements of Commercial Life, favourable to all its higher Interests, and at the same Time, prepatory to the Systematic Studies of the Unviersity To unite Philosophy with Art, the moral and intellectual culture of the mind, with the pursuits of fortune, and to superadd the noblest powers of enjoyment, to the acquisition of wealth, are the great objects, which it professes to hold in view. These objects bear no relation to Parties, either in Religion or Politics."[89] Its president, Thomas Perceval, and eight governors were all members of the Literary and Philosophical Society [90] The lecturers were also members of the Society Henry Clarke on Practical Mathematics, Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and Geography, Thomas Henry on

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[87]Musson and Robinson, p.92.

[88]Manchester Mercury, June 29, 1783.

[89]Ibid.

[90]These were James Massey, Esq., Rev. Thomas Barnes, Dr. Eason, Rev. Samuel Hall, A. M., Charles White, Esq., F.R.S., Thomas Henry, F.R.S., George Bew and Isaac Moss Ibid., September 30, 1783. Although I have found no reference in other secondary sources the Manchester Mercury of March 23, 1783, lists ten members of the Society who resigned their membership because of the Society's avowed support of this institution.

Chemistry with reference to Arts and Manufactures, George Bew on the Theory and History of Fine Arts, and the Rev. Thomas Barnes on the Origins, History, and Progress of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce and Commercial Law.[91] However, the College had a very brief existence, lasting only until 1787-88.[92]

The College of Arts and Science was a non-denominational institution not to be confused with the Manchester Academy established by local dissenters on February 22 and opened on September 14, 1786.[93] The Academy was formed to ensure that something would be continued from the recently defunct Warrington Academy. About 3,000 volumes were inherited by the Manchester Academy from the Warrington library.[94] The most important figures in the promotion of the new Academy were Thomas Perceval, Dr. Thomas Barnes, and Rev. Ralph Harrison, all members of the Literary and Philosophical Society.[95] Although the Society disassociated itself from any official affiliation with the Academy, many individual members maintained an active interest in its progress. Barnes and Harrison

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[91] Ibid., July 29, 1783.

[92] The causes of the College's demise are not clear, but are said by a contemporary scholar, W. C. Henry, to have included a "superstitious dread" by some that such an education would "unfit" young men for the ordinary details of business. Musson and Robinson, p.93.

[93] Ibid., pp.93-94.

[94] Ibid., p.94.

[95] Ibid.

were appointed professors of theological and classical studies and were to be responsible for choosing a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.[96] Many of the founder-members were also former pupils of Warrington Academy or other dissenting academies. By 1798 the total enrollment of the Academy had reached 137, of whom 89 entered commerce or industry.[97] In 1804 the Academy was transferred to York [98]

The Sunday School movement which flourished in Manchester and throughout provincial England after 1780 contributed considerably to the improvement of the working classes. Although in most cases their philanthropic curriculum was limited only to rote instruction and memorization of passages from religious texts, they did assist the masses in learning how to read. The Sunday schools were all the more important because they affected segments of the population previously untouched by the charity schools, whose number and accomodation were very limited.[99] The long-held ideas of the upper classes

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid., p 96.

[98] Ibid., p.97.

[99] In Manchester the available evidence indicates that there were only two institutions classed as Charity Schools in existence prior to the 1780's, Chethams Hospital and the Collegiate Church Charity School Chetham's Hospital was established in 1651 the purpose of which "was to maintain and educate forty poor boys to the age of fourteen, when they were to be bound apprentice or otherwise provided for." By 1794 the number of boys being educated had risen to eighty because of increased revenue. In 1772 the two Charity schools affiliated with the Collegiate Church were educating and clothing 120 poor children. By 1784 Manchester had charity schools connected

that the masses should be kept in ignorance was losing ground to new philanthropic notions that the only means of improving the moral standards of the poor and of preserving law and order was for a broader education.[100] As their economic status improved, the working classes began to realize the need for, and value of, education, partly for reasons of social prestige, and partly because of the increasing stress on literacy in the new industrial society.[101]

In August, 1786, the magistrates for the Salford Hundred of Lancashire meeting at quarter sessions passed a long resolution deploring the serious increase of crime and decrease in morals.[102] They recited how "idle, disorderly and dangerous persons of all descriptions" were wandering about, and how the "commission of offences hath increased to an alarming degree." They called for more vigilance in the reporting of crime, more activity by the constables, more "privy searches," and closer control of public houses and "houses of evil fame." They concluded with the observation

> That where Sunday Schools have been opened, their good effects have been plainly perceived in the orderly and decent Compartment of the Youth who are instructed therein. That it is therefore most earnestly to be wished that those virtuous Citizens who have begun this good

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with each of the five Anglican churches and with Cross Street Chapel. Aiken, pp 153,194, Manchester Mercury, April 21, 1772, January 27, 1784.

[100] D. Clare, 104.

[101] R. K. Webb, The British Working-Class Reader, 1790-1840 (London 1955), pp 14-16.

[102] Manchester Mercury, August 8, 1786.

> work, would continue their efforts to forward it, with that Zeal and Perseverance that its great Importance requires, and that if these Institutions should become established throughout the Kingdom, their is good reason to hope they will produce an happy change in the general Morals of the People, and thereby render the Severities of Justice less frequently necessary

Sunday schools were not looked upon as religious institutions but rather as practical agencies for reforming the lives and characters of the uneducated masses —— the main source of crime and threats to property.

The Sunday schools in Manchester, started in 1784, were fairly typical in being in their origins a local effort, undenominational and managed by a committee on which both Church and Dissent sat. Cooperation between these two factions was based on the assumption that these schools would benefit all segments of society.[103] They were in fact regarded as a form of social insurance. As the Manchester Committee put it, "they call in a sense of religious obligation to the aid of industry."[104] The Sunday schools were a utilitarian plan for

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[103]The Sunday school movement was not the first attempt to secure social stability through simple Bible teaching. The eighteenth century had opened with a movement with the same aim, that for the setting up of charity and subscription schools. This, coordinated after 1699 by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, spread all over the country It was built up largely on the thesis that the poor could be reformed and kept in their due place in society by instruction in Bible and catechism. In fact the Sunday school movement "was a revival and a continuation of the earlier day charity school movement . . . The difference between the two types of charity school lay not in the impulse which prompted them, nor in the methods which established them, but in the limitation of the instruction given in the Sunday Schools to one day in the week." M. G Jones, The Charity School Movement (London· 1964), pp 143-144.

[104]Manchester Mercury, September 28, 1784

reforming morals and securing property as well as a charity satisfying philanthropic instinct Their peculiar attractiveness lay in their combination of the two.[105]

The Manchester Sunday School movement was formally launched on August 10, 1784, with an advertisement in the press by the Boroughreeve and constables commending "An Address to the Public on Sunday Schools."

> The Neglect of it education is one principal Cause of the Misery of Families, Cities and Nations Ignorance, Vice and Misery, being constant Companions The hardest Heart must melt at the melancholy Sight of such a Multitude of Children, both Male and Female in this Town, who live in gross Ignorance, Infidelity, and habitual Profanation of the Lord's Day. What Crowds fill the Streets tempting each other to Idleness, Play, Lewdness, and every other Species of Wickedness . . . To attempt a remedy is laudable and divine.[106]

To implement the establishment of these schools in Manchester a subscription was left open at the Excnange Coffee House. By September 21st there were 25 schools in operation, attended by

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[105] A. P. Wadsworth, "The First Manchester Sunday Schools," John Rylands Library Bulletin, XXXIII (Manchester 1951), 306.

[106] Manchester Mercury, August 10, 1784. It is not an overstatement to say that this movement was "one of the first unconscious triumphs of the press " The first mention of Sunday schools appeared in the Mercury on January 6, 1784, in a letter to Harrop commenting on the applicability of Raikes' Gloustershire Sunday schools to Manchester. This was followed by inserts in the Mercury on the appropriateness of Sunday schools to contemporary Manchester, progress reports on schools started in other parts of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Derbyshire, proposals for a system in Manchester, and eventually the establishment of a local committee in Manchester. These advertisements appeared in the Manchester Mercury January 27, May 11, June 29, August 10, 17, 24, 31, September 14, 21, 28, October 5, 12, November 9, 1784, etc There is also a list of references drawn from the Mercury on the establishment of Sunday schools throughout Lancashire taht was unavailable for this thesis in C. W Bardsley, Memorials of St Ann's Church, Manchester, (1877), pp.120-121, cited by Wadsworth, "First Manchester Sunday Schools," 304.

nearly 1,800 children.[107] On September 24th a town's meeting was held with the lord of the manor, Sir John Parker Mosley, presiding, and an organizing committee was appointed.[108]

The town was divided into five districts, each with a sub-committee.[109] The first duty was to overhaul the existing schools and to exclude any children under six. By December the Collegiate Church district had seven different rooms in use, St. John's, four, St. Mary's, three, St. Ann's, two, and St. Paul's, ten. The main committee met monthly and exercised its control over the schools by visitors, three of whom were chosen each month to inspect the schools and make reports. Children had to present a subscriber's recommendation and "no subscriber shall recommend any children whose parents may be supposed capable or able to send them to any other school." Hours of attendance were October to February, 9 to 12 and 1 to 4, March to September, 9 to 12, and 2 to 5. Children were to attend the nearest school in their district, except that Dissenters "may prefer a more distant Master of their own persuasion." The visitors were to regulate the time and mode of attendance at divine service. Masters were to be paid 1s. 6d. a day, undermasters and mistresses,1s. Swearing, lying or any other profaneness brought expulsion. School was to be opened and closed with a psalm or hymn and a form of

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[107] Manchester Mercury, September 21, 1784.

[108] Ibid., September 28, 1784.

[109] Ibid., January 11, 1785.

prayer was prepared. Scholars were to be catechised but "children of the Established Church shall be grounded by the Masters in the Principles of the Church Catechism only." Parents were expected to hear their children repeat their lessons at home during the week The Manchester children were taught to read only, and from books and tracts of a strictly religious and improving nature. The Church of England children were provided with prayer books and the Dissenters with their approved substitute. Prizes were distributed for regular attendance and proficiency.[110]

Aside from the rapid expansion of the newspaper press after mid-century, the growing profusion of itinerant lecturers who popularised contemporary scientific advancements, and the

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[110]The problems of attendance for the children of labouring poor at any kind of regular instruction and the ways and means which they developed to assist in self-education is fully discussed in Michael Sanderson's essay "Social Change and Elementary Education in Industrial Lancashire, 1780-1840," Northern History, III (1968), 131-154 The following are statistics of children registered in Manchester and Salford Sunday schools organized by the interdenominational committee.

Year	Scholars	Manchester	No. of schools in Salford
1784 (Sept.)	1800	25	-
1785 (Oct)	2291	-	-
1786 (April)	2836	34	-
1788	5006	36	6
1791	4663	36	6
1792	4646	36	6
1793	4970	36	6
1794	4786	36	6
1795	5171	36	6
1796	5326	36	6
1797	5171	36	6

Wadsworth, "First Sunday Schools," 325.

numerous educational institutes, both private and public, which were established during the latter decades of the century, there were many other forms of enlightenment and amusement which contributed to a growing public consciousness. These included a winter card assembly held annually since September,1757,[111] the opening of a public newsroom in 1761,[112] the establishment of a Music Society in 1762,[113] an Agricultural Society formed in 1767 which eventually corresponded with similar societies throughout England and offered premiums for innovations and improvements in related areas,[114] and a Botanical Society advertised in 1775.[115] Mancunians also had access to a new theatre, the Theatre Royal, licenced in 1775,[116] dances,[117] concerts,[118] and even a public bath house.[119] A final consideration must be the dozens of

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[111] Manchester Mercury, September 20, 1757, September 26, 1758; September 21, 1762, September 18, 1770, November 25, 1777, etc.

[112] Ibid., June 23, 1761.

[113] Ibid., November 16, 1762, September 28, 1773.

[114] Ibid., October 13, 1767, March 5, 1771, May 21, 1771, January 18, September 20, October 18, 1774.

[115] Ibid., July 18, 1775.

[116] Ibid., April 18, May 29, 16, 23, 30, 1775.

[117] Ibid., November 3, 1753, August 19, 1755, May 19, 1771, November 22, 1774.

[118] Ibid., August 13, 1754, July 13, 1756, July 12, 1774, August 27, 1776, September 25, 1781.

[119] Ibid., June 30, 1778, May 8, 1781.

travelling entertainers who brought the exotic attractions of the metropolis to be viewed by the curious in the English provincial towns. Some of these exhibits were of educational value but the majority amounted to little more than one-man travelling side shows. Exhibits included African animals,[120] trained dogs and pigs,[121] high-wire artists,[122] fire-eaters,[123] fire works displays,[124] giants and midgets,[125] an art exhibit by Raphael,[126] German waxworks,[127] and assorted mechanical models, or "automatons "[128]

The rise of new educational institutions, the growth of organizations catering to the diverse interests of the expanding population, the spread of printed literature ranging from books and journals to the newspaper press, the appearance of philanthropic societies, the constant stream of itinerant lecturers and curious exhibitions —— all these created a

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[120] Ibid., August 28, 1753, May 22, 1759, April 13, 1771.

[121] Ibid., November 21, 1752, November 2, 1762, March 9, 1784.

[122] Ibid , November 14, 1752, March 17, 1761, November 19, 1762, December 24, 1765.

[123] Ibid , September 4, 1753, January 23, 1776.

[124] Ibid., March 9, 1756, October 8, 1771.

[125] Ibid., December 19, 1752, February 14, 1764; May 12,1778.

[126] Ibid., October 5, 12, 26, 1756.

[127] Ibid., February 11, 1755

[128] Ibid., August 13, 1765, February 4, 1769, April 5, 1774, August 1, 1775.

new opportunity for intellectual enlightenment which pervaded all levels of society. Subsequently, new group and class identities began to emerge which found their earliest expression in the activities of the industrial workers and the master manufacturers towards the end of the eighteenth century and began to merge into a new middle class consciousness in the nineteenth century [129]

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[129] Asa Briggs, "The Language of Class," Essays in Labour History, ed Asa Briggs and John Saville (London 1967).

IV. POPULAR IDEAS AND PUBLIC AGITATION IN MANCHESTER, 1752-1789 --- THE EMERGENCE OF A WORKING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

Traditionally, historians of the reign of George III and the reform movements have regarded the disturbances of the later 1750's and the 1760's as marking a period of transition from political agitation and rioting to more formally organized reform movements "[1] However, more recent scholorship has shown that the sheer number of disturbances "indicate the tensions of a society in transition," and "the responses of the poor and the privileged alike can only be explained with reference to important social changes, which resulted after mid-century from agricultural and industrial developments."[2] The distress of the industrious poor, which followed sudden fluctuations in food prices and declining employment, was the common denominator of the riots which prevailed during these years, but they were "merely the surface manifestations of underlying political, economic, social, and intellectual ferment, which effected all levels of society."[3] Usually these disorders resulted from a combination

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[1]Walter J. Shelton, English Hunger and Industrial Disorders (London 1973), p 3.

[2]Ibid., pp.2, 5. E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," Past and Present, L (February, 1971), 76-79.

[3]Shelton, p.2.

of high prices and reduced income, as was the case in Manchester between 1756 and 1762.

The food riots and industrial strikes which predominated after mid-century were not simply "spasmodic rebellions of the belly," but a "highly complex form of direct popular action, disciplined and with clear objectives."[4] E. P. Thompson explains that although the food riots were triggered off by soaring prices, malpractices among dealers, or by hunger, "these grievances operated within a popular consensus as to what were legitimate and what were illegitimate practices in marketing, milling, baking, etc."[5] This in its turn was "grounded upon a consistent traditional view of social norms and obligations, of the proper economic functions of several parties within the community, which, taken together, can be said to constitute the moral economy of the poor."[6] The riots of the last half of the eighteenth century should therefore not be regarded simply as spasmodic agitations against high prices and the lack of food, but rather as the only form of expression of social discontent available to the labouring poor.

The disturbances of this period mark the emergence of a new polarization of class attitudes which can be considered

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[4]Thompson, 77-78.

[5]Ibid., 79.

[6]Ibid.

the precursor of class awareness which accompanied the full development of the factory system in the nineteenth century.[7] While disputes were often between interest groups within the ranks of the industrious poor, conflicts between industrial workers and owners over wages and conditions occurred more frequently than before, and revealed the emergence of a class identity With the progressive abandonment of the principles and practices of the old "moral economy," workers found it useless to direct their energies solely towards lowering the prices of necessary subsistence articles. They at first demanded the application of the old protective statutes regulating food prices, wages, apprenticeship, and foreign competition. When these efforts failed to achieve the intended goal, the workers rioted and struck for higher wages and better conditions. These disturbances which characterized new trends in English public opinion throughout the last half of the century are particularly evident in Manchester between 1756 and 1781.

The unrest which England was experiencing during these years occurred when economic attitudes were unconsciously moving away from the traditional paternalistic legislation of the Tudor period towards the laissez-faire philosophy which became popular in the nineteenth century.[8] The industrious poor

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[7]Shelton, p.7.

[8]Thompson, 89-94.

felt that they were not only being alienated from their moral rights but from the participation in the production process. It was this alienation which forced them to vent their frustrations in the form of food riots and industrial strikes.

The economic condition of eihteenth century England has been described as moving in "cycles of fat and lean years." The violent fluctuations in employment, wages, and food supplies for the growing industrial populace in Lancashire served to create an atmosphere of economic hardships which often led to acute suffering. The severe nature of this problem manifested itself in years of serious food shortages and was later aggravated by the introduction of machinery into the cotton industry, which appeared to threaten the livelihood of the industrial labourers Both these developments served to assist the mobilization of public opinion and consolidate a community of interest among the labouring poor.

In the first half of the eighteenth century there were fewer bad seasons than there had been in the preceding hundred years, or were to be after 1750. During this period there was an interval of more than a decade between each of the three most serious periods of scarcity 1727-1728, 1739-1740, and 1756-1757.[9] After 1753, except for low prices in 1758-1761 and 1768-1769, there were few years in which prices were low enough to discourage outbreaks of violence indicative of the

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[9] Ibid , p.356.

serious hardships being encountered by the non-agricultural population [10] Manchester relied primarily on the surrounding counties for its foodstuffs and the cost was high due to poor communication routes and the cost of conveyance.[11] In an area like Lancashire, ill-suited for grain growing, with a rapidly expanding industrial population dependent on imported foodstuffs, a bad harvest or collapse of transport could imply an impending famine.[12]

In the summer of 1753, when prices rose sharply, there was an outbreak of rioting by the journeymen carpenters and joiners of Manchester who demanded higher wages.[13] They were followed by the bricklayers and their labourers but were soon pacified by a local justice of the peace.[14] Food prices remained high in 1754, but fell in 1755, although not to the

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[10] Ibid., For a complete discussion of the effect of trade fluctuations on English society see T. S. Ashton, Economic Fluctuations in England 1700-1800 (Oxford· 1959), passim, particularly pp.149-167.

[11] Wadsworth and Mann, p.356. Shelton, p.75. Refer to Appendix H

[12] Ibid , February 3, 1767. In this edition Richard Townley (1726-1802), using the pen-name Chremes, wrote in an article on agriculture in the Manchester area, that if a break in the weather had not come "numbers of poor people must inevitably have starved for want of the necessaries of life " Due to extreme weather effecting road conditions the Mercury was unable to publish the London news in the February 15, 1763, January 16, 1776, and January 23, 1776, editions.

[13] Wadsworth and Mann, pp.357, 359.

[14] Ibid., p.359.

level which had prevailed before 1753. After a cold, wet spring in 1756 prices rose rapidly, and in August, when wheat and oats had increased by from sixty to seventy percent, riots against millers and farmers erupted in the Midlands at Birmingham and Sheffield.[15] There is no mention of disturbances in Manchester at this time but there is evidence of unrest among the populace over the price of grain. Several letters were deposited in the local post office in the evening of Sunday, September 19, 1756, setting forth·

> That the Poor People in the Neighbourhood, have been almost starved by the Ingrossing all sorts of Grain, and thereby, and by the Prices of Work being low, they laboured under distressed Poverty, and that they found all Persons in Power, deaf to their Cries, and all proper Laws slighted.[16]

As a result, the writers of these letters threatened

> To raise Riots and Rebellions, and to kill, burn, and destroy all who oppose them, as well their Persons as their Houses, if Meal be not sold at Ten-pence a Peck, and Flour at Twenty Shilling a Load [17]

A £50 reward was offered for any information leading to a conviction. The Boroughreeve also thought it necessary to comment that Corn is as cheap in Manchester as it is in London "which is the Mart of all England."[18] This public notice ended with the observation

> That if Corn had not been imported hither, the price thereof would have been much higher, which has also for Years long past, prevented a Scarcity of Corn in this Town and

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[15] Ibid., p 359. Manchester Mercury, August 31, September 7, 1756.

[16] Manchester Mercury, September 21, 1756.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

and Neighbourhood, the Natural Produce being very insufficent for the Consumption [19]

In November of 1756 the situation became critical. The Lancashire justices in quarter sessions at Wigan decided to open Liverpool for the importation of foreign corn, which was rationed and sold at cost to the poor.[20] The traders of Manchester petitioned the Privy Council on the plight "not only of the poor but manufacturers and artisans," explaining that the town was dependent on imported supplies even during years of good harvest.[21] Subsequently George II urged consideration of the poor in his address to the House of Commons.[22] At the same time an embargo was put on exports of grain and a royal proclamation was posted denouncing forestalling and engrossing.[23] On Wednesday, December 22, 1756, a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Manchester was held "in order to consider of a proper Method to supply the industrious Poor of the Townships of Manchester and Salford, with Grain and Flour, at the most reasonable Rates."[24] It was resolved that a subscription be opened for "procuring by Importation or otherwise, the several Kinds of Grain or Flour upon the best

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Wadsworth and Mann, p 359.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Manchester Mercury, December 6, 1756.

[23] Ibid., Refer to Appendix I.

[24] Ibid , December 28, 1756.

Terms, which . . is afterwards to be retailed out to the said Poor, at prime Cost or under."[25] Between £7,000 and £8,000 was immediately promised.[26] A similar subscription was also opened at Stockport [27]

During the first half of 1757 the price of oatmeal rose to nearly 40s per 240 pound load, twice that of 1753 [28] This strain on the wages of the workers was intensified because it coincided with the beginning of the Seven Years War and a falling off in trade [29] There was unrest and violence in all parts of England and Manchester experienced a series of disturbances [30]

The first riot in Manchester began in the market place on June 7th over the price and quality of one merchant's potatoes [31] Apparently two women, incensed at the product

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[25] Ibid

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., January 25, 1757

[28] Wadsworth and Mann, p 359. Although grain statistics "are broad indicators of the conditions of the poor . they are at best imprecise measurements of discontent," Shelton, p 14

[29] Ashton, pp.60, 73-79.

[30] In 1757 the Manchester Mercury reported riots at Manmouth, January 4, Berwick, January 11, Taunton, February 1, Carmarthen, February 22, Frome, April 19, Exeter, April 26, Exeter, Norfolk, Sherborne, Gloucester, Hereford, May 10, Norwich, Cardiff, Worcester, May 17, Salisbury, Wigan, Frome, June 7, and Hereford, Lavington, Conventry Market, Naneaton, June 14, 1757.

[31] Ibid , June 14, 1757 Wadsworth and Mann, p.360.

offered to them, dumped several sacks on the street and nearby women and children picked them up and ran off with them. "Encouraged by this and joined by more Rabble" they entered and attempted to plunder a nearby mealhouse. They were quickly dispersed by the owners, magistrates and several inhabitants A group of these malcontents, joined by others near Ardwick-Green, stopped a cart coming to market and plundered it of eight sacks of meal.

Meanwhile the magistrates had released their prisoners and order them to return peacably to their homes. Instead they reassembled and joined by others, broke into the shop of Bramhall, the corn factor and corn chandler, at Hide's-Cross. They broke the windows of the shop, plundered the contents, and "abused his Wife, who was forced to fly to avoid worse Usage." The magistrates arrived and arrested the two women who had started the riot and put them in the dungeon beneath Salford Bridge However, the rioters returned to free them and broke down part of the dungeon wall with "large Forging Hammers," threw the door into the river, and carried off the women in triumph. "Flushed with their Success, and having tasted the Sweets of Plunder" they broke into Bramhall's warehouse in Toad Lane and continued their looting.

The magistrates and principal inhabitants immediately assembled, agreed to suppress the rioters with force, and managed to disperse the mob and secure the town for the night. These events had occurred on Tuesday, Manchester's market day, and the news rapidly spread about the countryside. The magis-

trates received information at 9·00 A. M. Wednesday, June 8th, that a group of colliers from Clifton, about four miles away along the Bolton road, had assembled and were coming to join the rioters. While the inhabitants were arranging their defences a small group of rioters slipped over Salford Bridge and through Hanging Ditch. They were chased by the young gentlemen and tradesmen present, who managed to catch two of them at Shude-hill, and give them a "handsome" drubbing before releasing them The remainder of the mob fled towards Oldham and Ashton, and riders were sent to warn the magistrates at Oldham. About 3:00 P. M., James Bayley, the High Sheriff of Lancashire, arrived with a small civilian army. He rode through Manchester.

> Preceded by a Vanguard of three or four Hundred armed with stout Sticks, immediately followed by sixty Gentlemen armed with Muskets and Swords, and in the Rear by eleven or twelve Hundred, armed promiscuously with Guns, Swords, and Clubs.[32]

Stopping at various points, he explained "in a very concise elegant Manner . . . the Inconveniences that must necessarily arise to the Poor from Tumults, with proper Observations on the Dangers consequent."[33] A guard was formed, and sentinels kept watch at the entrances to the town until Lord Albemarle's Dragoons arrived in the evening of June 12th.

The harvest of 1757 was again poor and riots spread from Edinburgh in the north to Gloucestershire in the west, and

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[32]Manchester Mercury, June 14, 1757.

[33]Ibid.

Boston in the east.[34] On November 11th there were disturbances at Stockport and the following day this unruly atmosphere pervaded Manchester.[35] Although Albemarle's troops were to leave Manchester after the June riots had been quelled, a detachment of foot soldiers from the garrison at Carlisle was scheduled to relieve them so "that all persons bringing Grain and other Provisions to the public Market, may have sufficient Protection and Encouragement."[36] Letters continued to be received by Harrop on subjects ranging from forestalling corn,[37] to adulterating meal and flour,[38] as well as engrossing grain for distillation.[39] Usually the object of the rioters' attacks were the corn merchants and in both the June and November disturbances, the Manchester dealers, Bramhall and his partner Hatfield, had their shops looted and damaged.[40] The November 29th edition of the Mercury contained an epigram revealing the contemporary attitude of the starving populace towards dealers keeping up the price of provisions

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[34]Wadsworth and Mann, p 360.

[35]Ibid., November 15, 1757.

[36]Ibid., June 28, 1757.

[37]Ibid., June 14, 1757.

[38]Ibid., August 30, 1757.

[39]Ibid., November 15, 1757.

[40]Ibid., June 14, 21, November 15, 1757. Thomson, 103-107.

Bone and Skin,
Two Millers thin,
Would starve the Town, or near it,
But be it known,
To Skin and Bone,
That Flesh and Blood won't bear it.[41]

It was in this climate of oppression and suffering that riots again broke out in Manchester.

On Saturday, November 12th, a mob armed with clubs and sticks arrived at Manchester from Ashton-under-Lyne.[42] They arrived between 10 00 A. M. and 11 00 A. M. but the ringleaders were captured and the mob was dispersed by troops.[43] In the evening several attempts were made to reassemble the mob but they were unsuccessful. The town remained intact except for "the Windows of Bramall and Hatfield, two Cornfactors and Millers, which were broke."[44] The following Wednesday riots again erupted in Manchester and a troop of Sir Robert Rich's regiment of dragoons from York was employed to "preserve the Peace and Quiet of the Town "[45] In the process five persons were killed.[46] This clash between Rich's troops and the rioters has since been historically dubbed the "Shude Hill Fight."

Food prices began to decline but until the middle of

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[41] Ibid., November 29, 1757.

[42] Wadsworth and Mann, p.360.

[43] Manchester Mercury, November 15, 1757.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., November 29, 1757.

[46] Ibid., January 24, 1758.

1758 did not regain the average of 1752-1755.[47]

During the last few months of 1757 discontent was also prevalent in the disputes over the use of the Manchester Grammar School mills, which had a monopoly on the grinding of corn, grain, and malt. This monopoly had been in effect since the early sixteenth century but by 1757 the mills were in poor condition and the process used was obsolete and expensive.[48] Newer and cheaper mills had been established, but the feofees of the school mills would lose an income of £1,500 a year with which to support the Grammar School[49] The in-

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[47]Wadsworth and Mann, p.361.

[48]Although the exact date of the establishment of the school is not clear (about 1506), it is quite certain that Hugh Oldham, the bishop of Exeter, was the principal benefactor. The original deeds establish the title of Oldham to be the chief benefactor, as having been the donor of the main endowment of the school, the corn-mills of Manchester. These were the old manorial water corn-mills on the River Irk, at which every demesne tenant of the lord or other resident in the township of Manchester was bound to grind his corn and pay the fees exacted for doing so This also included a fulling mill or "walk" mill on the same stream (so called because the cloth was walked on in water mixed with fuller's earth) as well as some adjoining land There was an incident in 1727 which served as a prelude to the 1757 controversy. In 1726 the lease of the school mills was renewed at £460 per year The following year a bill was filed to restrain some Salford brewers from infringing the school monopoly by grinding malt at Sir Oswald Mosley's horse-mill, instead of the school mill The proceedings lasted until 1742, and Mosley had to pay £353 costs. Yet, even though the mills were in poor condition by 1757, as late as 1834 the fees for grinding malt brought in £2,000 a year. Victoria County History . Lancaster, II, pp.578-580, 587.

[49]Mumford, p.182.

habitants took their case to the Duchy Court and eventually won, but the feofees created so much opposition that the case was presented in parliament in order to obtain an Act to abolish the entire monopoly [50] In December a notice appeared in the Mercury that a meeting would be held "to consider certain proposals . for taking the School mills from the feofees upon a certain rent, and other terms and conditions therein expressed, which are afterwords to be laid before the feofees for their approbation "[51] The riots and disturbances which had recently occured in the town were used in Parliament to support the opposition to the mills and end the quarrel permanently. "An Act for discharging the Inhabitants of the Town of Manchester from the custom of grinding corn and grain, except malt, at the School Mills" came into effect in 1758.[52] The inhabitants were still compelled to send all their malt to be ground there at 1s. per six bushel load, even though they complained that the malt was so poorly ground and kept so long that it became mouldy.[53]

The Manchester Mercury of January and February, 1758, also contained a series of letters from several irate citizens

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Manchester Mercury, December 6, 1757.

[52] Mumford, p.183.

[53] Ibid.

about forestalling and the engrossing of grain [54] At the same time a series of queries and replies were published about the handling of the recent riot by Sir Robert Rich, between himself and anonymous authors who identified themselves only as S L. and T. V.[55] Joseph Harrop, the printer of the Mercury, terminated these verbal encounters with the comment that·

> We shall always be glad to oblige them with the Publication of what they please to send us, so as the same tends to the read advantage of the Public, or the rational Entertainment of the Private [56]

The year 1762 saw a sharp rise in prices, with rioting in Manchester in July and September, which led to the drafting in of troops, the protection of the market by soldiers, and a number of arrests.[57] The desperate plight of the labouring poor was revealed in a letter sent to James Bayley, a local magistrate

> This is to acquaint you that We poor of Rosendale Rochdale Oldham, Saddleworth Ashton have all mutually and firmly agreed by Word and Covinent and Oath to Fight and Stand by Each Other as Life doth last for We may as well as be hanged as starved to Death and to see ower Children weap for Bread and none to give Them nor no likelyness of ever mending wile You all take Part with Brammal [sic] and Markits drops at all the princable Markits elsewhere but take This for a shure Maxon, That if You dont put those good Laws in Execution against all those Canables or Men Slayers That have the Curse of God and all honest Men both by Gods Laws and Mens Laws to take Notice Bradshaw Bailey and Lloyd

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[54] Manchester Mercury, January 10, 24, 31, 1758.

[55] Ibid., January 10, 24, 31, February 7, 1758.

[56] Ibid., February 7, 1758.

[57] Ibid., July 20, September 21, 28; October 19, 1762, March 29, 1763.

> the biggest Rogue of all Three I know You all have Power to stop such vilonas Proceedings if You please and if You dont imaidatley put a Stopp and let hus feel it the next Saturday We will murder You all that We have down in Ower List and Wee will all bring a Faggot and burn down your Houses and Wair Houses and make Your Wifes Widdows and Your Chirdren Fatherless for the Blood of Shul de hill [sic] lyes cloose at Ower Harts and Blood for Bloor We Require.[58]

It was in this atmosphere of acute suffering and desperation among the labouring poor, and of panic among the propertied classes, that the industrial combinations came out from the secrecy of the clubroom into the light of publicity, and into open conflict with the employers.[59]

The economic dislocation resulting from a scarcity of food, high prices, lack of regulation of wages, and sharply fluctuating trade between 1756 and 1781 contributed significantly to dissatisfaction among the labouring poor. The tendency was to unite into groups with common interests in an attempt to redress grievances Thus arose the workmens' combinations after mid-century. In Lancashire "most of these combinations were small trade societies in well-marked town handicrafts like the taylors, shoemakers, and cabinet-makers, who in towns such as Liverpool and Manchester formed a body of journeymen numerous enough to form clubs, which were both friendly societies and trade unions "[60] In 1756 combinations can be traced among the journeymen tailors, shoemakers,

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[58] Ibid., September 21, 1762.

[59] Wadsworth and Mann, p.361.

[60] Sydney and Beatrice Webb, History of Trade Unionism (London 1935), p.376 Refer to Appendix J.

pewterers, and coppersmiths of Liverpool, and the journeymen shoemakers of Chester [61] The summer of 1760 also saw activity by the cabinet-makers of Liverpool and Manchester [62] On December 12, 1761, the London Chronicle reported that the spirit of "combination among journeymen peruke-makers, shoe-makers, taylors, cabinet-makers, etc , is a growing evil and wants to be remedied."[63] Combinations continued to be active in Lancashire among other groups such as the Liverpool sawyers[64] and shipwrights.[65] In Manchester these included members of the shoe-makers,[66] hatters,[67] masons[68] and check calenderers.[69] The weavers and wool-combers in the West of England also maintained a sporadic existence throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.[70]

The first of the Lancashire weavers' combinations which

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Cited by M. Dorothy George, London Life in the Eighteenth Century (London· 1925), p.368.

[64] Wadsworth, p.378.

[65] Ibid., p 380

[66] Idib

[67] Manchester Mercury, February 4, 11, 1777.

[68] Wadsworth, p.381.

[69] Manchester Mercury, August 6, 1786.

[70] Wadsworth, p.342.

can be dated was the Manchester worsted smallware weavers' society, whose first article was drawn up in 1747.[71] The "Apologies" for the existence of trade societies reveal some of the earliest available insight into the "voice of a working class movement."[72] The objects of these societies were the limitation of the numbers in the trade, by making employment conditional on the serving of a seven years' apprenticeship and the possession of the society's "blank," and by regulating the number of apprentices a master weaver might employ.[73] These societies were formed by the small masters, or undertakers, and the journeymen who were their employees, but who, equally with them, were in a subordinate relationship to the master manufacturers. The smallware weavers' society was the first to be formed in Manchester.[74]

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[71] Ibid., p 343.

[72] Ibid. The complete titles are The Worsted Small-Ware Weavers' Apology, Together with all their Articles, which either concern their Society or Trade. To which is added a Farewell Discourse, made by their First Chair-Man. All faithfully collected together, by Timothy Shuttle (Manchester 1756), The Linen and Cotton Broad-Ware Weavers Apology Humbly addressed to the Gentlemen Manufacturers of Manchester, And all others whom it may concern By a Well-Wisher to Trade (Liverpool 1758) Cited by Wadsworth, p 343

[73] Wadsworth, pp 343-344.

[74] Smallware weaving was a town industry with a permanent class of journeymen, and was conducted to a considerable extent in shops in which collections of looms worked by journeymen and apprentices were gathered under one roof In its aggregation of machines the manufacture represented a transitional link with the factory system, while on the side of its labour organization it represented in some respects a reversion to the form of a closely regulated town industry The weavers of checks, linens, and fustians belong to a simpler type, characteristic of the

When the check weavers formed their society in the early months of 1758 they were confronted with a slightly different problem [75] They were not concerned only with a few hundred workers in the town of Manchester and its outskirts, but with many thousands scattered over the surrounding parishes, as far away as Oldham and Ashton, and Eccles and Clifton A need for devolution led to the establishment of a central "box" in Manchester, with local boxes established at strategic points throughout the countryside each with an individual roster of elected officers. Every "box" was to meet monthly and quarterly a general meeting of the entire society was held in Manchester, attended by the officers of all the local boxes. In subsequent years Manchester became not only an extensive industrial center but also the administrative center for both of the weavers' societies, as well as all the societies established by the ancillary trades of the area.

The disturbances of 1756-1757 in Lancashire were followed by considerable activity among the more organized trades. The tailors and shoe-makers of Liverpool were out on strike in 1756, followed by the potters in 1757.[76] In

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loose organization of the country industry, in which apprenticeship was less rigid, entry and exit easier, and in which there was little place for a journeyman class To this type belonged the majority of the weavers of Lancashire. Ibid., pp.325-326.

[75] Ibid., p.347.

[76] Ibid., p.361

Gloucestershire the weavers had been successful in obtaining legislative approval for the fixing of wages by the magistrates in 1756.[77] Although the Manchester worsted smallware weavers had denounced any intention to interfere with wages in their Apology of early 1757, on September 16, 1757, they turned out for higher piece-rates.[78] In March, 1758, the silk weavers of Manchester announced their intention to limit apprentices.[79] Early in April the bleaching employers threatened to prosecute crofters who had unlawfully left their service, under special agreements with their masters[80] On April 21st, five days after the date fixed by the check weavers' rules for the payment of contributions by intending members, the manufacturers took coercive action and issued the following advertisement in the Mercury

> Whereas several Weavers employed in the Manufactures carried on in Manchester, and the neighbouring Towns, have have lately formed themselves into unlawful Clubs and Societies, and have presumed contrary to Law, to enter into Combinations and Subscriptions, and to make By-Laws or Orders by which they pretend to regulate Trade, of which there is already some Evidence discovered.
>
> And whereas several Weavers have been insulted and abused and others threatned to be depreived of their Work, for not complying with, conforming or submitting to such illegal By-Laws or Orders
>
> This is to give Notice
>
> That such Person or Persons as have not, nor will enter into such Combinations and Subscriptions, or have already

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[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

> entered into such Combinations or Subscriptions, upon immediately withdrawing such Subscriptions, may be assured of being protected and employed, and such Person or Persons as shall continue such Combinations and Subscriptions, are hereby to take Notice, that they are liable to, and will be prosecuted as the Law directs [81]

Within a few weeks a great strike of check weavers had begun which extended throughout the districts around Manchester involving thousands of weavers [82]

Apparently their demands went far beyond the line of reasoning presented in their Apology First, they asked for the fixing of a definite length for the woven piece and payment by the yard to prevent the masters' lengthening the warp without raising the weaving price Second, they asked for the recognition of their society, with its charity box, and restrictions on apprentices and entry to the trade. This movement commanded considerable public sympathy. The weavers obtained the services of Thomas Perceval, son of a Manchester tradesman and a sympathetic Whig, to present their case to the masters They refused the terms set forth by the weavers but made an offer to allow arbitration by the country gentlemen. This offer was refused because the masters, as one old man said, had "severity" for honour and "oppression" for mercy. The weavers drew up a second set of terms, which Perceval modified, but the employers refused. The main objection to the compromise proposals was that the weavers were obstinate

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[81] Manchester Mercury, April 25, 1758

[82] Wadsworth, p.362.

to relinquish the box. The masters were "determined to put down the boxes and will give every encouragement to such as are no subscribers or payers thereto" because they were convinced "that their box will be the ruin of the trade in this country "[83] A final attempt to subdue the weavers was made at a meeting of master manufacturers where they prepared a submission for the weavers to sign

> We whose Names are here unto subscribed, being Members of the Weavers Society, and contributed or promised to contribute to their Box, do hereby engage that we will quit the said Box, and neither by ourselves, or any Person for us, pay towards supporting it, nor have any further Concern herein.[84]

The weavers continued to hold out and the employers took their case to the assize court at Lancaster in mid-August.

After listening to the case as presented by the Manchester employers, Lord Mansfield, the judge of assize, turned his charge to the grand jury into an address to the public on the harmfulness of combinations and strongly urged "the necessity of suppressing all such combinations and conspiracies whatsoever."[85] He described how several thousand weavers had "left their Work and entered into Combinations for raising their Wages, and appointed Meetings at stated Times, formed themselves into a Committee at such Meetings, and established

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[83]Thomas Perceval, Letter to a Friend occasioned by the late Disputes betwixt the Check-makers of Manchester and their Weavers, and the Check-makers' Ill Usage of the Author. Cited by Wadsworth, p 364.

[84]Manchester Mercury, July 25, 1758.

[85]Ibid , August 29, 1758

Boxes and fixed Stewards in every Township for Collecting Money to support such Weavers as should by their Committee be ordered to leave their Masters, and made other dangerous and illegal Regulations, that they had insulted and abused several Weavers who had refused to join in their schemes and continued to work, and had also dropt Incendiary Letters with Threats to Masters that opposed their Designs."[86] The grand jury preferred a bill of indictment against nineteen of the principal offenders who had acted as stewards of the boxes, as well as several of the known contributors to the boxes. On the discharge of the jury, its foreman asked for the publication of the charge, wishing "rather to convince and amend than punish this ignorant and much deluded Multitude."[87] On September 5th a letter appeared in the Manchester Mercury expressing similar sentiments, signed POPLICOLA.

> How far their Proceedings are contrary to the Laws of this Country , appears from Lord Mansfield's excellent Charge to the Grand Jury at Lancaster which you published in your last, I am much surprised that when a Weaver is made acquainted with this, he should refuse promising his Master in Writing, that he will not be hereafter concerned in the Box, for the Manufacturers require only of their Weavers, that they will engage not to do a Thing which the Law forbids I own I cannot see any Hardship in that, nor can I conceive why the Weavers make so much Difficulty about it, unless it be from their being imposed upon by wrong headed idle Fellows, who puff them up with foolish Hopes, and under Pretence of rendering their Circumstances more easy, will make them much worse [88]

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[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid., September 5, 1758. Refer to Appendix K.

By the middle of October, after the strike had lasted nearly four months resistance ended, and the following announcement appeared in the Mercury

> The Manufacturers in the Check Trade having found, on Enquiry, that the Principal Boxes are destroy'd, and the Collections, or Contributions ceas'd.
>
> Work will now be deliver'd throughout the Town, and the Weavers may apply where they choose, as usual.[89]

The success of the checkmakers encouraged the master smallware manufacturers to strike at the long established weavers' combination in their trade. On January 8, 1759, they announced that "Whereas all Combinations and Meetings among Weavers or other Handicraft Workmen or Servants to consult how to raise Wages, or make other Rules or Order among themselves, that have a Tendency to ruin and destroy the Trade in which they are employed, is contrary to the laws of this Kingdom," and as there was then "an unlawful Combination among the Worsted Small Ware Weavers, under the Name of being Members, or being concern'd with, or Payers to a Box," all persons therein concerned would be prosecuted, and no weavers "will be taken in to Work that are any Ways concern'd in those unlawful Associations "[90] Arrests were made but the defendants submitted to the judge's ultimatum and were released without sentence

The occasional prosecutions which took place against

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[89] Ibid., October 17, 1758.

[90] Ibid., January 9, 1759.

members of the weavers' combinations failed to deter their spirit and growing solidarity Since the first activities of the smallware, silk, and check weavers in the 1750's, they maintained combinations and friendly societies almost continuously from this time [91] In 1769 T. B. Bayley, a Manchester justice, strongly advocated the formation of friendly societies [92] Support and encouragement from leading citizens like Thomas Perceval and T. B Bayley, as well as a feeling of accomplishment,[93] led to further activities by the smallware weavers in 1781. In this strike the weavers and

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[91] According to the leading authority on organization in the Lancashire cotton industry, "the persistence of the trade combinations is bound up closely with the spread of friendly societies among all classes of workers, and especially among the weavers The boundary between friendly society and trade union was extremely narrow. The law did not distinguish between them, and until 1794 the same restrictions applied to both. But in spite of the legal difficulties, Lancashire became covered with a network of societies." Wadsworth, p 375, S. and B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, p.24

[92] Manchester Mercury, June 6, 1769. "What Labourer, or Manufacturer, would not chearfully deposit 6d per Month, to be assured of a Supply of six Shillings a Week, in Case of Sickness, or Inability to Labour? How greatly must the Encouragement to Matrimony and Population, which are of the greatest Consequence to the Prosperity of any State, contribute to the Strength and Happiness of this Commercial Kingdom? The Advantages of this Law in these Respects, as they will promote Industry and Oeconoly, as they will lessen the heavy Burden of our Poors Levies, and yet provide a more ample and certain Relief, for the sick and indigent, are too plain to need pointing out " Letter to Printer of the Mercury, dated May 30th, 1769, commenting on an "Abstract from an Act for the more effectual Relief of the Poor in the country of Devon " Signed T.B B.

[93] Following the check weavers strike of 1758 Perceval wrote that the weavers "were never in better humour in their lives, their prices are shortened, their wages raised, and this by the masters' consent, provisions are plenty, and work

the masters put their arguments for their respective cases in the Manchester press. The weavers presented their case in Prescott's Manchester Journal but the issues for these months have not survived; the employers used the Manchester Mercury.[94]

The dispute had already been in progress for several months when, in a reply to an advertisement by the weavers complaining of injustice and appealing for contributions, nineteen employers published a note the weavers had served on them. Dated July 26, 1781, it read

> Sir,
>
> It is unanymously agreed by the whole Trade, that if you do not set your Men to Work, agreeable to the List of Prices which you will receive with this Note, by ten of the Clock, in the Fore noon of the 27th Inst you may depend upon this, that no Small-Ware Weaver in Lancashire will ever work for you any more. From THE TRADE.95

Early in September the Mercury published an editorial clarifying the reasons for the continuing dispute.[96] The weavers failed to win their case "owing to their masters throwing insurmountable difficulties in the way of reconciliation." Each side professed anxiety to end the dispute and blamed the

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enough to be had " T. Perceval, Letter to a Friend. . . , p 20.

[94] Wadsworth, p.371

[95] Manchester Mercury, August 7, 1781.

[96] Ibid., September 11, 1781.

other. The employers recounted that early in August the weavers sent a request for a meeting to settle matters, to which the employers, "concluding they the men might be willing to meet us half way," agreed. But when asked if they had power to make any concession on their demand the representatives said they had not, and the meeting dissolved. The weavers then held a general meeting and decided to "swear two masters out of the trade," although according to the employers "some thinking Men amongst them reasoned against the propriety of such an Oath, yet by Threats from the Leaders that they should be excluded any Benefit arising from Collections, they were compelled to put it into Execution "

Some time later the men made another bid for settlement by proposing a joint meeting of five weavers and five employers, but the latter refused to discuss wages until the weavers agreed that they were not bound "by that ill founded, rash and wicked oath," and until they "had reinstated the objects of their resentment to the full liberty of the trade " The weavers issued no reply, but put out an advertisement asking their masters to imagine their wretched condition and "how it would distress you to hear your children cry for bread." Early in September the masters proposed a joint meeting, but the weavers did not attend. The employers then announced that as soon as the masters sworn out of the trade were declared free they were willing "to adjust all Disputes about Prices of of Wages in a just and equitable Manner, in order that all Differences and Disputes may for ever cease, and the People may

all go to work with Comfort to themselves, and Peace with their Masters "

On September 21st the employers submitted the following proposals

> It is hereby mutually agreed between the Small ware Manufacturers and their Weavers . . that all the Differences are settled and adjusted, and that all the said Weavers look upon and esteem all their said Employers as fair, and upon an equal Footing to the Trade, notwithstanding whatever may have been inconsiderately said or done, during our late Difference or Dispute [97]

Three days later the weavers replied·

> Gentlemen, It is unanimously determined by the whole Trade that the subjoined Note, and no other, shall be published in the Newspaper·
>
> By mutual Agreement betwixt the Smallware Manufacturers and their Weavers the difference respecing Prices subsisting between them are amicably settled to the Satisfaction of both Parties.[98]

This reply was dated September 24, 1781. The October 13th edition of the Manchester Journal carried a formal note of thanks to the benevolent public for its liberal support in the "late dispute."[99]

Since the weavers' first open dispute in 1758-9 the nature of the conflict had changed. Both the employers and the weavers adopted some of the accents of modern industrial dispute, such as appealing to public opinion by presenting their cases in the press. In the 1781 conflict the weavers appear

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[97] Ibid., October 2, 1781.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Cited by Wadsworth, p 373.

as a rather formidable organization capable of swearing "two masters out of the trade," issuing an ultimatum to the employers, and conducting collective bargaining through a joint meeting of parties. It is also indicative of the growing power of the combinations that the masters' remonstrance is relatively mild, without the threats of prosecution which characterized early disputes However, combinations were still feared and regarded as illegal organizations. Just before the smallware weavers' dispute ended, the magistrates for the Manchester district issued a warning in the press which was continued in October and November.[100] They commented that there had lately been "numerous meetings of weavers and other artificers in Manchester, Oldham, etc., under the pretence of regulating trade and prices of labour, which said meetings may be of dangerous consequence to the people who attend them, and to the country in general." They begged the weavers to avoid "all unlawful combinations and tumultuous meetings," and warned them that riots and tumults would be put down firmly. They intimated that when the proclamation under the Riot Act was read a blue flag would be displayed, that if the mob did not disperse within an hour, or committed any violence within that time, the display of a red flag would be the signal that force would be immediately used.[101]

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[100] Manchester Mercury, September 18, 1781.

[101] No connection can be traced between combinations and the various outbreaks against machinery The severest of these, the disturbances which plunged parts of the country into guerilla warfare in 1779, do not appear to have had a background of organization. The rioters included men and women, colliers and

The potential that the combinations held for elevating the role of the workers in a society governed by the master manufacturers can be seen in a dispute among the hatters in Manchester which eventually attained national prominence. In 1777 the London masters applied to Parliament for protection against a powerful combination of their journeymen [102] They described how the journeymen had entered into a combination called a Congress which had made by-laws, executed fines, and prevented the increase of apprentices.[103] They had also successfully demanded higher wages and shorter hours, levied a subscription of twopence a week, and, under threat of strike, compelled masters to dismiss men who would not join.[104] The London masters were aided in their successful application to Parliament by the Manchester masters.

The earliest mention of disputes in the hat makers trades to appear in the Manchester Mercury was in June, 1775.[105] A public notice dated June 2nd states that "Whereas many Dis-

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labourers, spinners and weavers --- it was a revolt in a time of acute unemployment and reduced wages for the spinners, not unlike the food riots of 1756-57 Wadsworth, pp 374-375, The machine riots in Lancashire are fully discussed in Arthur G. Rose, "Early Cotton Riots in Lancashire, 1769-1779," Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society Transactions, LXXIII-LXXIV (1966), 60-100.

[102] Wadsworth, p.381.

[103] Ibid

[104] Ibid.

[105] Manchester Mercury, June 13, 1775.

putes have arisen between the Hat Makers and Hat Finishers, and their Employers, about the Number of Apprentices, that each . . ought to take at one Time," the hat manufacturers wish to make it known that they will abide by the law. The "law in that Case made and provided, allows every Hat Maker, or Finisher of Hats, to take two Apprentices at the same Time, . . as allowed by the Statute of Queen Elizabeth." The Manchester manufacturers intended to pursue this course "against the unlawful Combinations of any ill-disposed Persons whatsoever." They further added "that all such Apprentices who shall lawfully serve their Time, shall be deemed and allowed to be free of the Trade" and "shall be deemed free of the whole, and allowed to work at any Part thereof." This notice was signed by the owners of eleven hat manufacturing firms in Manchester The same notice appeared again in the Mercury six months later [106]

At the same time the London master hatters were petitioning parliament to curtail the combination of journeymen in their trade, the Manchester masters were in open conflict with their employees. The employers drew upon legal precedent "for regulating the Trade of making Hats or Felts, and amongst others, by an Act . . . passed in the Twenty-second Year of his late Majesty . . . for preventing unlawful Combinations of Journeymen, etc. employed therein, whereby it is declared,

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[106] Ibid., December 5, 1775.

that all Clubs and Societies, and all Agreements, By Laws and Orders of Journeymen Hatters are illegal and void "[107] On this occasion all the journeymen of one employer turned out to compel him to discharge finishers who had not joined their combination Three persons were convicted and sent to prison for ten weeks However, this failed to break the combination, and the masters decided not to employ any who would not sign a declaration promising

> That we will not submit to any pretended Laws made by a Congress, Committee or any other Combination of Piece-Makers or Journeymen . . nor will in any respect be concerned in Turnouts, or paying to Support of any Hatters who have turned out, or shall hereafter turn out against either Masters or Workmen, and that we will Neither pay any Fines imposed on us by any Congress, Committee or Combination, nor be concerned in levying of Fines, but will in all Things conform to the several Acts of Parliament now in being for the Regulation of the said Trade [108]

The petitions of both employers and employees appeared in the London press on February 8th. "A petition from the Master Hatters was presented to the House of Commons, praying leave to bring in a Bill for the better Regulation of their Journeymen" and a petition was received and read "from the Journeymen Hatters praying for advance of their Wages, on Account of the high Price of Provisions, which was referred to a Committee to report the same."[109] During the proceedings in Parliament,

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[107] Ibid., February 4, 1777

[108] Ibid

[109] Ibid., February 11, 1777.

between February 5th and May 30th, petitions against the masters' bill suggest that there was a very close alliance among the journeymen combinations throughout England [110] Petitions came not only from London and Manchester but also Newcastle-under-Lyme, Burton-on-Trent, severl Leicestershire towns, Derby, Bristol, Liverpool, Hexham, and Chester.[111]

The stringency of the anti-combination law which the masters secured in 1777 did not serve the purpose that was intended.[112] Nearly three years later another turn-out occurred in Manchester, the journeymen were prosecuted at quarter sessions by their masters, and nine of the principals sentenced to six weeks in jail.[113] In 1783 there was another strike[114] and in 1785 the clubs were taking steps to restrict the number of apprentices [115] The masters retaliated by offering preference to those who refused to pay to the clubs. A turn-out occurred which affected both Manchester and Stockport, and the masters announced that as they had been prevented from taking the apprentices they required, they had declared that the trade.

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[110] Wadsworth, p 382. S. and B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, pp 28-30.

[111] Ibid., p.382

[112] 17 George III, c.55.

[113] Manchester Mercury, January 25, 1780.

[114] Ibid., December 23, 1783.

[115] Ibid., April 5, 1785.

> Is by act of Parliament as free as any business whatever, and that we are therefore determined immediately to take such a number of apprentices as we may choose, and also to employ in our dyehouses and finishing houses any person or persons whatever.[116]

The journeymen replied that the masters were "creating imaginary difficulties where none really exist, and throwing obstacles in the way of reconciliations."[117] They pointed out that under the act of 1777 the trade was not free, and the masters had no right to take apprentices except under its conditions —— the employment of one journeyman for every apprentice. Six years later the hat finishers were again on strike.[118]

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[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid., July 19, 1791.

V. THE RISE OF THE MANUFACTURING INTEREST IN MANCHESTER 1774-1787 A STUDY OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION AND NATIONAL POLICY

During the first half of the eighteenth century development of the cotton manufacture depended primarily on individual initiative. At the same time there were other activities taking place which contributed to a growing cohesion among the more successful merchants and manufacturers. Business ventures designed to develop transportation and communication routes led to the mobilization of powerful economic groups whose local influence gradually entered the arena of national commercial policies. This is particularly evident in the development of river navigations beginning in the 1690's and the construction of canals after 1750. The participation of the commercial class in the enterprises for river improvement was particularly strong in Lancashire because the expansion of trade and growth of industry necessitated transportation of bulky commodities. The river navigation schemes contributed to the cheapening and extending of transport between Liverpool, Manchester, and the textile manufacturing districts, as well as opening coalfields, saltworks, and potteries to outside markets. There were a number of schemes for river navigations in the early decades of the century due to the commercial rivalry with Holland and the Dutch waterways which were held up

for English emulation. The desire to improve harbours and navigable rivers, accompanied by the wave of speculation created by the South Sea Bubble a generation later, led to an avid interest in river navigations [1]

Typical of these enterprises undertaken and financed by the merchant class was the Mersey river and Irwell river navigation begun in 1721.[2] Its backers were mainly Manchester traders who told the Commons Committee that the land carriage trade between Manchester and Liverpool did great damage to the highways. To make the river navigable from Warrington would reduce local rates as well as shorten communication with the east coast. If this were done the only land stretch remaining would be the twenty-eight miles between Manchester and Wakefield. There was opposition from owners of river fisheries and from some justices who complained that the project was not to the advantage of the public, but this soon passed. In 1721 an Act (7 Geo. I, c.15, Sec 1) appointed thirty-eight men to improve the navigation of the rivers. Of these, two were justices, thirty-three were Manchester men, and three were from Liverpool --- an engineer and two merchants. The Manchester group were mostly traders, including the chief linen-drapers of the town Amongst them was John Lees, of Clarksfield, near Oldham, of a family of bankers, cotton

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[1] Wadsworth, pp.212-219.

[2] T. S. Willan, River Navigation in England 1600-1750 (London 1936), pp.59-62 Wadsworth, p 219

spinners and coal owners. Oswald Ravald, of a family that went back in Manchester to the middle of the fifteenth century and who was also the brother of a Manchester linen-draper. A wealthy merchant, Samual Clowes, who between 1721 and 1727 bought seven-eights of the manor of Tyldesley for £3,485 and in 1731 purchased the Caddock Hall estate. Another, Joseph Byrom, was a wealthy mercer and Boroughreeve of Manchester in 1703. Joseph Yates belonged to a family of mercers from Blackburn. He acquired Peel Hall through his wife, and was Governor of Blackburn Grammar School and High Sheriff of Lancashire. James Lightbowne was the son of a barrister and Steward of Manchester Court, but the family were woolen-drapers and owned estates in Moston. Two other undertakers were members of the Bayley family, silk weavers and merchants in the previous century. James Bayley was reknowned as "one of the wealthiest Whigs in the town."[3] This project took fifteen years to complete at a cost of about £14,000.[4]

Where there was no trading connexion apparent, the undertakers of limited joint-stock companies or corporations, usually included the wealthy and respectable citizens of the town who had made their fortune in trade during the preceding century.

It was not until mid-century that there was again such

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[3]Willan, p.61

[4]Wadsworth, p.219.

a concentration of energy and capital on the development of transport. The introduction of turnpiked roads in Lancashire had greatly facilitated the expansion of the Lancashire cotton industry [5] The development of waterways supplemented the imperfect road system and cheapened as well as facilitated the transport of bulk goods. The turnpike trusts, borrowing money for road improvements, usually at five percent, by mortgaging the tolls, provided a large field of investment, similar to that of the shares and loans of the navigations.[6] For example, one person at Manchester was reported to be responsible for the collection of over £50,000 a year in tolls.[7] Investment in the construction of canals offered a much greater opportunity for capital made through commercial exploits. A common interest in the expansion of commerce provided one of the earliest opportunities for the association of independent manufacturers and merchants in order to raise financial backing. These joint stock companies, corporations, and temporary associations were also one of the earliest expressions of a potentially powerful public opinion in Lancashire. Together it was possible for them to persuade and pressure their local members of parliament to meet their demands. The magnitude of these undertakings and related in-

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[5] Ibid., pp.14-15.

[6] Ibid., p.220

[7] S. & B. Webb, Statutory Authorities . . ., p.195.

vestment of capital can be seen when one finds that by 1780 the navigation and other canal schemes initiated in Lancashire and Cheshire had absorbed nearly £1,000,000.[8] The possibility of receiving thirty to forty percent return on such an investment led to situations where, for example, forty gentlemen and merchants subscribed £30,000 at the first meeting called to discuss the extension of an existing navigation [9]

Perhaps the greatest undertaking of the century in canal building was that of Francis Egerton, third Duke of Bridgwater, who proposed to connect his Worsley collieries with the Irwell River near Manchester.[10] Although great noblemen and landed gentry figure largely in the history of canal building, it is the merchants and manuafcturers who pioneered these undertakings in Lancashire and Cheshire.[11] This is evident in the financing of the Bridgwater canal. Egerton raised part of his financial resources by mortgaging his estates but this was insufficient to pay for the land that had to be purchased, the buildings needed in Manchester and along the canal, as well as daily wages and construction costs.[12]

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[8]Wadsworth, p.223.

[9]Ibid., pp.221-222

[10]H. Clegg, "The Third Duke of Bridgwater's Canal Works in Manchester," Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, LXV (1955), 91-103.

[11]Wadsworth, p.223.

[12]Clegg, 97, Wadsworth, p.222.

He was forced to borrow from a large number of sources. Besides small loans from tenantry and a loan of £25,000 from Child and Company, the bankers, he borrowed frequently from Earl Gower, his brother-in-law, and the Lancashire capitalists.[13] The Bridgewater Day Books for 1772 show a loan of £200 from the Manchester firm of T. and N. Philips, smallware manufacturers, and £1,000 from John Royds, woolen manufacturer, and the merchants of Rochdale.[14] This banding together of manufacturers and merchants offers an illustration of organization and cooperation for a common cause which became so important for the development of the textile industry in the 1770's and 1780's.

The development of river navigations, concern with improving roads, and participation in financing of canals were expressions of individualism to a great degree. The intention of the merchants and manufacturers was to increase profits by speculation or by direct improvement of their own business. The establishment of joint stock companies and corporations were a means to an end for individual expression. However, it was the connection between their economic interests and public policies that counteracted this individualizing tendency.[15]

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[13]Wadsworth, p.222.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Bowden, p 164

This connection furnished the incentive and the need for organization at the local and later the national level, which became particularly strong after 1780 in the rapidly industrializing textile industry of Lancashire.

After mid-century the prevalent method of solving problems concerning the common interest of an entire industry or industrial area was by the organization of special committees. These were usually initiated by manufacturers and leading merchants to raise funds for the execution of measures agreed upon at general meetings of the subscribers, or to petition parliament through their local members The earliest form of association, under the putting-out system, was the establishment of committees to deal with questions such as the embezzlement of raw materials by domestic workers,[16] the reeling of false yarn,[17] or any other offence interfering with everyday business.[18] They were usually formed for a specific purpose and, as a result, had a relatively

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[16]In 1772 a strong committee of manufacturers and crofters was formed for the "Detection and Prosecution of Felons and Receivers of stolen or embezzled Goods;" substantial rewards were offered. Manchester Mercury, February 4, 1772.

[17]During 1773 the worsted yarn-makers raised a subscription to prosecute those using illegal spinners' reels Inspectors were appointed and offenders were prosecuted and usually whipped. Wadsworth, p.398.

[18]Employers in the Lancashire worsted industry had formed a prosecuting committee as early as 1764 and the duties of the inspectors were financed at the joint expence of the manufacturers. Manchester Mercury, June 5, 1764.

brief existance.

Special committees were also established to provide a voice for different commercial interests in the country who previously had to plead their case by petition[19] or through their local member of parliament. One such committee of "Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders" was formed in Cheshire in 1778 to oppose legislation designed to improve the commerce of Ireland at the expence of certain English interests.[20] The meeting was called by William Tolten, Sheriff, to discuss "FOUR BILLS depending inPARLIAMENT, in Favour of the IRISH TRADE."[21] It was the opinion of certain parties that if these bills were to become law "the Linen and Sail Cloth Manufacturers of the Towns of Manchester and Warrington, will be so materially injured" that thousands will be without work or be forced to emigrate with the trade from Cheshire, Lancashire, and Derbyshire.[22] The meeting was called for May 2nd, "in order that such Measures may be taken, and Endeavours used, as may tend to put the Trade of the Kingdom upon . . an equal

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[19] Mercury, March 29, 1774, January 10, 1775, December 12, 1775, February 9, 1779, May 22, 1781, February 26, 1782, March 18, 1783.

[20] "Five Bills relative to the Trade between Great Britain and Ireland" were presented to the House of Commons on April 15th and mention of them appeared in the London press the following day. Manchester Mercury, April 21, 1778.

[21] Ibid., April 28, 1778.

[22] Ibid.

Footing with the Trade of Ireland "[23] The House of Commons began debate on the Irish Bills in mid-May of the same year and Harrop carried his regular coverage of the parliamentary debates as well as appending a special two page supplement with the May 19th and May 26th editions.[24] These were offered gratis to the public and contained extensive coverage of the debates. Exerpts from the London press commented that petitions were also received from the corporations of Liverpool, Lancaster, and Glasgow.[25] One member argued that he "thought it dangerous to grant Indulgences at a Time when their Consituents shewed, by the Petitions with which they had loaded the Table" that this would result in widespread dissatisfaction.[26] Another member representing Liverpool tried to prove "the Trade of that Town must suffer prodigiously."[27] Sir Thomas Egerton "talked a little about the Loyalty of the People of Lancashire, who would find themselves ruined by the Bill if it passed into a Law; and instanced the Regiments they had raised, and the Bounty they had paid to Seamen."[28] The

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[23] Ibid

[24] Ibid., May 19, 26, 1778

[25] Ibid., May 19, 1778. The supplement to this edition outlines the case presented for these three petitions.

[26] Mr. Cruger, House of Commons, May 8, 1778. Cited by the Manchester Mercury, May 19, 1778.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Sir Thomas Egerton, House of Commons, May 15, 1778. Cited by the Manchester Mercury, May 26, 1778.

London press of May 30, 1778, noted that Royal assent had been given to the Bills relating to Irish trade.[29] Similar notices of meetings continued to appear in the press until the end of the century [30] Occasionally these transient groupings of interests led to the formation of quasi-permanent organizations, with regular constitutions, and a fairly wide range of functions.

The inefficacy and temporary nature of these committees necessitated a more systematic organization of the commercial interests in Lancashire. On Tuesday, February 1, 1774, a general meeting of merchants and manufacturers was held at Crompton's Coffee House in Manchester. This meeting was called "to consider of proper Measures for the Security and Encouragement of the Cotton, Linen, and other Manufactures of this Town and Neighbourhood "[31] A committee of nineteen was appointed, with a Chairman, Deputy Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary In the opinion of the meeting "the great extent and variety of the Manufactures and commercial Interests of Manchester and the Neighbourhood render the Appointment of such a Committee, not only proper, but necessary, for there are scarcely any Regulations of Trade that can be proposed in Parliament by which they may not be affected."[32] Appeal for

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[29] Manchester Mercury, June 2, 1778.

[30] Ibid., December 22, 1778, February 9, 1779, April 20, 1779, January 4, 1780, November 14, 1780, passim.

[31] Ibid., March 8, 1774.

[32] Ibid.

subscriptions was then made to the "Gentlement of Trade." The meeting also commented that "to leave the whole Expence and Trouble of promoting these public Interests to a few generous Individuals in Manchester, has on former occasions been a matter of very just Complaint, it is now reasonable to expect the generous Aid of all Persons in Trade, not only in Manchester, but in the several Towns and Villages in the Circuit of its Manufactures . . . Whatever Sums are subscribed will be applied under the Direction of the Committee, with the utmost Care and Frugality, and a just and regular Account kept, which will be open to the Inspection of the Public."[33]

The Committee for the Protection of Trade concerned itself with domestic as well as national problems. It issued frequent notices in the press warning the citizens of Manchester against the nefarious schemes of foreigners and spies who were suspected of stealing trade secrets.[34] In 1780 the committee petitioned the House of Commons to permit the importation of cotton in neutral ships during the period of armed neutrality.[35] They based their argument on the case that the cotton manufacture was being injured through the monopol-

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid., March 8, 1774, November 19, 1776; February 13, 1781, Janurary 15, 1782.

[35] Ibid., January 4, 1780.

istic organization of British shipping. In spite of strong oppositionfrom the ship-owning and West Indian interests, the Government gave the manufacturers some relief by permitting imports contrary to the Navigation Acts until the end of the war.

The Committee also concerned itself with the controversy over Arkwright's patents and the Lancashire textile machinery As early as 1776 it began to challenge the exercise of patent rights over machines which were asserted to be already known to the trade.[36] This problem became more serious after 1780, since the use of new and improved machinery was being restricted through fear of infringing upon Arkwright's patents. Early in 1781 Arkwright served writs on several Manchester manufacturers for patent violations.[37] If he succeeded in Court he would have had an almost monopolistic control of the development of the cotton industry. The merchants and manufacturers of the Committee for the Protection of Trade held a series of meetings to arrange legal opposition against Arkwright's patents, and "to consider of the most effectual Means of Obtaining the Free and general Use of all Engines and Inventions for the manufacturing of Cotton, and of opposing any

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[36] Ibid., May 7, 21, 1776, July 9, 16, 1776, August 20, 1776, September 17, 24, 1776, October 1, 8, 1776.

[37] Ibid , February 20, 1781. The patent controversy is briefly discussed in R S. Fitton and A. P Wadsworth, The Strutts and the Arkwrights 1758-1830 (Manchester 1958), pp.83-87.

Attempts that may be made by any Person or Persons at obtaining a Monopoly in the Use thereof."[38] Apparently the agitation of the Committee was a success for in the July 24th issue of the Mercury it was reported that "the said Patent is now of no Force, the Public are at Liberty to make Use of any Part of the Machinery thereof "[39] The Committee also became involved with Arkwright's patents in 1782 and 1783 when he applied for an extension of his existing patents to be continued until 1789.[40]

During 1781, prior to the repeal of Arkwright's patents in July, the Committee reorganized itself on a wider basis to more effectually oppose the patent restrictions. In the June 26th issue of the Mercury notice was given that a "General Meeting of the Merchants, Manufacturers and all others interested in the Cotton, Linen, Silk, and Small-Wares trades" would be held at the Bull's Head Inn, in Manchester, "in order to Elect, by Ballot, a new Committee for the Protection and Encouragement of the Trade and Manufactures of this Town and Neighbourhood, under such regulations as will then be produced."[41] The new committee consisted of sixteen members

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[38] Ibid., March 6, 20, 1781.

[39] Ibid , July 24, 1781.

[40] Ibid., February 12, 1782, February 18, 1783.

[41] Ibid., June 26, 1781.

(ten for cotton and linen three each for silk and small-wares) and three auditors.[42] Within the Committee it was agreed that "each Trade . . shall select themselves into separate Committees, and act separately respecting their own Branch of Business " In order for any sub-committee to use the common funds the consent of all three auditors was needed, or a consenting group consisting of three members from each sub-committee. More than 120 principal merchants and manufacturers subscribed to this reorganized committee for the Protection of Trade and many more subscribers were expected.[43] In a report issued by the Committee during the winter of the following year its activities were summarized.[44] These included the aforementioned opposition to the Arkwright patents, agitation to modify restrictions on the import of raw materials, obtaining legislation to regulate internal problems of the industry such as punishing buyers and receivers of stolen goods, and securing repeal of restrictions limiting the use of cotton goods. The committee also offered encouragement and financial support to inventors.[45] However, the prime concern of this organization was related to the welfare of the manufacturer-employers

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[42] Ibid , July 17, 1781.

[43] Ibid , July 24, 1781

[44] Ibid , December 31, 1782.

[45] Ibid , March 5, 1776.

rather than the workers The last activities listed in this report include aiding employers in their dealings with employees, fighting combinations of workers, and ultimately, bringing the manufacturers into more effective relations with other industrialists and with public officials

The movement towards the formation of commercial organizations in the main industrial towns received a great stimulus during the years of expanding trade and unsettled economic policy which followed the American War of Independence. In 1783 a General Commercial Committee was formed at Birmingham to watch over the public interests of the town and "to correspond with other Commercial Committees that may have been established."[46] Committees were also established at Leeds, Halifax, and Exter during the same period.[47] There was a limited degree of correspondence between similar organizations in various parts of the country, but there was still no national organization to present a united front for the industrial interests of the provinces. The fiscal reforms proposed by William Pitt in 1784 and 1785 provided con-

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[46]The initial stimulus behind the formation of the Birmingham Commercial Committee was a proposal to repeal the laws against the exportation of brass Later the Committee's functions were expanded to include the discussion of such questions as the excise laws, the export of tools, impediments to trade, and the migration of British artisans to foreign centers As at Manchester, the Birmingham Committee aimed at representing the general economic interests of the district However, the various branches of the midland metal industries also had their special organizations as did the Lancashire textile industry Arthur Redford, Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade 1794-1858, Vol. I (Manchester 1934), pp.6-7.

[47]Ibid., p.6.

siderable incentive to form such an organization

In 1784 Pitt announced his intention to adopt a programme of fiscal reforms designed to assist the nation in recovering from the financial instability of the war period Prior to the beginning of the Seven Years War with France in 1756 the National Debt amounted to £72,000,000. At the end of the war in 1763 this had increased to £135,000,000 and by 1783, at the end of the American war, had nearly doubled to reach £238,000,000 [48] Among other measures, he introduced a new excise which increased the duties to be paid on products of pure cotton or of a cotton-linen mixture.[49] His rationale behind the institution of this duty appears to have been the flourishing state of the cotton industry, its more than 80,000 workers, and the vast fortunes made by the manufacturers [50] To facilitate the assessment and collection of the excise duties, various harsh regulations were outlined concerning such matters as the excise official's right of inspection. Severe penalties were imposed for any infringement of the regulations or any obstruction of the officials.

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[48] Daniels, p 63.

[49] 24 Geo III, C 40. "Each roll of calico, muslin, etc., had to pay when bleached, dyed or printed, a tax of 1d. a year if its value was less than 2s a yard, and of 2d if its value was over 2s. This tax was in addition to the previous excise of 3d. per yard." Cited by Mantoux, p.259.

[50] Mantoux, p.259 Also see Witt Bowden, "The Influence of the Manufacturers on some of the Early Policies of William Pitt," The American Historical Review, XXIX (July, 1924), 655-659, and J. M. Norris, "Samuel Garbett and the early Development of Industrial Lobbying in Great Britain," The Economic History Review, X (1957-1958), 450-460.

This excise became popularly known as the "Fustian Tax" and aroused considerable opposition in Lancashire.

Even before the bill became law agitation for its repeal had begun in Manchester [51] Protests in Lancashire were supported by similar efforts from the merchants and cotton manufacturers of Glasgow[52] and the ironmasters of Birmingham and the midlands,[53] who were also opposed to the institution of any injudicious taxation which might effect their industry Upon repeal of this intended legislation the delegates from Manchester returned to be greeted by a "procession of two thousand people turned out to meet them, in which every branch of the cotton industry was represented" waving banners with the mottoes "Let Commerce fluorish for ever ," "Freedom restored ," and "May Industry never be cramped "[54]

This united action received an additional stimulus from Pitt's "Irish Propositions" which came up for consideration in the spring of 1785 [55] As a result a new solidarity came into existence among the major commercial and industrial interests of Great Britain.[56] This united front found form and ex-

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[51] Manchester Mercury, July 6, 27, August 10, 17, 24, 31, September 7, 1784

[52] Ibid , September 14, 21, 1784

[53] Ibid., February 15, 1785.

[54] Mantoux, p 259. Frida Knight, The Strange Case of Thomas Walker (London 1957), pp.32-34.

[55] Bowden, "The Influence of the Manufacturers . . ., 659-674.

[56] The attitude of the manufacturers and their approach to

pression in the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain organized in 1785 to mobilize opposition against the Irish propositions. Pitt's intention was to establish "Anglo-Irish free trade with the minimum of reservations, an automatic contribution to the cost of imperial defence rising . . . with the growth of Irish prosperity."[57] Impetus for this move came from Irish manufacturers who were anxious that the prevailing distress brought about by the 1783-4 depression would become endemic unless tariff protections were augmented. Agitation by the radical party, the Irish Volunteers, added to Pitt's decision to take action.

His scheme was for a measure of commercial reciprocity between England and Ireland. Ireland was to share in England's colonial and foreign trade, with certain restrictions in favour of English merchants. The customs duties on manufactured goods passing between the two countries, in either direction, were to be reduced to the rate of the one with the lower duty. In exchange for these commercial concessions the Irish were to contribute an assigned sum annually to be applied "towards the Service of the Navy for the General Defence of the Empire."[58] The source selected for Irish contribution were the funds arising from the Hereditary

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problems which required pressuring the Government to formulate policies advantageous to their particular interests is discussed by J. M Norris, passim

[57]Vincent T. Harlow, The Founding of the Second British Empire 1763-1793, Vol. I (London 1952), p.565.

[58]Ibid , p.568.

Revenue which consisted mainly of customs and excise duties. Pitt, however, received unexpected opposition to this arrangement from two fronts. The extreme Irish nationalists, the Volunteers, regarded any form of reciprocal contribution towards maintaining the British Navy as a further erosion of their attempt to gain independence. In the House of Commons Pitt received considerable opposition from organized pressure groups among merchants and manufacturers.

On January 14, 1785, the Privy Council instructed the Committee for Trade and Planations to report on two questions· first, the propriety of reducing British duties payable in Ireland on goods imported from Britain, and second, how far it might be in Britain's interest to continue or alter any existing preferences in favour of imported Irish goods as against similar articles of foreign origin. The hearing took place between January 29th and March 8th and it was the consensus of the representatives of the woolen, silk, iron, and pottery industries that such a policy would not have any far-reaching effects. The representatives of the cotton industry were more pessimistic. The export of English fustian to Ireland in recent years had greatly declined due to the fact that the Irish were now manufacturing their own fustians assisted by bounties granted from the Irish Parliament and Linen Board. They were also worried about the future of their printed cottons and the calico market in Ireland because Irish

labour and food were cheaper, while English taxation was far higher. Their fears were substantiated by the customs returns which showed that the sale of English fustians had declined sharply in the past five years while Irish fustian export to America had rapidly increased.

Harlow sums up the problem as being that "the British manufacturers in general did not believe that they would lose command of the Irish market or still less, suffer by Irish competition at home, if a customs union had taken place. What they would insist upon . . . was that by one means or another Ireland should conform to the British laws of trade and navigation."[59] The changing attitude of the English manufacturers indicated a shift towards laissez-faire economic policies which was expressed in a pamphlet by James Watt.

> Would it not be more manly and proper at once to invite the Irish to come into a perfect Union with Britain, and to pay the same duties and excise that we do? Then every distinction of Country might with justice be done away with, and they would have a fair claim to all the advantages we enjoy?[60]

Between February 17th and March 15th petitions were heard in the Commons against Pitt's proposal from the silk manufacturers, the Scottish linen manufacturers, and the West Indian merchants.

On March 7, 1785, an assembly of representatives of all

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[59]Harlow, Op.cit., pp.592-593.

[60]Cited by Harlow, p.597.

the principal manufacturing industries took place at the London Tavern Eight resolutions were drafted and presented to Pitt by an executive committee led by Josiah Wedgwood on March 10th. Pitt refused to consider the resolutions or delay the vote in the Commons on the Irish Propositions which was scheduled for March 15th. It was this attitude towards the manufacturers which led them to call a special meeting at the London Tavern on March 14th The same morning John Sylvester and Thomas Walker, of Manchester, met with Pitt to explain that no petitions had yet been presented because they had trusted that alterations would be made to satisfy the manufacturers Pitt's only reply was that it would probably be introduced to the Commons by March 16th at the latest. The consensus of the London Tavern meeting was that they had been lulled into acquiescence by the Minister's assurances that they would not be injured, and his new adamantine attitude meant that they must load the table of the House of Commons with petitions from every manufacturing town and from every industry.[61] The decision to establish the General Chamber of Manufacturers was made at the March 7th meeting at the London Tavern meeting in response to Pitt's decision on March 3rd to call for a decisive

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[61]The complete details of this meeting and of the meeting with Pitt are accorded four complete pages in a supplement issued with the April 5th edition of the Mercury. Nation-wide activity on the part of the Chamber produced a flood of more than sixty petitions to the House of Commons, denouncing both the Irish Proposals and the excises. Knight, p.31

vote on his general resolution the following week. By the time the next Tavern meeting was called on March 14th a manifesto had been outlined and published entreating all manufacturers to join by sending delegates from their respective towns.[62]

Initiative in Lancashire for an organization on a national scale came originally as a response to a plea from Birmingham merchants which appeared in the Mercury on February 15th of the same year. The Birmingham Commercial Committee had resolved that "it is become necessary to correspond with the Commercial Committees and Eminent Merchants and Manufacturers in different parts of the Kingdom, . . . And it is essential for Persons, who are most intimately acquainted with all the connexions relative thereto, and most immediately interested in the prosperity of Mines, Manufactures and Commerce, to form some Mode of Corresponding, in order to remonstrate against Injudicious Taxes upon any article of export."[63] At a meeting held on March 3rd the Committee of the Fustian Trade in Manchester declared "that it

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[62] Manchester Mercury, August 16, 1785. This edition contained a general outline of the General Chamber based on extracts from the published manifesto.

[63] Ibid , February 15, 1785. The Birmingham General Commercial Committee was established in 1783 to oppose the intended repeal of the laws governing the exportation of brass. Bowden, p.168.

is highly necessary to correspond with every manufacturing body in the Kingdom, to prevent, as far as possible, the fatal and runious system of taxing manufactures."[64] Harrop regularly published any correspondence in the Mercury which supported these contentions One letter from "An Ancient Manufacturer" called on Lancashire industrialists not to confine their loyalty to "associations of single and detached bodies of Merchants and Manufacturers," but to support the movement which had already been initiated in London for organizing "the whole manufacturing Interest of the Island."[65]

The first overt action taken in Manchester after its decision, along with Birmingham, to support the General Chamber came as a response to the request made at the March 14th London Tavern meeting to load the House of Commons' table with petitions. After the meeting held that morning with Pitt, Thomas Walker had informed the Chamber that he "was confident that a Petition from Manchester, signed by 50,000 names, would be easily obtained, now that the manufacturers knew the true state of the case."[66] Instead of proceeding to a decisive vote on the 16th as asserted by Pitt, the House was confronted with a huge petition from the cotton manufacturers of

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[64] Manchester Mercury, March 8, 1785.

[65] Ibid., March 15, 1785.

[66] Ibid., April 5, 1785.

Lancashire, which was purported to contain 80,000 signatures.[67] For the next three months the House in Committee of the Whole was obliged to waste its time inordinately, listening to an apparently endless succession of witnesses, employing the same arguments and expressing similar fears. The original proposal presented by Pitt was finally defeated. Later on May 12th, Pitt produced sixteen additional Resolutions to the original eleven. Subsequently, the two sets were amalgamated and amended to become the Twenty Resolutions.[68] These were finally approved as agreed by both Houses on July 25, 1785.

Manchester remained very active in supporting the General Chamber even after the defeat of Pitt's proposals. On November 22, 1785, a meeting was held at the Exchange Coffee House in Manchester to "consider the best means of giving a proper and effectual support to that useful and highly necessary institution, the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain."[69] Richard Walker, a local manufacturer and delegate to London in the previous March, made a lengthy speech in favour of the Chamber and especially com-

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[67] Harlow, p.607. Refer to Appendix I.

[68] Ibid., pp 609-612, contains a discussion of how Pitt's original proposals were modified to form the Twenty Resolutions.

[69] Manchester Mercury, November 29, 1785.

mended its work in securing the rejection of Pitt's Irish proposals. This early success, he maintained, showed the desirability of continued support to the Chamber as a permanent institution. He argued "how many other important matters may yearly arise, and call for the like promptness both in decision and execution, the wisest amongst us could not now foresee, and if this institution, even in its infant and unsupported state, . . . had rendered us such essential services, what might we not expect from its riper years, when Government should be convinced of its integrity and impartiality, and place confidence in its information. . . ."[70] The meeting resolved to support the General Chamber by an annual subscription and a committee of twenty-one persons was appointed to collect contributions from manufacturers not present.

Despite Manchester's enthusiasm and the solid support of the Lancashire textile industry, the General Chamber came to a premature end as a result of irreconcibable internal conflict over the Eden Treaty of 1786, concerning freer trade with France.[71] From the demise of the Chamber in 1787 until after the outbreak of war with France in 1793, attempts to establish another National organization of the commercial and industrial interests ceased.

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[70] Ibid.

[71] The early demise of the Chamber is discussed in Bowden, pp.181-193 and his article "The English Manufacturers and the Commercial Treaty of 1786 with France," The American Historical Review, XXX (October, 1919), 18-35.

The role that Thomas Walker played in obtaining the cancellation of the Irish Proposals on behalf of the Lancashire interests and his active participation in the General Chamber are singularly important in that they provide an accurate representation of the new breed of men developing English industry who were anxious to have some say in the commercial destiny of the nation. Walker, in many ways characterized the Lancashire manufacturers who appreciated and encouraged new ideas and discoveries. They were "ambitious, hard-headed northern business men, most of them self-made rather than inheritors of estates, tough types who were familiar with their workmen and called a spade a spade, in broad Lancashire or Yorkshire dialect."[72] Although Walker differed from other industrialists in not being entirely self-made his views were the same. It made him very indignant to see "how the manufacturing communities were despised and cold shouldered, their importance ignored or disregarded by the ministries of North and Pitt."[73] That the citizens of Manchester were without representation in the House of Commons and had no means of voicing their needs and troubles, was a constant source of irritation for him By 1784, at the age of thirty-four, he had come to be recognized as one of the leading men of the town, and was constantly solicited as

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[72]Knight, p.14.

[73]Ibid.

a committee member, or delegate, or sponsor for various public organizations [74] As the manufacturing class grew in importance, Walker became a figure of national prominence and influence.

The controversy occasioned by the Fustian Tax and Pitt's Irish Proposals were indicative of the government's attitude towards the wishes of the manufacturers and a definite insult to their growing position in determining the nature and progress of English industry The manufacturers realized that Pitt's quest for an easy source of revenue by establishing the Fustian Tax would result in "inordinately heavy increases in the cost of the most popular and necessary materials, to producers and consumers alike, . . .more than the precarious economy of Lancashire could stand."[75] The imposition of this tax was accompanied by many onerous regulations which showed a complete lack of concern for the manufacturers.[76] They included licences for bleachers and dyers, manufacturers were required to give detailed information to the excise commissioners about their utensils and methods, excise men had the power to enter a plant any time, night or day, and any obstruction by the owner could result in a fine of £200. Selling goods marked in counterfeit incurred a penalty of £100 and two hours in the pillory The owner responsible for

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[74] Ibid , p.16.

[75] Ibid., p.26.

[76] Ibid.

counterfeiting the exciseman's stamp could expect nothing less than the death penalty.

Again in January, 1785, the Ministry made its attitude towards the wishes of the manufacturers clear when Walker headed a deputation to confer with the Board of Trade in London. They were treated with humiliating condescension He was forced to answer 174 questions to support his position at the end of which the Chancellor "quitted his exalted Seat on the Woolsack and took refuge on the Barons' Bench, where, soon after, in Company with a Noble Duke, he comforted himself with a sound Nap."[77] By the end of the hearing it had become quite obvious that "the Experiences of the 120,000 Manufacturers of Manchester had sunk into a mere Vision, and become but as a Transitory Dream on an insignificant Subject."[78]

The position of the manufacturers was given further impetus by Fox in a new debate on the question which began on May 12th. He condemned the government representative's attitude to the delegates

> When hurdreds of Thousands came to our bar deprecating the continuiance of a system which from their own knowledge they pronounce to be ruinous to the Manufacturers of England, he treats them with something that merits a severer term than disdain. Mr Wedgwood . . and Mr. Walker . . who from opulence and every other consideration are worthy to be ranked with the best men in this house, have received from the Right Honourable Gentleman every species of ill treatment and indignity that the lowest and most contemptuous and violent could bestow

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[77] Manchester Mercury, January 19, 1785.

[78] Ibid

> on them. Can the Committee think that they know more of the Manchester Manufacturers than . . . Mr. Walker.[79]

Despite the Ministry's antipathy towards the manufacturing interests, their arguments, lobbying, petitions, and sound arguments prevailed to cause the repeal of the Fustian Tax and a considerable modification of Pitt's Irish Proposals. By the end of 1785 the inherent power of the consolidated efforts of English manufacturers had become apparent to the nation. In large part their success was due to the continuous effort and consolidated backing given to the General Chamber by the men from Manchester on behalf of the entire Lancashire textile industry.

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[79]Cited by Knight, p.31.

VI. POLITICS AND PUBLIC OPINION IN MANCHESTER 1788-1794

The rise of Manchester during the latter half of the eighteenth century was due to the rapid industrialization and expansion of the Lancashire textile industry.[1] The industrial revolution in England also served to create an entirely new arrangement among all classes, that of the employer and the employee, which replaced the traditional class hierarchy of previous centuries. Although the concept of management and labour was certainly no major innovation, it was the effect that the process of industrialization had on this relationship which produced revolutionary changes. With the introduction of mass production and the investment of vast sums of capital to finance the new factory operations the role of the artisan in the production process began to change. The traditional domestic type of enterprise could no longer compete with the quantity and quality of the product being manufactured on a massive scale by the new factories. In order for the workers to maintain a subsistence level of income they were forced to abandon their domestic enterprises and join the legions of factory workers migrating to the large urban centers like Manchester and Birmingham. The end result of this transition was that the workers became

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[1] Supra, Chapter I, passim

alienated from the means of production. He was at the mercy of the newly formed class of powerful industrialists who not only controlled the means of production but who also were beginning to assert their influence in order to control and direct national economic policies. In order to achieve this end it was necessary for them to enter the arena of national politics. The growth of this new class of industrial capitalists is nowhere more evident than in the cotton manufacturing district of Lancashire, with its commercial center at Manchester.[2] Together, the leading representatives of the new industries, "formed the nucleus of a modern industrial aristocracy."[3]

Although the establishment of this wealthy and potentially powerful class in English society began in the 1760's and 1770's, it was not until the last two decades of the century that they began to appear as a major force in national politics. There are several reasons for this. One of these was the united action of landlords and manufacturers who were traditionally "bound together as employers and exploiters of labour, and as adherents to the same general conception of the impropriety of allowing to their employees any share whatsoever of economic or political authority."[4]

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[2]Bowden, p 150.

[3]Ibid., p.152.

[4]Ibid., p.160.

Until the establishment of the General Chamber of Manufacturers in 1785 the direct political authority of the manufacturers was not readily apparent, but their indirect influence in the economic sphere, and especially in local affairs, was becoming very obvious by the 1770's.[5] The clamour for parliamentary representation which began in the 1780's was generally ignored by the more powerful manufacturers who did not feel the need for such representation until the early nineteenth century.[6] They were able to obtain redress of their grievances and adequate protection of their interests by means of trade organizations and extra-legal machinery evolved to support parliamentary petitions and addresses. Their position on parliamentary reform appears typical of many new industrial towns. These towns also held an aloof position from this agitation because they were traditionally supporters of government policy, being controlled by High Church and Tory interests.[7] This applied par-

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[5] Supra, Chapter V, passim

[6] Gwen Whale, "The Influence of the Industrial Revolution (1760-1790) on the Demand for Parliamentary Reform," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th Series, V (1922), 119.

[7] The term "High Church" first appeared during the early years of the eighteenth century and was used to designate that group which demanded strict enforcement of the laws against Dissenters They were also in favour of passing additional measures, including the Occasional Conformity Bill of 1711 The High Church party was practically synonymous with the Tory element This party in Manchester, which espoused affiliations with the Jacobite cause, congregated in the Collegiate Church and met regularly at the Bull's Head Inn The "Low Church" party, which supported the Hanoverian succession, worshipped in St. Ann's Church. This group gathered

ticularly to Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester during the 1770's.[8] It also must be remembered that some towns like Birmingham had, from the early 1770's, been of sufficient size and financial importance to control the return of one of the two members who represented Warwickshire.[9]

Until almost the end of the eighteenth century Manchester was a Tory stronghold governed by royalist sympathizers, although liberty minority groups were evolving which were to form the nucleus of political reform agitation after 1789.[10] The Manchester Mercury contained a variety of reports on patriotic addresses sent to parliament from the large unrepresented towns of Liverpool, Lancaster, and Manchester reaffirming their support of the monarchy and the existing government.[11] There were also frequent activities in

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much support from members of the local dissenting faction, which met at Cross Street Chapel and the Angel Inn It appears likely that the Dissenters and the Anglicans managed to cooperate so successfully because the latter had a nonconformist ancestory With increasing wealth derived from trade during the seventeenth century they became landed gentry and their dissenting spirit began to wave Among this group was Lady Ann Bland and a group of followers who broke from the Collegiate CHurch after the turn of the century to found St. Ann's Church in 1712. N. J. Frangopulo, (ed), Rich Inheritance, A Guide to the History of Manchester (Wilmslow· 1962), pp 32-33. Sidney J Low and F S Pullings, (eds.), The Dictionary of English History (London 1896), p 565

[8]Whale, 113-114.

[9]Ibid., 115.

[10]Refer to Appendix K.

[11]Manchester Mercury, April 20, 1756, October 26, 1762, September 2, 1766, March 28, 1769, September 12, 1775

Manchester fully described in the local press denoting royalist and conservative sympathies. These included the shooting of an effigy of Admiral Byng in 1756,[12] the celebration of royal birthdays,[13] and George III's coronation and wedding [14] Manchester also stood in the vanguard of national support by approving the reigning ministry's war policies[15] and being one of the quickest to respond in raising volunteer militias [16] In 1758 farmers of nearby Cheshire sent a seventy pound block of cheese to the King of Prussia, England's ally in the war against France.[17] The following year a grand ball was held in Manchester to celebrate the King of Prussia's birthday.[18] The Mercury also contained an elaborate narrative recalling Charles II's coronation,[19] and gratefully reported the town's honour of displaying George

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[12] Ibid., September 14, 1756

[13] Ibid , June 5, 1759, June 5, 1770, June 11, 1776, . June 10, 1777, June 8, 1779, June 5, 1781, June 10, 1783

[14] Ibid., November 4, 1760, September 29, 1761.

[15] Ibid., June 8, 1756, January 12, 1762, September 2, 1766, September 5, 12, 1775.

[16] Ibid., April 5, 1757, March 26, 1776, December 16, 1777.

[17] Ibid , December 5, 1758.

[18] Ibid., January 30, 1759.

[19] Ibid., April 21, 1761

III's coronation regalia in 1762.[20]

In fact Mancunians were proud to show their support of the monarchy on any occasion, as was illustrated at a public thanksgiving ceremony held in Manchester to celebrate the victorious progress of the nation's efforts in 1759. The Mercury reported that

> The same was observed with the greatest Decorum. The Evening was concluded with Illuminations, the most general ever remember'd, not only the Center of the Town, but the Extremity's display'd a Lustre scarce to be equall'd In the Windows of publick and private Houses, several elegant Emblems and select Sentences were painted and displayed on Canvas properly illuminated In the Windows of one Gentleman's House were painted, the Kings Arms, and under George II. Rex whom God preserve A French Man of War, with the British Colours hoisted over the French. In Windows in different Parts of the Town, were displayed, amongst others, the following Sentences, Guadaloupe and Quebec for ever Liberty, Property, Trade, and Commerce for ever· Quebec, Wolfe and Saunders· Praise the Lord for Blessing Britain with a good King, wise Ministers, and and brave Commanders and rewarding their Labours with such signal Success in the glorious 1759. Render your Thanks to the sole Giver of Victory, for the Glorious Success of his Majesty's Arms in Europe, Asis, Africa, and America, may the speedy Effects be, that his Enemies sue for Peace, on Terms, that his Friends may enjoy it May we never want a PITT to plan proper Measures, or such brave Admirals and Generals to execute them, as have distinguish'd themselves in this memorable year 1759.[21]

In 1777 the citizens of Manchester showed their support of the was effort against the colonies by raising over £ 8,000 to support their own regiment which was later stationed at Gibralter.[22] Thereafter, until the end of the war, an anniversary dinner and celebration was held each November to

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[20] Ibid , August 31, 1762

[21] Ibid., December 4, 1759.

[22] Ibid., December 16, 1777, July 7, August 11, 1778.

commerorate the founding of the Manchester Volunteer Regiment. Again in 1782 Mancunnians showed their patriotic spirit by feting Lord North during his brief stay in the town.[23]

The movement for economic reform and for moderate reform of the representative system, along with shorter parliaments, which began in 1770 attracted very few supporters in Manchester. The controlling Tory element in the town,[24] the royalist sympathies of the populace,[25] the dread of election disturbances,[26] the fear of disruption of trade[27] — all these factors played an important role in convincing Mancunians to avoid involvement in national political issues. In fact, between the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 and 1789, the town was not disturbed by any major political upheavals. In reply to a letter from Wyvill in 1783, urging consideration of the benefits to be derived from parliamentary reform, the constables of Manchester, after congratulating themselves that the town was not a corporation, answered that the inhabitants considered it was "by no means proper, in the present critical situation of public affairs, to raise dis-

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[23] Ibid , August 27, 1782.

[24] Supra, pp 157-158.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Supra, Chapter I, pp 32-33. Manchester Mercury, April 14, 21, 1772.

[27] Aiken, p 191, Ogden, pp.93-94.

putes and dissensions in the Kingdom, about altering and amending our excellent constitution, under which the inhabitants of Great Britain and her colonies have enjoyed a more real liberty and property than any upon earth "[28]

A similar attitude had been expressed by a citizen in a letter to Harrop commenting on the numerous petitions from the counties expressing opposition to the House of Commons decision that John Wilkes' election in the County of Middlesex was null and void [29] He writes:

> Much has been said of the Honesty and upright Intentions of the present Opposers of the Government, but the private Characters of some, and the open and flagrant Acts of Violence and Oppression in others, by which they have in general maintained their Opposition, particularly in the West, headed by a particular Demagogue of the People, sufficiently prove, to every considering Person, that the main End they have in View, cannot be for a Reformation in the Government, or the real Interest of the Community, when such unconstitutional Means are the Characteristics of their Intentions If they would enjoy that Character which is justly their due, whose Actions and Principles mutually coincide with each other, let them throw off the Mask at once, and explain their Meanings and Designs more truly than any Petition they have hitherto presented ie. let us do what we please, and to set yourself George III under the Laws, and US above them, and upon Condition we have these our reasonable Desires fully granted, your Petitioners shall every pray for you, or else you may e'en pray for yourself."[30]

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[28] Wyvill Papers, II, x,10. Cited by Whale, 113-114.

[29] House of Commons Journal, XXXII (February 17, 1769), p.228. Cited by E. Neville Williams, The Eighteenth Century Constitution 1688-1815 (Cambridge 1965), pp.240-241. For a brief discussion of Wilkes and the Middlesex election controversy see Ian R. Christie, Wilkes, Wyvill, and Reform (London 1962), pp.25-38.

[30] Manchester Mercury, November 7, 1769.

Until 1788 the political life of Manchester had remained fairly stable aside from periodic disruptions over local issues. Generally speaking the Tories and the Whigs, made up largely of the professional and commercial middle class citizens, had cooperated in achieving what was best for the town. Between 1789 and 1794 Mancunians divided among themselves into two factions, one holding new liberal ideas, and the other, a bitter reaction to these ideas The pattern of events which took place in Manchester during these years reflected very clearly the state of the entire nation.[31]

By the end of 1788 there was little indication that dissension was to rise among the inhabitants of the town during the next few years. In November the centenary of the Glorious Revolution was celebrated with great rejoicing and without any discordant note [32] The former antipathy between Whig and Tory, last expressed in 1745, had been toned down by the passage of time, and, while the vestiges of the old allegiances still remained, they now represented an attachment to persons rather than principles. It was the Regency Crisis of 1788 which showed that party differences had not been completely effaced from public affairs in Manchester.[33]

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[31]Pauline Handforth, "Manchester Radical Politics, 1789-1794," Transactions of the Lancashire Antiquarian Society, LXIV (1957), 87.

[32]Manchester Mercury, November 11, 1788.

[33]The Regency Crisis of 1788-9 is fully discussed in

In November 1788, George III lost all control of his faculties until February of the following year. At the time it appeared unlikely that he would recover and Charles Fox, an outspoken leader of the opposition and personal friend of the Regent, began clamouring for a transfer of power, arguing that the King was legally dead and that his son had, of right, acquired full sovereignty [34] In order to stall for time in anticipation that George III would regain his faculties, Pitt and his ministry, recognizing their dependence on the King's support, framed a Regency Bill very closely limiting the powers of the Regent. At the same time he urged Parliament to establish a committee to look for precedents.[35] Before this crisis came to a head George III recovered and Pitt resumed his normal ministerial duties.

In Manchester Pitt's supporters decided to call a meeting to consider the desirability of presenting him with an address of thanks for his disinterested conduct and congratulate him on his majority in the Commons. At a meeting held on December 30th, 1788, the uproar created by Opposition supporters was so extreme that the Chairman was forced to terminate the proceedings without being able to gain a ma-

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John W. Derry, The Regency Crisis and the Whigs 1788-9 (Cambridge· 1963).

[34] Asa Briggs, The Making of Modern England (New York 1959), p.86.

[35] A complete account of the Commons debate on Pitt's Regency proposals are contained in the supplement issued with the December 23, 1788, and January 6, 1789, issues of the Mercury.

jority in favour of the address.[36] The Government supporters, in no way discouraged, drew up an address which was then open for public signature at Harrop's and Mr Shaw's Punch-House.[37] In next edition of the Mercury an advertisement opposing the address was signed by almost 500 citizens who felt that Pitt had no right to the thanks of the people of Manchester.[38] Despite this considerable opposition the Government supporters' address was sent and the Prime Minister replied in a letter suitably expressing his thanks [39]

The Regency crisis, however, only provided a preliminary skirmish to the real political differences that were to come. Manchester returned to its habitual tranquillity and the celebrations in March, 1789, to mark the King's recovery from his illness, were the occasion of great rejoicing from which party considerations were completely absent [40]

The first manifestations of active discontent came from the strong Dissenting interest in Manchester. Non-conformists throughout the country were calling for a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts which, since they excluded so many from the rights and functions of citizenship, were thought by many

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[36] Manchester Mercury, January 6, 1789.

[37] Ibid., January 13, 1789.

[38] Ibid., January 20, 1789 Morning Herald of January 19th printed a bitter attack on the dinner which Pitt's supporters at Manchester had held in the Bull's Head Tavern Derry, p 131.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid , March 24, 1789.

to be unjust.[41] A meeting was held on May 16, 1789, by the Protestant dissenting ministers of the locality to present their case for the immediate repeal of the Acts [42] This was the first in a series of meetings to be held at the Dissenters' room in Cheapside [43] Increased local activity in conjunction with attempted legislation in Parliament so alarmed the Established Church that its members called a meeting for February 3, 1790.[44] At this meeting it was resolved that any repeal of the Acts would be "subversive of the Constitution in Church and State, . . . that an established Religion is the Basis and best Security of civil Society, . . . and that the Corporation and Test Acts give Strength and Permanency to . . . the Constitution, and ought to be transmitted unimpaired to the latest Posterity "[45] This meeting was the cause of much recrimination and a lengthy correspondence in the Mercury appeared for the next two months discussing the legality of the proceedings. The Anglicans were accused of violating a decision of the town officials

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[41]The Corporation Act of 1661 prevented anyone holding local public office who had not taken the sacraments according to the Established Church The Test Act of 1673, aimed primarily at Roman Catholics, forbade anyone to hold office under the Crown who could not produce a certificate of attendance at the Church of England sacraments Discussed in J. R Tanner, English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century, 1603-1689 (Cambridge 1966), pp.227-235

[42]Manchester Mercury, May 26, 1789.

[43]Handforth, 89.

[44]Manchester Mercury, February 2, 1790.

[45]Ibid , February 9, 1790.

which forbade the calling of any but public meetings It was said that the gathering had been planned to consist only of the members of the Church of England. They insisted that the presence of the Dissenters, even though uninvited, had rectified the situation. Further complaints were made against the procedure of the meeting itself and both sides published long letters of accusation and denial in an attempt to justify their own conduct. This dispute was finally brought to an abrupt close in March when the motion for the repeal of the Acts was defeated in the Commons by an overwhelming majority.[46]

The result of this conflict was to divide local opinion into two distinct parties. The radical nature of the split in local politics was confirmed by the formation of the Manchester Church and King Club to celebrate the defeat of the Dissenters.[47] This organization amalgamated the Tory and Anglican interests in Manchester into a single political entity. Though later this organization was to become the bitter opponent of the radicals, for the moment its function was primarily the provision of an entertaining evening and good food and drink for its members. The members wore a uniform ornamented with buttons bearing an engraved design of the Old Church and their standing toast was "Church and King

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[46]Handforth,90.

[47]Manchester Mercury, March 16, 1790.

and down with the Rump," an old slogan given new meaning when directed against the advocates of reform.

This model of political organization was copied by the Manchester radicals when they formed the Manchester Constitutional Society in October of the same year.[48] This Society was composed mainly of merchants, manufacturers, and professional men, most of them being Dissenters and business men.[49]

In the latter half of 1790 the Church and King Club and the Constitutional Society continued to meet regularly There was no open hostility between the two groups although signs of the diverging alliances can be traced in the accounts of their meetings.[50] The mounting enthusiasm for political causes was indicated by the lists of toasts drunk at the various anniversary dinners held by both organizations during the year. The reformers, at the celebration of the 1688 Revolution in November, drank to the success of the French Revolution and to a speedy reform in Parliament.[51] The Church and King Club at a celebration in March, 1791, to commemorate the defeat of the Dissenters in the previous year, drank a great many "loyal and patriotic" toasts.[52]

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[48] Clare, 111.

[49] Ibid

[50] Handforth, 92.

[51] Manchester Mercury, November 11, 1788.

[52] Ibid., March 8, 1791.

The relatively peaceful atmosphere of the town was disrupted in the spring of 1791 by a controversy arising from the threat of war towards which Pitt's policy in the Near East seemed to be leading the country.[53] A meeting was held at the Exchange on April 19th, "for the purpose of considering the present alarming state of affairs between this country and Russia."[54] At this meeting the first resolution that was passed declared that "the people of Britain should consider the evils of an impending war " The second was "that in the opinion of this meeting no nation can be justified in engaging in war unless for reasons and upon principles strictly defensive." Further resolutions were to the effect that Great Britain, loaded as she was with heavy taxes and an enormous debt, should not engage in any war unless upon the most urgent and evident necessity. The

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[53]Relations between Britain and Russia were somewhat strained at this time owing to what was termed "the Empress Catherine's views of aggrandizement" in the territory between the Dniester and the Bug rivers Russia had annexed from the Turks a very considerable tract of country in that area, including the town of Oczakow, and refused to give it up. The Porte (OTTOMAN EMPIRE) was pressing for its return, and was supported by Prussia Anxious to preserve the balance of power in Europe, Pitt's government recommended to Parliament that Great Britain had a direct interest in any war between Russia and the Porte. He advocated military preparation to lend greater weight to Britain's representation. Fox and his followers vehemently denied that English interests were endangered by the Russian advance in Turkey, and said that Britain should be satisfied withCatherine's withdrawal of her forces from the greater part of the territory she had taken Harlow, Vol II (London 1964), p.410. Knight, p.58.

[54]Manchester Mercury, April 19, 1791. Handforth, 93. Knight, pp.58-59.

people of the country who would be taxed to pay for it had a right to full and correct information about the reason for war. The meeting felt that no sufficient reason had been put forward and it was the duty of the members of parliament to refuse to allow extra burdens on the people until the expediency should be fully shown.

The resolutions were sent to the office of the Mercury for publication but Joseph Harrop, having sought legal advice, refused to publish them Then followed a long argument between the legal advisers of the two factions.[55] Harrop's lawyers, James Topping of Norwich and William Roberts of Manchester, held that the resolutions attacked the King's prerogative in questioning his right to make war and that they tended to arouse dissatisfaction against the Government. The radicals, represented by four lawyers, maintained that they questioned, not the King's right to make war, but the right of Parliament to grant supplies for the waging of such a war. The reformers considered that the attack against the resolutions was an attempt to curtail the right of the people to public discussion. It is interesting to note, and not entirely unexpected, that the edition of the Mercury published immediately after the April 19th meeting contained an address to Thomas Stanley and John Blackburne, the members of Parliament for Lancashire, protesting against that meeting on

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[55]Handforth, 93. Manchester Mercury, May 2, 24, June 7, 1791

the grounds that "an Interference of this Nature was highly improper, on a Subject which the Constitution hath wisely lodged in the Hands of the Executive Power."[56] It was signed by 166 citizens and was left at Harrop's office until the following Saturday for additional signatures

Although the radicals objected to Pitt's policies on political grounds, local manufacturers were also anxious about the pending conflict with Russia. On April 28th a meeting of the merchants and manufactures of the West Riding of Yorkshire was held to discuss possible trade curtailment with Russia.[57] In their opinion the annual woolen export to Russia amounted to somewhere between 200,000 and 300,000. It was unanimously resolved at this meeting, "That as the Trade to Russia is of so much Importance to this Kingdom, and will be materially injured in case of a War, a Letter be written by the Chairman to both the Country Members, requesting them to give their Opposition to any such Measure." Similarly, it was resolved "that the Chairman do write to Thomas Walker, Esq., Boroughreeve, expressing a full Approbation of the Resolutions entered into at Manchester." On the same date a meeting of all the citizens of Norwich met to discuss the same problem[58] It was their conviction "that the principal

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[56] Manchester Mercury, April 26, 1791.

[57] Ibid., May 3, 1791.

[58] Ibid., May 10, 1791.

Support of the City . . . is derived from the Exportation of its Manufactures, the demand for which from Russia is very considerable, and affords Employment to a very numerous Body of Poor." A war with Russia would not only effect their export trade but also place "an almost intolerable Burthen to the Inhabitants," in order to support the poor who would be destitute of employment. The only response that the English manufacturers received was typified by Lord Grenville, Foreign Secretary (1791-1801), who "supposed, that were an interruption of the trade to be caused by the war, the British materials would find other markets. It was notorious that our articles were preferred by the Russians, and why? because they could not be supplied better elsewhere. He judged it neither wise nor politic to forfeit our political security to that of trade, which must only be a secondary consideration. . . ."[59] Before local and national action by the manufacturers could be mobilized the crisis passed and war with Russia was averted. In Manchester the position taken by the radicals served only to make them more suspect in the eyes of their fellow townsmen [60]

Neither Harrop nor Wheeler chose at this point to commit their papers to the support of either political group in the town. Bother printers welcomed the French Revolution

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[59] Ibid , May 17, 1791.

[60] Handforth, 93.

in its initial stages and were quite impartial in allowing proceedings of both loyalist and radical meetings to appear in their papers.[61] However, during the second half of 1791, Wheeler and Harrop became increasingly disturbed by the course of events in France and neither were prepared to associate their publications with such a policy [62] From the autumn of this year they exercised increasingly strict and biased censorship in their respective newspapers.[63] In late 1791 Wheeler refused to print an article by the national radical leader, Horne Tooke, and informed Thomas Walker, head of the local radical party, that he would have to refuse any similar contributions in the future.[64] At the same time the Mercury became "most decidedly and virulently aristocratic."[65] This was a critical juncture in Manchester local politics and marked the point when the two newspapers became identified with local Toryism.

This alliance caused the radicals to found their own paper in order to continue their struggle for public support

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[61] Manchester Mercury, passim.

[62] A general discussion of the effect that the French Revolution had on English thought and the reform movement during 1791-1792 can be found in Philip Anthony Brown, The French Revolution in English History (London 1918), pp 75-99. Carl B. Cone, The English Jacobins (New York: 1968), pp.92-164. Knight, pp 58-101.

[63] Clare, 111

[64] Ibid

[65] T. J. Howell, (ed.), A Complete Collection of State Trials, Vol. XXV (London 1818), pp 120-122. Cited by Clare,111.

and to combat the influence of the local party machine made all the stronger through its control of the local press. Some members of the Constitutional Society approached the printers, Falkner and Birch, who agreed to publish, under the editorship of Matthew Falkner, the radicals' own paper, the Manchester Herald.[66] The Herald was a purely political publication, the first edition of which appeared on March 31, 1792. The usual columns of advertisements and social gossip were reduced to a minimum. Like the Mercury, it contained accounts of parliamentary proceedings and affairs in London, but considerable space was devoted to communications from France. Its style was somewhat flamboyant, and its contents varied between "furious invective against its opponents and fulsome praise of everything French."[67] Its columns were filled with long and wordy letters, most written under pseudonyms, and usually dealing with the abuses of the constitution and the means of remedying them. The first issue of this paper revealed its intended political policy.

> The Political complexion of our Paper shall be neither MINISTERIAL nor ANTI-MINISTERIAL. Remote from the temptations of literary prostitution we shall have little inducement to favour any cause but 'that cause of the public.'[68]

They were determined to reveal to the public what it should

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[66] Handforth, 95.

[67] Ibid., 96

[68] Manchester Herald, March 31, 1792. Cited by Handforth, 96.

know and to make their publication decidely "the PAPER OF THE PEOPLE."[69]

With the decision by Harrop and Wheeler to discontinue publishing the correspondence and proceedings of the local radical societies, it becomes difficult to trace the development of political events in the newspaper press. By late 1792 and early 1793 radical activity reached its apex in local and national affairs [70] The latter half of 1792 saw the waning of radical popularity throughout the nation. In June a royal proclamation had been issued against seditious meetings and writings, and inn-keepers were warned that by allowing further meetings of radicals on their premises, they ran the risk of losing their licences [71] They proceeded to

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[69]Ibid The Herald was a distinct break with the usual run of provincial newspapers, which were generally commercial undertakings, conducted by printers on a profit-making basis, derived mainly from advertisement revenue. The Herald was primarily a political publication, with a declared political program, whose editiors placed their duty to the public before profit It was probably, asserts Donald Clare, "the first provincial newspaper to be established for purely political reasons." (112) Like the movement which it represented it had a short, but energetic, existence. With the growing public aversion to events in France, and the consolidated effort of the Tories through the Mercury and the Chronicle, the Herald was forced out of existence by March 23, 1793. (Handforth, 101) In that it was not representative of the provincial press, being a purely political publication, it lies outside the scope of this thesis.

[70]Handforth, 95.

[71]Manchester Mercury, May 29, 1792.

issue an advertisement declaring themselves to be "justly alarmed at the treasonable and seditious Conduct of a well-known set of daring MISCREANTS."[72]

In the fall of 1792, two new conservative societies were formed in Manchester to spear-head the attack against the reformers the Society for Preserving Liberty against Republicans and Levellers, which was instituted at the Black Swan by the Smithy Door, in November, and an association under the chairmanship of Joseph Harrop, with the aim of passing the constitution down intact to future generations.[73] The most important of the local conservative organizations, however, was an "Association for Preserving Constitutional Order and Liberty as well as Property against the various efforts of the Republicans and Levellers." Founded at a meeting on December 11, 1792, for the discussion of an address on the King's new proclamation ordering the embodiment of the militia under the threat of war, it soon assumed the leadership of the local conservative reaction.[74] A committee was appointed to begin a campaign against the reformers, using propaganda and attempted coercion.

The Manchester Herald which had been found by the reformers in March, 1792, ceased to exist the following March.

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[72] Ibid., September 18, 1792.

[73] Ibid , November 27, December 4, 11, 18, 1792. The December 11th edition also advertises similar meetings being held at Bolton and Birmingham Reports appeared in the Mercury throughout the month from other provincial towns including Chester, Bury, Wakefield, and Macclesfield.

[74] Ibid , December 4, 18, 1792.

In the early evening of December 11, 1792 a Church and King mob damaged the office of the Herald and the local civil authorities did little to discourage them until nearly midnight.[75] In the January, 1793, a legal campaign was launched against the Herald which led to its demise several months later [76] Local apathy, conservative reaction, and the Government policy to suppress the radical movement in England, all contributed to its demise by the summer of 1794, at which time the conservative element was in full control of Manchester.

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[75] Ibid., December 18, 1792. Handforth, 100.

[76] Handforth, 101.

VII. CONCLUSION

Between 1752 and 1794 Manchester entered a period of development which surpassed any other it had experienced for the rapidity and number of changes which occurred These changes had far-reaching effects which ultimately transformed the appearance of the town from an over-sized village, into an industrial metropolis, by eighteenth century standards. Between 1700 and 1800, the population of the town increased ten-fold to reach 100,000 During the same period the local system of government remained as it had been for the past several centuries. The problems that the expanding population of the town created provide one of the earliest examples of an increasingly vociferous public opinion Mancunians were forced to compensate for the inadequacies of their local government institutions by participating directly in the problem-solving process Their methods included forming associations to remedy a particular nuisance such as house-breaking or counterfeiting, advertising in the press, and sending letters to the printer. The local press, as typified by the Manchester Mercury, not only served as a chronicle of contemporary events, it encouraged individual expression, which in turn, fostered a community of interest in the township.

The local newspaper press also filled an educative function in the community It familiarized a traditionally insular populace with contemporary trends and events in London, the nation, and the colonies Extracts from the London press abounded in the Mercury, its columns and frequent supplements (often more than two pages in length) were filled with news from Parliament in the 1770's and 1780's, reports on foreign war efforts, numerous advertisements of new publications, ranging from journals to books for the layman, and the proceedings of local societies, both intellectual and practical. The Mercury provided extensive coverage of the founding and development of the Sunday School movement in Manchester, to the point of fostering a novel philanthropic spirit in the town. Advertisements appeared frequently in the press announcing the establishment of a variety of new institutions catering to the interests and inclinations of the citizens Local entertainment began to assume some of the polish and pretentions of London high-society, particularly at the numerous military balls, theatrical affairs, and other public functions. As Mancunians became more urbane, sophisticated, and "enlightened", they began to portray a new provincial character, completely unique to the metropolis. It was a character produced by a tireless, robust energy, accompanied by a progressive, yet materialistic and utilitarian philosophy.

As the cotton manufacture progressed, Manchester became the administrative center for the entire Lancashire region. Most of the manufacturers had their warehouses and offices in the town. The newly-formed friendly societies and trade associations also regarded Manchester as the organizational nucleus of the district. Issues which affected local industry, whether regional or national, were given full coverage in the Manchester newspapers. As a result, this publicity often consolidated the respective positions in the disagreement, and aggravated the entire situation This became very apparent in the numerous strikes and altercations between employer and employee after the 1750's. At the same time, periods of serious food shortage, and subsequent riots and demonstrations, were accorded substantial coverage in the press

Problems of urban expansion, increased intellectual ferment, economic and industrial unrest —— all given extensive coverage in the newspapers —— created a new aura of social awareness which, in turn, caused the evolution of an articulate public consciousness by the end of the century. This became apparent in the national commercial crises encountered by the Manchester manufacturers in 1784 and 1785, and the religious and political turmoil experienced by the town between 1788 and 1794.

The manufacturers of Manchester and Lancashire first found it necessary to exercise their combined influence

against the imposition of Pitt's Fustian Tax in 1784 Despite the aloof and insensitive position adopted by Pitt's ministry, the lobbying techniques employed by Thomas Walker, Josiah Wedgwood, and others of the General Chamber, accompanied by the overwhelming petitioning responce that was mobilized, showed the nation that the manufacturing interest was a force to be reckoned with when formulating national commercial policies The further success that the Chamber achieved by modifying Pitt's Irish Propositions in 1785, consolidated the manufacturers' position. Yet, it must be remembered that Thomas Walker's representations were supported by enthusiasm within the town, and a petition with more than 50,000 signatures from the surrounding countryside

The political and religious dissension which divided the town between 1788 and 1794 provides a final illustration of public opinion that reveals a newly-arrived maturity in public affairs The entire town divided into factions of Tory and Whig, Church and Dissent, or reaction and radicalism, and encountered a situation in which it was practically impossible to remain aloof from the heated debate. In this respect, public opinion in Manchester was representative of much of the English nation during these years.

APPENDIX A

LANCASHIRE DIRECTORIES CONTAINING REFERENCES TO MANCHESTER

Raffald, Elizabeth. The Manchester d containing an alphabetical list of the merchants, tradesmen, and principal inhabitants in the town of Manchester 1772

Raffald, Elizabeth The Manchester d. Manch , 1773.

Raffald, Elizabeth. The Manchester and Salford d Manch , 1781.

Tunnicliff, William A topographical survey of the counties of Stanford Chester and Lancaster. Nantwich, 1787.

Included d. of the principal merchants, etc , in Stockport, Lancaster, Kirkham, Blackburn, Bolton, Burnley, Bury, Rochdale, Bacup, Rossendale, Haslingden, Prescot, Preston, Leigh, Warrington, Ormskirk, Wigan, Ulverston, Manchester, Liverpool.

Holme, Edmond . A d for the towns of Manchester and Salford. Manch., 1788

Lewis's D. for the towns of Manchester and Salford. Manch., 1888.

Tunicliff, William. A topographical survey of the counties of Somerset . . . Chester, and Lancaster Bath, 1789.

Included d of merchants and manufacturers in Stockport, Lancaster, Kirkham, Blackburn, Bolton, Burnley, Bury, Rochdale, Bacup, Rossendale, Haslingden, Prescot, Preston, Leigh, Warrington, Ormskirk, Wigan, Ulverston, Manchester, Liverpool, also seats of gentry in Lancashire

The Universal British d. of trade and commerce inhabitants of London . the cities, towns and principal villages in England and Wales. 1790-8 4v.

v.1, London, v 2-4, The Provinces.
v.2 includes Bolton, Burnley, Bury, Cartmel, Chorley, Clitheroe 1793.
v.3 includes Garstang, Hawkshead, Lancaster, Leigh, Liverpool Manchester and Salford. 1794.
v 4 includes Rochdale, Warrington, Newton-le-Willows and Prescot 1798.

Scholes, John Manchester and Salford d Manch , 1794

G. H Tupling, (comp), Lancashire Directories, rev Sidney Horrocks (Manchester Joint Committee on the Lancashire Bibliography, 1968), pp 1-3.

APPENDIX B

REGULAR CARRIERS FROM MANCHESTER IN 1772

Destination	No	Days of Departure	Destination	No.	Days of Departure
London	6	5, Wed Sat.	Lancaster	1	Mon Fri.
		I, Tu.	Leeds	1	Tu. Th Sat.
Birmingham	1	Fri	Liverpool	1	Tu. Th. Sat.
Bolton	2	Tu. Th. Sat.	Macclesfield	1	Tu. Th. Sat.
Bristol	1	Wed.	Newcastle-on-		
Burnley	2	Tu. Th. Sat.	Tyne	1	Th.
Bury	1	Tu. Th Sat	Northwich	2	Tu Th. Sat.
Cambridge	1	Th.	Nottingham	2	I, Th. I, Sat.
Chester	2	I, Tu. Th.			
		Sat.	Pontefract	1	Sat.
		I, Th.	Preston	1	Mon. Fri.
Chorley	1	Tu. Th. Sat.	Rochdale	2	Tu. Th. Sat.
Chowbent	1	Tu. Th. Sat.	Salop	1	Sat.
Colne	1	Fri.	Sheffield	2	I, Th. I, Fri.
Derby	1	Th.	Stockport	2	Every day
Doncaster	1	Sat.	Wakefield	1	Tu. Th. Sat.
Halifax	2	I, Tu. Th.			
		Sat.	Wigan	2	Tu. Th. Sat.
		I, Mon. Th.	York	1	Sat.
Huddersfield	1	Mon. Th. Sat.			

One stage coach ran to London, and one to Liverpool, each on three days of the week.

On the Old Navigation between Manchester and Liverpool twenty-one vessels were engaged On the New Navigation between Manchester and Warrington nine vessels were engaged, also a number of open vessels called Tuns, and sailed between Manchester and Altrincham three days a week, and coal boats arrived in Manchester from Worsley every day.

Cited by George W. Daniels, The Early English Cotton Industry (London· 1920), p.71.

APPENDIX C

TABULAR STATEMENT OF ROADS TURNPIKED IN LANCASHIRE

FROM 1700 to 1760

ORIGINAL ACT	ROAD CONCERNED	TRUST EXPIRED
1724	Buxton and Chapel-en-le-Frith to Manchester	1860-75
1725	Liverpool to Prescot	1871
1726	Wigan to Preston via Buxton and Chorley	1866-7
1726	Wigan to Warrington	1877
1731	Manchester, Ashton, Mottram, and Saltesbrook	1884
1734	Manchester, Oldham and Austerlands	1880
1734	Rochdale, Blackstone Edge, Halifax and Elland	1872
1744	Prescot to St. Helens (united with the Liverpool, Warrington and Ashton roads)	1871
1750	Crosford Bridge, Stretford and Manchester	1872
1750	Richmond to Lancaster	1867-8
1750	Preston, Lancaster, to Heiring Sykes (Burton)	1875 n. 1882
1752	Didsbury to Wilmslow	1881
1752	Granage, Knutsford and Altringham	1881
1752	Mere to Warrington	1878
1752	Salford to Warrington, and Bolton to Wigan and Duxbury and to Worsley	1871-6
1752	Prescot to Warrington, St. Helens to Makerfield	1871
1754	Rochdale to Burnley	1880
1754	Manchester by Crumpsall to Rochdale, Bury and Radcliffe	1873-80
1754	Bradford and Haworth to the Blue Bell, near Colne	1860
1754	Skipton, Colne, Blackburn, Burnley and Walton	1873-81
1754	Skipton, Gisburn, Clitheroe, and Preston	1873-81

There were sixteen Acts in the 'sixties, half of which were in Lancashire, four in that county in the 'seventies, and four in the 'eighties. The 'fifties of the century with thirteen Acts were therefore the period of greatest activity in securing turnpike Acts for the county

Cited by Louis W. Moffit, England on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution (London 1925), p.290.

APPENDIX D

I. EXTRACT FROM THE ACT PASSED LAST SESSION OF PARLIAMENT FOR CLEANSING AND LIGHTING THE STREETS, LANES, AND PASSAGES, WITHIN THE TOWNS OF MANCHESTER AND SALFORD, AND FOR PROVIDING FIRE ENGINES AND FIREMEN, AND FOR PREVENTING ANNOYANCES WITHIN THE SAID TOWNS, WHICH ACT COMMENCES AND TAKES PLACE FROM THE FIRST OF JULY INSTANT.

After the first of July Instant, the Inhabitants are to sweep and cleanse the Streets before their Houses, every Monday and Friday Morning, between Ten and Twelve o'Clock, and put the Dirt together, ready to be carried away by the Scavenger, on Pain of forfeiting Five Shillings for every Offence or Neglect.

No Person to throw or lay any Ashes, Rubbish, or Dirt, of any Sort in the Streets, or into the River, but to keep it in their Houses or Yards, untill the Scavenger, or some other proper Person, to be appointed by Virture of the Act, shall call for it, once a Week, on Pain of Five Shillings for every Offence.

All Kids and Faggots, used by Bakers, to be immediately removed, to the Distance at least of One Hundred Yards from any House or Building, (except only what shall be sufficient for one Days Use) and all Water Spouts that convey Water from the Tops of the Houses and Buildings into the Streets, in such a Manner as to annoy Passengers, are to be removed, and the Water conveyed in such a Manner as not to incommode Passengers, on Pain of Five Pounds for every Offence, and Five Shillings a Day for every Day the Nuisance shall remain unremoved after Notice

If any Chimney shall be wilfully or negligently set on Fire, or suffered to be set on Fire, or take Fire, the Person occupying the House, Room, or Building, to forfeit Five Shillings for every Offence

Persons wilfully or maliciously breaking, extinguishing or damaging Lamps, or any Thing belonging thereto, or damaging the Fire Engines, or any Thing belonging to them, or obstructing the Commissioners, or any Person employed by them, in the Execution of this Act, to forfeit five Pounds for their first

Offence, and for the second and every other Offence, Ten Pounds, to be recovered by Distress and Sale of the Offender's Goods, and for Want thereof, the Offender to be committed to the House of Correction, for any Time not exceeding a Month, nor less than 14 days.

And Persons carelessly, negligently, or accidentally, breaking, extinguishing, or damaging Lmaps, or any Thing belonging thereto, to make immediate Satisfaction for the Damage, to be recovered by Distress and Sale.

Cited by the MANCHESTER MERCURY, July 16, 1765

II. AN ABSTRACT OF SOME OF THE PENAL CLAUSES OF AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT LATELY PASSED, FOR CLEANSING AND LIGHTING THE TOWNS OF MANCHESTER AND SALFORD.

Every Scavenger, Lighter of Lamps, and Fireman, for every Default in his Office, shall Forfeit the Sum of Twenty Shillings.

Every Inhabitant of either of the said Towns, on every Monday and Friday, and oftener, if required by the Commissioners, shall Sweep to the Middle of the Streets, opposite their own Premises, and put the Dirt and Soil most conveniently together, that the Scavengers may carry it away, or Forfeit Five Shillings for every Neglect.

Every Scavenger neglecting to Sweep and Cleanse, Forfeits Five Shillings.

No Person shall throw, cast, or lay, any Ashes, Rubbish, Dust, Dirt, Dung, or other Filth or Annoyance in any Street, Causeway, Lane, Passage, Church-yard, Water-court, or into the River IRWELL, at any place within the said Towns, upon Forfeiture of Five Shillings for every Offence.

The Scavengers shall come with Carts, every Friday or oftener, for every Person's Dirt, Soil, &c. giving Notice of such his coming, by Bell or otherwise, to take the same away, or Forfeit Five Shillings for every Neglect.

The Inhabitants may take away their own Sweepings, provided they do it before the Scavengers come, and may lay down in the Streets, &c. Muck, Dung and Manure from their Dung holes, for the Convenience of carrying away but if the same lie there above twenty four Hours, every Neglect is a Forfeiture of Five Shillings

Bakers for Sale or Hire, shall remove their Wood, Kids and Fuel, to the Distance at least 100 Yards from any House or Buildings, (excepting for one Days use only) upon Forfeiture of Five Pounds, for Neglect, and also upon Forfeiture of Five Shillings a day, after the Expiration of the Time mentioned in the Commissioners Notice

The Owner, or Proprietor of every Spout, fixed to any Building, for carrying Water from the same, being a Nuisance, or an Annoyance to the Street, &c shall remove the same, or Forfeit Five Pounds, and also Five Shillings a Day, after the Time of Notice expired

Where the Owner shall refuse to alter such Spouts, the Tenant shall do it, or Forfeit Five Pounds, but may Default the expense of such Removal, out of his next Rent.

Every Person occupying a House, Room, or Building, the Smoke Chimney or Funnel whereof shall take Fire, or be negligently, wilfully set on Fire, shall Forfeit for every such Offence, Five Shillings.

Every Person who shall wilfully break, displace, extinguish or damage any Lamp or Lamps, or wilfully damage the Posts, Irons, or other Furniture or Materials belonging thereto, or wilfully obstruct any Officer, employed in any wise in the Execution of the said Act, shall for the first Offence, Forfeit Five Pounds for the second Offence, Ten Pounds, and for the third and every other Offence, the like Sum of Ten Pounds

Collectors appointed by the Commissioners, refusing to execute their Office, Forfeit each Ten Pounds, and are liable to serve again, as soon as the Commissioners shall think Proper.

The Commissioners are determined to prosecute all the abovementioned Offences with Rigour, and have ordered this Notice to be given by their Clerks

JOHN KAY
JAMES JUSTUS BARLOW

MANCHESTER MERCURY, NOVEMBER 5, 1765

APPENDIX E

A SAMPLING OF ADVERTISEMENTS FOR COURSES AND LECTURES APPEARING IN THE MANCHESTER MERCURY BETWEEN 1752 AND 1782

September 14, 1756
- J. Arden
- Course of Experimental Philosophy and Astronomy
- mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, astronomy, geography
- eleven lectures at twelve shillings for the course
- apparatus is "extensive and elegantly finished with the latest Improvements."

March 23, 1762
- A. Walker
- Lectures in Geography and the use of Globes
- twenty lectures
- 12d. entrance, one-half guinea for course
- two evenings per week.

September 28, 1762
- Mr. Ferguson
- Lectures on mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, spherics, and astronomy
- twenty lectures
- one guinea for the course or non-subscribers, eighteen pence per lecture.

November 6, 1762
- J. Arden
- Lectures on Experimental Philosophy
- properties of matter, mechanics, astronomy, geography, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics
- course fee one guinea
- single lecture two shillings
- "Apparatus made Use of for demonstrating the Experimental Part of these Lectures, is very extensive, neat, and elegently furnished, according to the latest Improvements."

January 4, 1763
- Mr Whitaker
- Course of Lectures in Astronomy, Geography, and the Use of the Globes
- "providing with a suitable Apparatus for that Purpose, viz. Globes, Maps, a Planetarium, etc , and proposes Beginning so soon as a Sufficient Number have subscribed."

March 22, 1763
- A Walker
- Lectures in Geography and Astronomy
- "These Lectures convey a familiar Idea of Nature and Properties of the fixed Stars and Planets —— Of the Situation, Extent, Government, Produce, Trade, Manners, Customs, Religion, etc , of every remarkable Place on the Face of the Earth —— and the Reasons of Summer and Winter; Day and Night, Long and Short Days, Wind, Rain, Tides, Thunder, Earthquakes, etc."
- 10s. 6d. for the course.

March 27, 1764
- G Witchell
- full page explanation of the eclipse of the sun to occur on April 1st, 1764
- background information on the general and scientific nature of eclipses

May 29, 1764
- Mr. Ferguson
- "proposes to begin his Course of Lectures in Experimental Philosophy" on June 4, 1764.

July 31, 1764
- George Alexander Stevens
- "Lecture upon Heads, Head-Dresses, etc."
- "calculated for the Entertainment of Persons of Understanding, Education and Taste "

September 4, 1770
- Rev J. Herries
- Course of Six Lectures on the Art of Speaking in Public
- "Wherein will be illustrated the whole Principles of Eloquence, both in Regard to Composition and Delivery, by a Method entirely new, as they were deliver'd at Essex House, in the Strand, London."
- course of lectures 10s 6d , or 2s. per lecture

September 3, 1771
- A. Walker
- Course of Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy
- "Consisting of every new and useful Discovery that has been made in Astronomy, Use of the Globes, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Mechanics, Engineering, Fortification, Magnetism, Electricity, Optics, etc "
- twelve lectures
- one guinea for gentlemen, one-half guinea for ladies

December 15, 1772
- Mr. Warltire
- Course of Ten Lectures upon General Chemistry
- "in which he will particularly attend to the Properties of several Substances imployed in the Art of DYING, and to the Theory of many Processes relating to Colours As practical Chemistry depends much upon an Acquaintance with Mechanical Properties of Bodies, the leading ones, especially such as relate to AIR, Water, and Light, will be proved by Experiments."
- course 10s. 6., or 1s. 6d. per lecture.

March 1, 1774
- Peter Clare
- Lectures on Electricity
- "upwards of 100 curious and entertaining Experiments will be shown, during the Course of them."
- Eight lectures
- course 8s., or non subscribers 2s. 6d. per lecture.

May 17, 1774
- Mr. Cresswick
- one lecture on Reading to take place on May 30, 1774
- two shillings.

August 2, 1774
- Mr. Arden
- same as November 9, 1762.

August 29, 1775
- Mr. Lee (formerly manager of Theatre Royal)
- "A Dissertation of the English Stage" in three parts

October 24, 1775
- Son of Col. Katterfelto's "Grand Exhibition"
- "Spent a considerable Fortune, purposely to improve himself, and give Improvements in Philosophy and Mathematics "
- "a great Variety of Apparatus to amuse himself, and give Instruction to the Public "
- 2s or 1s. seats.

January 9, 1776
- Mr Banks
- Course of Lectures in Philosophy
- Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Optics, Electricity, Magnetism, Geography, Astronomy
- "The Lectures are illustrated by Six Experiments, performed upon a Valuable Apparatus, collected for explaining the first Principles of these useful Parts of Philosophy. Geography and Astronomy are illustrated by Globes, the Planetarium, Orrery, etc."
- one guinea for the course.

May 5, 1778
- P Clare
- expanded version of March 1, 1774, lectures on electricity
- twelve lectures
- also includes electricity, magnetism, pneumatics, mechanics
- course 10s 6d., gentlemen under fifteen and ladies, 5s. 3d.

June 30, 1778
- H. Clarke
- lectures on geography and astronomy
- series offered twice a year
- 2s. 6d entrance and one guinea for the course
- given at Commercial and Mathematical School in Salford.

September 8, 1778
- James Booth, "Inventor of the Crenecludon or artificial Ebbing and Flowing Well, Acquarius's Urn, Draining Syphon, the Miner's Ventilator, etc."
- Lecturers on Natural and Experimental Philosophy
- mechanics, pneumatics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, optics, electricity
- six lectures based on course of thirty original lectures
- course 10s 6d or 2s. 6d. per lecture.

February 16, 1779
- Mr. Pitt
- Course in Natural and Experimental Philosophy
- "The Properties of Matter, Electricity, Mechanics, Astronomy, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Magnetism, Pneumatics, Optics, and other Miscellaneous Experiments"
- less than fifteen subscribers one guinea, more than thirty subscribers 10s 6d.
- non-subscribers 2s. per lecture
- ten, twelve or fourteen lectures.
- "This Course consists of all the most curious and useful Parts of Philosophy, and very agreeable sets before the inquisitive Mind, the most useful Productions of Human Art and Enquiry."

March 16, 1779
- Mr. Warltire
- "Lectures and Experiments upon the very important Discoveries of Dr. Priestley and Others, relating to different Kinds of Air, and elastic Vapours. The Plan of this Course is to give so much of the Principles of Chemistry as is necessary to render the late Discoveries easily understood, and to apply the whole to explain the Animal Economy, Vegetation, Mineral, Meteors, the Doctrine of Fire, Colour, Agriculture, etc."
- one guinea for the course
- 10s. 6d. for ladies.

April 3, 1781
- Doctor Moyes
- "Course of Lectures upon the most curious and important Subjects of Philosophical Chemistry."
- twenty-eight lectures
- course one guinea, 2s per lecture
- M,W,F. one hour per lecture.

APPENDIX F

Very little is known about the background to the establishment of the Literary and Philosophical Society other than it grew out of a weekly club which had been held for some years prior to 1781 to discuss literary and philosophical topics. It is possible that this weekly club was the same Conversation Society which met weekly from October 16, 1770, until February 25, 1777 [1] Only one member of the Literary and Philosophical Society, James Whitaker, can be traced to the Conversation Society as its librarian in 1772. The Manchester Mercury gives only three other members over the seven year period [2] However, the fact that the Conversation Society met weekly during the time of its existence and discussed subjects of a literary and philosophical nature suggests that this was the forerunner of the Literary and Philosophical Society. The topics of conversation were published weekly in the Mercury for the entire period in the form of questions, the results of which were published the following week. Membership in the Society cost one-half guinea for the season, which lasted for twenty-one nights during the winter season, from October to February [3] Non-subscribers could attend any meeting for one shilling admission [4] Although the Society appeared to flourish in its early years,[5] rising to a membership of nearly ninety in 1773,[6] by 1775 the Mercury reported that it:

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[1] Manchester Mercury, October 16, 1770; February 25, 1777, passim.

[2] Ibid., September 22, 1772. Nicholson, 103.

[3] Manhcester Mercury, September 22, 1772

[4] Ibid.

[5] The Manchester Mercury of March 16, 1773, and March 15, 1774, reveals that membership dues resulted in a surplus of £27 19s. 2d. and £21 17s 3d. respectively, which were devoted to the College Church Charity School because "without some such timely Reliefs, the School, consisting of 120 poor Children, will be obliged to be reduced in its Number and Cloathing "

[6] Ibid., August 24, 1773.

Has of late greatly languished, for Want of that proper Countenance and Support, which might naturally have been expected from the Opulent and Ingenious, more especially so when it is considered, that to improve the Minds and Morals of Youth, has always been deemed essentially necessary in every well ordered Community.[7]

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[7] Ibid., July 25, 1775.

APPENDIX G

Much has been written about the rise of the Dissenting Academies in Great Britain and their role in educational developments of the eighteenth century. An overview of their existence lies outside the narrative of this thesis, but mention is necessary of the Warrington Academy because of the important relation this institution had on educational trends in Manchester during its existence Pupils at Warrington were encouraged to participate in discussions based on a rational examination of all that they were taught The goal of education was to "fashion good citizens, acceptable members of the congregation, skilled in the deportment of human society "[1] To this end the curriculum was designed to include history, philosophy, and political science. History, wrote Isaac Watts

> Is a necessary study in the supreme place for gentlemen who deal in politics. The government of nations and the distressing and desolating events which have in all ages attended the mistakes of politicians, should be ever present in their minds to warn them to avoid the like conduct.[2]

The study of history was thought to be the best substitute for experience. However, since the history of nations was conceived as the history of individuals, it was felt that it could only be understood by a thorough knowledge of human nature.[3] "That which is of most importance for all learned men to be acquainted with," wrote Watts, "is the law of nature, or the Knowledge of right and wrong among mankind."[4]

It was the novelty and width of their curriculum that made the academies unique Instruction also included grammar, logic, geometry, geography, astronomy, natural philosophy, and poetry But it was in the field of natural philosophy that the academies chiefly distinguished themselves.

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[1]Anthony Lincoln, Some Political and Social Ideas of English Dissent 1763-1800 (London 1938), p.68.

[2]Isaac Watts, Works, Vol. V, Improvement of the Mind, Part I, p.304. Cited by Lincoln, p.79

[3]Lincoln, p.81.

[4]Watts, Ibid., p.308. Cited by Lincoln, p.82.

Warrington is a good illustration of this comprehensive type of curriculum.[5] Joseph Priestley, one of the foremost scholars at Warrington, taught classics and Hebrew, modern languages, grammar and rhetoric, logic, history, politics, and law. Outstanding emphasis was laid upon mathematics, natural science, and "pneumatology." The effect that this broad, contemporary curriculum had on the pupils, accompanied by rigorous study and frequent discussions, was to produce future citizens who were well-educated, out-spoken, confident, and above all, who desired to take a foremost part in the controversies of the day.[6] In the eighteenth century the Dissenting Academies strove to satisfy the needs of the upper middle class for a practical modern education and they held "that for an education to be liberal it was imperative that it should be in touch with life and should therefore include as many utilitarian subjects as possible."[7] In the last quarter of the century education in Manchester was directly influenced by men educated at Warrington and other academies.

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[5]Lincoln, p.78.

[6]Irene Parker, Dissenting Academies in England (New York Octagon Books, 1969), pp.125-126.

[7]Ibid., pp.133-134.

APPENDIX H

Even as late as 1795, with improved roads and river navigations, the import of food stuffs into Manchester was a priority In the words of a contemporary historian of the town, John Aiken, "the supply of provision to this populous town and neighbourhood is a circumstance well derseving of notice." He wrote

> Formerly oatmeal, which was the staple article of diet of the labouring class in Lancashire, was brought from Stockport, and the prices of meal and corn in the Friday's market there, ruled those of Manchester . . . Since that time, the demand for corn and flour has been increasing to a vast amount, and new sources of supply have been opened from distant parts by the navigations, so that monopoly or scarcity cannot be apprehended, though the price of these articles must always be high in a district which produces so little and consumes so much.
>
> Early cabbages, and cucumbers for pickling, are furnished by gardeners about Warrington, early potatoes, carrots, peas, and beans, from the sandy land on and about Bowden downs. Potatoes, now a most important auxiliary to bread in the diet of all classes, are brought from various parts, especially from about Runcorn and Frodsham, by the duke of Bridgwater's canal. Apples, which form a considerable and valuable article of the diet even of the poor in Manchester, used in pies or puddings, are imported from the distance of the cyder counties by means of the communicating canals, and in such quantities, that upwards of £3,000 in a year has been paid for their freight alone The articles of milk and butter, which used to be supplied by the dairy-farmers in the vicinity, at moderate rates, are now, from the increase of population, become as dear as in the metropolis, and are furnished in a similar manner, . . and the butter from considerable distances, as well as salt butter from Ireland and other places. Of butcher's meat, veal and pork are mostly brought by country butchers and farmers, mutton and beef are slaughtered by the town butchers, the animals being generally driven from a distance, except the milch cows of the neighbourhood, which are fattened when old The supply of meat and poultry is sufficiently plentiful on market days, but on

other days it is scarcely possible to procure beef from the butchers, nor is poultry to be had at any price, there being no such trade as a poulterer in the whole town. Wild fowl of various kinds are brought to market in the season.

With fish, Manchester is better provided than might be expected from its inland situation. The greatest quantity of sea-fish comes from the Yorkshire coast, consisting of large cod, lobsters, and turbots, of which last, many are sent even to Liverpool, on an overflow of the market Soles, chiefly of a small size, come from the Lancashire coast. Salmon are brought in plenty from the rivers Mersey and Ribble, principally the latter. The rivers in the neighbourhood abound in trout, and in what is called brood, which are young salmon from one to two years old, . . . Salmon trout is also plentiful, and likewise fine eels . . . . Many ponds and old marl-pits in the neighbourhood are well stored with carp and tech, and pike and other fresh water fish are often brought to market. The poor have a welcome addition to their usual fare, in the herrings from the Isle of Man, which in the season are brought in large quantities, and are sold at a cheap rate

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Aiken, pp.203-205.

APPENDIX I

The disturbances which were occasioned by periods of food scarcity and the subsequent legislation enacted by the authorities to control the sale of foodstuffs in the market place, are indicative of a trend in the latter part of the century when national economic policies were beginning to depart from traditional paternalistic legislation in favour of a self-regulating economy. This inherent attutude began to become law with the repeal of legislation against forestalling after a long debate accompanied by much pamphlet agitation between 1767 and 1772 [1]

Until the 1770's the paternalistic model of the marketing and manufacturing process was the usual recourse of local authoritories during periods of dearth. In this model, marketing was intended to be direct from the farmer to the consumer [2] The farmers were to bring their corn in bulk to the local market place without selling it while still standing in the fields, or withholding it in the hope of rising prices The markets were to be controlled, no sales were to be made before stated times, when a bell would ring, the poor were to have an opportunity to buy grain, flour, or meal first, in small parcels, with duly-supervised weights and measures. At a certain hour, when their needs were satisfied, a second bell would ring, and the larger licensed dealers would make their purchases Dealers were subject to the many restrictions codified in the reign of Edward VI, against forestalling, regrating, and engrossing. Dealers were not to buy, and farmers were not to sell, by sample. They could not buy standing crops, nor could they purchase to sell again (within three months) in the same market at a profit, or in the neighbouring markets. There were laws governing consumer-protection as well as market-supervision.[3] For example, millers and bakers were considered to be servants of the community, working not for a profit but for a fair allowance. Many of the poor would buy their grain direct in the market, take it to the mill to be ground, where the miller would exact a customary toll, and then they would bake their own bread.

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[1] Thompson, 89.

[2] Ibid., 83.

[3] Ibid., 83-84.

One of the best surviving records of a well-regulated manorial market in the eighteenth century is that of Manchester.[4] Market-lookers for fish, corn weights and measures, white meats, the Assize of Bread, ale tasters, and officers to prevent "engrossing, forestalling and regretting" were appointed throughout the century. Fines for short weight and measure, unmarketable meat, and other offences, were frequent until the 1750's. Fines after 1760 include the illegal sale of wheat, butter, oats, eels, meat, and potatoes [5] Although prosecutions were infrequent, they are sufficiently evident to suggest that they had some effect upon regulating petty dealing in the open market. Much of the entire Lancashire district was strongly traditional in this respect, and as late as 1795 Aiken wrote of the Preston market·

> The weekly markets . are extremely well regulated to prevent forestalling and regrating. None but the town's-people are permitted to buy during the first hour, which is from eight to nine in the morning· at nine others may purchase· but nothing unsold must be withdrawn from the market till one o'clock, fish excepted.[6]

During 1756 the Privy Council, in additon to setting in motion the old laws against forestalling, issued a proclamation enjoining all farmers to bring their corn to market and not sell by sample at their dwellings, under the threat of severe penalties [7] By the late eighteenth century it was becoming obvious to officials concerned with regulating the national economy that paternal legislation was having a very limited influence in remedying the situation. However, the paternalistic model continued to exist for two reasons· first, "it gave magistrates in disturbed districts, in time of dearth, some room for manoeuvre, and some endorsement to their attempts to reduce prices by suasian, and second, their was considerable pressure on the officials to use these regulations because the people had "adopted parts of the model as their right and heritage."[8]

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[4] Ibid., 84.

[5] Ibid., 96

[6] Aiken, p.286.

[7] Thompson, 85-86.

[8] Ibid., 88

APPENDIX J

The dominant industrial policy of the sixteenth century was the establishment of some regulating authority to perform, for the trade of the time, the services formerly rendered by the Craft Gilds This attitude found its fullest expression in the Statute of Apprentices enacted in 1563. Its purpose was to "yield unto the hired person, a convenient proportion of wages " Every year the justices of each locality were to meet, "and calling unto them such discreet and grave persons as they shall think meet, and conferring together respecting the plenty or scarcity of the time" were to fix the wages of practically every kind of labour, their decisions being enforceable by heavy penalties. Stringent regulations as to the necessity of apprenticeship, the length of its term, and the number of apprentices to be taken by each employer, received the confirmation of law. The typical ordinances of the medieval gild were, in fact, enacted in minute detail in a comprehensive general statute applying to the greater part of the weaving industry of the period. In effect it codified and enacted the fundamental principles of the medieval social order, principles which still prevailed at the beginning of the eighteenth century. For the first half of the century the governing classes continued to support this attitude.

The repeal of the Gloucestershire Woolen Cloth Weavers' Act of 1756, a year later, marked the beginning of a new era of laissez-faire economic policy later formulated into an entire philosophy by Adam Smith in his Wealth of Nations. S. and B. Webb have described this transition as one from a policy of medieval protection to one of "Administrative Nihilism." The dispute over the Act was essentially one between the operatives, on the one hand, who asked that the Act might be strengthened in their favour, and the employers, on the other, who declared that the rates fixed by the justices were becoming absolutely impracticable in the face of growing competition from Yorkshire. The clothiers asserted the advantages of freedom of contract and unrestrained competition. The weavers wanted to ensure their customary earnings by law. The inability of the artisans to obtain legal regress for their grievances led to the formation of permanent trade combinations for this purpose.

The movement was accelerated by the industrial revolution and the accompanying factory system which ultimately led to "the definite separation between the functions of the capitalist entrepreneur and the manual worker " In other words "only in those industries in which the worker has ceased to be concerned in the profits of buying and selling —— that inseparable characteristic of the ownership and management of the means of production —— can effective and stable trade organizations be established." After 1757, as each trade in turn felt the effect of the new capitalist competition, the journeymen, and often also the smaller employers, would petition for redress, usually demanding the prohibition of the new machines, the enforcement of a seven years' apprenticeship, or the maintenance of the old limitation of the number of boys to be taught by each employer. The House would usually appoint a Committee to investigage the complaint In turn, the manufacturers would produce before the sane Committee an overwhelming array of evidence proving that without the new machinery the growing export trade must be arrested, that the new processes could be learnt in a few months instead of seven years, and that the restriction of the old master-craftsman to two or three apprentices apiece was out of the question with the new buyers of labour on a large scale. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the governing classes, who had found in the new industrial policy a source of enormous profit, seized on the new economic theory as "an intellectual and moral justification" of that policy. This abandonment of government protection coincided, after mid-century, with periods of economic dearth, accompanied by violent fluctuations in wages and prices Thus a consolidated movement toward the establishment of workers combinations and friendly societies designed to protect the livelihood of the labouring class appeared, which were toevolve into the trade unions of the nineteenth century.

This entire discussion is based on the ideas advanced by Sidney and Beatrice Webb's The History of Trade Unionism (London· 1935), pp 41, 48-9, 51, 53, 55.

APPENDIX K

Following is an extract of Mansfield's Address which appeared in the Manchester Mercury, April 3, 1759

You have just now submitted to an Indictment wherein you are charg'd with an unlawful Combination to raise the wages of your Labour to a Pitch above what hath heretofore been usual and accustomed, and more than the several Articles of the Manufactory can possibly bear The Nature of this offence charged upon you is such, as (had the Fault been perserved in) must have drawn after it a Train of the most dreadful Consequences. It would have ruined that Branch of Manufactory in particular in which you are concerned, and, by the iniquitous Schemes set on Foot, compell'd the Traders therein to have remov'd their Capitals to a more happy Climate; the Mischiefs you intended for others, would have fallen on your own Heads, aggravated with this Circumstance, that yourselves were the Occasion of it, and you with your Families have been left the miserable Spectacle of Want and Poverty, the Laws making your Removal not so easy, and in this Time of Distress, perhaps some foreign Nation rob us of the Jewel we could not properly value. And yet are there others (equally desirous of the Subversion of Order) who have been encouraged to harbour the like Principles, and productive of equal bad Consequences in their Branch? Surely not. Shall that Town so remarkable formerly for Industry be now ruined by Sloth? What a melancholy Prospect? That the whole Trade of Manchester, the formerly indulgent Mother, and tender Nurse of Manufactories, that now opulent, flourishing, and much envied Place, be reduced to the greatest Distress, robb'd of its Riches, bereav'd of its Trade, and stripped of its Inhabitants?

That this might be the Case, and that the Occasion, witness the Town of Lynn, and many other too melancholy Instances of what I assert And should the Contagion spread itself, which (without a timely check) might be feared, the Manufactories of the Nation might be endangered, as our Enemies are watchful of every Opportunity, and ready to avail themselves of every Disorder in our Constitution, so would they eagerly catch at this, in order to deprive us of the certain Source of our Riches, the Support of ourselves, and the Annoyance of them.

And there seems the greater Reason to have feared their Success, in such Attempt, as such Confederacies would have occasioned the greatest Confusion betwixt the lower Class of People and

their Superiors, in all Trades and Occupations, in every Manufactory, and in every Employ. If Inferiors are to prescribe to their Superiors, if the Foot aspire to be the Head, if every Man is aiming to follow the Evil of his ways without Restraint or Control, to what End are Laws enacted? And how plainly appears the Subversion of the most happy Constitution the known World can boast of? And yet I wish I could say that there was no strange Infatuation amongst the lower Class of People to imbibe these Notions In the present Case, if a Company of Weavers must lay down Rules to be observ'd by their Employers, under Pain of their not working at all, their Demands (as it appears) will be too great and extravagant for the Trade to support, and consequently destroy it If the Prices of every New Pattern must be directed by that Company, the Invention will immediately be made publick, all will have an equal Advantage of it, and no Reward left for the Labour, or Encouragement for the Ingenuity of the Inventor. If no man must either employ or be employed in any Branch of Trade but who have served a limited Number of Years to that Branch, the particular Trades will be lodged in few Hands, to the Damage of the Publick; and that Liberty of setting up Trades, (the Foundation of the present flourishing Condition of Manchester) destroy'd.

In the Infancy of Trade, the Acts of Queen Elizabeth might be well calculated for the publick Weal, but now, when it is grown to that Perfection we see it, it might perhaps be of Utility to have those Laws repealed, as tending to cramp and tye down that Knowledge it was a first necessary to obtain by Rule.

Therefore all Combinations of this Kind and Nature, are to be guarded against as much as possible, and it is the indispensable Duty of every one, as a Friend to the Community, to endeavour to suppress them in their Beginnings, and especially of every well-disposed Person to be careful to avoid being drawn in as a Member, either by a Subscription, or otherwise, however plausible may be the Invitation.

APPENDIX L

A copy of the Lancashire petition was published in a supplement to the Manchester Mercury on April 5, 1785. It read as follows

To the Hon. the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled. The Humble Petition of the Callico Manufacturers and Printers, of the County Palatine of Lancaster, and Counties adjacent,

Sheweth,

That your Petitioners are exceedingly alarmed at the Resolutions brought before this Hon House, relating to the Commercial Regulations between Great Britain and Ireland, which if carried into effect, they have no doubt will in their consequences be greatly injurious to the commerce and manufactures of this country

That the principal part of the expence in the various articles of the cotton and callico manufactures, together with the printing, consists in the price of labour, which is greatly enhanced by the many heavy taxes with which this country is burthened.

That the people of Ireland being in a great measure free from taxes, the price of labour is consequently very low.

That to carry on the same extent of business in this country as in Ireland, a much greater capital will be required, on account of the difference in price of labour, and the very heavy duties on the bleaching and printing of cotton goods From these considerations, your petitioners have sufficient reason to fear that this valuable branch of manufacture, which at present is computed to employ upwards of 500,000 people, will be immediately very much hindered, and the consulption of this country in time wholly supplied by the manufactures of Ireland.

That your Petitioners are apprehensive, that no duties laid on the importation of Irish manufactures will be sufficient security to the British manufacturer, as it is well known that high duties continually operate as an inducement to smuggle

Your Petitioners humbly hope, that this Hon. House will take the same into consideration, and prevent those resolutions

from passing into a law, and that they may be heard, by themselves or Counsel, in support of the allegations contained in this Petition.

Signed by upwards of 50,000 Manufacturers.

APPENDIX M

During the first half of the eighteenth century local politics in Manchester were related to episodes in national affairs and party alignments were as closely associated with religious differences as they were with political opinions. Party alignments found their origin in differences of opinion and faith held by Churchmen and Dissenters, members of the High and Low Church congregations, and Whigs and Tories The Tories controlled offices of local government as justices of the peace, church wardens and officers of the Court Leet, the Whigs consisted mainly of merchants and manufacturers from dissenting backgrounds.

Friction between these two factions erupted openly in 1715 and 1745, but attention had already been attracted to Lancashire before the end of the previous century. In 1693-4 a plot had been discovered, of a possible Irish invasion by Roman Catholics in order to oppose the succession of William of Orange to the throne of England During this period Lancashire was regarded as a "hotbed" for Roman Catholic sympathizers. The Lord-Lieutenant was so anxious about controlling the situation that he brought out the militia and even went so far as to arm the Protestant Dissenters Those suspected of being involved in the "Lancashire Plot" were brought to trial but acquitted due to insufficient evidence The result of this action was to further strengthen the Jacobite cause in Lancashire.

On June 19, 1715, a mob led by Thomas Sydall, an avowed Jacobite, destroyed and burned the dissenter's Cross Street Chapel in Manchester A detachment of regular troops was sent to restore order but was temporarily repelled Dislike of the new regime, combined with the apathy and lack of power of the local authorities, enabled Jacobite sympathy to spread rapidly during the following weeks Violent demonstrations also occurred in West Bromwich, Wolverhampton, Leeds, and nearby Warrington.

Again in 1745, Manchester was briefly involved in national political unrest During Charles Stuart's march from Scotland to Derby, a group of two hundred Manchester men joined his army. This "Manchester Regiment" actually consisted only of a group of men "who admitted that, being out of work, they had decided to join whatever army first appeared in the

neighbourhood." The Pretender's army entered Manchester on November 29th and received a warm welcome, although it has been pointed out that "it is difficult to see how they could have refused in a town occupied by an army of about 5,000 Highlanders." This was substantiated during Charles Stuart's retreat when the inhabitants "hastened to make amends for their former behaviour." Their attitude was so demonstrably hostile that a fine was imposed upon the town.

The activities of 1715 and 1745 suggest that a Jacobite faction, probably supported by the Tory High Church party, was attempting to exploit the political situation However, by 1750, most Mancunians were too involved with commercial ventures to venture far afield politically and risk their livelihood, which by then was associated with the Protestant succession. Therefore, after mid-century any drastic change in the economic or political life of most Mancunians was never seriously considered

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Title of Thesis

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MANCHESTER AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE MANCHESTER MERCURY, 1752-1794.

Author [redacted]
Signature

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September 19, 1974
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