

M. P. CARTER
AN URBAN SOCIETY AND ITS HINTERLAND:
ST IVES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

This thesis has examined the contention of the late Philip Abrams that a town should not be considered as a distinct social entity, but in relation to its setting and to "the complex of domination" in which it is embedded. It was decided to use St Ives in Huntingdonshire as the area of study. Sources have included manorial, parish and dissenting records, inventories, marriage bonds and the Pettis Survey of St Ives, with its maps, lists of property owners and land tax payments.

After defining the boundaries of the hinterland, the demography and economy of it and the town were studied. Four adjacent villages revealed urban features. The economic, social and religious networks, that bound their inhabitants to the town, were so dense that they produced a cohesive unit, or "urban society". A core of focal families provided continuity of leadership in administration, business and nonconformity. The strengths and weaknesses of the society's component parts have been traced, particularly through the experience of dissenters and watermen.

The relationship of this urban society to the wider world has also been analysed. The Duke of Manchester controlled most of the manorial lordships. In the town, he protected his interests by the deployment of key personnel in the vestry and manor. The Church of England was less successful in protecting its position, and eventually had to accept symbiosis with three nonconformist churches. St Ives' proximity to the county town of Huntingdon ensured that, instead of competing with one another, they formed a dispersed urban conglomerate with complementary functions.

In its attempt to meet Abrams' requirements, this thesis proposes the concept of an urban society as a useful device for comprehending the breadth of local networks which united the inhabitants of a town and its neighbouring areas.

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Mary Patricia Carter

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Department of English Local History, in the University of
Leicester

April 1988

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>A.H.E.W.</u>	<u>The Agrarian History of England and Wales.</u>
<u>Ag.Hist.Rev.</u>	<u>Agricultural History Review.</u>
<u>C.S.P.D.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers Domestic.</u>
C.R.O.	Cambridge Record Office.
C.U.L.	Cambridge University Library.
<u>Ec.Hist.Rev.</u>	<u>Economic History Review.</u>
E.P.R.	Ely Probate Records.
H.M.R.	Huntingdonshire Manorial Rolls.
H.P.R.	Huntingdonshire Parish Registers.
H.R.O.	Huntingdon Record Office.
L.R.O.	Lincoln Record Office.
<u>L.P.S.</u>	<u>Local Population Studies.</u>
Pettis	E. Pettis, "Survey of St Ives", 1728.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
<u>V.C.H.</u>	<u>Victoria County History.</u>
W.O.	War Office.

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The late Philip Abrams in a chapter in the book Towns in Societies put forward the proposition that the town should no longer be considered as a social entity and that "one object of urban history and urban sociology now might be to get rid of the concept of the town."¹

He suggested that the phenomena displayed by towns - residential size, density and heterogeneity - have exerted such attraction that they have come to be seen as "constituent properties of a distinct social order", whereas towns should be seen as displaying the essential properties of larger systems of social relations grossly concentrated and intensified. His theme is that the theories of urbanism fail to prove themselves because they are ultimately not discussions of urbanism per se, but of the town as "what society, economy and politics allow it to be." This can be seen in F Braudel's argument that the secret of western economic growth is to be found in the relative success of attempts to create and maintain closed towns, by showing that in reality this is the success of "authorities and merchant entrepreneurs" who consolidated their power against feudal and landed aristocracies on the one hand and artisans and labourers on the other, by the device of the closed town. Thus the closed town is a device leading to economic growth but not the cause of the growth. Towns, Abrams argued, are significant for change merely as a locus not a focus.

Instead of the concept of a town as a social entity, Abrams proposed "a complex of domination", by which he meant "an ongoing and at least

1. P. Abrams and E. A. Wrigley, eds., Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology, 1978, pp. 9-33.

loosely integrated struggle to constitute and elaborate power". He saw this as "an orienting device" to help us understand "the structure and function of a town in relation to its larger setting in time and place". The town is no longer visible as a distinct social object. Instead, there will be a study of how the inhabitants of town and country inter-relate; of the relationships of different groups to one another; of the dominant forces within the larger social environment and those they seek to dominate; and of the nature and extent of that town's environment.

This argument has been developed by Rodney Hilton in relation to medieval towns in general.¹ Instead of concentrating on the disputes about the antagonism between rural and urban medieval society or on the innovatory influence of the medieval town, which are both based on the concept of the town having a separate existence from the country, he points to the similarities between urban and rural life - experience of marketing, organisation of work, social stratification, land ownership and the cultural supremacy of the Church. Whilst stressing that the town was "an essential and inseparable part of the wider society", he makes no attempt to deny the existence of the differences, in that, for example, towns showed an advanced division of labour and specific forms of sociability. These urban features, however, he states do not conflict with the characteristic aspects of feudal society, but are counterparts to them. The ceremony and largesse of the aristocratic way of life had its analogy in the life of the urban merchant and his guild. The conflicts in the medieval period were between the mercantile ruling oligarchies and organised crafts as well as between peasants and landowners. The basic conflicts were within town and country, but not between them.

1. R. Hilton, "Towns in Societies - Medieval England", Urban History Yearbook, 1982, pp. 7-12.

If Abrams' argument is valid, it follows that any study of an individual town must not only define its social environment but also analyse the complex of domination within which it operated. It is proposed, therefore, to test his contention in relation to the simple market town of St Ives, Huntingdonshire, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries when the surviving documentation is reasonable. The preliminary aim will be to define the hinterland of St Ives. But that in itself is neither difficult nor novel. If Abrams is correct in his synthesis of town and country then it should become possible to further define the areas around the town that are most of an entity with it. When the criteria for this have been established, the thesis will concentrate on this area to see how it inter-related with the town. At first the focus will be concentrated inwards to examine the societal links. Afterwards the focus will widen outwards, to attempt to set the area under examination in its broader context, for example the relationship between St Ives and the county town of Huntingdon.

In the process the thesis hopes to throw some light on issues raised by Mr C Phythian-Adams in his recent book Re-thinking English Local History, where he proposes that local historians should study "areas more extensive than single-settlement parishes" so that in this way their findings may relate "systematically to the wider mosaic of English society as a whole."¹ In order to achieve this aim he suggests "that historians should now be seeing ways in which to discover local 'societies' at the very start of their investigations and therefore before they relate such societies to the landscape, to 'community' or to

1. C. Phythian-Adams, Re-thinking English Local History, occasional papers, Department of English Local History, University of Leicester, 4th series, 1, 1987, pp. 42-43.

'class', or even to the broader historical trends or processes with which these societies had to function and adapt."

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Before beginning to examine Abrams' argument in relation to St Ives, we need to understand the general background to the area. This needs to include its geography and population structure. Any discussion must also consider the two major changes brought about in the seventeenth century, that is the drainage of the fens and the improvements to the river Ouse. It is important to see what effects these appear to have had locally. Because St Ives lies in the extreme south east of the county of Huntingdonshire on the banks of the river Ouse, very close to the borders of Cambridgeshire, any discussion of the area will also consider a small part of that county.

The area includes three distinct geographical divisions, river valleys, clay uplands and fenland, as shown on figure 1. In her review of the farming regions of England between 1500 and 1640, Dr Joan Thirsk does not mention the county of Huntingdonshire specifically, but appears to divide both it and Cambridgeshire into pasture farming for stock fattening, horse breeding, dairying, fishing and fowling (in fenland) and the remainder she categorises as mixed farming or corn and stock variously combined in clay vales.¹ Eric Kerridge uses the two divisions of fenland and the Midland Plain.² Dr Holderness, in volume five of The Agrarian History of England and Wales, has seen the weakness of these divisions. "We may conclude that the regional specifications of Kerridge and Thirsk, in themselves fairly complex, are insufficient to comprehend ... the

1. J. Thirsk, ed., A.H.E.W., IV, 1500-1640, 1967, p. 4.
2. E. Kerridge, The Agricultural Revolution, 1967, p. 48.

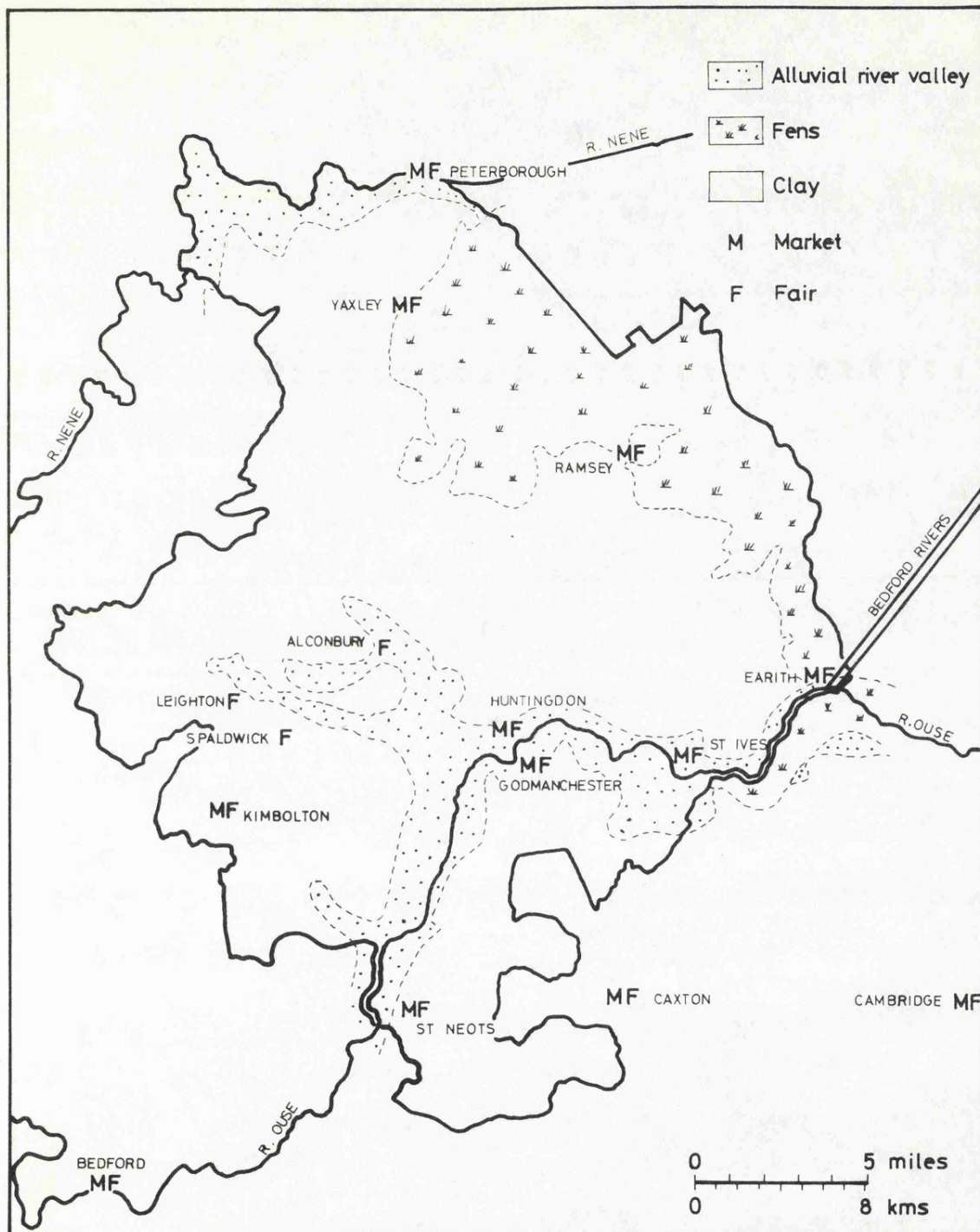


Fig. 1. Huntingdonshire: soil types, markets and fairs.

proliferation of miniature zones or sub-regions."¹ The more detailed study by Fryer in the Land Utilisation Survey on Huntingdonshire in 1941, has four regions, one of which is further subdivided into three. These are the river valleys of the Nene in the north and the Ouse in the south; fenland in the east and the clay uplands, which are subdivided into the area south and east of the Ouse, the centre of the County and the west.² This study proposes to use these divisions but expanding two of them so that the clay area south of the Ouse includes the neighbouring Cambridgeshire village of Connington. The Cambridgeshire riparian parishes of Fendrayton, Swavesey and Over will be included in the Ouse area.

Stephen Porter's thesis on the agricultural history of Huntingdonshire, 1610-1749, provides a useful basis to consider the overall situation in the county.³ He has shown that the south part of the county was predominantly arable with comparatively few livestock, barely sufficient in number to supply the basic needs of transport and the provision of manure. The trend in the north of the county was to a more pastoral economy, although the Nene valley was also arable. In the Ouse valley below Huntingdon there was evidence for dairying combined with arable farming.

This concentration in the south of the County on arable, and particularly barley, would suggest that the general impression given by this part of

1. B. A. Holderness, "East Anglia and the Fens: Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Ely, Huntingdonshire, Essex, and the Lincolnshire Fens", A.H.E.W., V, I, 1640-1750, 1984, p. 197.
2. D. W. Fryer, "Huntingdonshire", Part 75, in L. D. Stamp, ed., The Land of Britain, 1941, pp. 411-454.
3. S. Porter, "An Agricultural Geography of Huntingdonshire 1610-1749", M.Lit., Cantab., 1973, p. 47.

Huntingdonshire would be similar to that of Cambridgeshire as described by Camden, Morden and Defoe. Camden wrote of the upland as "being better manured, and therefore more plentifull, being somewhat a plaine, yet not altogether leuell, for the most part or all of it rather (save only where it bringeth forth saffron) is laid out into corne feilds, and yieldeth plentifully the best barley; of which ... they make store of mault. By venting and sending out whereof into the neighbor counties, the Inhabitants raise very great gaine."¹ Robert Morden described the county in 1700 as abounding 'in Corn of all sorts, chiefly Barley that has the reputation of being very good."² And Defoe in his letters said that it was "almost wholly a corn country; and of that corn five parts in six of all they sow, is barley, which is generally sold to Ware and Royston."³

So far as enclosure is concerned, Porter concluded that the parishes enclosed tended to be remote, away from the waterways, small in area and with a low population density. Enclosures were piecemeal and mostly occurred before 1675. On the whole, large landowners and freeholders enclosed at a later date under private Parliamentary Acts of the 1770's and afterwards. There was a tendency for areas enclosed to be converted to pasture.⁴

The landscape in Huntingdonshire would on the whole have stayed the same during this period. Especially in the south, many of the open fields were retained for corn-growing. The changes in the north and west would have been more noticeable as this is where much of the conversion to pasture occurred. But the percentage of land enclosed and converted was

1. W. Camden, Britannia, 1637 ed., p. 485.
2. R. Morden, The New Description and State of England, 1704, p. 13.
3. D. Defoe, A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, ed., G. D. H. Cole, 1, 1968, p. 78.
4. S. Porter, "Huntingdonshire", p. 128.

not great. The changes that must have seemed dramatic to their contemporaries followed on the draining of the fens, the purpose of which was to keep the summer grounds free from flooding.¹

From the time of Henry VIII methods of draining the fens had been under discussion.² By the early seventeenth century it was hoped that improvements to the Ouse would both assist passage of boats and prevent flooding of the fens. Sir Clement Edmonds' report to the Privy Council in 1618/9 found that the Ouse "that goodly fair river" was "generally foul and overgrown with weeds" and "stopped with weirs" between Huntingdon and Ely. He suggested that "the whole way of the Ouse from St Ives to Littleport ought to be cleared of these impediments and then the country would not be drowned."³ Thus he hoped that the better flow to the Ouse would prevent the disastrous floods so common in the area. This proved to be a naively optimistic assessment.

In 1630 the Earl of Bedford and a band of co-adventurers undertook to make the southern fens free of summer floods. 95,000 acres of land were to be taken from the commoners and given to the Adventurers as their reward for the expense of draining the fens, with 40,000 acres set aside for the expenses of upkeep afterwards, and a further 12,000 as a gift to the Crown.⁴ By 1637 a Session of Sewers at St Ives adjudged "the late surrounded grounds" to have been drained. This was an optimistic decision which had to be overturned the following year as the work was not completed.

1. H. C. Darby, The Draining of the Fens, 1956, p. 44.
2. Ibid., p. 3.
3. Acts of the Privy Council 1618-19, pp. 293-299.
4. Darby, The Fens, pp. 58-117.

In 1649 there was a New Act for the Adventurers, which led to the successful draining of fens at March, Chatteris, Doddington, Somersham, Whittlesey, Yaxley and Farcet. By 1650 the North and Middle Levels were declared drained and two years later the South Level. There was a marked improvement in farming in all these regions, as land that had never seen a plough was now under cultivation. For contemporaries the changes to the scenery and method of farming in the fens would have seemed dramatic. "The chiefest complaint I hear is, that the country thereabout is now subject to a new drowning, even to a deluge and inundation of plenty, all commodities being grown so cheap therein."¹ The crops grown included onions, peas, hemp, flax, oats, coleseed, woad, in addition to fruit, willows and vegetables.

"For at least a generation the Ouse valley from St Ives to Denver was turned into highly productive agricultural land."² But "what seemed a promising enterprise in 1652 had, by 1700, become a tragedy."³ There were difficulties with the silting up of the estuary at Kings Lynn, and conflicts between the navigation interests who needed sufficient water to float their boats over the sluices and the drainage engineers who needed to keep the drains low for fear of a sudden flood of water. A totally unexpected problem arose when the peat started to shrink as the water was drained out. This meant that it became almost impossible to drain the land naturally as the ditches were now higher than the land. Pumps were necessary to lift the water from the land into the drains and this led to a great building of windmills. Frequent complaints were heard from the owners of drowned lands and there were also references to

1. T. Fuller, ed., History of the University of Cambridge, 1840, section V.
2. B. A. Holderness, "East Anglia and the Fens", A.H.E.W., V, I, 1640-1750, 1984, p. 205.
3. Darby, The Fens, pp. 113.

the rebuilding of the broken banks and the opening of blocked sewers.

Agriculture in the fens, therefore, passed through three different stages; 1600-1650 before completion of the major drainage scheme when much of the land was unfit for arable husbandry; a middle period of great abundance of varied crops and much improved pasture for livestock; and by 1700 people were realising that drainage had relieved some problems but brought others no less difficult to tackle.

This can be seen in the description of Celia Fiennes' journey from Ely in 1698. "From this city ... I went to Sutton...; thence on the fenn banks on the top of which I rode at least two miles with fenns on both sides which now were mostly under water ... and these high banks are made to draine and fence out the water from the lower ground ... so that ... it does bear off the water; but in the winter it returns so that they are forced to watch and be allwayes in repaireing those banks ... but they are all a lazy sort of people and are afraid to do too much."¹

If we now turn to the other great change, we find that improvements to the River Ouse fall into three similar phases but with a greater sense of overall success.

Letters patent were issued in 1617 to make the rivers navigable.² By 1625 the river had been cleared as far as St Neots and by 1638 to Great Barford, four miles south of Bedford. The Civil War disrupted this work and access became possible only to St Neots. The channel above

1. C. Morris, ed., The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes 1685-c.1712, 1982, pp. 143-144.
2. T. S. Willan, "Navigation of the Great Ouse between St Ives and Bedford in the 17th Century": Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, XXIX, 1946, p. 3-15.

Huntingdon was described as being "foul for want of scouring and cleansing".¹ Matters improved again in 1674 when Henry Ashley acquired the navigation rights and cleared the river again to Great Barford and by 1689 to Bedford.

The improvements to the Ouse fall into three economic periods. 1617-1644 saw the first expansion of trade. In 1640 both Huntingdon and Godmanchester separately certified that the improved navigation was "commodious to this town and country." Between 1644 and 1674 there seems to have been less trade because of the disrepair of the sluices, caused by the Civil War and high costs of management. Thereafter the river was busy largely from exporting grain grown in the district.

But although the river was very busy, as with the fens there were still problems. A petition of complaints in 1669 about the state of the river since draining states, that "since the said sluices were erected, all the rivers are so shallow and grown up, that where the said great barges did usually pass with from 26-30 chaldrons of freight, now flat bottom'd lighters with 8-10 chaldrons of coal cannot pass without great difficulty and charge and delay for want of water."² In 1696 there were further complaints about the difficulty of passage for boats.

In both these related projects, Ouse improvements and draining of the fens, advances had been made. Passage from Kings Lynn to Bedford became possible and trade increased vastly. And although the fens were not

1. D. Summers, The Great Ouse, The History of a River Navigation, 1973, pp. 47-56.
2. T. Badeslade, The history of the ancient and present state of the navigation of the port of King's Lynn and of Cambridge...and ...of...Bedford Level. Also the history of the ancient and present state of draining in that Level...With the method propos'd for draining...by J Armstrong, reprinted in 1766, p. 62.

completely free of floods a much larger acreage could be farmed and the surplus produce could be exported by lighters along the new drainage ditches to the inland ports of Whittlesey, Wisbech and Earith and from thence to Kings Lynn.

POPULATION

After this examination of the two major changes experienced by this part of England in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, we can examine the population structure.

There are four sets of figures from which the population of Huntingdonshire can be estimated. In 1603 the Bishop of Lincoln was required to send to the Privy Council a return giving the numbers of communicants, Protestant dissenters and Roman Catholics.¹ Another estimate of population can be made from the Protestation Return of 1641-2 which records the names of all males over the age of 18 "who, at the behest of Parliament, signed an undertaking to support the rights of Parliament and of those who refused to do so or for some other reason did not."² A third assessment can be made for 1674 from the Hearth Tax records for the county. These are more complete for that year than any other. They are lists of those assessed for the tax with the names of those exempt from paying by certificate. The original exemption certificates do not survive for this date.³ On the assumption that each person who paid this tax represents a household, the 1674 figures can then be compared with information collected between 1705-23 in the diocese of Lincoln which is recorded in the "Speculum Dioceseos Lincolniensis sub episcopis Gul. Wake et Ed. Gibson 1705-23." Against the name of each parish is given the number of families in the parish.

1. C. W. Foster, ed., "The State of the Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I", Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, 23, 1926, pp. 280-286.
2. W. B. Stephens, Sources for English Local History, 1973, p. 38; G. Proby, ed., "Protestation Returns for Huntingdonshire", Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society, V, 1937, pp. 292-366.
3. P.R.O., E179/249/2; J. Patten, "The Hearth Taxes 1662-1689", L.P.S., 1971, pp. 19-21.

Sometimes additional estimates are added at different dates, but none later than 1723.¹ These figures cannot be directly compared with the others mentioned above unless multipliers are used to produce estimates of total population.

It is possible to estimate the number of people who were not old enough to be communicants in 1603 and thus produce an assessment of total population. Wrigley and Schofield assess the age of communion in the seventeenth century at 16 and have estimated that therefore 35% of the population were under the age of 16 in 1603.² Although Dr Thirsk advises against their use for this purpose, D A Kirby has shown a high degree of correlation between the totals calculated from the Protestation Return for County Durham and those from the Hearth Tax records.³ To achieve this, he assesses the Protestation Return totals as 26.2% of total population and multiplies the number of Hearth Tax payers or exemptions by 4.75, considered by Laslett and Wall to be the best estimate of household size for the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.⁴ If the same multiplier of 4.75 is applied to the total of families in 1705-23, it gives a further point of comparison.

Using these multipliers, population estimates can be made as shown in Table I. Where the figures are missing, substitutions have been given by assessing the percentage of that parish in an earlier return and adding

1. L.R.O., "Speculum Dioceseos Lincolnensis sub Episcopis Gul. Wake et Ed. Gibson", 1705-23.
2. E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, The Population History of England 1541-1871: a Reconstruction, 1981, p. 569.
3. J. Thirsk, "Sources for Information on Population 1500-1750", Amateur Historian, 4, 4, 1959, pp. 129-133.
D. A. Kirby, "Population, Density and Land Values in County Durham during the Mid-Seventeenth Century", Transactions of the Institute of British Geography, 57, 1972, pp. 83-99.
4. P. Laslett and R. Wall, Household and Family in Past Time, 1972, p. 139.

that percentage to the later one. The figure for 1723 is a less accurate estimate because of the deficiencies in the data. The number of families is given for 90 parishes in 1705 of which only four have one figure. Numbers for the other parishes were updated, in some case, four times. In assessing changes between 1705 and 1723, the first and last figures have been compared. The percentage decline calculated is 4% and this same percentage has then been deducted for the four parishes for which there are no figures. A decline in population at this time is an unexpected result because of the general growth of population in England. When parish registers for the hinterland are analysed later the number of dissenters can be estimated and the figures inflated accordingly. It will then be seen that the population drop in 1723 is not nearly so significant.

Table I shows that the population of the county increased by 18% between 1603 and 1642 and then became static until 1674. Between 1674 and 1705 there was a very small decline which may not have been significant after that date. There are no signs of an upsurge in numbers by 1723.

TABLE 1

Population of Huntingdonshire 1600-1723

<u>Date</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Revised total</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
1603=100				
1603	16,729	Communicants etc	25,737	100
1642	7,965	Males over 18	30,401	118
1674	6,443	Households	30,604	119
1705	6,108	Families	29,013	113
1723	5,925	Families	28,143	109

Nationally Wrigley and Schofield have shown that the population was still rising between 1600 and 1650; a decrease followed, which eased around 1670. After 1690 the population began to climb again, except for a check in the 1720's.¹ Huntingdonshire seems to follow a similar pattern.

Population density maps have been drawn, showing totals per 1000 acres for each parish, the acreage being taken from the Victoria County History, with parish boundaries corrected as necessary.² The scale used for the Hearth Tax map for 1674 is that used in Margaret Spufford's book on Cambridgeshire.³ The same scale has been used for the 1603 map.

Figure 2 shows that in 1603 there were six large communities. In order of size these were Godmanchester, St Ives, Kimbolton, St Neots, Ramsey and Huntingdon. Their population probably ranged from 1200 to 750. Of these only Kimbolton and Ramsey were not in the Ouse valley. In general people were living in greater numbers across a central swathe of the county running from east to west. There were also large tracts of land with a density of fewer than 14 persons per 1000 acres, not only in the fens but also in parts of the central clay uplands. Parishes to the south and east of St Neots were lightly populated, as well as a group of parishes bordering on Northamptonshire in the west.

Figure 4 shows that by 1674 the number of people living in the Ouse valley and close to Peterborough had increased. Population had decreased in the higher parts of the Nene valley and in western parishes close to those areas already sparsely peopled in the centre of the county.

1. Wrigley and Schofield, Population, p. 575.
2. V.C.H., Huntingdonshire, 2, 1932, pp. 103-105.
3. M. Spufford, Contrasting Communities, English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1974, p. 17.

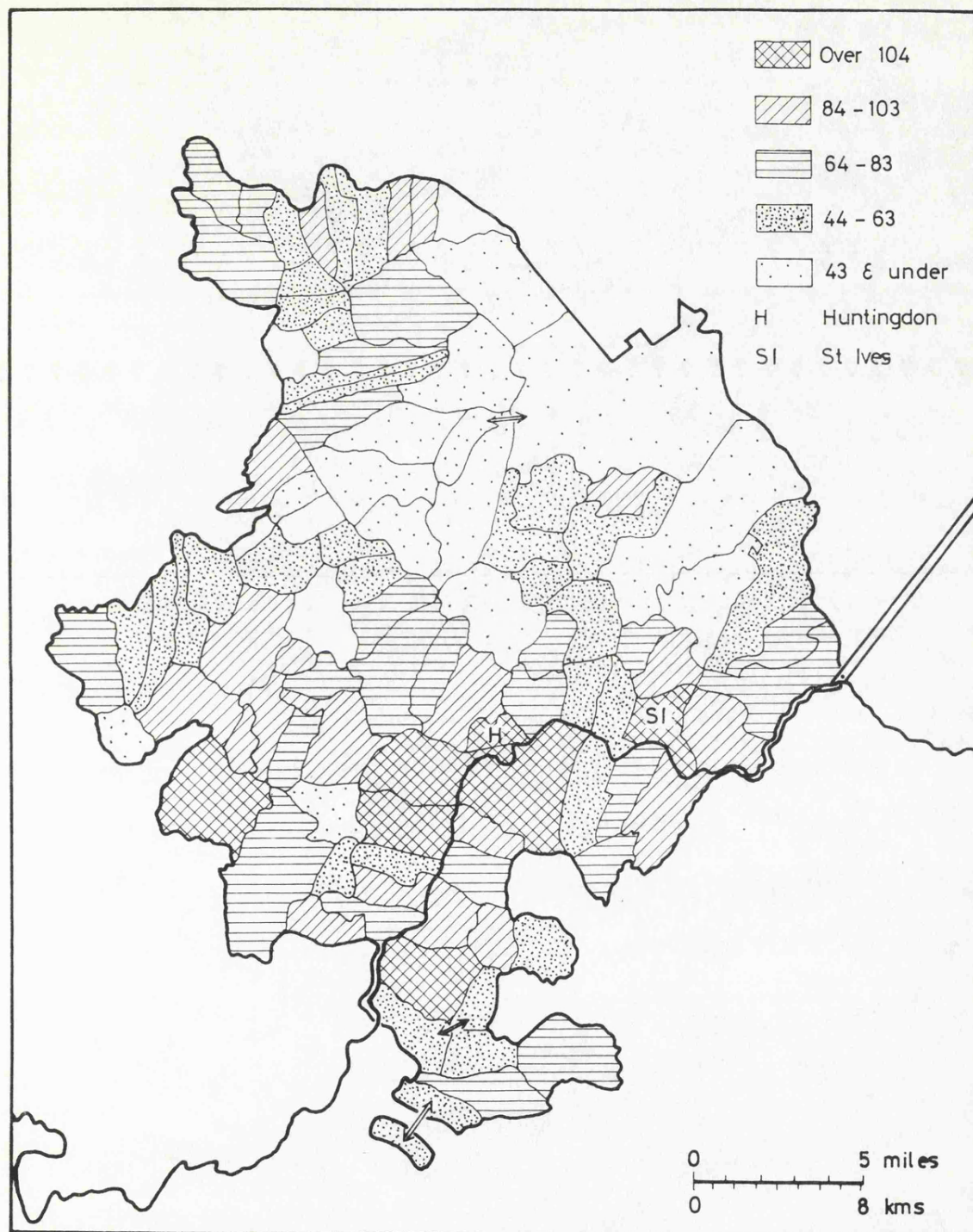


Fig. 2. Distribution and density of population in Huntingdonshire in 1603.

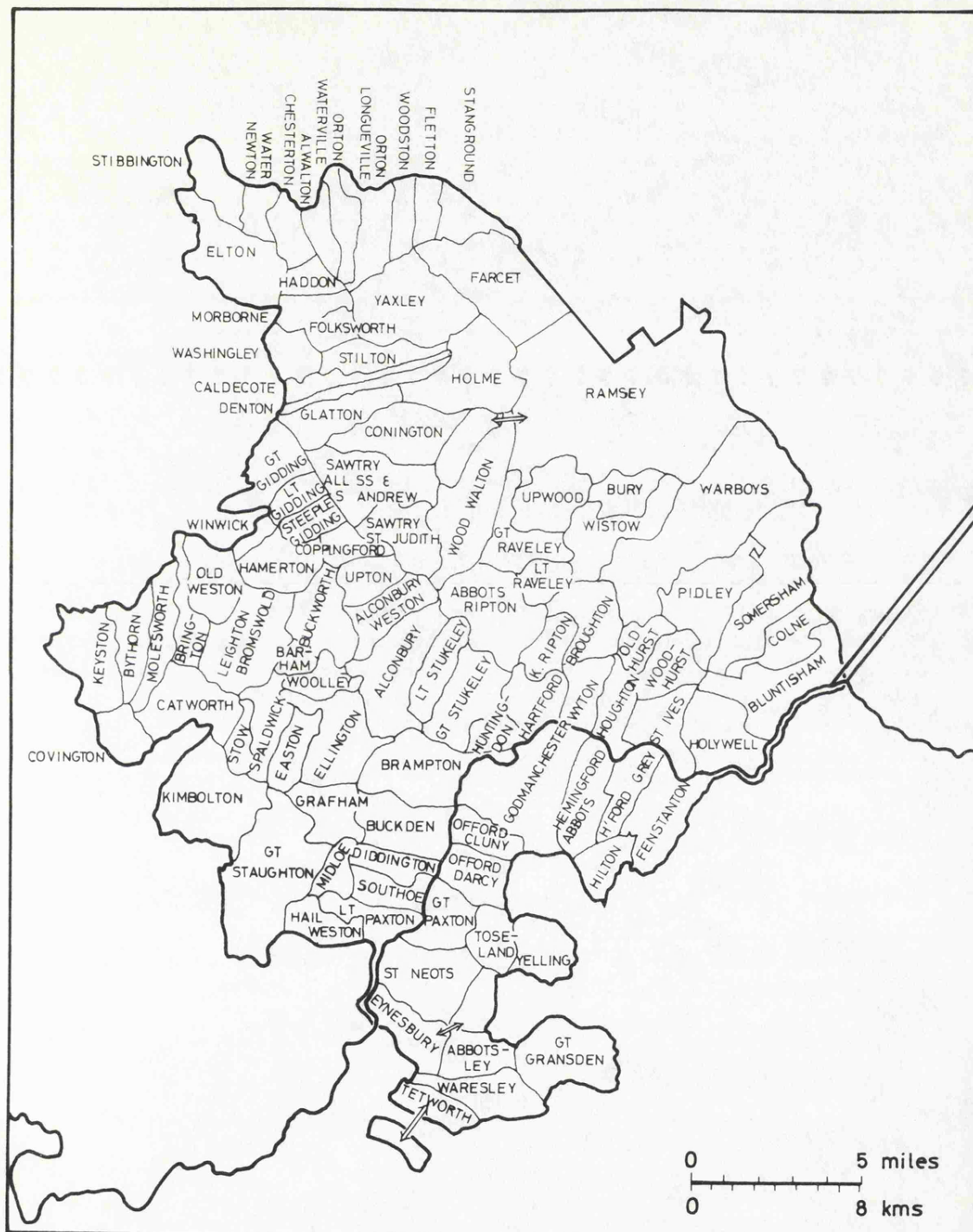


Fig. 3. Key to Huntingdonshire parishes.

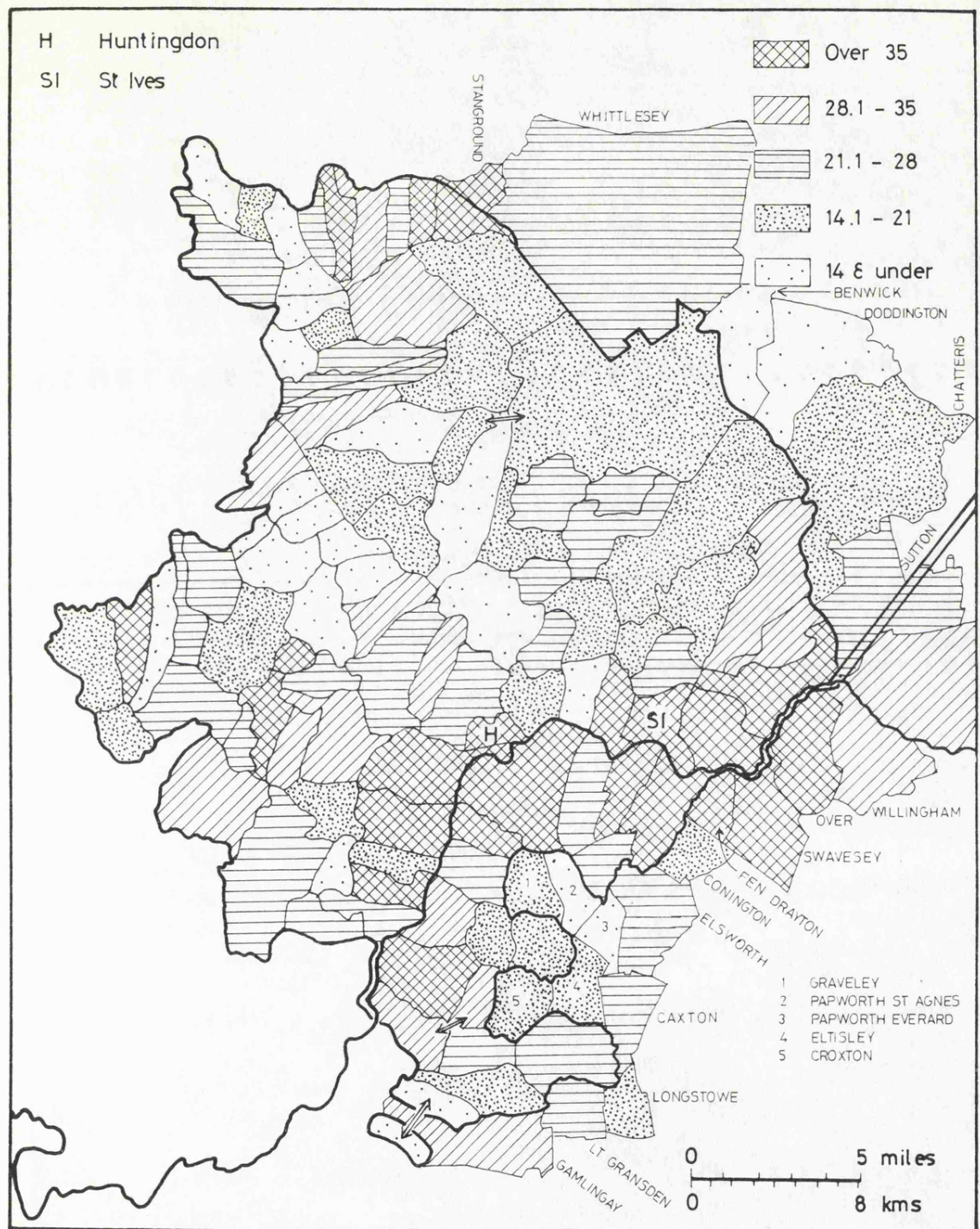


Fig. 4. Distribution and density of population in Huntingdonshire and north-west Cambridgeshire in 1674.

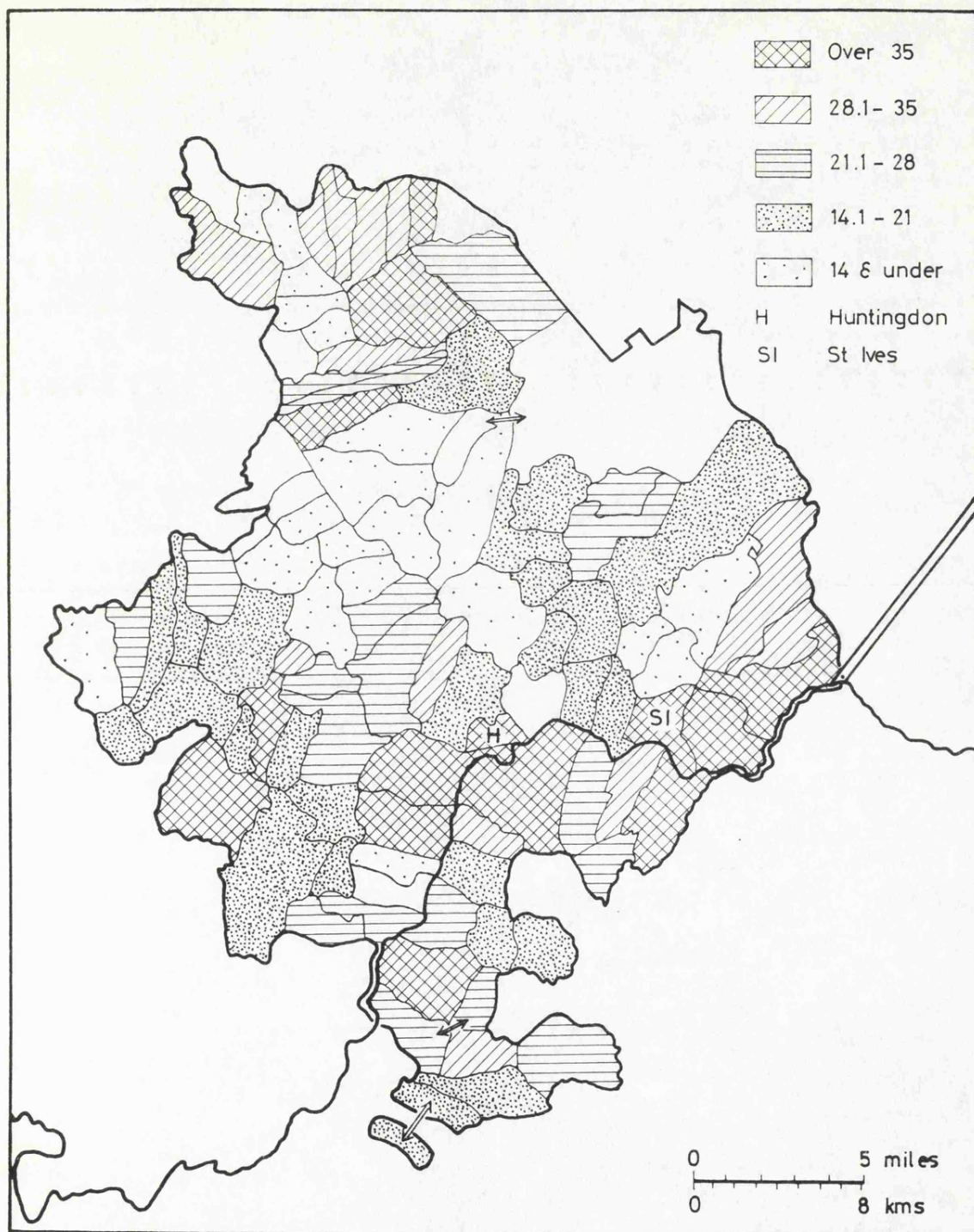


Fig. 5. Distribution and density of population in Huntingdonshire in 1705.

In figure 5 we can see that this trend has continued in the Nene valley and the central areas. A new feature is that villages close to Huntingdon, St Ives and St Neots have shrunk, whereas the towns themselves have not. In general, the numbers of people living in the valleys of the Ouse and the Nene and near Kimbolton are greater than elsewhere, although there are substantial communities at Spaldwick, Glatton, Yaxley and Stilton. The emptiest areas remain the central clay uplands and the fens.

If the population of the county grew between 1603 and 1674 by 19%, then that growth must be greater in the Ouse valley and the lower stretches of the Nene because of the corresponding decrease in the higher stretches of the Nene and the clay uplands of the west. The period 1674-1705/1723 saw a small decline in population near the major centres, with neighbouring parishes losing people as the towns grew. This was happening around Peterborough, St Ives, Huntingdon and St Neots.

Totals for the six towns in the county in Table 2 show that, whereas Godmanchester was the largest community in 1603, its population remained virtually static throughout the period, with St Ives soon overtaking it in size. The three towns on the Ouse, St Ives, St Neots and Huntingdon, all increased in size and each saw its neighbouring villages decline. St Neots shows an unexplained drop in population after 1705. Kimbolton had a chequered history with its population fluctuating, while Ramsey showed strong growth early on but its fate afterwards is unknown.

The drainage of the fens appears to have had some effect on population, seen in the large increases at Ramsey and smaller places nearby. When the economy there faltered, so did the population. Whereas some of the

TABLE 2

Population of towns in Huntingdonshire

<u>Town</u>	<u>1603</u>	<u>1642</u>	<u>1674</u>	<u>1705</u>	<u>1723</u>
Godmanchester	1231	1305	1500	1425	1435
Huntingdon	745	1100	1188	1235	
Kimbolton	923	899	800	893	779
Ramsey	769	1233	1750		
St Ives	1108*	1172	1800	1425	1796
St Neots	769	996	1300	1900	950

*St Ives, Woodhurst and Old Hurst are totalled as 1000 in 1603, but three separated figures are given afterwards. The proportions of 1642 have been used to estimate the number of communicants etc in St Ives in 1603. In 1674 the actual figures have been increased by ten per cent to take into account those not counted for Hearth Tax payment. The drop in numbers in St Ives between 1674 and 1723 may have been partly influenced by the fire in the town in 1689, which destroyed the homes and businesses of 122 persons to a value of £13,072.¹

clay uplands continued to lose people, this also occurred in the river villages adjoining the towns which coincided with a marked increase in traffic on the Ouse.

It is only possible to compare these population densities for Huntingdonshire with those of Cambridgeshire for the mid 1670's because of the lack of comparable data. Hearth Tax figures for 1674 show a similar population density in the Ouse valley villages close to St Ives of Over, Swavesey and Fendrayton. The lower Ouse villages both in Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely reveal a population density decreasing as they lie further away from the river ports of Earith and St Ives, until Ely is reached where the density grows again. The population

1. Pettis, p. 56.

pattern in the western parishes of Cambridgeshire reveals that it is similar to those of the east of Huntingdonshire. In the Isle of Ely there are only two parishes of a high density, Ely itself, and Wisbech. Otherwise the fens here appear even emptier than in Huntingdonshire.

Overall, therefore, there were great areas of sparse population, in the fens and clay uplands. Only in the river valleys was the population reasonably dense but even there the towns were comparatively small, and the county town of Huntingdon contained fewer than 1000 people. In this largely rural area the improvements to the drainage and river systems seem to have had a noticeable effect. Redistribution of population into the river valleys took place at a time when water-borne trade was rapidly increasing. The towns situated in them grew in size, unlike Kimbolton away from the river. At the same time the changes in the population of a fen edge village like Warboys reflects the success and later problems of fen farming.

URBANISATION

Having outlined the agriculture and population of the county and adjacent parts of Cambridgeshire, we can now look at the degree of urbanisation, the starting point of this thesis. In the general description of the area, it had been assumed that six places were towns. If we are to follow Abrams' argument, we need to prove that this was true. He allowed three formal characteristics of a town "residential size, density and heterogeneity". In this chapter we shall look at each of these properties in turn, so that we can form some idea as to the hierarchy of towns, and place St Ives accordingly.

So far as residential size is concerned, population estimates derived from Hearth Tax figures for 1674 have shown that only six places had a population larger than 1000, and none greater than 2000. The six were St Ives, Ramsey, Godmanchester, St Neots, Bluntisham & Earith and Huntingdon, in descending order of size. This compares with estimates of 4000 for Ely and above 3000 for Wisbech, as shown in Table 3. Even St Ives, the largest place in the county, was only half the size of Ely, and Huntingdon as the county town, was a quarter its size.

TABLE 3

ESTIMATES OF SIZE OF POPULATION BASED ON HEARTH TAX RETURNS FOR 1674

Ely	4000	Godmanchester	1500
Wisbech	3400	St Neots	1300
St Ives	1800	Bluntisham	1200
Ramsey	1750	Huntingdon	1100

Abrams' concept of density is less simple to use. The contemporary maps of St Ives show that the population of the town was centralised around the bridge and market, leaving the rest of the parish virtually uninhabited; but without similar maps it is difficult to make statements about the other places, unless the position of the contemporary buildings remaining today, are employed as a guide to density. It would then be possible to say that the buildings of Ramsey, Godmanchester, St Neots, and Huntingdon appear to have been confined to a fairly restricted part of their parishes. Bluntisham & Earith were different, as they were two centres which were assessed together for statistical purposes. However, all the smaller communities were also grouped together in a portion of their parish. Inasmuch as some places were of a greater residential size, it can be assumed that the population was also more dense, but with the information available today, the degree of density does not seem a useful guide, and it will not therefore be considered in the future.

Abrams' third criterion is heterogeneity. F W Maitland wrote of heterogeneity of tenure when he examined the multiplicity of manors in a borough.¹ In this context, it will presumably include facilities for the exchange and distribution of goods, which as Abrams suggests, are seen in concentrated form in towns. One method of assessing this is to look at the provision of official markets, but this on its own is an insufficient guide to urbanisation, as Caxton had a market but its population was only two hundred and fifty.

St Ives' market was sufficiently important to be mentioned by Defoe in his Tour through England and Wales. "The market", he writes "whither these north country cattle are generally brought is St Ives, a town

1. F. W. Maitland, Township and Borough, 1898, p. 45.

between Huntingdon and Cambridge upon the River Ouse, and where there is a very great number of fat cattle every Monday."¹ Its nearest neighbour, Huntingdon, also had a market, although much smaller in area, as did Godmanchester, on the opposite side of the Ouse. Another market of no great importance was held at Earith. St Neots' market was larger. Like the others, it was a river port on the Ouse and also a leading corn market, whose prices were quoted in the Northamptonshire Mercury.² There were four other markets in our area but without immediate access to the River Ouse. Ramsey was a distribution centre for the fens, connected by Ramsey Lode to the River Nene. Yaxley's market was decaying. Kimbolton held a general market which served south-west Huntingdonshire, and adjacent Bedfordshire and probably supplied the Castle. Caxton in Cambridgeshire held a market chiefly for corn. Further afield were the markets at Bedford, Cambridge and Peterborough.

Fairs were more numerous. Within Huntingdonshire these were held at all the market centres previously mentioned, in addition to Alconbury, Leighton and Spaldwick. In all there were nineteen annual fairs. In Cambridgeshire there were twenty three fairs, including Sturbridge in the second half of September. The nearest of these fairs to the St Ives area was at Caxton for the sale of pedlar's wares.³

These were the authorised marketing outlets, but this period was characterised by unofficial marketing, much of which took place in inns.⁴ Therefore information about the number and sizes of such establishments

1. D. Defoe, A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, ed., G.D.H.Cole, II, 1968, p. 629.
2. G. A. Cranfield, The Development of the Provincial Newspaper 1700-1760, 1962, p. 95-96.
3. W. Owen, The Book of Fairs, 2nd ed., 1759, *passim*.
4. A. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce", A.H.E.W., IV, 1500-1640, 1967, p. 559.

may be of assistance. Inns were frequently the place of arrival and departure for carriers and the provision of their services will also give an indication of the amount of trade being conducted in a particular locality. Finally the shortage of small change in the 1660's and 1670's encouraged innkeepers and other traders to issue their own coin. Where these survive, they give a partial survey of shops and inns, although it must be borne in mind that the results depend on the physical survival of such tokens.

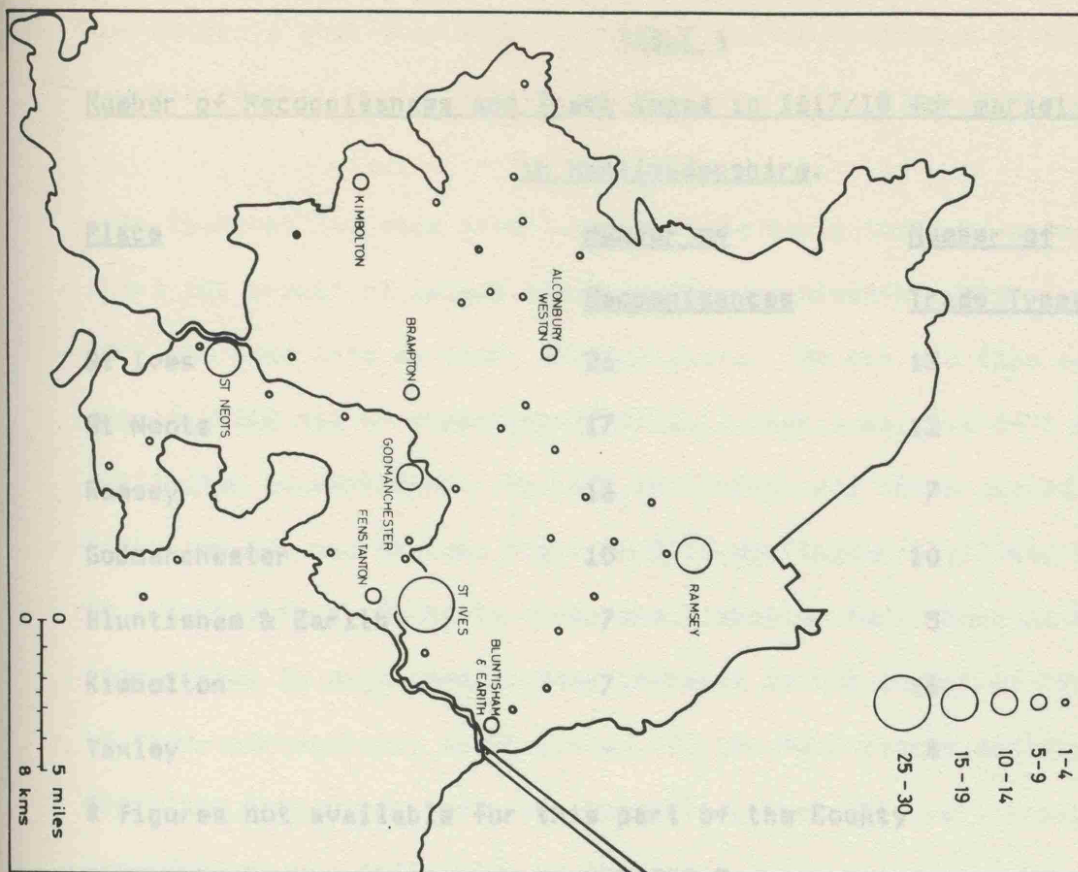
A convenient source of information about inns is found in the Victuallers' Recognisances of James I's reign.¹ Where they survive recognisances probably give a list of all the innkeepers, alehousekeepers and taverners at that date. In addition, they give the occupation and place of abode of the sureties, which information can be used to give frequency of trade types for that community, albeit only of some of its wealthier members.

The recognisances for 1618/19 survive both for Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire. Unfortunately those for the town of Huntingdon perhaps because it was a borough, are missing. With the proviso that the figures for Huntingdon might change the picture, table 4 and figure 6 show the number both of recognisances and trade types of sureties, for each of the 8 places mentioned above as having a market and fair. Caxton has been omitted because of its very small size.

St Ives, with twenty six recognisances and 13 different trade types, heads this list, followed by St Neots. Ramsey has a similar number of recognisances, but shows a narrower range of trade types even than the

1. PRO E180/90; E180/12

Fig. 6. Distribution of Victuallers' Recognisances 1618-19.



Distribution of Trade Tokens in seventeenth-century Huntingdonshire.

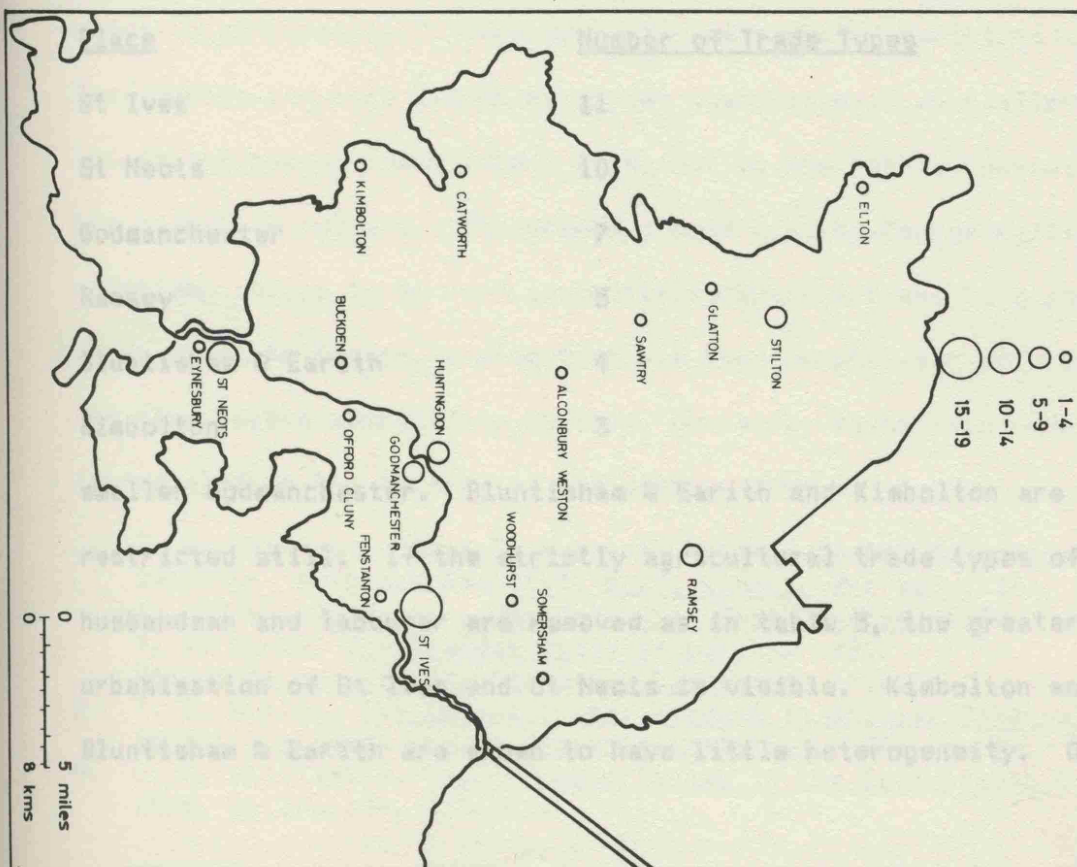


TABLE 4

Number of Recognisances and Trade Types in 1617/18 for market centres
in Huntingdonshire.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Recognisances</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Trade Types</u>
St Ives	26	13
St Neots	17	12
Ramsey	16	7
Godmanchester	10	10
Bluntisham & Earith	7	5
Kimbolton	7	6
Yaxley	-	*

* figures not available for this part of the County

TABLE 5

Trade Types in market centres in Huntingdonshire, excluding the
agricultural trades.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Number of Trade Types</u>
St Ives	11
St Neots	10
Godmanchester	7
Ramsey	5
Bluntisham & Earith	4
Kimbolton	3

smaller Godmanchester. Bluntisham & Earith and Kimbolton are more restricted still. If the strictly agricultural trade types of yeoman, husbandman and labourer are removed as in table 5, the greater urbanisation of St Ives and St Neots is visible. Kimbolton and Bluntisham & Earith are shown to have little heterogeneity. Only St Ives

and St Neots show some degree of urbanisation, although it must be remembered that Huntingdon is missing from this class of records.

John Chartres has made great use of three early lists of carriers to chart the growth of inland trade in the seventeenth century. Such carriers used inns as their staging posts. We can use this evidence to see if there was an expansion of trade in our area. In 1637 only Huntingdon is mentioned. By 1681 Huntingdon had three weekly carriers, Kimbolton two and St Ives one. In 1715 Huntingdon still has three, but St Ives has five, St Neots three and Kimbolton two. None of the other communities is mentioned.¹ Some increase in the number of carriers can be seen, particularly in St Ives. Of the four places mentioned, all but Kimbolton have other features, suggesting that they were truly urban, according to the definition of Abrams.

Token coinage, issued between 1649 and 1672, supplemented the official coins in circulation.² They generally represented farthings and halfpennies and were issued by market towns as well as smaller places. The importance of trade tokens lies, not in the totals surviving but in the number of issuers. The standard hand list by George Williamson gives seventeen tokens to St Ives in Huntingdonshire and one to a John Williams of St Ives and Ramsey, a name that has been counted for both towns.³ Of the nine tokens ascribed to St Ives, Cornwall, seven have names that are represented in the records of the eastern town.

1. J. A. Chartres, "Road Carrying in England in the Seventeenth Century: Myth and Reality", Ec.Hist.Rev., 2nd ser., XXX, 1977 pp. 73-94; J. Taylor, The Carriers' Cosmographie, 1637; T. De Laune, The Present State of London, 1681. Merchants and Traders Necessary Companion, 1715.
2. T. S. Willan, The Inland Trade: Studies in English Internal Trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1976, p. 83.
3. G. C. Williamson, Trade Tokens Issued in the Seventeenth Century, 1889, pp. 106-108, 335-341.

For example, a William Harrison who was married in 1657 is described as chapman, son of Thomas of St Ives, haberdasher.¹ A James Heaton in 1654 is described as being a relation of Robert and Henry Cordell, haberdashers.² Similar information can be adduced for the other five and, therefore, these have been ascribed to St Ives, Huntingdonshire.

Table 6 shows that St Ives easily heads the list with 24 issuers, followed by St Neots with eleven and Ramsey with nine. Stilton, on the Great North Road, has six, Huntingdon five, Godmanchester five, Kimbolton only two and Bluntisham possibly one. Therefore, the five major communities are all represented, although St Ives, St Neots and Ramsey have more significant entries. Kimbolton and Bluntisham & Earith have again fared badly on this criterion.

Finally, evidence relating to inns can be found in the War Office Survey of Beds and Stabling in 1688.³ As befits its position astride the Great North Road, Huntingdon heads the list with 198 beds and 498 stables. This is in contrast to Godmanchester, on the other side of the bridge, with 24 beds and 134 stables. St Ives nearly rivals Huntingdon. The next in importance is St Neots, followed in descending order of magnitude by Ramsey, Godmanchester, Kimbolton, Bluntisham & Earith and Yaxley. Unfortunately a comparison with the similar survey of 1765 is impossible as the county figures have been aggregated.

If this evidence as to heterogeneity of services offered in inns is amalgamated as in Table 6, the county town of Huntingdon is seen to be comparatively small in size but well served by carriers and equipped with

1. All Saints Parish Church, St Ives, marriage register, 1657.
2. H.R.O., H.M.R., St. Ives, 26.9.1654; All Saints Parish Church, St Ives, marriage register, T. Heaton, 7.10.1607.
3. P.R.O., War Office Survey of Beds and Stabling, 1688.

TABLE 6

Levels of Urbanisation in Huntingdonshire

<u>Place</u>	<u>Recognisances</u>	<u>Trade Tokens</u>	<u>Carriers</u>			<u>W Q 1686</u>	
	<u>1618/19</u>	<u>c 1670</u>	<u>1637</u>	<u>1681</u>	<u>1715</u>	<u>Beds</u>	<u>Stabling</u>
St Ives	26	24	0	1	5	182	426
Huntingdon	-	5	1	3	3	198	498
Ramsey	16	9	0	0	0	64	174
Godmanchester	10	5	0	0	0	24	134
St Neots	17	11	0	0	3	92	372
Bluntisham	7	0	0	0	0	17	27
Kimbolton	7	2	0	2	2	25	50
Yaxley	-	-	0	0	0	9	22

large numbers of beds and stables. St Ives is almost twice its size. It had the largest number of recognisances and trade types in 1617/18, easily the greatest number of Trade Tokens, fewer carriers in the early seventeenth century, but more than Huntingdon in the early eighteenth century, and a somewhat similar number of beds and stables in 1688. This suggests that it rivalled Huntingdon in importance. Ramsey, Godmanchester and St Neots were similar in their provision of services. Bluntisham & Earith and Kimbolton did not offer much.

On the criteria employed here of residential size and heterogeneity, it would seem that St Ives was in some respects a more important town than the county town of Huntingdon. It was rivalled in size only by Ramsey in the fens. The other place that offered such a variety of services was St Neots, but in comparison with neighbouring counties Huntingdonshire lacked any a single town of great size or importance.

John Chartres has made use of contemporary lists to chart the existence or demise of market towns in our period. He postulates a quite dramatic decline in some counties, suggesting that "the discriminating merchant perceived differences between real and notional markets".¹ The factor on which he lays most stress is that of "ease of transport and communication." But he also mentions "the power of kindred marketing institutions, such as regular fairs;" the growth of local specialisms; and simple geographical factors, such as the richness of their hinterlands.

By these criteria, St Ives was a fortunate market town. Its communications by river were excellent, and whilst it did not have Huntingdon's advantage of the Great North Road, it was on a road system that connected it south to London via Caxton or north to Ramsey and Kings Lynn. Its position was boosted by two well established fairs; much of its hinterland specialised in barley, sheep and cattle and therefore needed an exchange centre. It was able to benefit from the improvements to the river meadows. These factors help to explain its growth in our period and its importance in the hierarchy of towns in its county.

1. J. A. Chartres, "The Marketing of Agriculture Produce", A.H.E.W., V, II, 1640-1750, 1984, p. 412-4.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINITION OF THE HINTERLAND OF ST IVES

Having shown the position of St Ives in the local hierarchy of urban settlements, we can now examine its hinterland. If we are considering a town as an integral part of its wider area, then an accurate definition of its hinterland becomes important. We shall expect to find that there was an inner group of villages whose interests were closely bound to those of the town, and beyond that another group, where its influence was weaker because of competition from neighbouring centres. In some studies the hinterland has been defined either by halving the line between two towns and assuming that the strength of attraction was equal, or by drawing circles representing eight miles. Elsewhere, one particular class of documents has been used and the extent of the hinterland derived from them. However, as this study will show, there are differences in the nature of the hinterland, so that the roll of members of nonconformists churches may cross county boundaries, whereas marriage horizons will largely remain within them. There is also the problem with an unincorporated town that civic records as such do not exist. For all these reasons, as many different classes of evidence as possible will be used to define the hinterland.

As has been mentioned, different studies have lain their emphasis on different interests, so that in Keith Wrightson's study of Terling, he examined the social area, whereas C B Phillips' essay on Kendal was concerned "with the relationships between town and country arising from manufacturing and associated trade." ¹ In many studies the area

1 K. Wrightson and D. Levine, Poverty and Piety in an English village: Terling 1525-1700, 1979, pp. 73-109; C. B. Phillips, "Town and country: economic change in Kendal circa 1550-1700", in P. Clark, ed., The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1984, p. 99.

considered was within a county. This applied in Dr John Goodacre's study of Lutterworth, which terminated at the boundary of the county of Leicestershire.¹ As St Ives lies very close to the boundary of Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire this study will attempt to assess the amount of traffic across the county boundary. This also entails crossing the cultural boundary between the dioceses of Lincoln and Ely. This in itself poses a problem because evidence surviving in one set of diocesan archives is not necessarily paralleled in the other.

A further point of examination will be the influence of the pattern of communications, as pin-pointed by Dr Chartres. Mary Prior in her study of Fisher Row has shown how the links between families extended along the river, rather than in depth round Oxford.² Similar links may well be found along the river Ouse. The pattern of road communications is just as important. Celia Fiennes, when she travelled from Ely to Huntingdon, took the fen road to Sutton, crossing the river, one assumes at Earith, and then via St Ives to Huntingdon. This study will show that Sutton was on the periphery of the hinterland of St Ives, although lying in the Isle of Ely.³ Once the outline of the hinterland, or even hinterlands, becomes clearer, it will then be possible to assess the degree of overlapping influence between St Ives and Huntingdon.

The evidence that is available to study the hinterland of St Ives has been assembled from a variety of sources. There is a series of marriages between December 1653 and October 1659, which give details of abodes of

- 1 J. Goodacre "Lutterworth in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. A Market Town and its Area", Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1977, pp. 34.
2. M. Prior, Fisher Row: fishermen, bargemen and canal boatmen Oxford 1500-1900, 1982, p. 139.
3. C. Morris, ed., The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes 1685-c 1712, 1982, pp. 43-4.

spouses and their parents. An excellent series of marriage bonds and allegations has survived from 1662 to the end of our period. Abodes are given in these documents for bride, groom and bondsman. The manorial records sometimes detail the residence of those involved in the registration of property. This information is extant for 1632-1662 and after 1681. There are also a few useful references to presentments for market offences by outsiders. Two legal cases add additional facts about the distances people were prepared to travel to St Ives market. St Ives provided the printing base, briefly, for one of the earliest provincial newspapers and the advertisements within it give an idea of the area of influence of that paper, and by implication of the market. There are also two large inventories which list the homes of the many people to whom bonds or loans had been made. Additionally, surviving documents for the Quaker, Baptist and Presbyterian Churches, record the villages of their members, which can be plotted to show the sphere of influence of those churches, in comparison to the rural deanery of the church of England. When all such evidence has been aggregated to prove the extent of the hinterland of St Ives, it will be tested against an analysis of surnames to show its accuracy in relation to Huntingdon.

Marriage entries between December 1653 and October 1659 give the place of origin of bride and groom and often of their parents.¹ Figure 7 plots this information. 66% of the entries refer to residents of St Ives and most other people lived within eleven miles of the town. 91% of brides and grooms lived in Huntingdonshire, as did 82% of the parents. As will be shown later in the demographic study of St Ives, this was at a time of rapid expansion of the town's population, when immigration from outside of the county might have been more likely.

1. All Saints Parish Church, St Ives, marriage register, 1653-59.

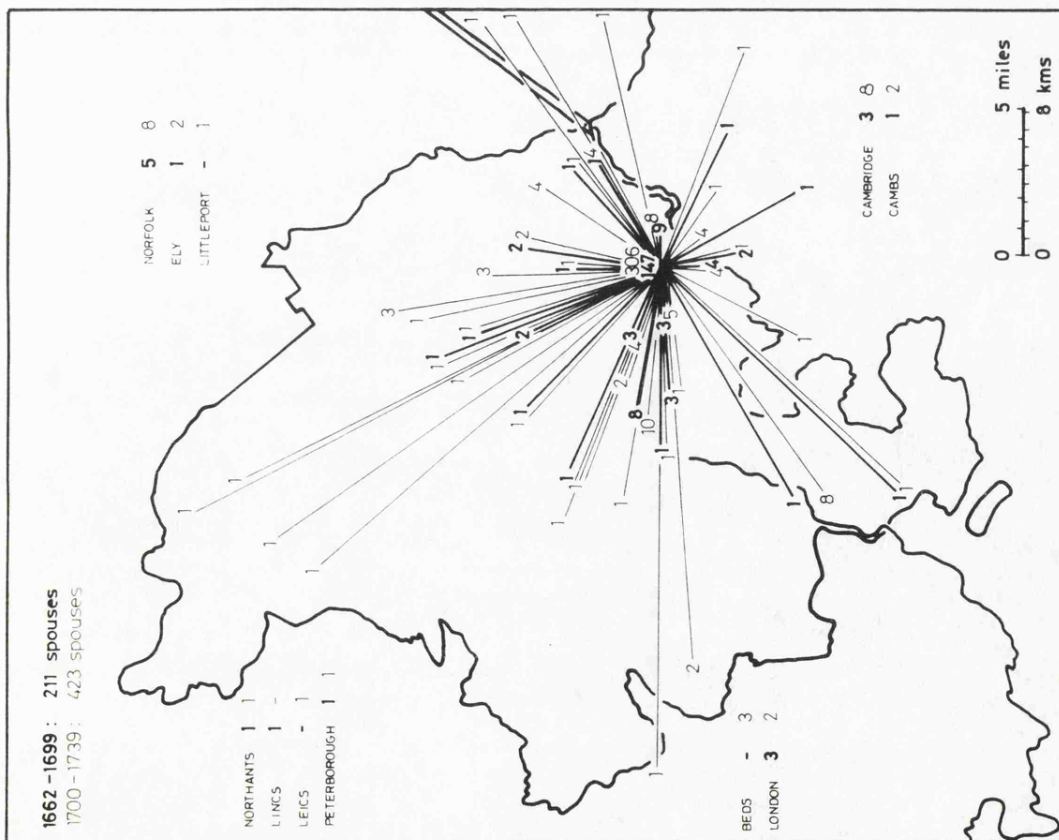
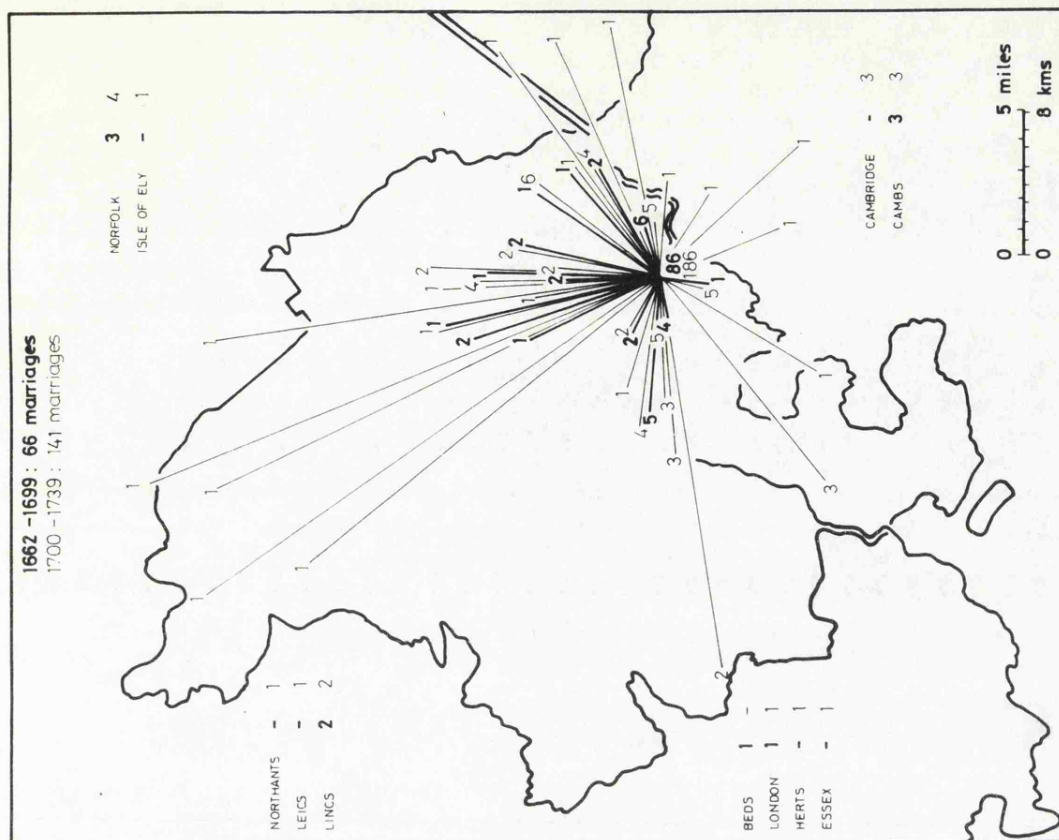


Fig. 8. St Ives marriage horizons 1662-1739.



Distribution of brides and/or grooms who used a bondsman living in St Ives.

These records refer to all marriages, unlike bonds and allegations which were used by those of greater wealth. Such bonds have survived in the records of the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon from 1662, as in figure 8.¹ There were 634 marriage partners, where one or both claimed residence in St Ives between the years 1662 and 1739. In the seventeenth century, 70% were resident in the town and 9% came from outside the county. In the eighteenth century, 72% were resident in the town and 9.6% from outside the county. Despite the higher status of these marriage partners, the figure for out of county marriages is remarkably consistent at 9% with those of all marriages between 1653 and 1659. Unfortunately, the lack of similar records for the diocese of Ely has made it impossible to look into our area from outside.

If we examine in more detail the area around St Ives that provided marriage partners, as shown in figure 8, the most important places were Holywell & Needingworth, Houghton & Wyton, Hemingford Grey and Abbots and Fenstanton and Hilton.² These were neighbouring villages in the Ouse valley. There was another group of villages with less contact but still influenced by the town; these were Bluntisham & Earith, Somersham, Pidley, Warboys, Woodhurst and Fendrayton. Of these Fendrayton lay in Cambridgeshire, close to Fenstanton in Huntingdonshire. Bluntisham & Earith were on the Ouse but also fen-edge villages like Somersham, Pidley and Warboys. Woodhurst lay between them and St Ives. From these marriage documents, the hinterland of St Ives lies largely amongst the Ouse valley villages, stretching two or three miles southwards and then north to the edges of the fen.

1. H.R.O., Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, marriage bonds and allegations, filed alphabetically.
- (2. Hilton has been included with Fenstanton because the records are not differentiated.)

To look at the economic influence that the town exerted over the neighbouring villages, we can see in figure 8 the residence of brides and grooms who used a bondsman from St Ives. There are once more few entries across the county boundary, ten in the seventeenth century and twenty seven in the eighteenth century. The central villages seem to be Holywell & Needingworth and the Hemingfords, followed by Fenstanton, Bluntisham & Earith, Somersham and Warboys - similar to the earlier distribution pattern.

There is further information to be gleaned from the inventories of two wealthy tradesmen who died in 1745 and 1748 respectively. Thomas Barnes, whose total inventory was £5,278.15.11½d, was described as a brewer and maltster.¹ His appraisers valued his stock - barley, malt and coal - at nearly £1,000, with another £4,000 in mortgages, bonds and book debts. Benjamin White was described in his inventory as a draper.² The total of his appraised wealth was £2,527. 3.1½d, of which £1,147.15.6d was represented by wool or equipment, and the rest in fabrics or book debts and bonds. Both men seem to have been wholesalers and retailers as well as lending money. Figure 9 shows the distribution of people indebted to one or other of them. The villages of greatest importance were Houghton & Wyton, Bluntisham & Earith, the Hemingfords and Fenstanton - all in the Ouse valley. The area covered is slightly larger than for the marriage horizons and bondsmen but in essence it is very similar.

Another source of information is the record of the manorial court of St Ives.³ They are complete between 1632 and 1661 and from the last months of 1681 to the end of our period. The names of those who transferred

1. P.R.O., PROB 3 44/76.

2. P.R.O., PROB 3 47/32.

3. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, 15-19, 1632-1661, 1681-1740.

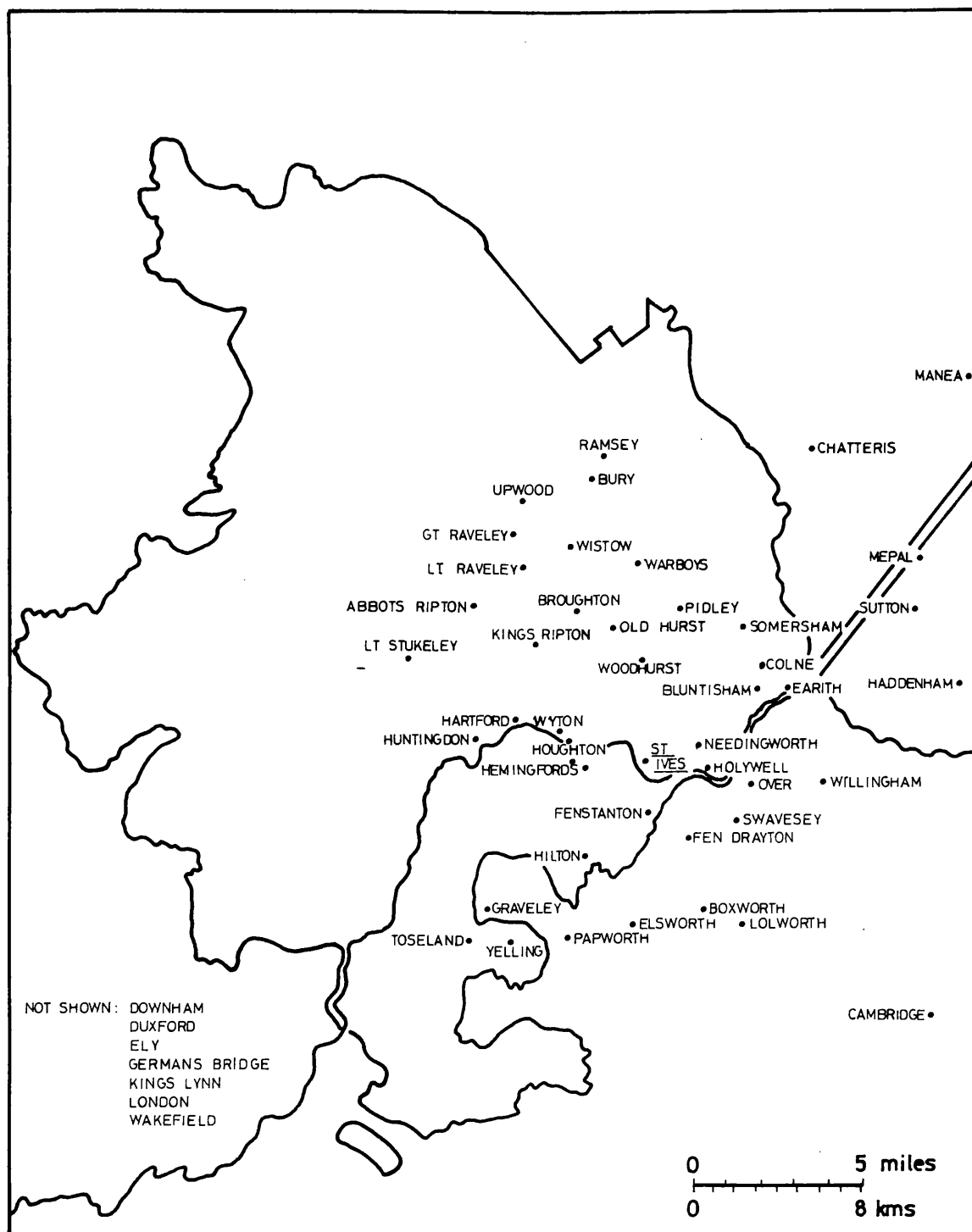


Fig. 9. Distribution of debtors of Thomas Barnes (d. 1745) and Benjamin White (d. 1748).

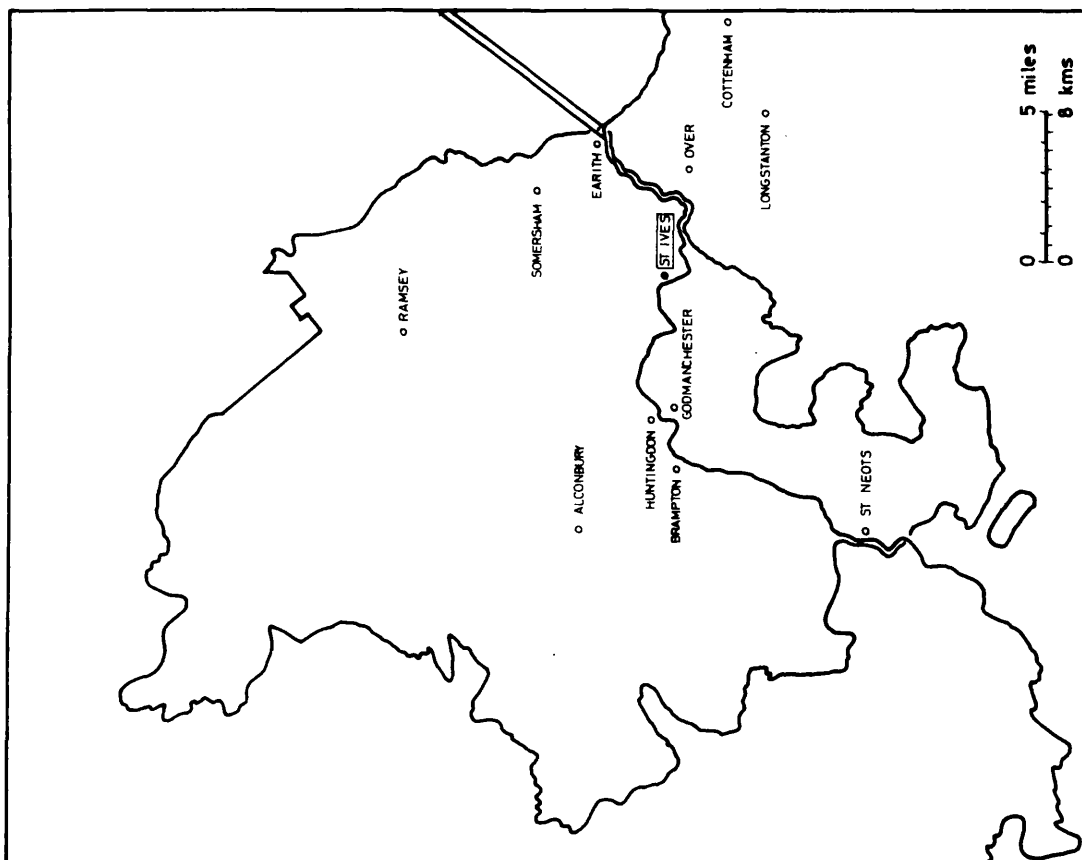
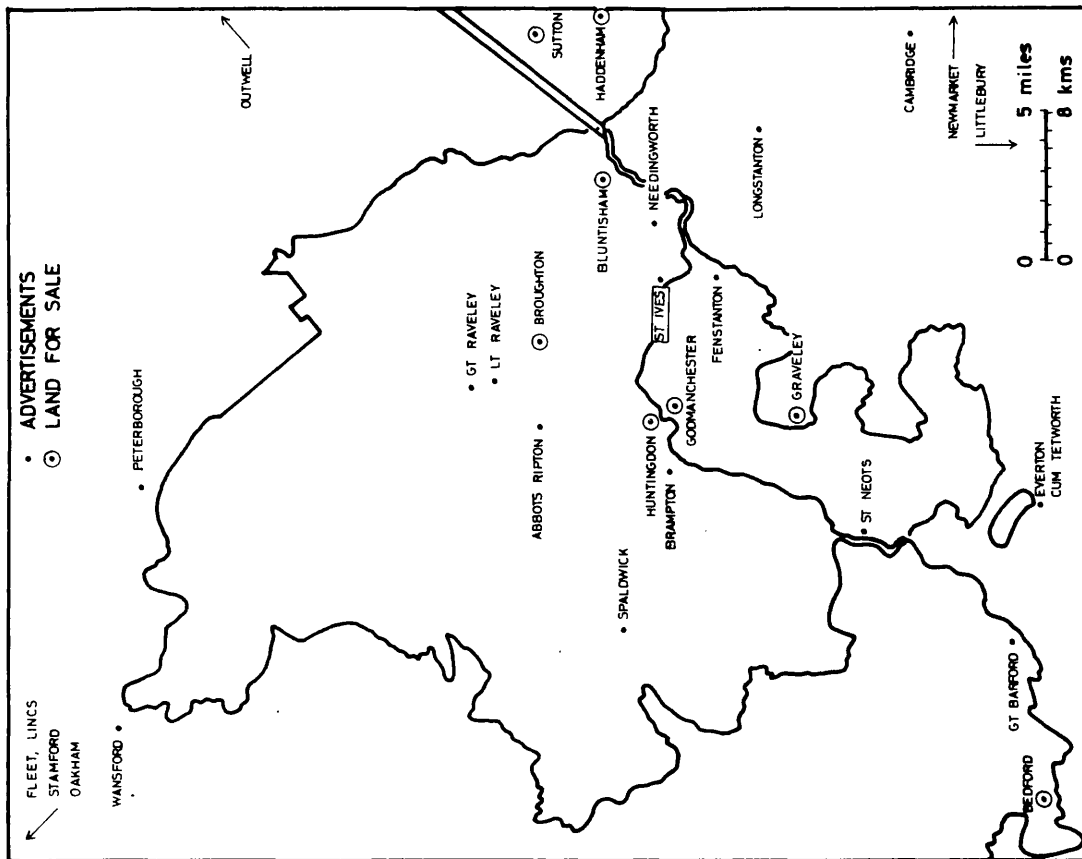


Fig. 10. Distribution of offenders in St Ives market 1632-1661.



Places mentioned in advertisements in The St Ives Post Box 1718-1719.

land either because of purchase, inheritance or used as security for a loan, have been counted once only within a period of thirty years. The key villages were in descending order of importance, Fenstanton, Somersham, The Hemingfords, Houghton & Wyton, Holywell & Needingworth, Bluntisham & Earith, Fendrayton in Cambridgeshire, and one not mentioned before, Abbots Ripton, north of St Ives.

The economic life of the town could be said to have taken place within two hinterlands. One hinterland was concerned with the exchange and distribution of goods for local people for their own needs. The other hinterland relates to the famous cattle market, which attracted custom from the north of England. When we examine the evidence for the influence of the market at St Ives we need to bear this distinction in mind.

As no market toll books survive, the size of the hinterland has been estimated from other evidence. The earliest manor court book includes some offences in the market. Figure 10 shows the distribution of offenders. There are 30 entries, referring to eleven places and twenty four people. For example, Thomas Silke, a butcher from Somersham, was accused five times of selling bad meat, and William Holmes of Over twice. The trades mentioned are butcher 20 times, baker 7 times, leather sellers twice and salter once. The maximum distance travelled was 11 miles for butchers, 6½ for leather sellers, 6 for bakers and 4 for the salter. The three towns, Ramsey, Godmanchester and Huntingdon each produced four offenders; St Neots, Earith, Over and Somersham two; all other places one each. The area covered by these offences was similar to that described above.

In the eighteenth century, a newspaper called The St Ives Post Boy was printed in St Ives and published on market day for 1½d. Copies have survived for 1717-18.¹ The paper has almost no local content, as is to be expected at this date, but was a reprint of news from London, both home and overseas. However, places mentioned in the advertisements can be used to give an idea of the distribution of the readership, and by implication, the hinterland of the market. Figure 10 shows that subscribers to this paper were assumed to be interested in the purchase of land or services within the local region bounded by Peterborough, Bedford, and Cambridge. The greatest number of entries were for Cambridge (33), Peterborough (28), St Neots (25), and Huntingdon (14). Ian Mitchell in his study on urban retailing in the eighteenth century also found that the largest marketing region for Chester was the distribution area of its newspapers.²

The extent of the hinterland is even greater if we consider the distances that people were prepared to travel to the market on Mondays. We know that they travelled from Abbots Ripton, Huntingdonshire (on the drovers' road from the north), Higham Ferrars and Yorkshire.³ In an adultery case, one of the witnesses came from Cambridge expecting to meet his partner in St Ives, but found that he had gone to Kings Lynn.⁴ K J Bonser has shown that the Scottish drovers visited St Ives with their cattle on their way to Barnet and Smithfield. A good number of the cattle remaining unsold after the fairs in Norfolk, if not directed to Essex and London, were sent across country to the market at St Ives.

1. Bodleian Library, Oxford, St Ives Post Boy, HOPE^o 871, 1717-18.
2. I. Mitchell, "The development of urban retailing 1700-1815"; in P. Clark, ed., The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1984, p. 261/2.
3. P. R. O., E134, 8 Anne, East 15.
4. H. R. O., Archdeaconry File 258, Case against Thomas Swan, 1708.

During the period when Irish store cattle could be imported into England, they too were often sold in St Ives. They would then be fattened locally before being sold on again for slaughter.¹

All this information about the economic life of the town as it relates to its market is difficult to quantify in the same way as for the "social area" of marriages because the data comes in small amounts from diverse sources. However, it leads one to assume that the hinterland for the market was larger than for marriage partners and that it was more likely to cross county boundaries.

In assessing the size of the religious hinterland of St Ives, a distinction has been drawn between the Church of England and the nonconformist churches. St Ives was part of the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon in the diocese of Lincoln, and its rural deanery consisted of twenty five parishes. But disputes were heard in the episcopal courts in Huntingdon, even if everyone involved was from St Ives. In the event of more serious trouble, they were referred to the Bishop's palace at Buckden, 6 miles further west of Huntingdon.² Within the Church of England, the hinterland of St Ives was limited to its deanery, but for all matters of greater importance than the usual administrative work, the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon was the seat of power.

The situation was not the same with the nonconformist churches. Early evidence for this comes from a letter written by the Archdeacon of Huntingdon in 1639. He was reporting on his investigations into the complaints of local puritans about the form of services in the parish

1. K. J. Bonser, The Drovers, 1970, pp. 129, 130.
2. H.R.O., Archdeaconry File 258, Case against Thomas Swan, 1708; C.S.P.D., 1628-1629, pp. 530-1, CXLI, 63; p. 537, CXLII, 19.

church. His mission seems to have been unsuccessful in that he failed to persuade the puritans to accept communion at the altar. He sums this up in the words "What they want, is victory; to have a leading case for all the country."¹ It can be assumed that even as early as 1639 the puritans looked on St Ives as the important centre in its area.

After the Restoration, three groups of nonconformists were present in the town. Of these, the Presbyterian meeting house, established in 1691, received money annually from London to support a Mr Shepherd at Huntingdon, with its clear implication that St Ives was the mother church.² Their baptism books, which survive from 1742-1757, show that parents came from quite a wide area to have their children baptised in St Ives.³ This is displayed in figure 11. Of the 86 children baptised, whose parents were not living in St Ives, 46 came from the adjoining villages of Fenstanton and Needingworth, and a further 22 were from Cambridge.

Initially, Fenstanton, two miles from St Ives, was the centre for the Baptists. Their church book of 1645-1656 shows the extent of the influence of this Church.⁴ The names and places of 179 members are mentioned, of which 52 were from Fenstanton itself. Meetings were regularly held at Fenstanton, Caxton, Cambridge, Papworth Everard and Eltisley. The membership list of 1676 shows a changed pattern from that of the earlier date. Fenstanton still produced the greatest number of members, but Godmanchester, St Ives and the two Hemingfords had increased their totals. In figure 11, the homes of members in 1676 have been

1. C.S.P.D., 1939-1940, pp. 444-445, CCCCXLIV, 79: pp. 455-456, CCCCXLV, 22.
2. Dr. Williams' Library, "Presbyterian Fund Board Minutes", 1690.
3. P.R.O., RG4/678, RG4/8.
4. E. B. Underhill, ed., Records of the Churches of Christ gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys and Hexham 1644-1720, 1854, pp. 141-147.

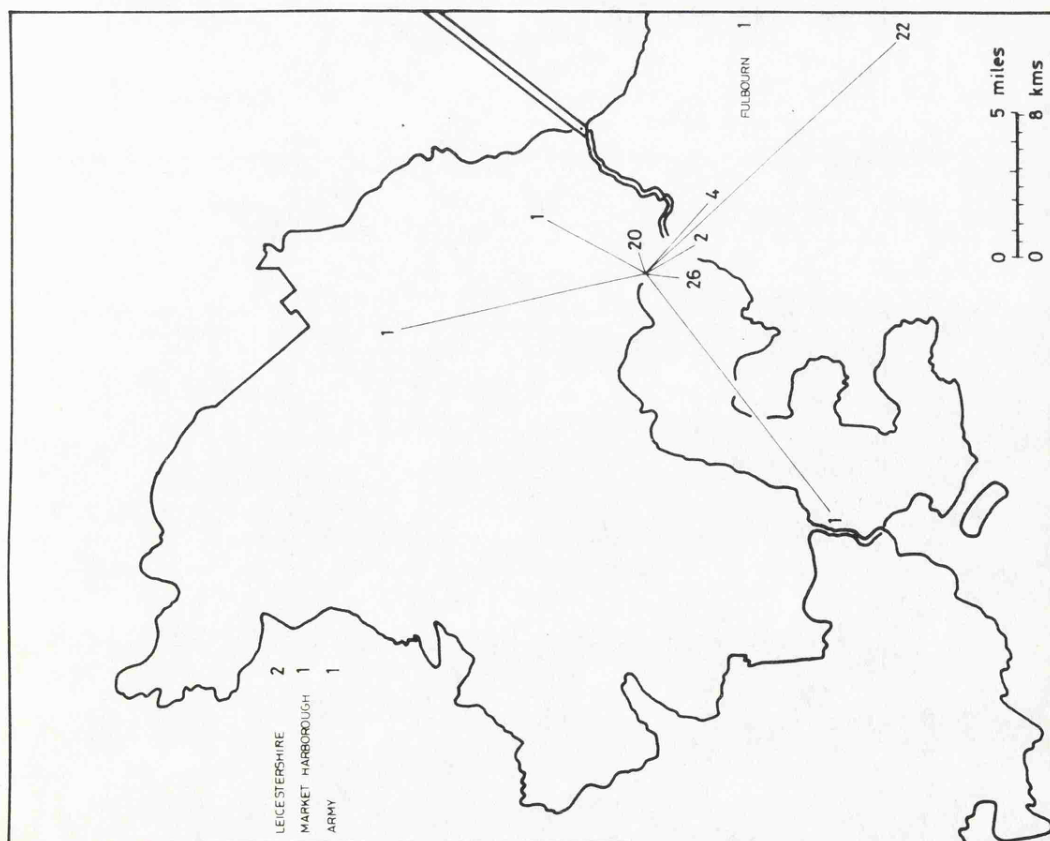
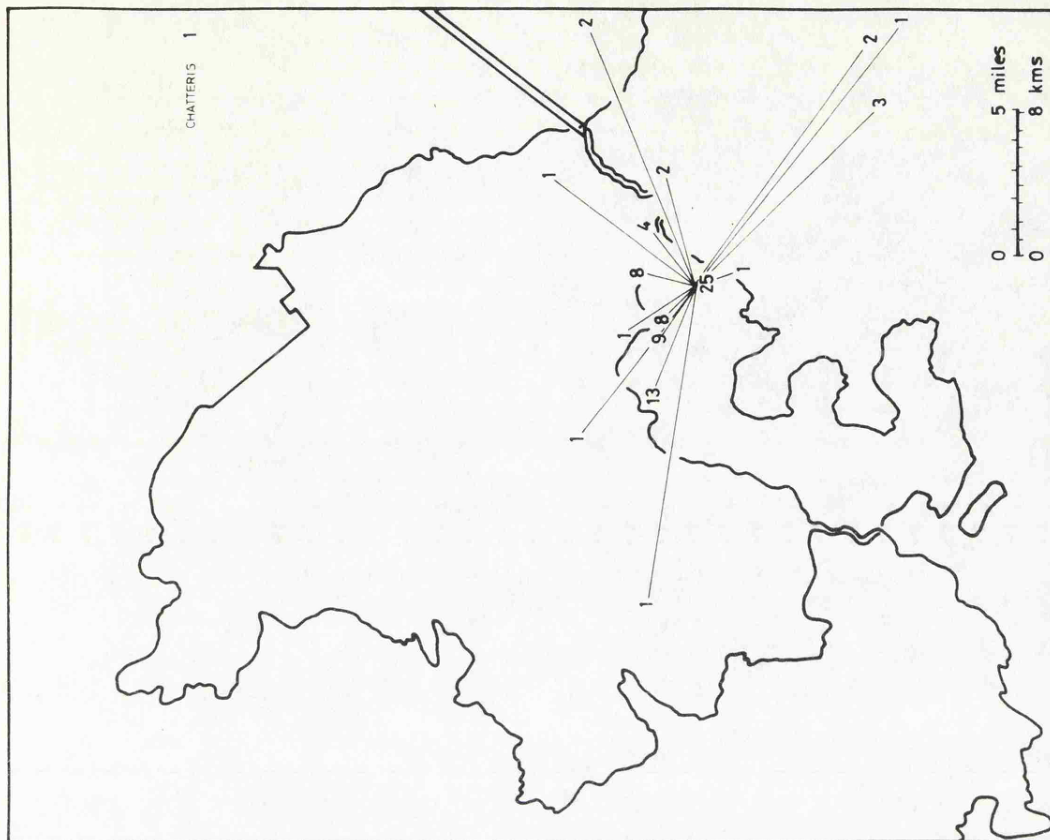


Fig. 11. Distribution of parents of children baptised at St Ives Presbyterian meeting house 1742-1757.



Distribution of members of the Baptist church at Fenstanton, 1676.

linked to St Ives, as it seems to hold a central position. By 1728 their meeting house was built in the town, reflecting a further shift in membership.¹

The minutes of Cambridge, Huntingdon and the Isle quarterly meeting of Quakers show that in 1668, there were twenty one groups meeting in the county.² Although the monthly meeting had the name of the Huntingdon monthly meeting, it met on the fourth day at Fenstanton, on the fifth at Hemingford and on the sixth day at St Ives. Two of the leading Quakers lived in the town, suggesting that the influence of the town was considerable. It is very difficult to disentangle the relative importance of the different places in an organisation like the Quakers, but the records show that there were meeting houses put up at Huntingdon, St Ives, Ramsey and Earith and that there was constant travelling and contact between all the groups of Quakers in this part of the county. Huntingdon, as the county town, had some pre-eminence as the monthly meeting was named after it, even when it met elsewhere. The quarterly meeting was certainly held at the Huntingdon Meeting House.

The places with the greatest number of Baptists or Presbyterians, were Fenstanton, the Hemingfords, Holywell and Needingworth, followed by Warboys, Over, Fendrayton, Papworth and Swavesey, the last four being in Cambridgeshire. These are villages close to St Ives. Table 7 shows the division between the counties. The greater number of Presbyterians living outside Huntingdonshire derives from the large contingent in Cambridge.

1. Pettis, p. 89.
2. H.R.O., Acc. 513, Box DDX 93, C. F. Carter, 'Early Friends in Huntingdonshire', 1953, pp. 4-8.

TABLE 7

NONCONFORMIST CHURCHES IN ST IVES - Residence of members other than in

St Ives

	<u>Baptists</u>		<u>Presbyterians</u>	
	<u>1645-1656</u>		<u>1676</u>	
	<u>Total</u>		<u>1742-1757</u>	
	<u>Total</u>		<u>Total</u>	
Huntingdonshire	82	46%	72	86%
Cambridgeshire	91	51%	12	14%
Others	5	3%	4	5%

When all the information relating to cross-county boundary relationships is brought together as in table 8, it shows that people looking for a marriage partner were far more likely to keep their horizons within the county than those borrowing, or attending a nonconformist church. Only 9% of the marriage sample married outside the county, although 18% of their parents had been or were resident elsewhere. 17% of those involved in transactions relating to bonds looked across the county boundary. Even the average figure for the nonconformists revealed only 26% of their membership living outside of the county.

TABLE 8

Percentage figures for out-of-county relationships

Marriage Partners	9%
Parents	18%
Bonds	17%
Baptists	14%
Presbyterians	39%
Nonconformists combined	26%

All this information relating to the different classes of evidence can be combined to show the extent of the hinterland of St Ives. Two methods of

assessment have been used; the number of times a particular place has been mentioned and the number of types of evidence for each particular place. In this way the advantages of size are obvious. The information from the advertisements in The St Ives Post Boy gives an idea of the extent of the hinterland for the market but as this has been shown to be much larger than the "local" hinterland this data has not been used. The information has been displayed in figure 12, on the map of the river and road network of the area, where the top figure of the fraction is the total of entries and the bottom the number of types of evidence. The hinterland is taken to include all villages where there are three or more different types of evidence - that is, either offences in the market, property transfers, marriages, bonds or membership of one of the two nonconformist churches with lists outstanding.

The most important villages were once again Fenstanton, the Hemingfords, and Holywell and Needingworth. Houghton and Wyton, Bluntisham and Earith, Somersham and Over were those of next importance, with Warboys, Woodhurst, Pidley, Swavesey, Fendrayton and Papworth as those on the periphery. Those of lesser importance still were Wistow, a village to the north, Hartford to the west and Connington to the south. If these places are taken to be on the edges of our hinterland, then Little Raveley, Kings Ripton, Broughton and Old Hurst must be included although the number of entries is fewer.

Looked at from the point of view of the communications network, the importance of the river, is clear for here are the villages that form the heart of our hinterland. The villages in Cambridgeshire that are included all have direct access to St Ives and are a good distance away from any other town. The fen-edge villages of Somersham, Pidley and Warboys would

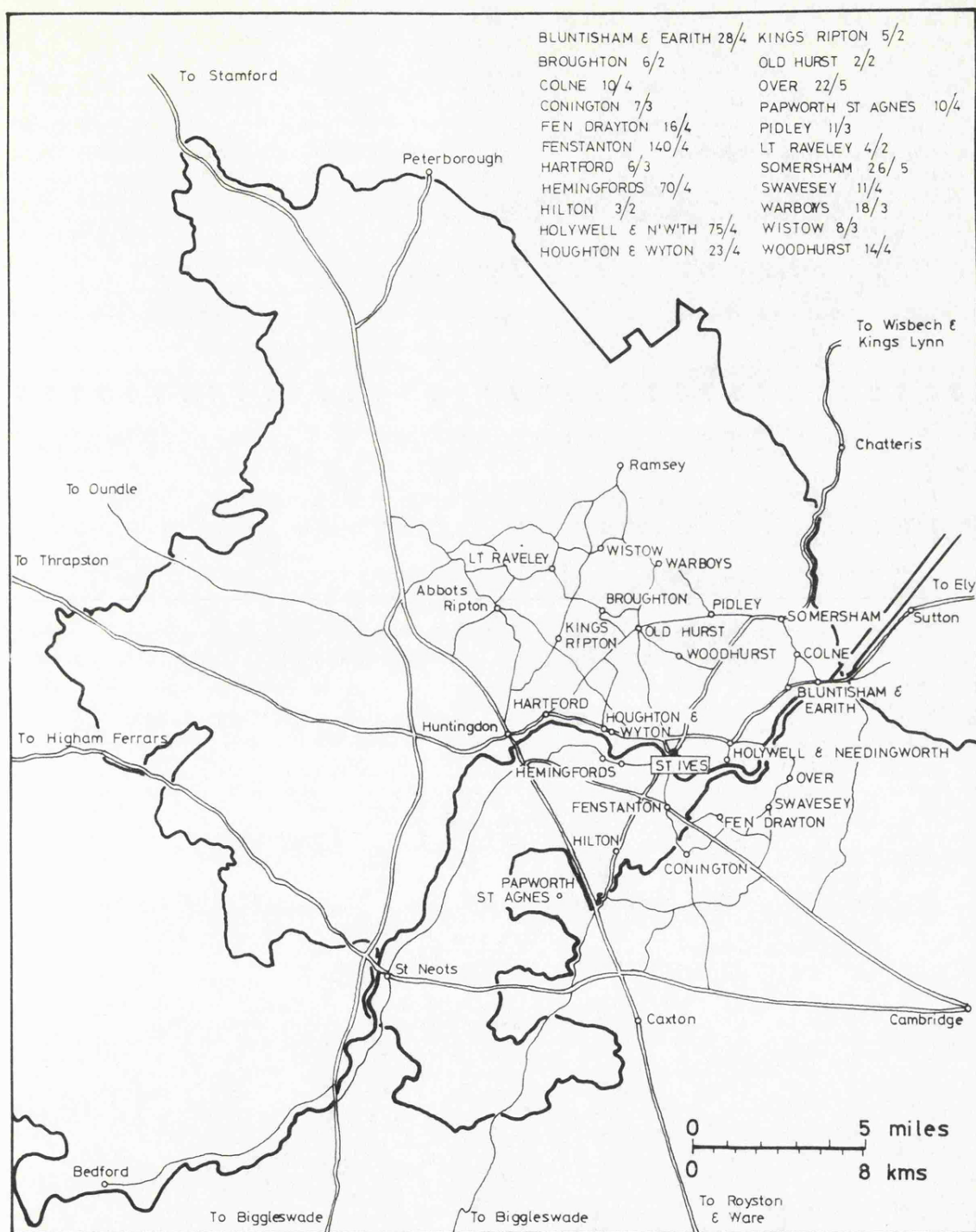


Fig. 12. The hinterland of St Ives: road network and constituent villages. Fractions represent total references over classes of data. The road network is based on Thomas Jefferys' map of Huntingdonshire, 1766, at the Huntingdon Record Office.

have had access along the road from St Ives to March and Kings Lynn. For the small places to the north west of St Ives access was only by minor routes. For them the attraction of Huntingdon or Ramsey must have been strong, and these are the villages with fewer entries and fewer types of evidence.

If figure 13, showing the distribution of Huntingdon bondsmen, is compared with figure 10 for St Ives bondsmen, it will be strikingly clear that Huntingdon acted as the county town. St Ives may have been larger in population but Huntingdon had far more connections. A striking feature is the number of people based in other places who used bondsmen from Huntingdon. There were 125 men who married from Huntingdon in the eighteenth century and 101 women but 248 bondsmen claimed Huntingdon as their place of residence. (This includes some duplication of names as the purpose of the research was to show connections between different places.) The figures show that many people outside Huntingdon looked to it for a financial reference when pledging marriage. The majority of these bondsmen were innkeepers. These figures show the financial importance of Huntingdon, as innkeepers at this time were known to be playing the role later assumed by bankers.¹ In the earlier period, there were 92 bondsmen from Huntingdon. In the later period, this figure had increased to 248. If this is a guide to financial importance, then the pre-eminence of Huntingdon in its own county increased greatly between the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The distribution of bondsmen for St Ives, by comparison, shows that its drawing power over the whole county was far weaker. In the eighteenth century, there were only 121 bondsmen from the town, compared to the 248

1. A. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce", A.H.E.W., IV, 1500-1640, 1967, p. 559.

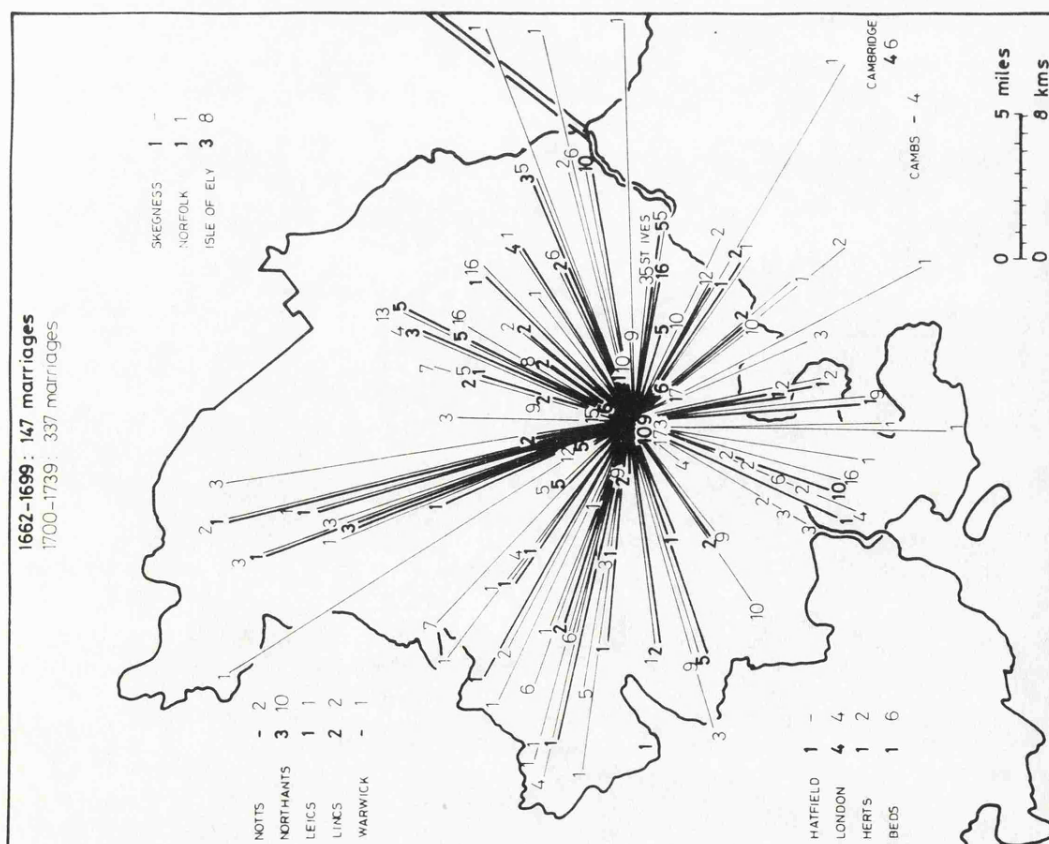
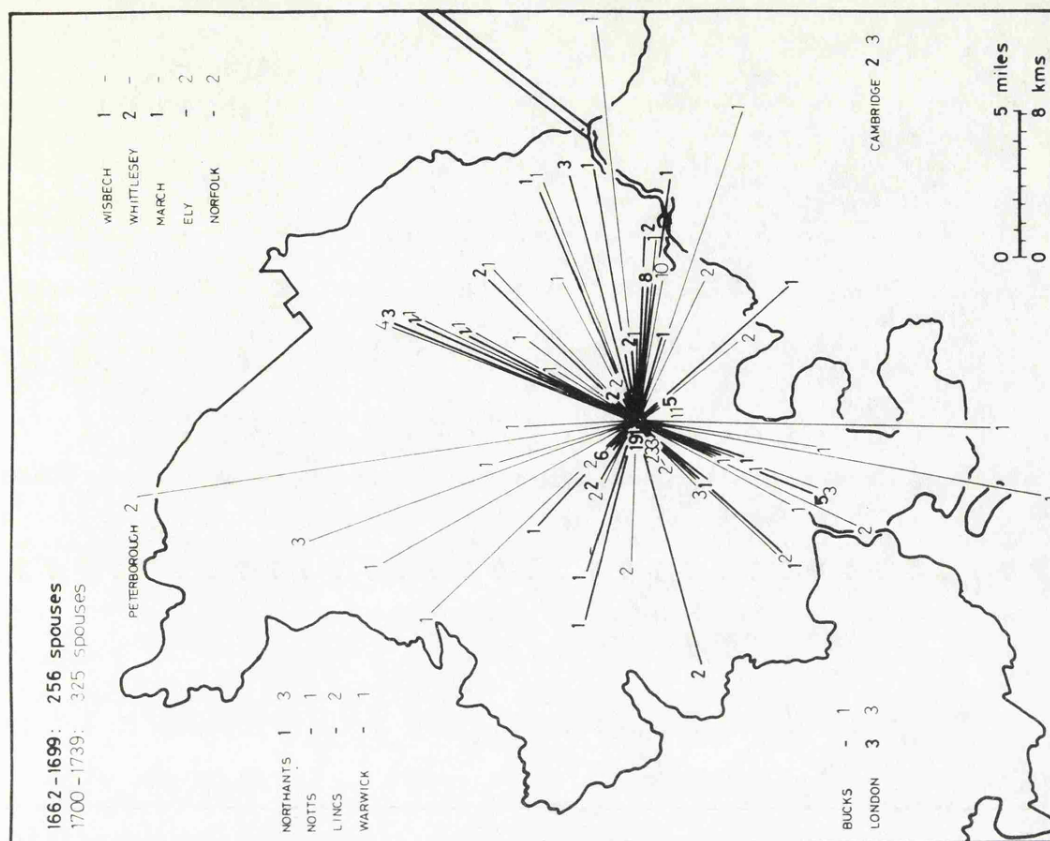


Fig. 13. Distribution of brides and/or grooms who used a bondsman living in Huntingdon.



Huntingdon marriage horizons.

registered at Huntingdon. The area from which people came for marriage in St Ives was also more restricted. In the later seventeenth century, most outsiders came from north of the river with few outside the hinterland, as delineated earlier. In the later period, the area influenced by the town has increased and now covers in a small degree most parts of the county, although there were fewer examples in the west, north and extreme south. This suggests that St Ives' drawing power could not compete effectively with that of Huntingdon to the west or St Neots in the south.

The combination of evidence examined here, combined with the map of communications, makes it clear that transport links decided why certain places looked more to St Ives than to other market towns. Although its sphere of influence stretched across the county boundary into the north-west corner of Cambridgeshire, its greatest influence lay in the Ouse valley, with tentacles out into the fens where the number of roads was limited by the nature of the terrain. On the high ground to the west of the fens there was competition and here the influence of St Ives seems to have been weaker. Inevitably, the greatest density of contacts lay in the neighbouring villages of the Hemingfords, Fenstanton and Holywell & Needingworth. Houghton & Wyton, two miles to the west of St Ives, was, albeit its proximity, slightly less within this orbit because of the competitive strength of Huntingdon.

The evidence considered here has allowed us to define the hinterland of St Ives. It has shown that this covered twenty three parishes in two counties. The influence of the transport network was considerable in determining its outline. Another important factor was the county boundary which was clearly perceived as an edge. This was seen in

records for marriages and residences of bondsmen. Such a boundary was not seen as being quite so important when considering the membership lists of the nonconformists where the degree of cross-county-boundary traffic was greater. Finally, the comparison of maps for bondsmen of Huntingdon and St Ives showed that the county town extended its influence during this period.

In order to test the accuracy of the outline hinterland of St Ives in comparison with that of Huntingdon, surnames for all the villages mentioned have been compared with those of St Ives and Huntingdon to show what percentage were common to each town. Lists of males who signed the Protestation Return in 1642 have been compared with those who paid the Hearth Tax in 1674. A second comparison has been made between all names recorded in the burials registers in the decades 1680-1689 and 1720-1729. In this way a representative data base of surnames has been assembled.

Table 9, which lists the percentage of surnames common to St Ives and the 23 villages in 1642, shows figures varying between 13 and 33%. If one excludes samples of less than 40 entries, the villages nearest to St Ives were at the top end of this range, as can be seen in figure 14. These were Fenstanton, Holywell & Needingworth, Houghton & Wyton and Woodhurst. By 1674 the percentage range varied between 15 and 46%. Again those places nearest St Ives generally had the highest percentage of common surnames. These were Hemingford Grey, Houghton & Wyton and Colne in the fens, with smaller but high samples at Hartford, Hemingford Abbots, Old Hurst and Woodhurst.

The figures for the 1680's show that the highest percentages were north of the Ouse valley and in the fens - at a time when the population there

TABLE 9

Surnames common to St Ives and the 23 villages in its hinterland

<u>Village</u>	<u>1642¹</u>		<u>1674²</u>		<u>1680-89³</u>		<u>1720-29³</u>	
	<u>Sample</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>%</u>
	<u>Size</u>		<u>Size</u>		<u>Size</u>		<u>Size</u>	
Bluntisham	143	22	132	21	-	-	122	27
Broughton	45	22	40	15	52	21	30	30
Colne	58	22	40	30	50	28	54	20
Connington	-	-	20	20	22	32	28	18
Fendrayton	-	-	42	24	33	27	45	35
Fenstanton	95	29	76	24	100	25	112	25
Godmanchester	-	-	173	21	168	23	202	22
Hartford	36	22	26	38	31	23	38	22
Hemingford	-	-	45	31	-	-	54	26
Abbots								
Hemingford	-	-	63	46	56	21	57	28
Grey								
Hilton	38	21	22	27	28	39	36	30
Holywell &	95	26	86	24	91	29	76	29
Needingworth								
Houghton &	76	33	53	38	78	38	68	19
Wyton								
Huntingdon	-	--	161	16	121	26	225	22
Kings Ripton	27	19	20	25	40	33	40	20
Little Raveley	24	17	20	25	14	29	7	14
Old Hurst	26	27	15	40	14	36	19	21
Over	-	-	108	27	133	18	132	20
Papworth St	-	-	13	23	-	-	9	11
Agnes								
Pidley	62	13	52	17	49	29	66	23
Somersham	87	23	96	26	108	29	120	30
Swavesey	-	-	81	20	79	24	127	19
Warboys	76	18	76	25	89	30	123	29
Wistow	46	22	42	19	62	19	52	25
Woodhurst	58	29	31	39	34	24	53	32

1. G. Proby, ed., "Protestation Returns for Huntingdonshire", Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society, 5, 1937, pp. 292-366.
2. P.R.O., E179/249/2.
3. All Saints Parish Church, St Ives, Burials Register.

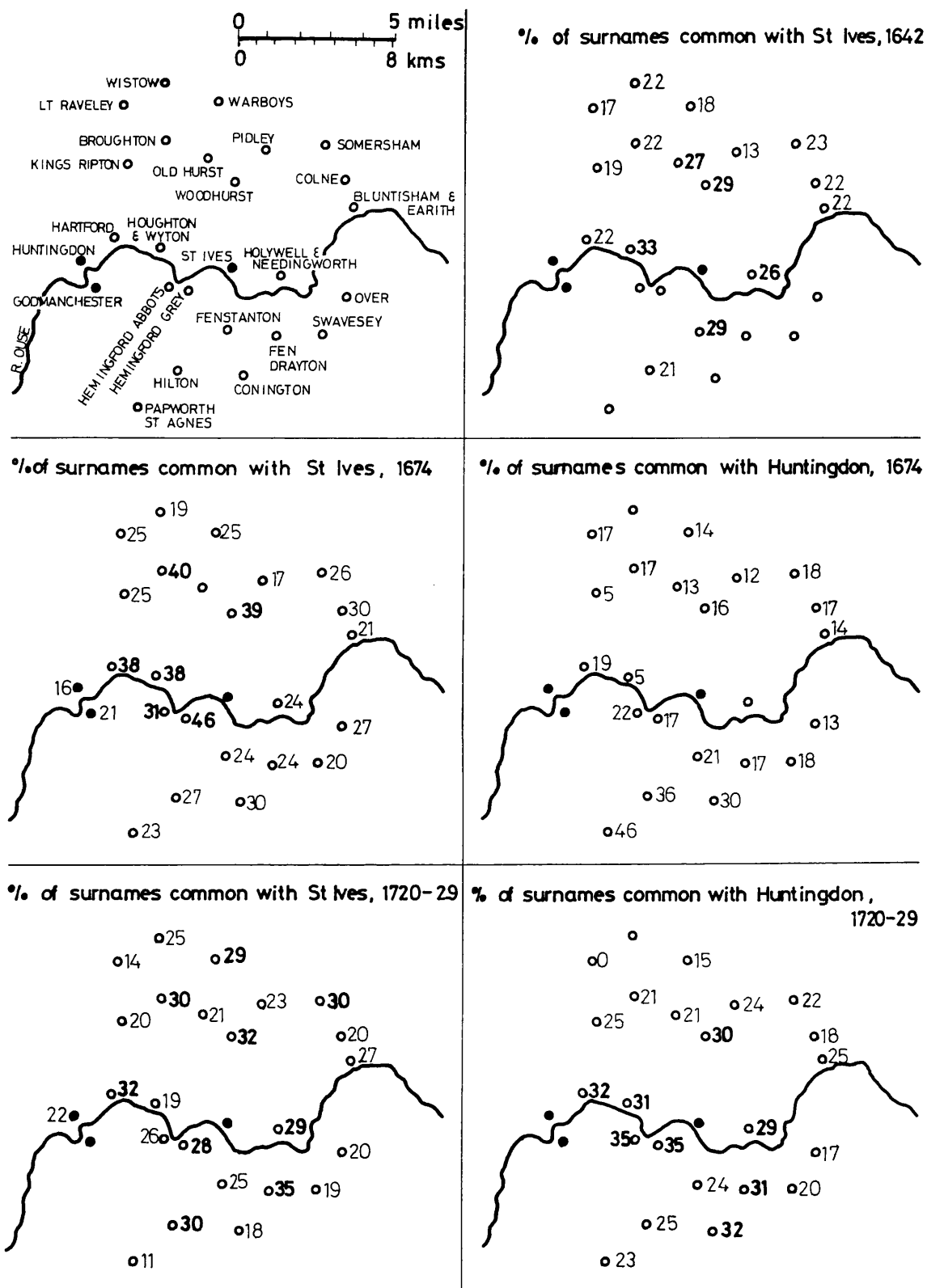


Fig. 14. Distribution of surnames common to St Ives, Huntingdon and the villages of the hinterland.

was still growing. Comparison has been made with Huntingdon in table 10 and the contrast is marked. The range for common surnames with St Ives is 18-39% whereas common surnames with Huntingdon vary between 0 and 23%, this last for Hartford which lies only one mile from Huntingdon. The similar figures for the 1720's show St Ives' influence concentrated over the same area but Huntingdon's influence has grown to such an extent that seven parishes have a greater proportion of surnames common to Huntingdon rather than to St Ives. Places, like Houghton & Wyton and Hemingford Grey, lying between St Ives and Huntingdon now show a leaning away from St Ives; others like Fenstanton, Hartford and Holywell & Needingworth reveal an equal bias to each town.

These figures confirm what has already been found. The hinterland of St Ives generally included the neighbouring villages in the Ouse valley and spread, even if decreasing in strength, north to the small villages on clay soil, east to the fen-edge parishes and, in even less degree, south east to Cambridgeshire. At least in the seventeenth century this area was firmly orientated towards St Ives, but as the eighteenth century arrived, Huntingdon challenged this leadership, particularly in those parishes closest to the county town. This is reflected in the growing influence of Huntingdon as seen in the marriage bonds.

We have, then, three conclusions. We have described the hinterland of St Ives geographically as extending over twenty three parishes. We have seen also that the most important villages were those of both Hemingfords and Fenstanton south of the river, and of Holywell & Needingworth east of the town. Surname analysis suggests that Houghton & Wyton to the immediate west should also be included. Finally we have seen that the influence of Huntingdon grew dramatically in the early

eighteenth century at the expense of St Ives, to such an extent that villages within two miles of the latter town now fell more under the influence of the county town.

TABLE 10

Surnames common to Huntingdon, St Ives and the 23 hinterland villages

(expressed in percentages)

<u>Village</u>	<u>1680-89</u>	<u>St Ives</u>	<u>1720-29</u>	<u>St Ives</u>
	<u>Huntingdon</u>		<u>Huntingdon</u>	
Bluntisham	-	-	25	27
Broughton	6	21	21	30
Colne	14	28	18	20
Connington		32	32	18
Fendrayton	12	27	31	35
Fenstanton	16	25	24	25
Hartford	23	23	32	32
Hemingford	-	-	35	26
Abbots				
Hemingford	14	21	35	28
Grey				
Hilton	11	39	25	30
Holywell &	11	39	29	29
Needingworth				
Houghton &	14	38	31	19
Wyton				
Kings Ripton	5	33	25	20
Little Raveley	21	29	0	14
Old Hurst		36	21	21
Over	8	18	17	20
Papworth	-	-	22	11
St Agnes				
Pidley	6	29	23	23
Somersham	15	29	22	30
Swavesey	8	24	20	19
Warboys	7	30	24	29
Wistow	6	19	15	25
Woodhurst	12	24	30	32

POPULATION OF THE HINTERLAND OF ST IVES

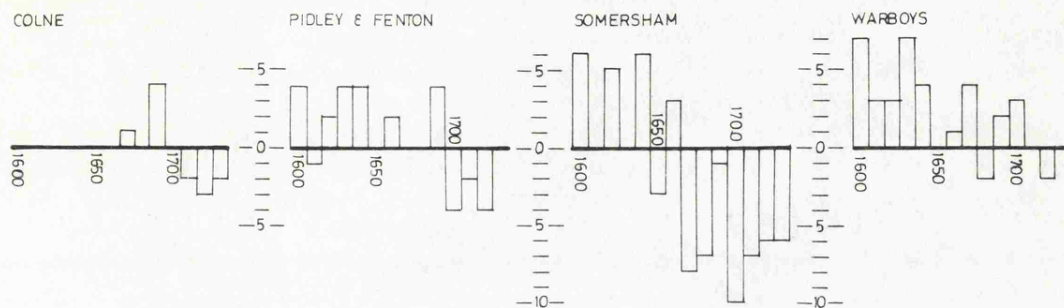
Having defined the hinterland of the town, we can follow Abrams' lead and look first at its population experience. Static data has already been employed to outline the demographic history of the county. The conclusions drawn from this can now be tested against the parish registers for the twenty three parishes. Account will be taken of under-registration as a result of nonconformity. The aim will be to see if the inference drawn earlier is correct, that the increase in population in St Ives was derived from neighbouring villages rather than from natural growth within the town. The data for this examination comes from the registers for the twenty three parishes involved.

They have been used in the following manner. Baptism and burial figures have been counted for each decade. No decade has been included where the figures are for fewer than seven years. Estimates for the remaining deficit years have been derived by adding on the average for that decade. Decadal totals are given in appendix 1. The natural increase for each parish has been computed, inflated for the births of nonconformists, and set out as histograms in figures 15 and 16.

The following method for inflation for nonconformists was adopted. The baptism books for the Presbyterian Meeting House at St Ives give names, villages and occupations for the fathers of children baptised.¹ As a large number of families have been allocated to villages, it is assumed that where no place is mentioned the family came from St Ives. These books start in 1742 whereas the Church was active in 1689. The percentage of children baptised in the Meeting House has been estimated in relation to the number of those baptised for the 1740's in the relevant parish

1. P.R.O., RG4/678, RG4/8.

FEN EDGE VILLAGES



CLAY UPLAND VILLAGES

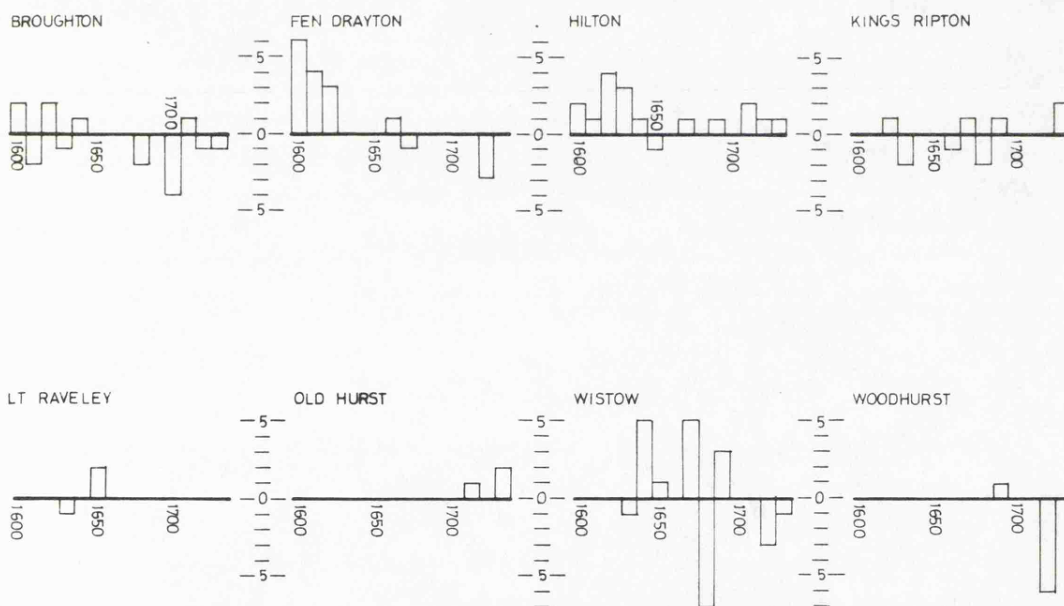


Fig. 15. Histograms of population movements by decades for villages in the hinterland of St Ives.

OUSE VALLEY VILLAGES

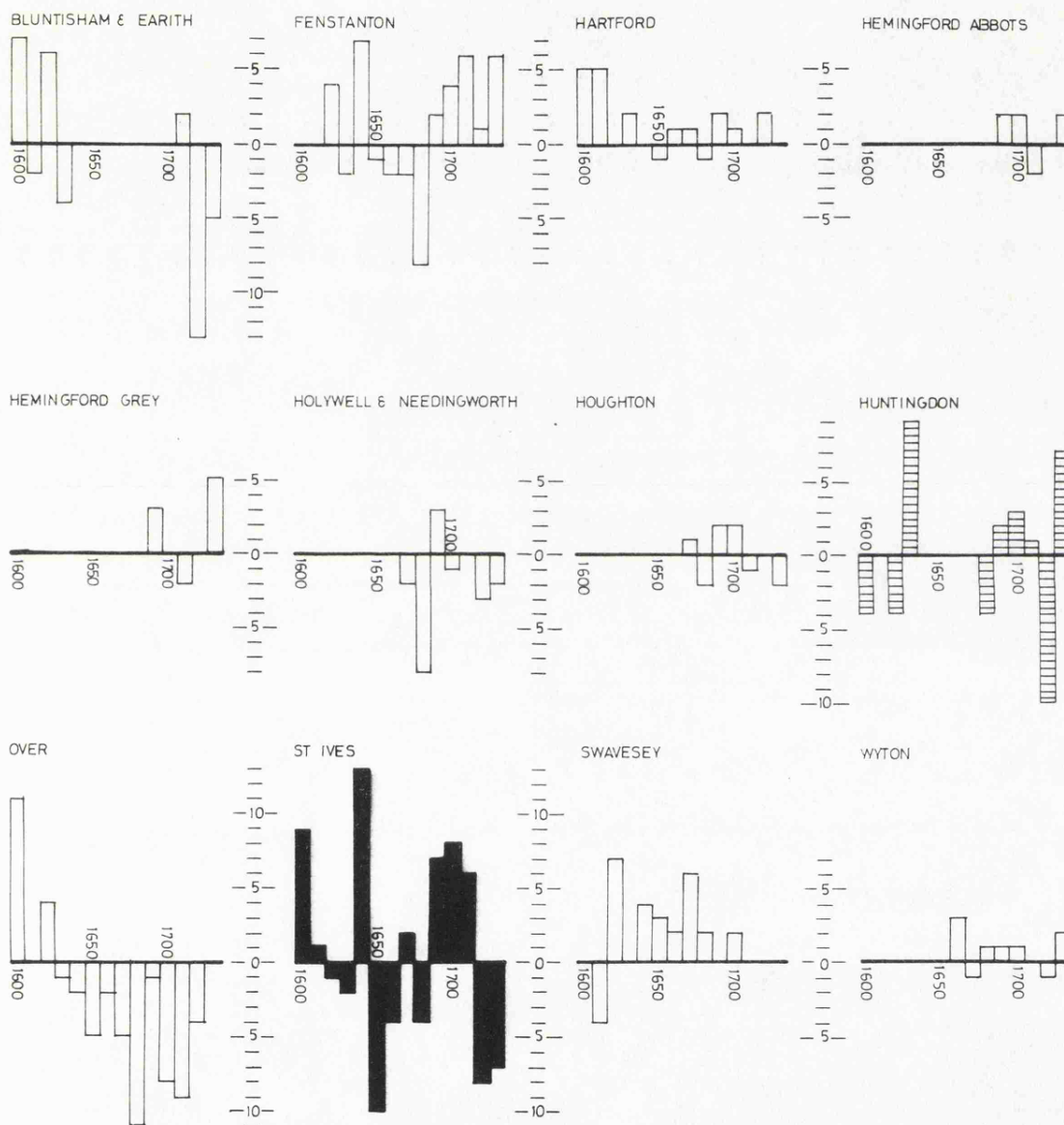


Fig. 16. Histograms of population movements by decades for St Ives, Huntingdon and villages in the hinterland.

church and this percentage has been added to the decadal average of baptisms for the places mentioned. In the case of St Ives, this increases the baptismal average for the decades of 1690-1739 by 14%. The burial register has not been inflated because the parish register records the occasional burial of a Presbyterian at the meeting house. This finding has been supported by archaeology. When the old building was reconstructed in 1981 only two graves, containing four skeletons, were discovered inside it.¹ As there is no land attached to it, it would appear that it was not common to bury the dead in this building, an inference which supports the finding in the burial register at the parish church.

It is much harder to assess the exact numbers of Baptists and Quakers in St Ives. Probably the congregations were smaller. The diocese records forty two Presbyterian families in 1723, ten Quaker and five Anabaptist.² Therefore a further 10% inflation has been allowed for the baptism average. Again the burial figure has not been inflated as burials were also recorded in the parish church register for the Quaker meeting house in St Ives.

A similar exercise has been carried out for the Baptists based at Fenstanton.³ There was another Baptist church at Warboys and in this case the actual number of baptisms has been added for 1640-1709.⁴ The figures

1. M. Wagner Not an Easy Church: A History of the Free Church in St Ives 1672-1981, 1981, pp. 7-14.
2. LRO Speculum Dioceseos Lincolnensis sub episcopis Gul. Wake et Ed. Gibson, 1705-1723.
3. E. B. Underhill ed. Records of the Churches of Christ gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys and Hexham 1644-1720, 1854, pp. 251-254.
4. H. A. Hyde The Warboys Baptists, 1963, pp. 111,112.

for 1710-1739 are inflated by 10% which is the percentage of Baptist births to parish church births for the decade 1700-09. There are no figures for Bluntisham although there was a strong nonconformist group present and it was decided to inflate those figures by 10%. The same has been done at Hemingford Abbots and Hemingford Grey because the records do not state from which village the members derive.

For villages in the Ouse valley the growth seen in the county population figures is confirmed by the parish registers for the years 1600-1670. Where it is possible to pinpoint the end of growth it appears to be in the 1640's, thus confirming the estimates based on the Protestation Return of 1642. The growth in Over and Swavesey, however, has ceased by the 1630's. This decline appears to continue throughout the period for the eastern villages of Bluntisham & Earith, Holywell & Needingworth and Over. It is reflected both in parish registers and in the returns to the Bishop of Lincoln where they exist. Villages nearer to St Ives and Huntingdon show a natural increase in their parish registers but decrease in the static figures. This suggests that there may be surplus population moving elsewhere. Huntingdon, whose registers suggest a decreasing population earlier on, followed by an increase, is however expanding throughout the period. The parish registers are missing for 1640-69 which seems to be the period when natural growth could have taken place. Otherwise growth will need to have come from immigration. At this time navigation up the Ouse had been improved which might have made access easier and more attractive. St Ives registers, after early growth, suggest a declining population even when a large adjustment for nonconformist baptisms has been made. In the early 18th century the strong growth shown in the static figures is not visible in the registers, and this is again

consistent with the picture of the surrounding villages losing their surplus population to the town.

In the eight parishes on the clay uplands there is also some early growth followed by a decrease in the second half of the period. This growth also appears to cease around 1640, except for Hilton in the south and Wistow in the north. There appears to be surplus population for the rest of the period which has moved elsewhere, particularly from the central village of Kings Ripton and from Hilton in the south. Wistow which grew after 1640 shows no further natural increase after 1700. This experience is similar to that of the fen edge parishes.

All of the fen-edge parishes show increases in population at the beginning of the period. Somersham has ceased to grow by the 1640's but Pidley and Colne increased until the end of the century and Warboys for another decade. Thereafter they all show a declining population. The earlier promise in 1652 of bumper harvests in the fens had given way in 1700 to a sober realisation of the problems connected with fen drainage. This seems to be reflected in these population movements.

There is, therefore, general agreement between the parish registers and other static sources on the way the population of Huntingdonshire changed in this period. Growth in the river valley and clay parishes generally ceased by 1640, although many fen-edge parishes did not experience this down-turn until the end of the century. In addition, it has been shown that the towns of Huntingdon and St Ives probably grew from immigration rather than from a baby boom and this growth could have come from the surplus population of the surrounding parishes.

THE ECONOMY OF THE HINTERLAND OF ST IVES

AGRICULTURE

Having examined the demographic experience of the hinterland of St Ives, we can now turn to its economic base. As it has already been shown that this was largely an agricultural area, it is proposed to divide the economic survey into two sections, taking agriculture first. This will be considered on the basis of the three pays, as for the population study. One aim will be to show the extent of specialisation within the hinterland which would have affected the marketing and distributive role of St Ives. A second aim will be to compare the profitability of farming in the three areas. It ought to be possible to see traces of the bonanza in the fens in the later seventeenth century, as well as the effect of the downturn later on. It is also expected that the river meadow parishes will show greater profitability after the improvements to the flow of the river. The decline in population on the clay uplands would suggest that farming there was least profitable. In order to study these themes of specialisation and profitability, each of the three areas will be studied in turn, beginning with the clay uplands.

The main source of information for the 23 villages has been the probate inventories registered with the archdeacon of Huntingdon or in the diocese of Ely. These produced a small data base for the 1640's. The base for the 1680's and 1720's is much more satisfactory. Their distribution by village is shown in Appendix 2. Such information has been supplemented by data gleaned from the Quaker Book of Sufferings which records useful detail about tithe payments and crops.

For this analysis the descriptive titles given in the inventories have been ignored, as they can mask the fact that someone's income came from

different sources. For example, Thomas Foreman of Over was described as a blacksmith but was also involved in arable and livestock farming.¹ All inventories have been included, whatever the description given to the testator, where the amount of land was of the order of half an acre or more, or where there were at least five cattle or sheep. If a testator had horses but no other livestock or crops, he has been omitted on the assumption that he worked as a carrier. It has been assumed that arable and livestock values were roughly similar between the months of May and October, called the summer months, and between the months of November and April, called the winter months.

CLAY UPLANDS

The nine parishes on the clay uplands were all sparsely populated. The nearest contemporary account of their agriculture dates from 1811. The seven parishes in Huntingdonshire were described by Mr Parkinson as being of strong clay, and a Mr Vancouver obtained similar information for the Cambridgeshire villages in 1794.² Only Wistow, Broughton and Old Hurst had substantial proportions of enclosed land (Wistow circa 50%, Old Hurst and Broughton circa 30%); as part of Wistow lay in the fens, this would account for the higher than average figure. Generally these parishes still pursued open-field farming. Indeed, "Cambridgeshire is fourth of the 37 counties listed by Professor Gonner in order of open land still remaining in 1675 and the only counties having any higher proportion are its neighbours Huntingdonshire, Rutland and Lincolnshire."³ Parkinson

1. C.U.L., E.P.R., Inventory, T.Foreman, Over, 1720.
2. R. Parkinson, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Huntingdon, drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture and internal improvement, 1981, pp. 10-11; C. Vancouver, General View of the Agriculture of the County Cambridgeshire, 1794, p. 110.
3. W. E. Tate, "Cambridgeshire Field Systems", Cambridge Antiquarian Society, XV, pp. 56-88.

recorded that the percentage of arable land varied in these parishes between 62% and 95%, the median being 88.5%. The amount of pasture and meadow was correspondingly low, ranging from 17% to nil, with a median of 6%. This must have adversely affected the number of animals that could be kept.

Using the agricultural content of all inventories in the 1640's, it can be seen in Table 11 that 50% were below £100 and 30% above £200. By the 1680's, there was an increase in the proportion of those with smaller inventories and a corresponding decrease above £200. The last decade showed the reverse. The largest group had grown dramatically, suggesting that the number of rich farmers had increased greatly by the eighteenth century.

TABLE 11

TOTALS OF INVENTORIED WEALTH ON THE CLAY UPLANDS

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>NUMBERS</u>			<u>PERCENTAGES</u>		
	<u>£0-99</u>	<u>£100-199</u>	<u>£>200</u>	<u>£0-99</u>	<u>£100-199</u>	<u>£>200</u>
1640's	5	2	3	50	20	30
1680's	19	4	2	76	16	4
1720's	15	2	13	50	7	43

The smallest group - £0-99 - has been analysed further in Table 12 to see what changes occurred during the period. If not much emphasis is put on the 1640's, because of the paucity of examples, it is clear that those who had a small amount of agricultural wealth in the 1680's had an even smaller amount in the 1720's. If we also remove all those inventories where agriculture was an additional source of income, it is possible in Table 13 to see what happened to those whose wealth appears to have been solely derived from agriculture.

TABLE 12

TEMPORAL VARIATIONS WITHIN SMALL INVENTORIES

TOTAL NUMBERS

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>10-19</u>	<u>20-39</u>	<u>40-59</u>	<u>60-79</u>	<u>80-99</u>	<u>Total</u>
1640	4	1	0	0	0	5
1680	5	4	6	3	1	19
1720	9	4	1	0	1	15

PERCENTAGES

1640	80	20	-	-	-	100
1680	26	21	32	16	5	100
1720	60	27	7	0	7	100

TABLE 13

TEMPORAL VARIATIONS WITHIN SMALL INVENTORIES - AGRICULTURE ONLY

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>10-19</u>	<u>20-39</u>	<u>40-59</u>	<u>60-79</u>	<u>80-99</u>
1640	0	1	0	0	0
1680	2	1	6	2	1
1720	0	0	1	0	0

Only in the 1680's was there a reasonable number of inventories of people who appeared to live from agriculture without any other source of income. By the 1720's agriculture for the poorer farmers represented a supplementary source of income.

Median values of summer inventories in Table 14, for arable, livestock and equipment reveal that the emphasis was firmly on arable farming, which had been expected because of the comparatively small acreage of meadow and pasture. Wheat and barley were the most common crop; peas were next, followed by oats. Rye was not mentioned after the 1640's and there is one reference to tares. Some information relating to the size of the hay crop is available, although frequently hay was included with

other items. The figures do suggest that there was an increasing use of hay, with the median value being £2.10s in the 1680's and £9 in the 1720's. It is not possible to assess the acreage of the crop.

TABLE 14

MEDIAN VALUES OF SUMMER INVENTORIES FOR ARABLE, LIVESTOCK AND EQUIPMENT

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>ARABLE</u>	<u>LIVESTOCK</u>	<u>EQUIPMENT</u>	<u>ARABLE</u>	<u>LIVESTOCK</u>	<u>EQUIPMENT</u>
	£	£	£	%	%	%
1640's	148.5	93	29	55	34	11
1680's	18	14.5	4	49	40	11
1720's	74	29	11	65	38	10

If we now turn to livestock, we find that the number owning sheep increased over the period, although the maximum size of the flock did not alter. They were kept both for wool and mutton. Wool was mentioned in inventories in all three decades, the highest recorded amount being £16.¹ The term "guest sheep" was first used in the 1680's, and is assumed to refer to sheep being fattened for the table. Dr Chartres has suggested that the attraction of mutton-rearing was growing from 1620's onward.² Dairying was always popular, although herds became smaller. Cheesemaking was practised throughout the region, with one inventory recording 50 cheeses.³ Stock breeding and fattening gradually became less feasible for the small farmer. At the same time the maximum size of herds grew. Horse breeding was at no time very common, and by the 1720's the ownership of a horse was beyond the means of some, as the price per head

1. H.R.O., Inventory, R. Godfrey, Broughton, 1649.
2. J. A. Chartres, The Internal Trade in England 1500-1700, 1977, pp. 22-23.
3. H.R.O., Inventory, B. Nodes, Broughton, 1681.

increased. The major producer of dung to manure the land and keep it in good heart was the sheep.

An examination of winter figures in Table 15 shows a dramatic increase between 1640 and 1720 in the number of animals kept over the winter. This is a reflection of the more efficient use of the land, but is all the more interesting because of the small acreage laid down to pasture and meadow.

TABLE 15

MEDIAN HERD SIZES NOVEMBER TO APRIL

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>HORSES</u>	<u>CATTLE</u>	<u>SHEEP</u>
1640	2	5	4
1680	5	14	29.5
1720	6.5	18	20

As to equipment, there were frequent entries of ploughs, carts, dung carts, long carts and harrows. Only in the 1720's were waggons mentioned and then only in six instances on big farms. Stephen Porter has shown that the southern parts of Huntingdonshire were slower to adopt the waggon than the north west. The cart was more suitable and cheaper for small farms and only with the advent of larger farms was the capital outlay of a waggon justified. "The introduction of the waggon represented a considerable development in the technology of farm equipment."¹

Farming on the clay uplands shows various trends; there seems to have

1. S. Porter, "Farm Transport in Huntingdonshire 1610-1749", The Journal of Transport History, 3rd Series, 3, 1, 1982, pp. 35-45.

been an increase in the number of larger farms with a concentration by the larger farmers on arable combined with dairying, cattle fattening and breeding, and the acquisition of new technology in the shape of the waggon. There was little experimentation with new crops. The smaller farmer tended to supplement his agriculture with a trade. He was unable to keep a horse and tended to concentrate on the cheaper sheep rather than on cattle.

E. L. Jones has shown that the improvements in agriculture from the mid-seventeenth century were generally in the areas of light soil suitable for the growth of clover, sainfoin and turnips. On well-drained lands livestock, and particularly sheep, could remain on the fields in the winter, feeding on the new crops and giving manure in return, thus increasing yields. However, on clay soils, turnips did not grow well and folding animals in such fields in the winter was impossible. Often the clays were converted to pasture when it became difficult for farmers to compete on equal terms with those on light soils. In some places compensation was found in the spread of cottage framework knitting. Falling cereal prices made life difficult for the small open-field farmer dependent on the central cereal market. They could not take advantage of the new husbandry, and the rapid turnover of tenants, the selling-out of owner-occupiers and frequent conversions to pasture show their difficulty in competing with farmers on light soils.¹

The evidence assembled here supports parts of this picture. There is no reference to the new crops on these clay soils. The small farmers in the open fields seem to have supplemented their income from non-agricultural

1. E. L. Jones, Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution, 1974, pp. 67-81.

sources. The large farmers were increasing both in numbers and in the size of their herds, although at the same time their inventory totals were unable to match those of the 1640's. With cereal and cattle values reduced this is hardly surprising. There is no evidence of a switch from arable to pastoral farming as had already happened elsewhere on the clays of the county, perhaps because these parishes did not have the additional burden of heavy transport costs because of their proximity to the Ouse. And, although there is no sign of the spread of framework knitting, those inventories that have a small amount of agriculture in the 1720's almost invariably have another source of income. While the evidence is not conclusive, it is suggestive of a downturn by the 1680's in the economy of these clay parishes in the face of competition from elsewhere in the country. This had not improved by the 1720's but the larger farmers were showing a greater ability to survive and prosper than the small man.

THE FENS

The four parishes on the fen-edges of Huntingdonshire, to the north-east of St Ives, covered a total of 18,319 acres. In general, their population did not decline until after the 1670's, except for Warboys, which continued to grow but at a slower rate. The size of community varied between Somersham's 700 and Colne's 350. In no case was the parish entirely composed of fenland. The amount of clay, assessed by Parkinson in 1811 varied between 70% for Fildley-cum-Fenton and 33% for Colne, with a median of 39%.¹ When he came to assess the amount of arable in each parish, he found that "the greater part of the fens are under the plough".² The median amount of arable he found to be 64%; 11%

1. R. Parkinson, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Huntingdon drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture and internal improvement, 1811, pp. 10-11.
2. ibid, pp. 4-5.

was pasture and 12% meadow. Drainage of the fens and enclosure went hand-in-hand. Therefore, unlike the clays of the county, much of these parishes was enclosed in the 1650's. It is difficult to disentangle the figures because two or three parishes were often totalled together, but most of Pidley and Somersham seem to have been enclosed, half of Warboys and possibly two fifths of Bluntisham, Earith and Colne.¹

The distribution of agricultural wealth for these four parishes in Table 16 shows a substantial number of small farmers persisted throughout the period, the major variations showing in the numbers above £100. There was a shift to a smaller amount of wealth in the 1680's and the balance moved in favour of large farmers in the last decade, but not nearly as dramatically as on the clays.

TABLE 16

TOTALS OF INVENTORIED WEALTH IN FEN-EDGE PARISHES

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>£0-99</u>	<u>100-199</u>	<u>>200</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>£0-99</u>	<u>100-199</u>	<u>>200</u>
	<u>Numbers</u>				<u>Percentage</u>		
1640	5	1	2	8	63	13	26
1680	22	6	1	29	76	20	3
1720	22	2	4	28	79	7	15

Table 17 shows that, within the group with least wealth the value of their goods and chattels slipped lower as on the clays. But unlike the clay parishes, agriculture remained the sole means of livelihood for this area.

1. H.R.O., Enclosure Acts for Pidley, Woodhurst, Somersham, 1796; Warboys, 1803; Bluntisham, Earith and Colne, 1820.

TABLE 17

TEMPORAL VARIATIONS WITHIN SMALL INVENTORIES IN THE FEN-EDGE

PARISHES

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>£0-19</u>	<u>20-39</u>	<u>40-59</u>	<u>60-79</u>	<u>80-99</u>
1640	1	2	0	1	1
1680	8	10	1	2	1
1720	13	6	0	2	1

In these fen-edge parishes the numbers of small farmers steadily increased. They suffered from two pressures; the first, the fall in prices for their produce, and the second, the expenses that followed on drainage and enclosure.¹ The bonanza described by writers after the successful drainage of the South Level in 1652, "a deluge and inundation of plenty", does not show itself in these figures.² It was unfortunate that the increase in produce brought about by drainage coincided with falling prices. As the smaller farmers sold out, the benefits accrued to the wealthier ones.

TABLE 18

MEDIAN VALUES OF SUMMER INVENTORIES FOR ARABLE, LIVESTOCK AND

EQUIPMENT

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>ARABLE</u>	<u>LIVESTOCK</u>	<u>EQUIPMENT</u>	<u>ARABLE</u>	<u>LIVESTOCK</u>	<u>EQUIPMENT</u>
	£	£	£	%	%	%
1640	25	44	7	33	58	9
1680	18	23.5	4	40	52	9
1720	13	34	5.5	25	65	10

Median values of summer inventories for arable, livestock and equipment

1. S. Fortney, History or Narrative of the Great Level of the Fens, 1685, p. 59.
2. T. Fuller, ed., History of the University of Cambridge, 1840, section V.

in Table 18 reveal that the emphasis was firmly on livestock. Shortly after drainage, there was a shift towards more arable, but by the 1720's this had swung the other way. This movement is consistent with the general picture of the fens at this time.

Wheat and barley were grown throughout the period. Oats, peas and latterly beans, were also produced as fodder for animals in the winter. None of the new crops was mentioned. There was a great emphasis on hay - the median value was £10 - and several references to grass in the fen or to fenstuffs. For example, Stephen Darwood had 5½ acres of grassland and 8 acres of fen grass.¹

TABLE 19

MEDIAN VALUES AND NUMBERS OF LIVESTOCK IN THE FEN-EDGE PARISHES

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>HORSES</u>	<u>CATTLE</u>	<u>SHEEP</u>	<u>HORSES</u>	<u>CATTLE</u>	<u>SHEEP</u>
	£	£	£	NUMBERS		
1640	13.5	25	3	5	14	18.5
1680	10	20	6.5	4	8.5	20
1720	9.5	15	3	4.5	5	16

So far as livestock was concerned, Table 19 shows the importance of horse breeding in the fens. It continued to be widely practised, although less frequently by the small farmer. The numbers of horses kept varied from one to sixteen. Very few farmers were without a cow. The largest herd was of 26 at Warboys, with one bull, 28 calves and heifers, and 21 steers.² With such numbers, cheese-making was common. Cattle breeding and fattening were less common than dairying, so that, for example, William Dann of Warboys had seven cows and one calf, valued at £16.10s,

1. H.R.O., Inventory, S. Darwood, Somersham, 1680.
2. H.R.O., Inventory, J. Berry, Warboys, 1683.

hay at 15s.6d and 15s. of cheese.¹ The sheep flock varied between two and 138. Wool was mentioned in two inventories only, which suggests that the wool was sold immediately or that the sheep were largely grown for mutton. Pigs were kept for the market. Poultry were common, although actual numbers are rarely given. Geese and ducks are mentioned several times, which provides some confirmation for Defoe's account of duck being taken by waggon to London from St Ives. Finally, waggons are not recorded before the 1720's. Thomas Dan who owned one, left a total inventory of £253, divided between arable, pastoral and equipment. The more successful man was not heavily dependent on livestock as were most of the farmers in his area. He also had an arable acreage of at least 45 acres, and was involved in horse and cattle breeding as well as dairying.²

In these fen-edge parishes, most of the farming was carried out in a small way by men who concentrated on this one livelihood. This is a similar finding to that of Dr Spufford for Willingham in the fens in the seventeenth century.³ Such farmers tended not to have another obvious source of income. After the fens were drained, there was an increased interest in the arable crops of wheat, barley, oats and peas but they had reverted back to a largely pastoral economy by the 1720's. This was probably the result of the drainage problems encountered in the fens after 1700.

1. ibid., W. Dann, Warboys, 1722.
2. H.R.O., Inventory, T. Dan, Warboys, 1723.
3. M. Spufford, Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1974, pp. 18, 148-9.

RIVER VALLEY

The parishes in the valley of the river Ouse included the larger communities of Bluntisham and Earith (circa 1200 in 1674), Over and Swavesey (circa 800), Fenstanton, Holywell and Needingworth, the Hemingfords (circa 600), as well as the smaller villages of Houghton and Wyton, Fendrayton and Hartford. Four of them lay to the north of the Ouse and five to the south, of which Fendrayton, Swavesey and Over were across the county boundary. Their soil was a mixture of clay uplands with gravel or alluvium close to the river. The clay varied from Houghton and Wyton's 76% to Fenstanton's 62%. Badeslade tells that Over had good fens, Swavesey a small one that flooded and Fendrayton and St Ives good meadows."¹ In a petition against the Undertakers of the drainage in 1620, the inhabitants stated that "we have found by experience that the winter overflowing of the white waters from the hills fatt and enrich the grounds making them much more fruitful in the summer following."² They maintained that their lands were better than most river meadows. Some success attended their complaint as only 171 acres of Over Common were included in the drainage scheme.

By 1794 Vancouver reported that "this district of country contains a great portion of very good arable and rich pasture grounds, together with extensive and valuable commons. The large herds of cattle, which depasture on these commons, and the fodder, straw and litter, which is produced and gathered from the fens, accumulates such prodigious quantities of manure as to preserve the arable land in good heart and condition, without the dung from the dove-cotes, which is generally sold

1. T. Badeslade, The history of the ancient and present state of the navigation of the port of King's Lynn and of Cambridge, 1725, pp. 77, 121-130.
2. P.R.O., SP, 14/18/102.

to the farmers on the higher country."¹

Many of these places seem barely to have been affected by enclosure. In 1632 the Privy Council had ordered enclosures at Hemingford Grey to be removed, but a Chancery Decree of 1670 shows that this had not been performed.² By the time of the enclosure act, 1272 acres had been enclosed. C T Tebbutt has reconstructed the layout of the parish of Bluntisham and Earith prior to enclosure. Although an area called the Queen's ground and certain parts of fenland in Earith were fenced, the four arable fields of 900 acres, a further 400 acres of fen, 730 acres of meadow and 500 acres of woodland were still worked in common.³ These villages also had access to Somersham Heath which was still intercommoned. Open-field agriculture was largely the order of the day, but with better access to meadow and pasture than was possible for the clay farmers.

Table 20 shows that approximately three quarters of all inventories were valued at less than £100, with a slight decrease in proportion in the 1720's. The values dropped in the 1680's for the most wealthy, but unlike the other two areas, the middle group maintained its importance. When the least wealthy group is analysed further in Table 21, some movement towards lower values can be discerned, but not as marked as on the clays. Additionally, there was an increase in the £80-99 group. These farmers seem to have held their position at a time when their counterparts elsewhere in the hinterland were struggling.

1. C. Vancouver, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cambridgeshire, 1794, p. 125.
2. P.R.O., PC. 2/40, fol. 244; H.R.O., HEM 24/14.
3. C. T. Tebbutt, Bluntisham-cum-Earith: Records of a Fenland Parish, 1980, pp. 52-78.

TABLE 20

TOTALS OF INVENTORIED WEALTH IN THE RIVER VALLEY

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>NUMBERS</u>				<u>PERCENTAGES</u>		
	<u>0-99</u>	<u>100-199</u>	<u>>200</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>0-99</u>	<u>100-199</u>	<u>>200</u>
1640	9	1	2	12	75	8	17
1680	51	10	3	64	79	15	4.5
1720	56	12	15	83	68	14	18

TABLE 21

TEMPORAL VARIATIONS WITHIN SMALL INVENTORIES

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>£0-19</u>	<u>20-39</u>	<u>40-59</u>	<u>60-79</u>	<u>80-99</u>
1640	2	4	2	1	0
1680	23	9	9	8	2
1720	24	16	9	3	4

A similar picture can be seen in Table 22 when all other known sources of income are removed. Agriculture has remained the main livelihood for the majority of these people, which is more consistent with the results of the study of fen than clay farming.

TABLE 22

TEMPORAL VARIATIONS WITHIN SMALL INVENTORIES - AGRICULTURE ONLY

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>£0-19</u>	<u>20-39</u>	<u>40-59</u>	<u>60-79</u>	<u>80-99</u>
1640	1	4	2	0	0
1680	17	7	6	8	2
1720	18	10	6	2	4

The trend in these river parishes is shown to be different from elsewhere. The numbers of small inventories decreased slightly but the middle group held its own, in comparison with the clay uplands where both

the small and middle group were squeezed, and the fens where the small group increased and the middle group almost disappeared. At the end of the period, the fens showed more farmers having less wealth; on the clays all the growth was by the big farmers. Here in the river valley, the growth was for all farmers above £100. The ability of farmers in the valley to hold their own financially at a time when cereal and livestock prices were lower suggests that they may have been increasing their profitability. Obviously their transport costs were lower. It would also seem that the improved drainage of the area may have benefited them more than the fen-edge parishes.

TABLE 23

MEDIAN VALUES AND PROPORTIONS OF ARABLE, LIVESTOCK AND EQUIPMENT

IN THE RIVER VALLEY

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>ARABLE</u>	<u>LIVESTOCK</u>	<u>EQUIPMENT</u>	<u>ARABLE</u>	<u>LIVESTOCK</u>	<u>EQUIPMENT</u>
	£	£	£	%	%	%
1640	157	20	8	85	11	4
1680	23	21.5	6	50	43	7
1720	41.5	25	6	57	34	9

Median values for arable, livestock and equipment in Table 23 show an emphasis on arable farming, but at least after 1640, with a good proportion of livestock. Once more the 1640's figure needs treating with caution as the sample was so small. Generally in this area, the most common crops were wheat, barley and peas with an increasing proportion of wheat being grown. Secondary crops were oats, rye and misseldine. The small farmer probably retained access to arable ground and was not limited to a few livestock, as was becoming a feature of the fens. His ability to maintain himself from his agricultural interests was far greater than those who lived in the villages on clay soil.

Table 24 shows that the median value of the total hay crop increased between the 1680's and the 1720's which probably reflects the improved quality of the meadows.

TABLE 24

HAY CROP IN RIVER PARISHES ASSESSED IN MONETARY TERMS

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>RANGE</u>	<u>MEDIAN</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ENTRIES</u>
1640	2-18	5½	6
1680	½-65	5½	31
1720	½-52	8	43

Median values of livestock in Table 25 show that the capital invested in cattle was always greater than that in horses or sheep. Between 1680 and 1720 the median values of all the herds grew, although the median numbers dropped, suggesting a rise in the individual price per animal. Again this may reflect the increasing quality of the feeding grounds.

TABLE 25

LIVESTOCK IN THE SUMMER MONTHS

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>HORSES</u>	<u>CATTLE</u>	<u>SHEEP</u>	<u>HORSES</u>	<u>CATTLE</u>	<u>SHEEP</u>
	<u>MEDIAN</u>	<u>VALUES</u>		<u>MEDIAN</u>	<u>NUMBERS</u>	
1640	17	34	86.5	5	10.5	55
1680	12.5	20	6	6.5	12	23
1720	23	28	14.5	4.5	11	16

In the 1640's the emphasis was on sheep rather than cattle or horses. By the 1680's, virtually all farmers possessed horses and cattle, the maximum numbers being 15 horses and 53 cattle. The cattle numbers were considerably higher than in the fens, and confirm Vancouver's comments about the large numbers of cattle grazing on the rich meadows. Dairying

was a feature of all inventories with two thirds also involved in horse and cattle breeding. But only one third seem to be specifically involved in fattening of steers. Although the biggest flock of sheep numbered 100, this was not so great as in the fens.

After the 1640's these river valleys increased the emphasis they placed on livestock farming. The meadows supported large numbers of cows and horses, as well as substantial flocks of sheep and herds of pigs. The improved drainage may have allowed these farmers to keep their animals near the river for longer periods in each year. Over, in particular, with its area of drained fen, benefited greatly. On their higher clay soils these farmers were able to produce good crops because of the quantity of manure produced by their livestock. As a result, the smaller farmers did not see their position eroded. In many cases they were able to remain in farming. Unlike the farmers of both clay and fen lands, the middle group in the river valley, whose total wealth was above £100 but below £200, held its own.

This examination of agriculture in the hinterland has been based on probate inventories. For the two parishes of Bluntisham & Earith and Colne there are Quaker records of tithe demands in the eighteenth century.¹ There are six good series of crops, acreages and values extending over consecutive years between 1697 and 1739 derived from demands for unpaid tithes. We can compare these more detailed records with the probate information.

The crops mentioned were predominantly wheat, barley, hay, pulses and oats, with two references to rye and one to coleseed. Acreages varied

1. C.R.O., R59.25.3.1, passim.

year by year. It is impossible to know whether this relates to the failure of the impropriator of tithes to collect his tithes or whether acreage varied because of renting extra land on an annual basis. Richard Taylor and Richard Jennings showed a steady decline in acreage which may relate to their increasing age. John Brown and John Cranwell were probably two men of the same name although it is not always possible to disentangle which was which. John Brown, the younger seems to increase the acreage significantly before it reverts to what may be the original holding. Lack of knowledge to the contrary has meant that it is assumed that the tithes were correctly assessed and that the variation in acreage was due to renting on a short-term basis.

Arable acreages were as small as one and a quarter and as large as 76 in one year. Thomas Smith's holding was steady between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres per year and William Hodson between 4 and 6 acres, whereas John Cranwell for five years had between 50 and 76 acres. For the hay crop, Thomas Smith had four acres, William Hodson averaged between 3 and 15 acres, and John Cranwell for many years had 15 acres. We are therefore able to compare the farming of people with different sized holdings.

The value of the hay crop in comparison with the arable crop was different in the two villages. In the river parish of Bluntisham & Earith the ratios were generally higher, varying between 5:4 and 1:7, but in the fen-edge parish of Colne the best ratio was 1:16 and the worst 1:19. This supports the earlier finding that the greatest benefit from drainage works accrued to the villages with river meadows. However, Richard Taylor of Colne added to his 40 arable acres 23 enclosed acres in Sutton for his hay crop. In this way he would be able to carry a greater head of cattle and make good the deficiency of pasture in Colne. This

was not an isolated example but was a feature of farming in both Colne and Somersham.

It is also possible to look at the ratio of the different arable crops to one another. The barley acreage was always the biggest, but closely followed by the wheat acreage. Pulses were more common in the two later series. Oats, whilst mentioned, were in such small quantities that they were not recorded in these ratios. Dr Holderness has assessed the western claylands for this period as a ratio of 26:39:20:5 as shown in Table 26, which is a similar result to this study.¹ One or two lambs a year to an average value of two shillings were also rated for the tithe, but cattle and horses were not included and therefore our picture of their farming is unbalanced.

TABLE 26

Ratio of wheat, barley, pulses and oats

	<u>wheat</u>	<u>barley</u>	<u>pulses</u>	<u>oats</u>
Hinterland	14	21	11	some
East Anglia	26	39	20	5

Finally we can assess their annual income from this part of their enterprise. The figures have been recorded in Table 27 with their maxima and minima as well as mean total acreage and mean annual income. From this we can see that the larger holdings of John Cranwell II and John Brown had a higher yield than those with smaller acreages. If we can assume that this is typical of the area, then it will help to explain why the smallest farmers on the clay uplands diverted their energies away from

1. B. A. Holderness, "East Anglia and the Fens", A.H.E.W., 1640-1750, V, I, 1984, p. 218.

arable farming to other more profitable areas. It confirms the finding from inventories that the larger farmers increased their profitability vis-a-vis their smaller neighbours.

TABLE 27

Annual Incomes and Yields assessed from Tithe Payments

<u>Name</u>		<u>Range</u>	<u>Mean Income</u>	<u>Mean Total</u> <u>Acreage</u>	<u>Yield</u>
T Smith	1702-20	3-26	7	5	1.4
W Hodson	1700-16	13-47	25	17	1.5
J Cranwell	1704-09	11-36	14	11	1.3
J Cranwell	1723-35	6-174	109	43½	2.5
J Brown	1704-39	7-114	21	10	2.1
R Jennings	1697-1711	8-66	30	15½	1.9
R Taylor	1697-1712	7-105	25½	29½	0.9

Having considered the agriculture of the hinterland in detail, it is helpful to recall the more general description given in The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Dr Holderness found that our area "the clays of the west adhered to traditional, not to say rigid, regimes of tillage" which "inhibited the reception of new practice."¹ Here the common Midland combination of a 3-field with a three-shift system had scarcely been disturbed before 1750. The convertible system was infrequent and small in extent. There were no regional specialities in crops, of which the most popular were barley, wheat, rye, oats, beans and peas, although hemp was a speciality of reclaimed fenlands. Well into the eighteenth century there was little evidence for the spread of turnips into the area, although coleseed was a newer crop, characteristic of the fens.

1. B. A. Holderness, "The Fens", pp. 209-238.

If we turn to livestock and animal products he found that butter and cheese were some of the most important agricultural products of the region. Commercial herds ranged in size from 8-20 beasts with a median of 11 and 12, although smaller in number in the fens. This was often combined with cattle breeding and swine keeping. But "the keynote of animal husbandry in East Anglia by 1700-50 was the beef trade." This was influenced by its fortunate position between the highland zone and the metropolitan market. With the fall in sheep prices after about 1620, the size of flocks decreased and "common farmers are recorded in possession of a few dozen or even a few hundred sheep as part of mixed arable and livestock enterprises."

Our three areas were, therefore, typical of the wider area in as much as most farming was carried on as a commercial business. We have already seen that the major crops were barley, wheat and pulses, with small quantities of oats and rye. Hemp was not grown in these fen-edge communities. Nor has there been any reference to newer crops. As far as livestock was concerned, farmers specialised in dairying, cattle breeding and fattening as best suited their soil. We have also seen that sheep were grown for mutton as well as wool. The only major part of the agricultural scene omitted by Dr Holderness is the breeding of horses in the fens which was an important part of the local economy. Nor should we underestimate the importance of the hay crop in providing fodder for transport as well as for the increased herds of cattle and sheep kept through the winter.

In summary, therefore, we have seen that there was considerable specialisation in farming in this area according to soil type. Although the wealthiest farmers on the clays survived successfully, the fall in

cereal prices seems adversely to have affected the smaller farmers who tended to acquire a secondary occupation. This suggests a reason for the earlier finding of the drift of population from these villages. The greatest advantages accrued to those with large river meadows. They were able to combine successful arable farming with their profitable dairy herds and flocks of sheep. They did not face the same difficulties as the fen farmers who adapted to the new drainage problems by concentrating more on livestock and less on arable crops. The key to profitability in the area was access to good grazing. For those without such access, the answer seems to have been to rent or purchase grazing land or hay grounds elsewhere to supplement the arable holding in the main parish.

THE NON-AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY OF THE HINTERLAND OF ST IVES

We have seen from the study of probate inventories that the major interests of the hinterland of St Ives lay in agriculture; in the commercial production of wheat, barley, hay, cattle and sheep. In addition we have seen that, particularly on the clay uplands, there was, as Keith Wrightson found, "a growing divergence in the living standards of rich and poor and a redistribution of income towards the upper ranks of society."¹ We can now turn to an examination of the non-agricultural occupations in the hinterland. It is expected that we will find that these were limited in scope as we already know that St Ives was a popular marketing centre.

To obtain a balanced view of the proportions of all occupations, the excellent series of marriage bonds and allegations surviving for the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon have been employed.² These bonds were pledged by a limited group of people, who had sufficient wealth to justify their use. They give us therefore a partial view of occupations because of their bias towards the wealthier members of the community. We can assess this bias by comparing the total of marriages in St Ives with the number of bonds for the same period. There were 230 marriages between 1662 and 1699 but only 102 bonds; between 1700 and 1739 there were 661 marriages and 221 bonds - a ratio of approximately one bond to two marriages in the seventeenth century and one bond to three marriages in the eighteenth century. Such figures show that data from bonds relates at best to half the marrying population.

Because of the paucity of examples for individual villages, they have

- 1 K. Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, 1982, p. 140.
- 2 H.R.O., Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, Marriage Bonds and Allegations filed alphabetically, 1662-1739.

been grouped together according to soil type as for the earlier study of agricultural inventories. There is no information from bonds available for the period up until 1662, but there are 160 bonds for these villages between then and 1699 and a further 222 for the years 1700 to 1739. The data has been grouped in the same categories used by J R Smith in his thesis on Malden in Essex because his system does not demand that a decision is made as to whether an individual craftsman was producing or retailing - a decision that is irrelevant at a time when a craftsman frequently performed both functions. Smith's method of listing occupations in ranking order is felt to be an advantage where individual numbers are not great.¹

TABLE 28

NUMBER OF TRADE TYPES IN THE HINTERLAND

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>River</u>	<u>Clay</u>	<u>Fens</u>
<u>1662-1699</u>			
Number of trade types	24	16	17
Size of sample	171	78	105
<u>1700-1739</u>			
Number of trade types	35	23	30
Size of sample	233	94	179

We can start by totalling the number of different trade types in the three areas of the hinterland, in Table 28. In the earlier period the riverine villages were more diverse than those on the clay uplands or in the fens. By the first part of the eighteenth century, all groups show more varied economies, with the fens being the nearer rival to the river villages than the clay parishes. The size of the sample has also

1 J. R. Smith, "The Borough of Malden 1688-1768 - A Study in English Urban History", M. Phil. thesis, University of Leicester, 1981, pp. 168-172.

increased by half, so that there were both more specialisms and also greater numbers.

If we turn to the lists of occupations in ranking order in Table 29, as Smith used them for Malden, we repeat the earlier finding of the overwhelming importance of agriculture to the countryside. The first four places in the period 1662-1699 were yeoman, gentry, husbandman and labourer. For the early eighteenth century in Table 30, the four leading

TABLE 29

OCCUPATIONS IN RANKING ORDER FOR THE HINTERLAND 1662-1699

These examples relate to all occupations which are recorded more than once in the Marriage Bonds and Allegations.

<u>RIVER</u>	<u>CLAY</u>	<u>FENS</u>
Yeoman	Yeoman	Yeoman
Gentry	Husbandman	Husbandman
Husbandman	Gentry	Gentry
Labourer	Labourer	Labourer
Shoemaker	Butcher, clerk glover	Butcher, carpenter
Butcher		Shoemaker, tailor
Innholder		Clerk, grocer, ploughwright
Shepherd		
Blacksmith, waterman, clerk, carpenter, tailor		
Grocer, tanner, fisherman, weaver, haberdasher, miller, thatcher		

TABLE 30

OCCUPATIONS IN RANKING ORDER FOR THE HINTERLAND 1700-1739

These examples relate to all occupations which are recorded more than once in the Marriage Bonds and Allegations.

<u>RIVER</u>	<u>CLAY</u>	<u>FENS</u>
Husbandman	Husbandman	Husbandman
Yeoman	Yeoman	Yeoman
Gentry	Gentry, labourer	Labourer
Labourer	Butcher	Grazier
Butcher	Miller	Butcher
Blacksmith	Blacksmith	Gentry, shepherd
Carpenter	Shepherd	Weaver, clerk, tailor,
Shoemaker		shoemaker
Innkeeper, clerk,		Miller, grocer, innkeeper
shepherd		
Tailor, weaver,		
Fellmonger, grocer		
Waterman, miller		
oatmealman		
Wheelwright		

groups remain yeoman, gentry, husbandman and labourer but in a different order. The gentry were now less common in the fens with the graziers acquiring an increasing importance.

The differences in the hinterland reflect the different experiences found in the study of inventories. The clay uplands became an area of wealthier farmers with those with small acreages having a secondary occupation. Such people do not seem to have possessed the wealth necessary to purchase one of these bonds. With a shrinking population the opportunities for advancement were also limited. In the river valley, the middle-income groups were able to specialise in agriculture and to hold their position economically. Here, those not in farming nonetheless received a good standard of living in a flourishing economy, where the improved meadows led to fat profits. In the fens the bonanza after early drainage, had faded to leave problems which were intractable. Small farmers persisted but without a secondary occupation. Graziers became of greater importance as land once ploughed was now converted to pasture.

Apart from farming the variety of occupations on the clay uplands was severely limited, and only one, the glover, was not closely connected with this primary industry. There was a slightly greater range of occupations in the fens, although again those not farming were mostly people involved in the supply of food and drink. The picture was different in the Ouse valley. Here they were specialists, like fellmongers and watermen or even an oatmealman. The proportion involved in the supply of food and drink was still great, but leatherworking, building and metal-working were also slightly more common.

TABLE 31

CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS FROM MARRIAGE BONDS AND
ALLEGATIONS

<u>CLASSIFICATION</u>	<u>1662-1699</u>			<u>1700-1739</u>		
	<u>RIVER</u>	<u>CLAY</u>	<u>FENS</u>	<u>RIVER</u>	<u>CLAY</u>	<u>FENS</u>
Food and drink	10	6	8	11	15	8
Building	4	1	4	4	1	2
River Trades	2	-	-	1	-	-
Agriculture	46	62	58	51	53	65
Leather	6	4	3	4	1	2
Professional	2	3	3	3	2	2
Mercantile	-	-	-	-	-	-
Metal	2	1	3	4	3	0.5
Clothing	3	1	3	2	1	2
Textiles	1	1	2	4	2	4
Transport	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gentry	19	13	11	8	10	3
Labourers	5	8	6	7	10	11
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	1	2	1

Figures are expressed as a percentage of the whole

The same information has been grouped in Table 31 to produce figures for the different types of occupations. Overall in the hinterland, in both periods, the numbers involved in agriculture were more than 50%, if the assumption is made that labourers worked on the land. The percentage would be even higher, if we also made the assumption that the gentry had their wealth invested in land.

We can make certain deductions from this data. Most areas of the hinterland had local access to those who supplied their immediate needs for food and drink, Provided they built in wood their needs were met, but it was different if they wished to use brick, stone, glass or lead. They could purchase some leather products like shoes in the villages but not more elaborate items, like saddles. Although clerks and schoolmasters lived locally, the services of doctors, attorneys and merchants were not available. Metal-working was limited to the skills of the blacksmith and, other than one waterman at Earith, there were no transport workers like carters or carriers based in the villages. There were a few weavers and tailors. Whereas Northampton specialised in leather-working in its rural areas or Gloucester in textiles, in Huntingdonshire there was no particular industry.

The study of the economic base of the hinterland of St Ives has shown that opportunities outside farming were limited and that no secondary occupation had developed, other than the supply of food and drink. This trade in turn reflected the developing specialisation of agriculture which produced a demand for goods not available locally. Both trends clarify the function of the local market town of St Ives - that is to distribute the produce of the hinterland and to supply goods and services unavailable in the hinterland.

INTERNAL VARIATIONS

In studying the population and economy of the hinterland, whole areas have been subsumed together under a label such as clay uplands. This allows one to reveal a trend, for example the specialisation in agriculture, but at the same time means that one glosses over features that were peculiar to certain communities. One of these features is that some places, not necessarily large or wealthy, seem to have been more important than others. Another feature is that some villages, again not large or wealthy, had more urban features than others. A third is that certain villages were more closely grouped with one another than with other places. It is to these variations within the hinterland that we can now turn.

We can start by looking at figure 17 which shows the villages in the hinterland in descending order of size, based on population estimates derived from the Hearth Tax of 1674. The table includes further information. The number of trade types in the marriage bonds is also displayed. St Ives and Huntingdon have been included for comparison. Seven places had a greater variety of trade types than their neighbours. These will be called "mini-centres". They were the Hemingfords, Fenstanton and Houghton and Wyton close to St Ives, Bluntisham and Earith in the Ouse valley, Somersham and Warboys in the fens and the very small village of Broughton on clay, which only contained 250 inhabitants in 1674, yet appears to have had nearly as many trade types as Bluntisham. Its estimated population was 1200 and it also possessed a market and three annual fairs. Equally, Warboys in the eighteenth century had more trade types for its estimated 135 families than Bluntisham which had 196 families.¹

1. L.R.O., "Speculum Dioceseos Lincolnensis sub episcopis
Gul. Wake et Ed. Gibson, 1705-1723".

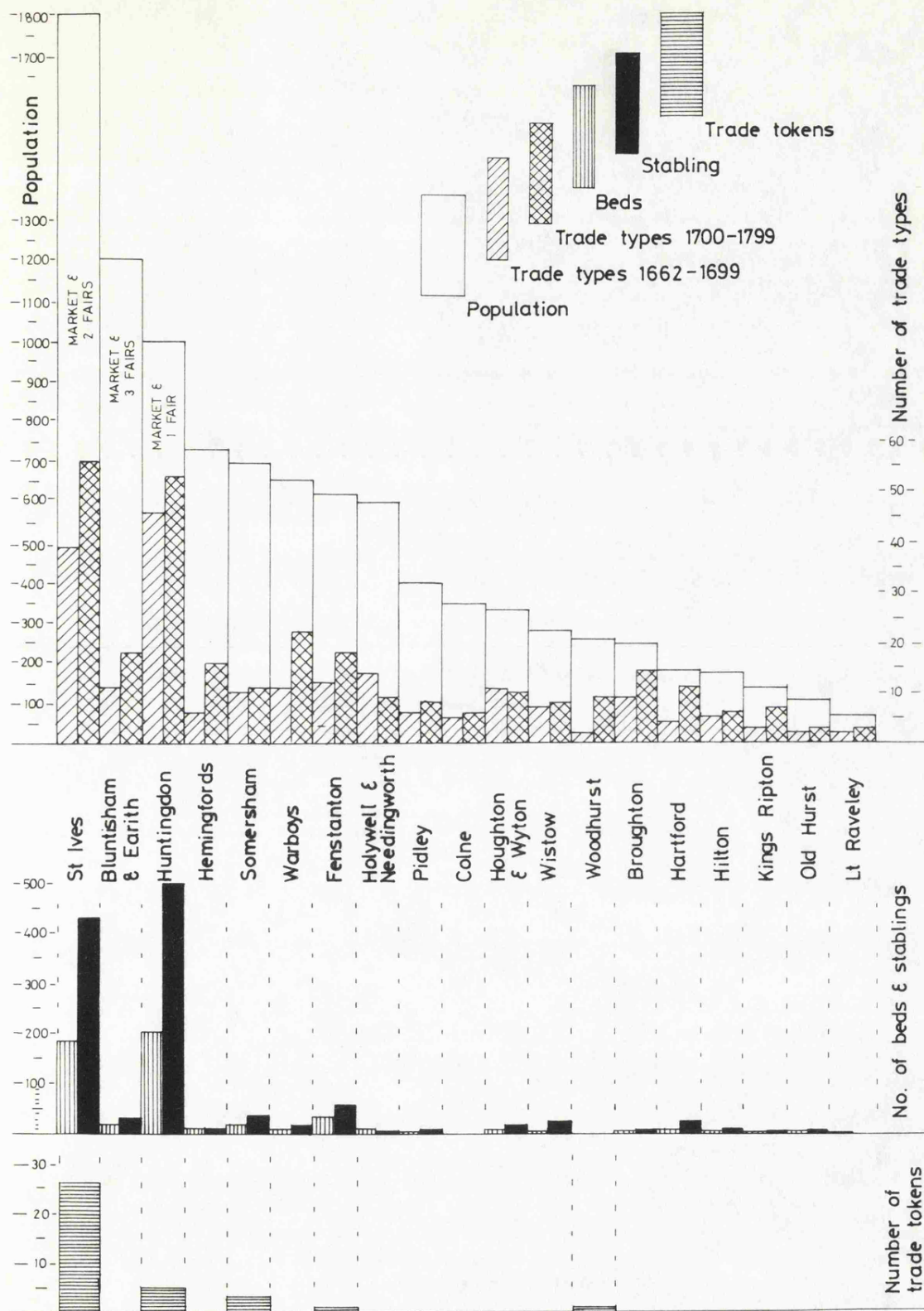


Fig. 17. Communities ranked according to their size of population and compared with information relating to diversity of trades and retailing.

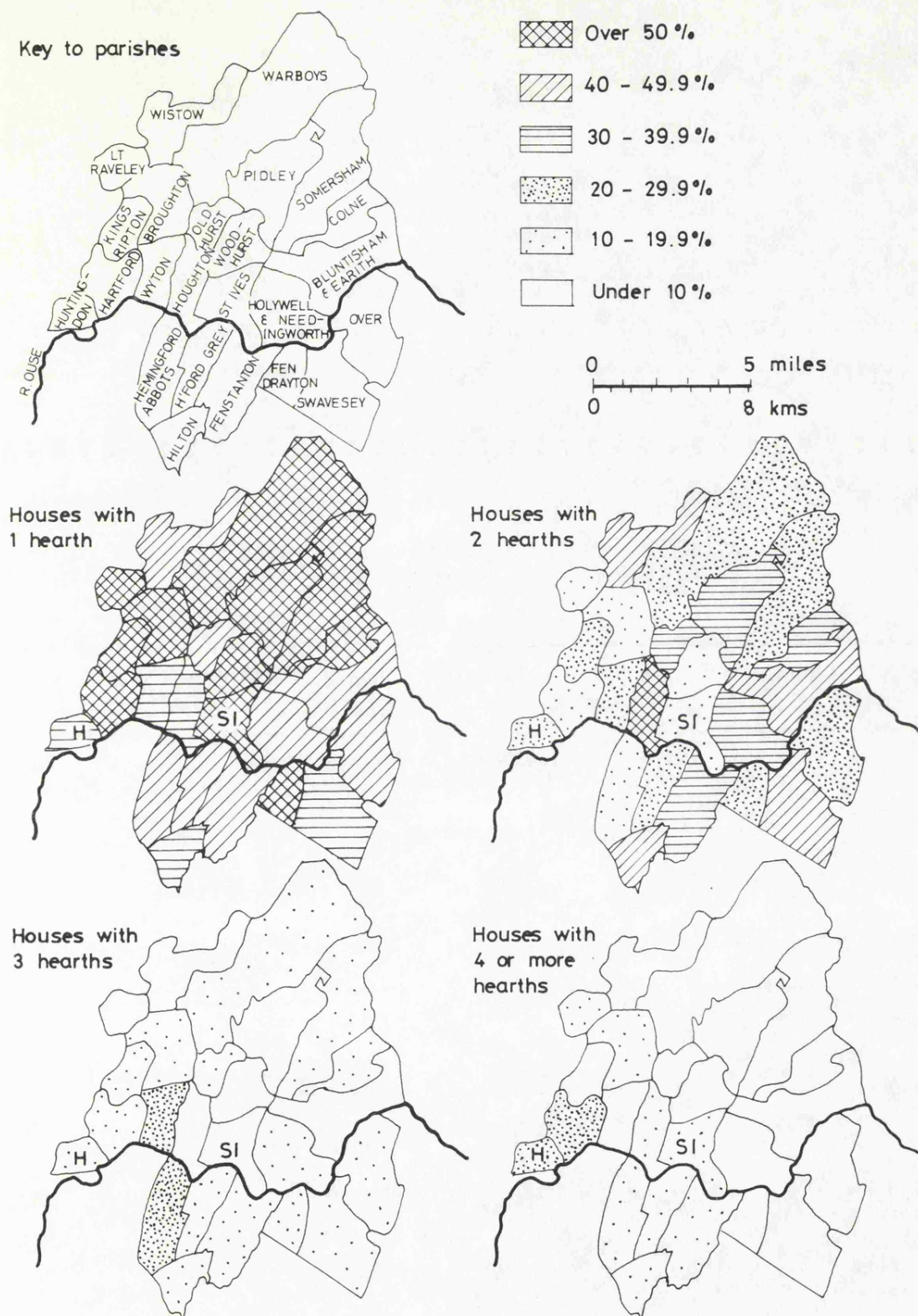


Fig. 18. Percentages of houses with one, two, three or four hearths in 1674.

The influence of these places was not related to wealth as deduced from Hearth Tax figures for 1674, and shown in figure 18. Four of these places had a high proportion of one or two hearths combined with very few three or four hearth homes, which suggests that there was no great wealth in them.

This information has been compared with our knowledge of the extent of retailing. Very few Trade Tokens have survived for these places. But the War Office Survey of 1686 gives a far better selection of information.¹ Bluntisham and Somersham, although differing greatly in size, could supply roughly an equal number of beds and stabling. Neither Warboys nor Broughton, on the other hand, were active in this trade. Like the figures for population or wealth, these ones also give results that are inconsistent with the information from the marriage bonds. These mini-centres were not necessarily large, nor wealthy, nor able to supply services in inns.

If we examine in detail the occupations recorded for these mini-centres, we find some clues as to their importance. The occupations they offered partly reflect the growing specialisation in agriculture, so that where previously nomenclatures were generally yeoman, husbandman and labourer, now must be added that of grazier, shepherd, gardener and horsecourser. Fellmongers dealing in wool, and middlemen marketing other agricultural products, were also more numerous. Another feature was the appearance of wheelwrights and carters alongside blacksmiths. These may reflect the growth of transport which must have followed on from the specialisation of agriculture. John Chartres highlighted both the workings of the wholesale trades and improvement to transport as important developments

1. P.R.O., W.O., Survey of Beds and Stabling, 1686.

in marketing in this period.¹

Consideration of the road system of the area shows that three of our mini-centres, Bluntisham, Somersham and Warboys lay on the higher ground west of the fens where roads were more likely to be usable throughout the year. The remaining village, Broughton, lay in the centre of the clay uplands with tracks or roads connecting it with Wistow and Ramsey, St Ives, Huntingdon and west through various ways to the Green Road, used by drovers. In the nineteenth century it was the resting place of drovers bringing cattle to St Ives market on the Sunday night before the market on the Monday. Perhaps this function dates back to the seventeenth century.

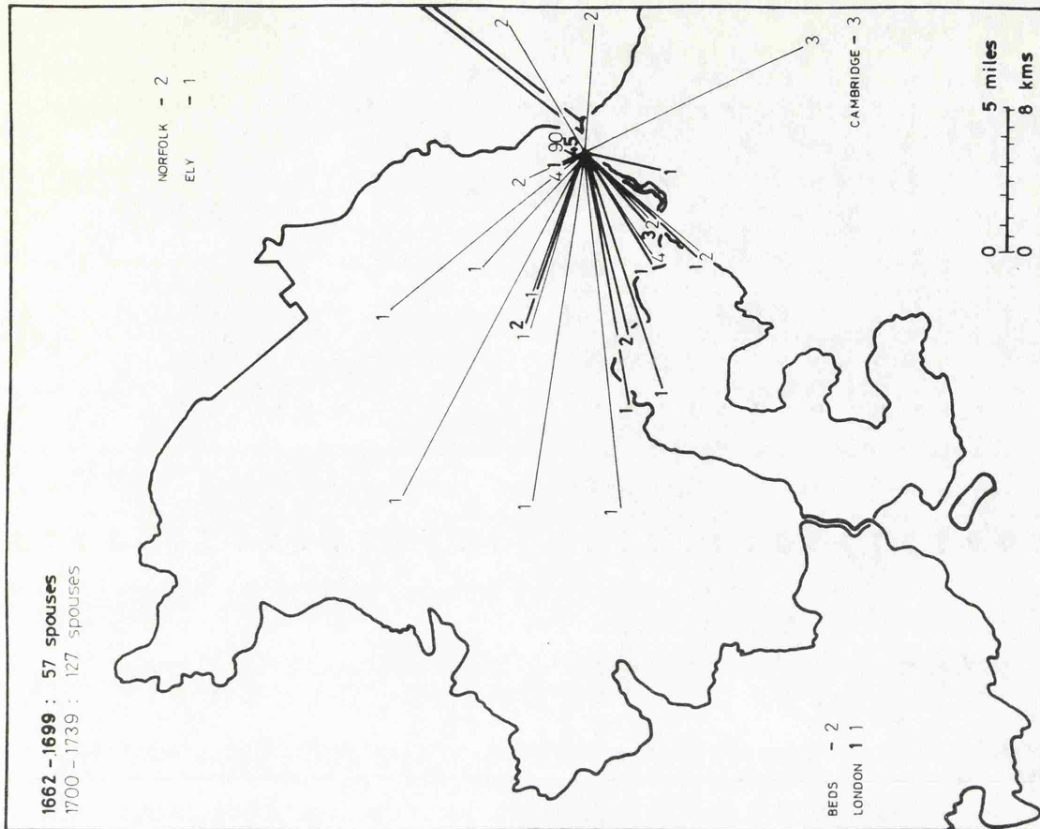
Mini-centres can, therefore, be perceived in St Ives hinterland, whose position was not necessarily related to their size of population, their wealth, their possession of inns, markets or fairs. Their growing diversity of trade types reflected more the increasing specialisation of agriculture and the growth of transport which followed on this. These places benefited because of their geographical position.

The residence of those using marriage bonds in these centres also helps reveal their own mini-hinterlands. These are shown in figures 19-25. The shape of these hinterlands varied according to their distance from the county boundary. Thus Bluntisham and Earith, Somersham and Warboys were severely restricted to the east and Fenstanton to the south. The central villages, like Broughton, show a star formation, with a smattering of people coming from all around. The sphere of influence of

1. J. Chartres, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce", A.H.E.W., V, II, 1640-1750, 1985, p. 419.



Fig. 19. Distribution of brides and/or grooms who used a bondsman living in Bluntisham and Earith.



Bluntisham and Earith marriage horizons.

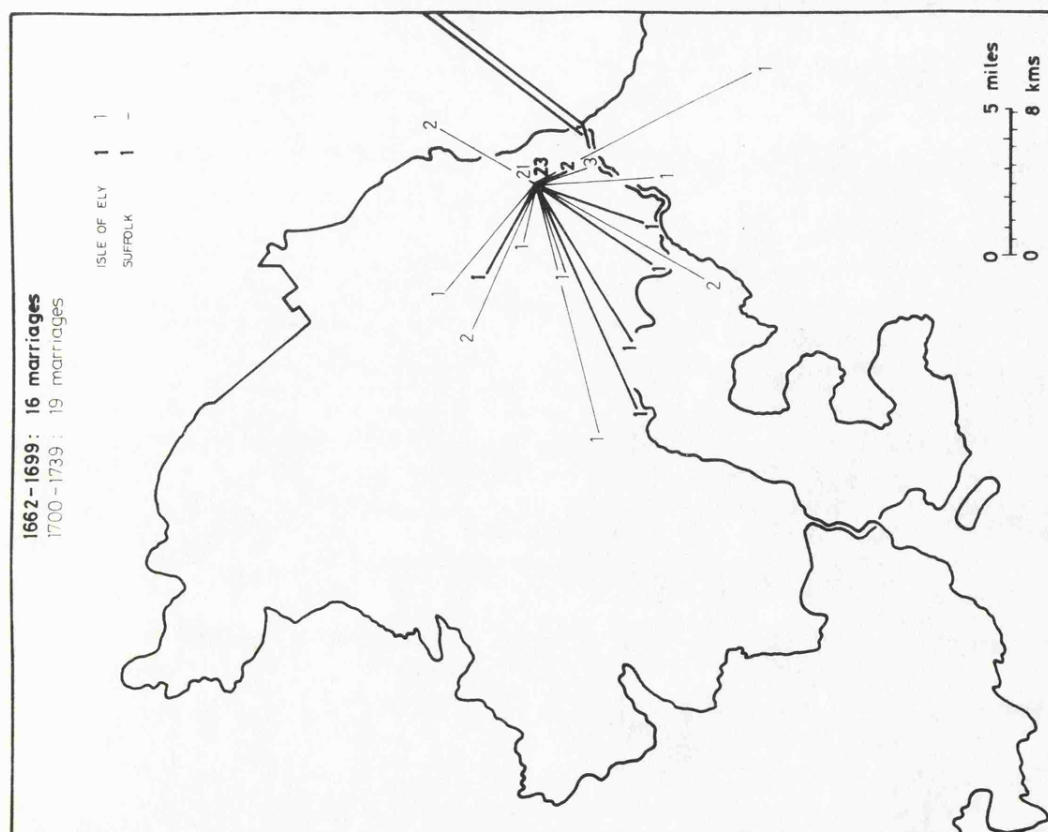
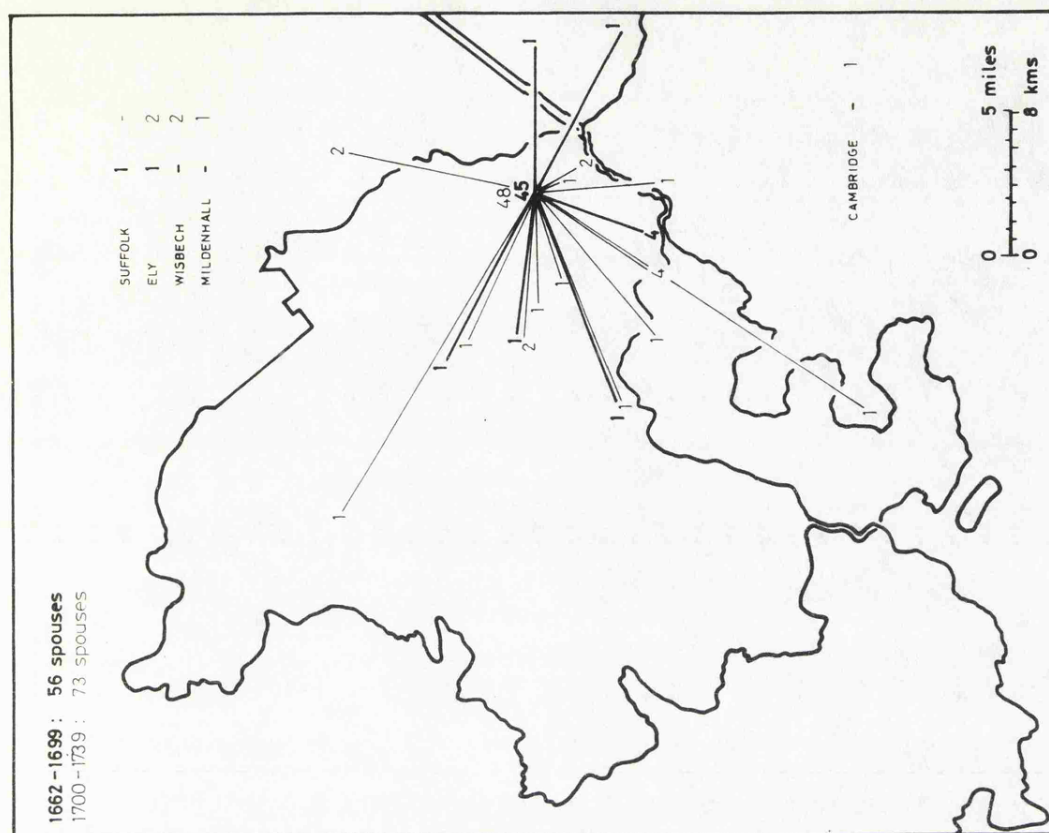


Fig. 20. Distribution of brides and/or grooms who used a bondsman living in Somersham.



Somersham marriage horizons.

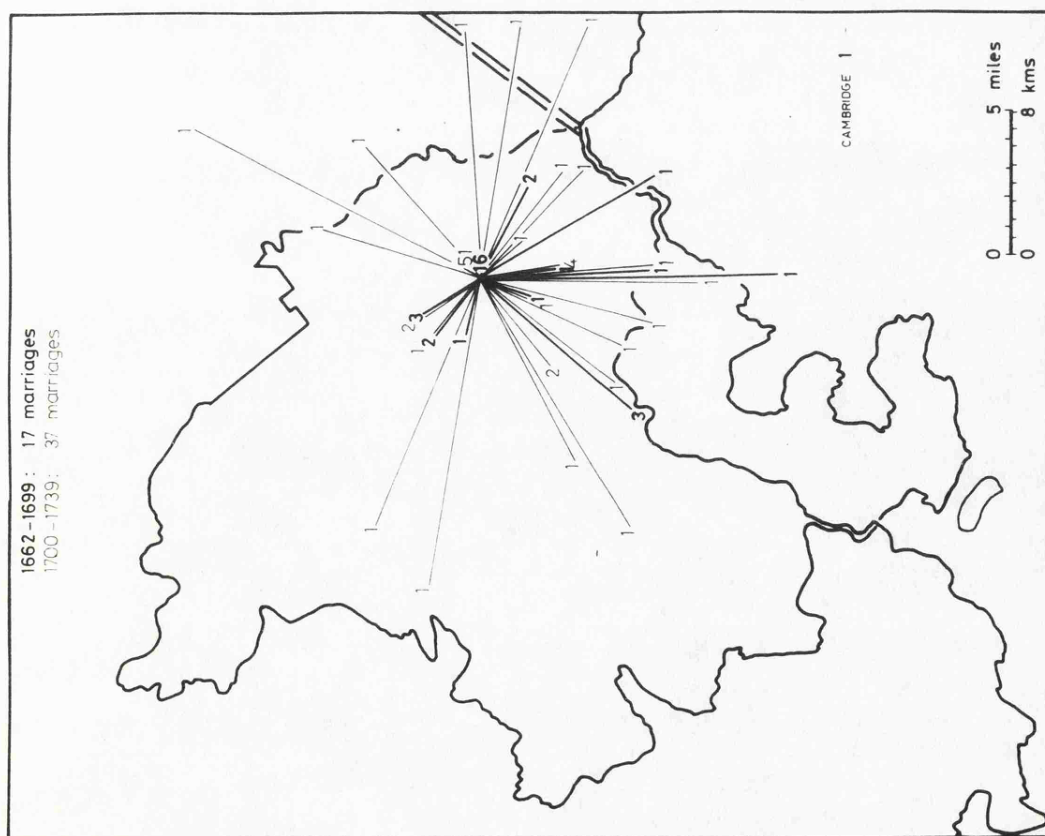
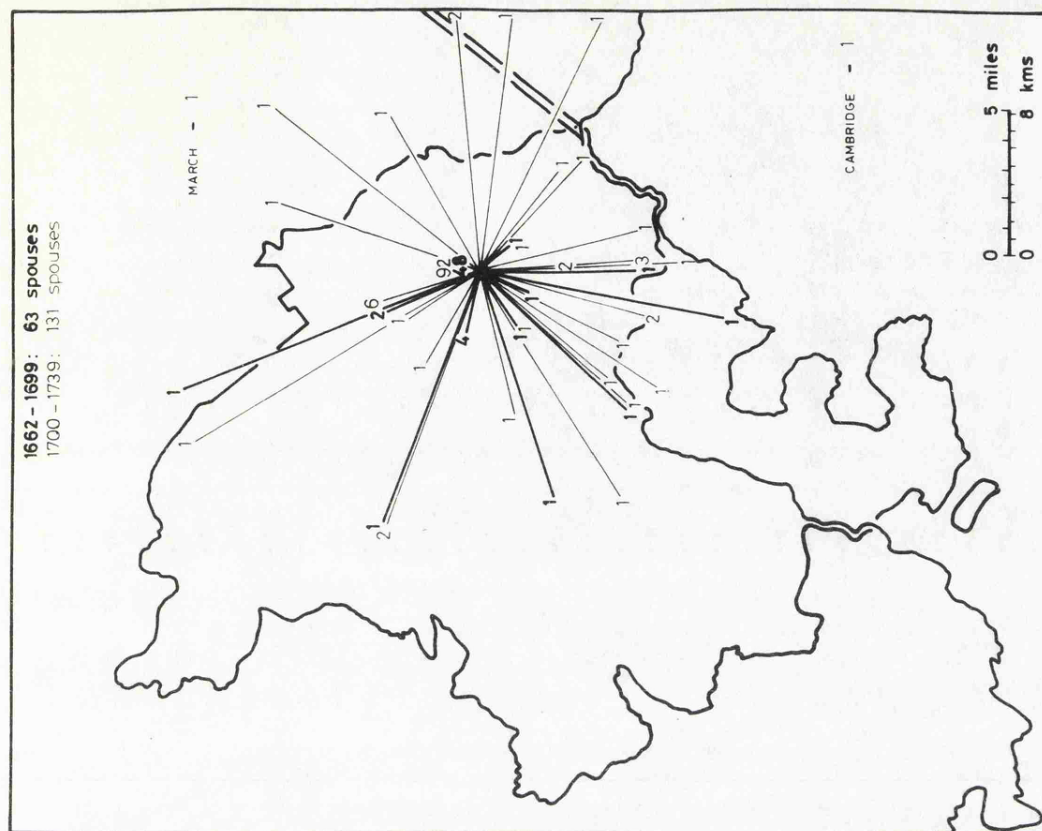


Fig. 21. Distribution of brides and/or grooms who used a bondsman living in Warboys.



Warboys marriage horizons.

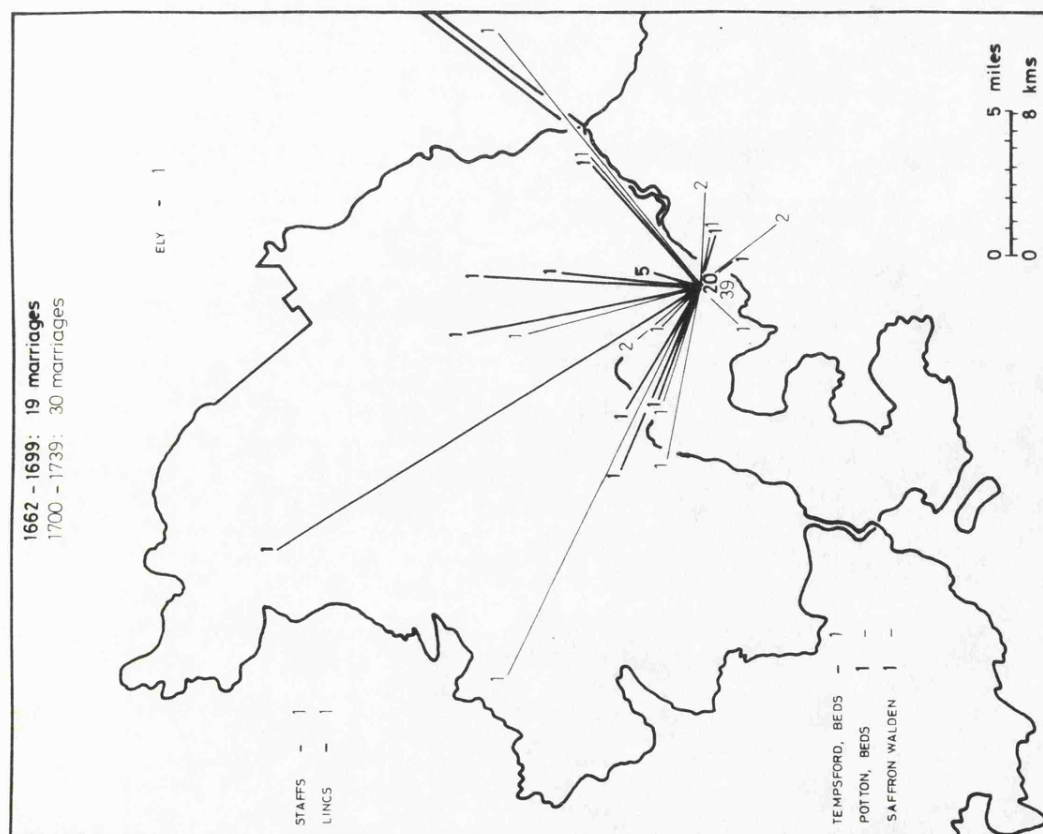
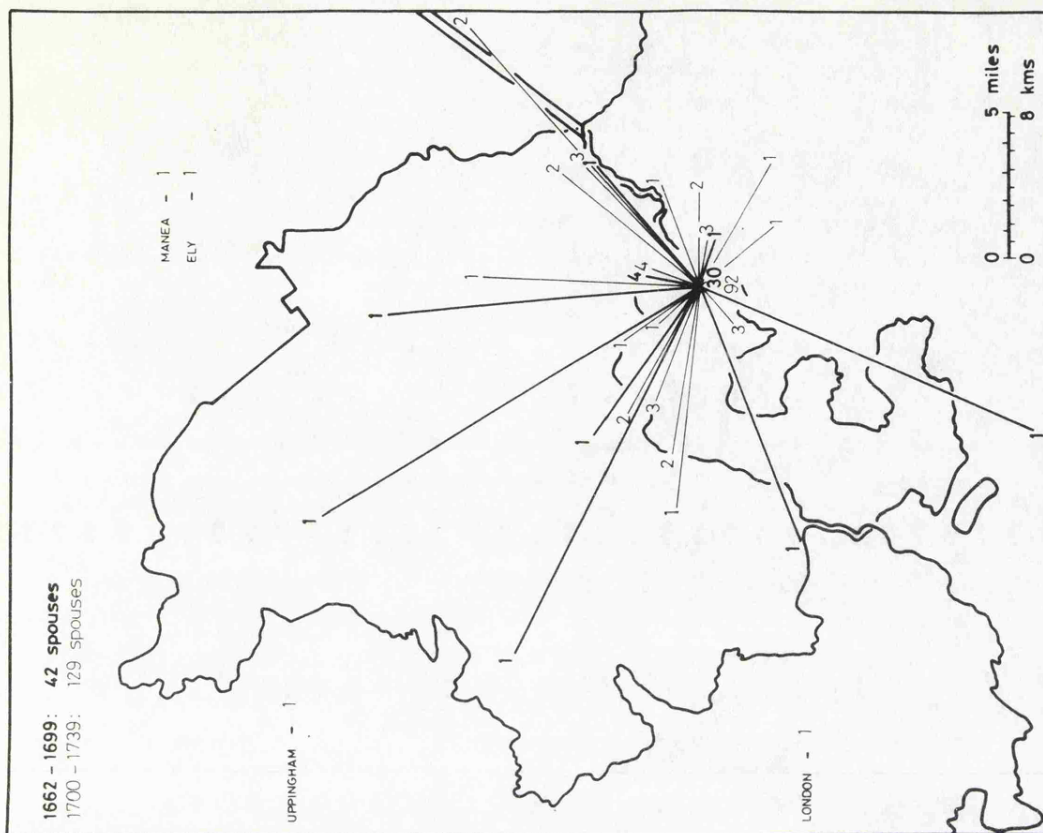


Fig. 22. Distribution of brides and/or grooms who used a bondsman living in Fenstanton.



Fenstanton marriage horizons.

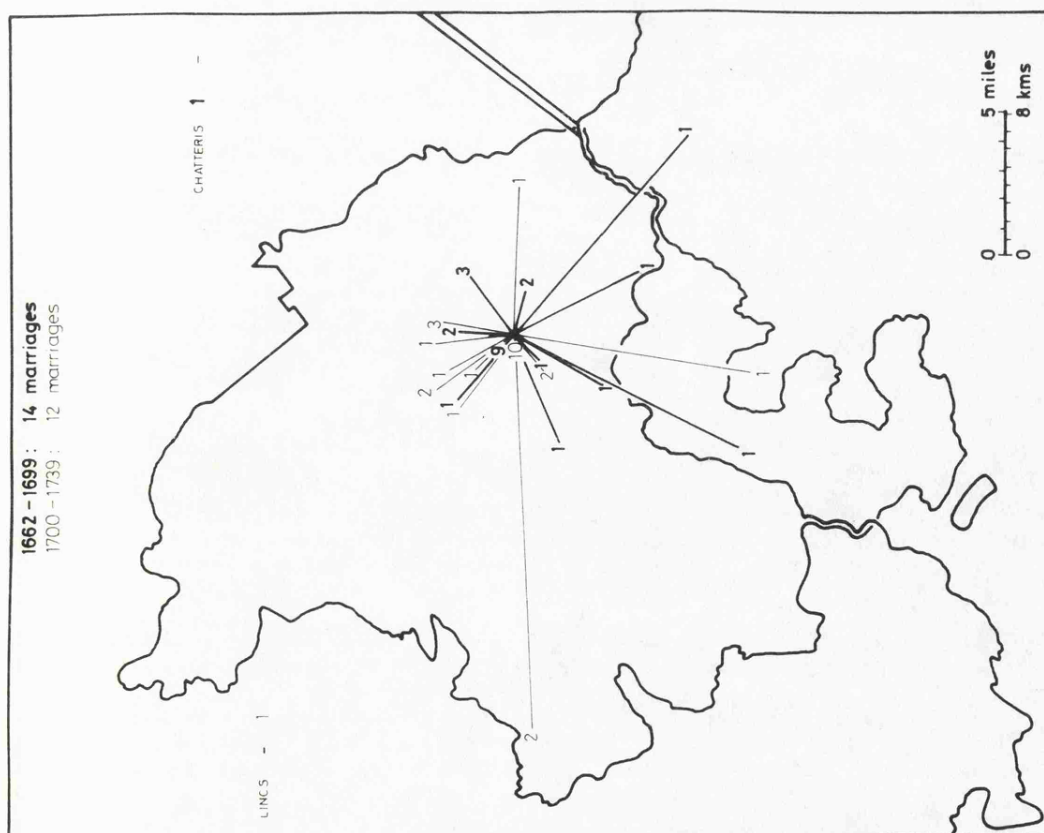
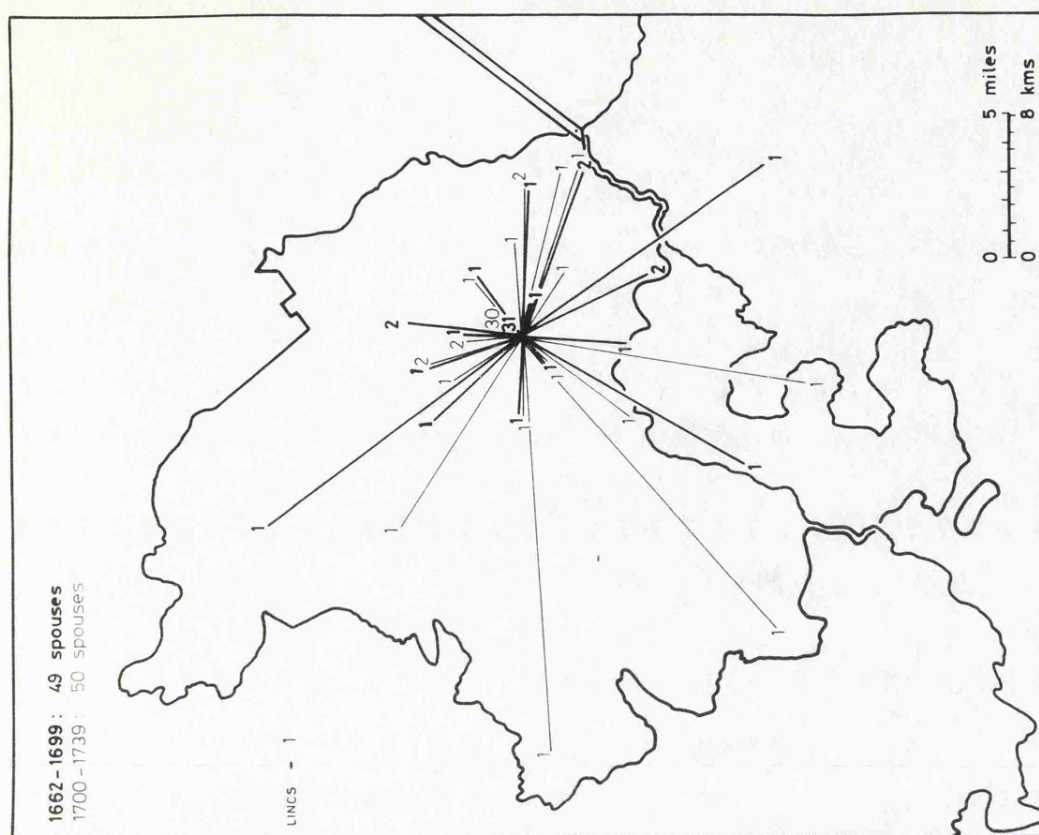


Fig. 23. Distribution of brides and/or grooms who used a bondsman living in Broughton.



Broughton marriage horizons.

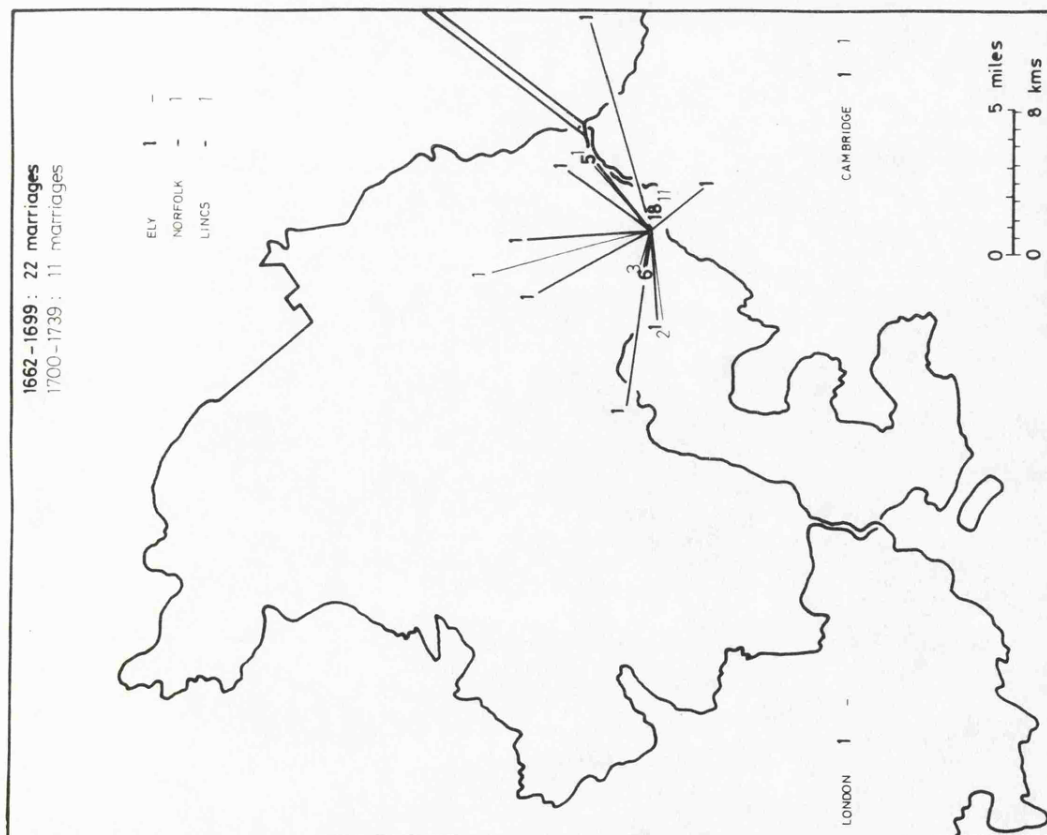
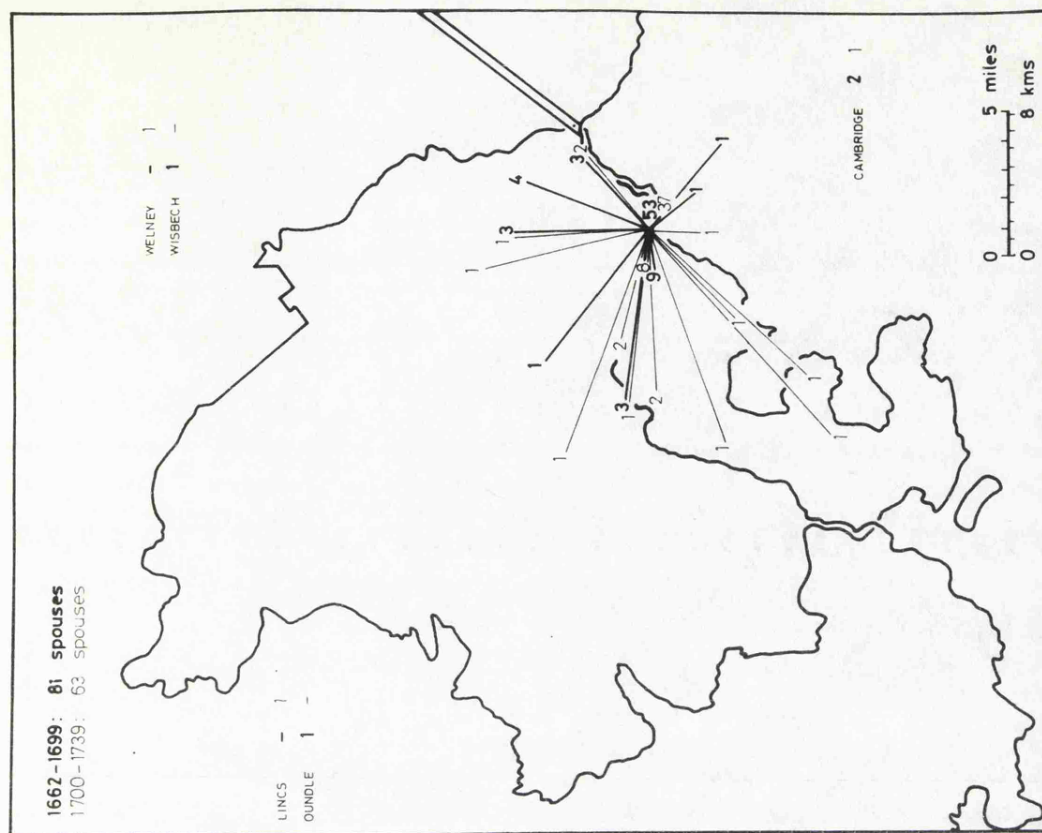


Fig. 24. Distribution of brides and/or grooms who used a bondsman living in Holywell and Needingworth.



Holywell and Needingworth marriage horizons.

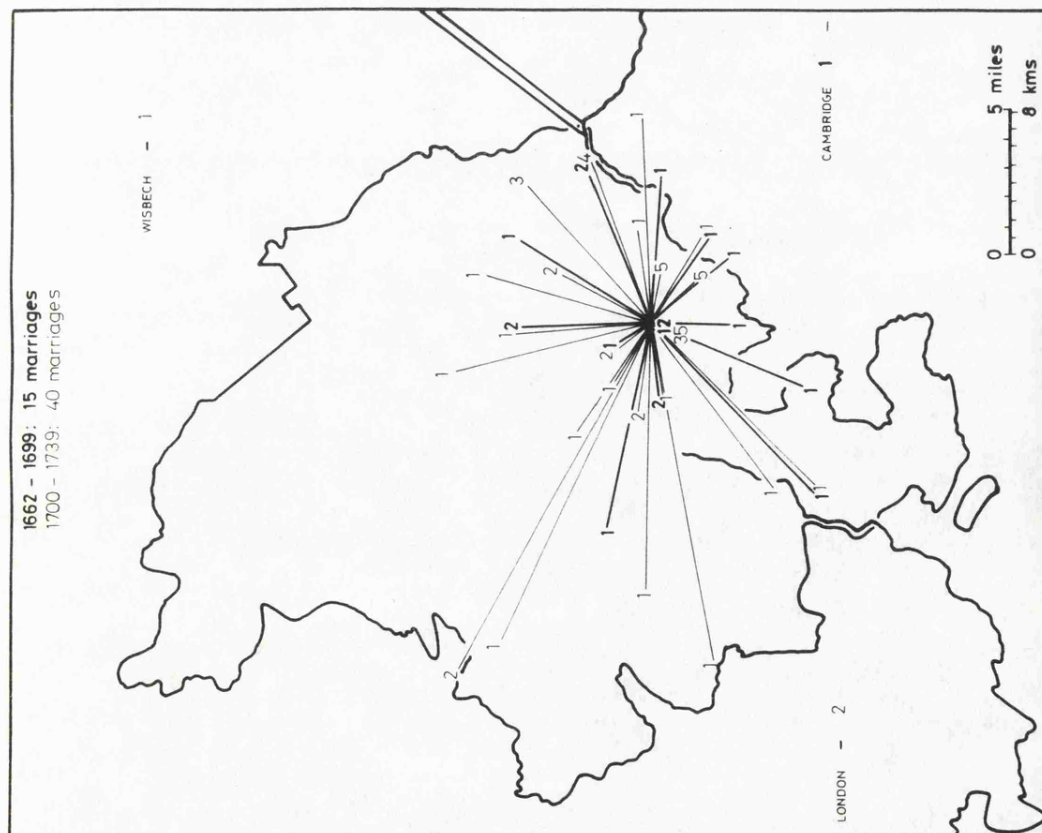
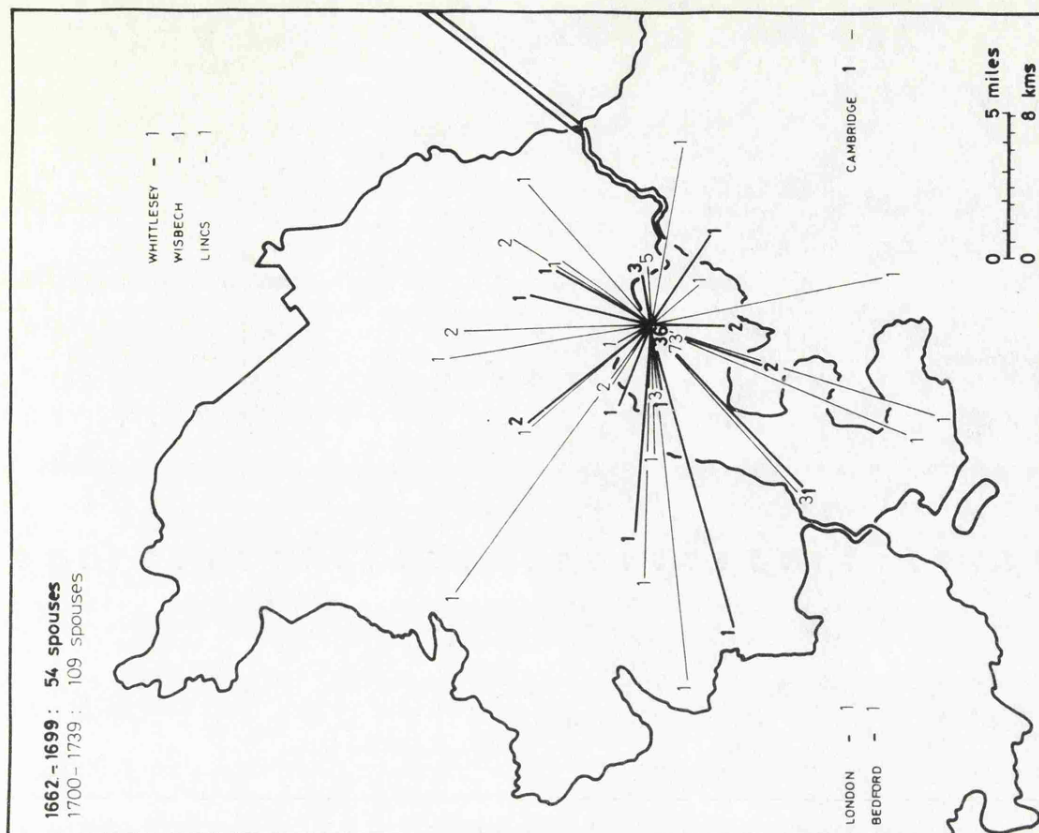


Fig. 25. Distribution of brides and/or grooms who used a bondsman living in the Hemingfords.



Hemingfords marriage horizons.

these mini-centres was never great, yet each place in turn played a small distributive role in its area.

The second variation within the hinterland concerns the villages closest to St Ives. We have already seen that there was a greater variety of occupations within the Ouse valley than elsewhere, in part due to the agricultural wealth of these villages. This is particularly a feature of the villages in close proximity to the town. Although Bluntisham is the largest community in the valley, the much smaller Fenstanton has the same number of trade types, and a greater range of services available from its inns. It is in the villages of Fenstanton, the Hemingfords, and Houghton and Wyton that we find the more specialised trades of oatmealman, whitawer and chandler. These villages seem to have occupations found nowhere else in the hinterland.

The third variation within the hinterland is concerned with the grouping together of certain villages. The Quaker records for Bluntisham and Colne showed that farmers like Richard Taylor owned land in both villages and in newly enclosed and drained Sutton. This appears to reveal a landowning neighbourhood in some of the fen-edge villages. It will be seen later that there appears to have been another such neighbourhood comprising St Ives, the Hemingfords and Holywell and Needingworth. In each case, the landowning neighbourhood was in the same pays.

It is possible to group villages together according to their soil and draw valid conclusions about the specialisation of their farming practice. It is also possible in such an analysis to overlook differences. In this section we have seen that certain places in the hinterland acted as mini-centres in the provision of some specialised

agricultural occupations, largely because of their position on the local transport network. Other villages in close proximity to St Ives had more urbanised occupations. Finally, we have found traces of landowning neighbourhoods, in each case located inside a particular pays and uniting a group of three or four villages.

It has been possible, therefore, to define Abrams' "larger social environment" for the town of St Ives. This definition resulted from a study of a variety of data rather than arbitrarily defining an area. The hinterland was found to contain twenty three parishes in the two counties of Huntingdonshire and north west Cambridgeshire. It covered three pays which were interdependent to a degree. Surplus calves from the rich meadows in the river valley were probably fattened in the fens and farmers with restricted access to pasture used the new enclosures there. The hinterland was largely agricultural with some specialisation according to the suitability of the land. Large herds were rarer on the heavy clay soil, more suited to arable farming. The fen farmers were forced by drainage problems to specialise in grazing. Only in the river valley was a balanced mixed farming successful because of the increased fertility of the river meadows which allowed the grazing of larger herds, which in turn benefited the arable fields. There was no particular non-agricultural occupation. The greatest numbers were involved in the supply of food and drink, demand for which grew from the specialisation of agriculture. It was the lack of advanced non-agricultural occupations and the commercialisation of farming which gave St Ives its distributive role in the hinterland.

The hinterland itself was not uniform. Within it there were mini-centres based on transport links. There were land-owning neighbourhoods that

linked groups of villages in their own pays and there were villages close to the town with urban occupations. The town's influence was at its greatest in the four neighbouring "urban" villages and lessened towards the edges as it came into competition with the hinterland of another town, like Huntingdon or Cambridge.

CHAPTER THREE

ST IVES

Abrams had stated that "the town should be seen as displaying the essential properties of a larger system of social relations grossly concentrated and intensified." Having described the larger system of the hinterland, we can now move forward to see if this town displayed the same characteristics. Bearing in mind Abrams' three essential urban properties, we will examine in turn the residential size, density and heterogeneity of the town. This will mean following the same pattern as used in the study of the hinterland, where a description of its demography was followed by an examination of its economy. Once the similarities and differences between the town and the countryside have been found, a study of marketing - the central function of the town - will reveal some of the links that bound the two parts together.

RESIDENTIAL SIZE AND DENSITY

It has already been shown in Table 2 that St Ives contained around 1,000 persons in 1603. The population had almost doubled by 1674 to 1800, and with, the exception of a slight drop at the turn of the century, this remained its size. Analysis of the parish registers showed that the population increase could not have come from within the town, but was probably derived from the surplus births of neighbouring villages.

It is also possible to state that this population was concentrated into a small part of the parish by examining the maps of St Ives drawn by Edmund Pettis in 1728. To understand these maps a brief description of the early history of the town is required.

Archaeological evidence has shown that a Roman villa had existed to the east of the medieval bridge on a gravel terrace. When the Saxon settlers

arrived, they ignored this site and built their homes to the west on the edge of the gravel terrace where it joins the clay soil, to take advantage of the spring line. This settlement became known as Slepe. By the time of Domesday, the village of Slepe "with the ten hides adjoining of Woodhurst and Old Hurst formed the largest holding of Ramsey Abbey."¹

The name St Ives is derived from St Ivo, a Persian bishop, reputed to have died at Slepe in the sixth century. On 24th April 1001, his coffin was said to have been dug up by a peasant whilst ploughing. Possibly what was found was a Roman coffin. The abbot of Ramsey was not slow to appreciate the importance of this find and St Ivo's bones were taken to the abbey to attract pilgrims to his shrine. The bones of his companions were later returned to Slepe and "numerous cures of various illnesses were performed by divine intervention."² To supervise his property the abbot had built a small priory near the site of St Ivo's grave, where the Roman villa had once stood. Thus the priory lay half a mile to the east of the village of Slepe, leaving a substantial open area in between.

The first reference to a bridge dates to 1107, just before the grant of the fair on which the town's medieval prosperity depended. The abbot may have acquired his grant for a fair to take advantage of the informal marketing that was already happening on the open area. This is suggested by the fact that the initial charter was granted for eight days. The abbot would have realised that the position of St Ives on the river Ouse, which was navigable by continental merchants, and on an overland route, was a much better site for a fair than Ramsey itself, situated in the middle of the fens. Therefore, he chose the open area between Slepe and

1. S. B. Edginton, The Life and Miracles of St Ivo, Friends of the Norris Museum, St Ives, 1985, p. 7.
2. ibid., p. 25.

the priory on which St Ive's fair was to be held. It quickly became successful and in time the village took its name from the fair, rather than from the earlier settlement of Slepe.

The abbot's new town was carved out from his manor of Slepe in the shape of an oblong that ran parallel to the Ouse on its long side with the parish church to the west and the priory to the east, as seen in figure 26. The streets were in the shape of a T-junction. The narrow plots with a frontage of 8½ feet ran back either to the river bank or to a back lane towards the fields. In this way as many as 83 tenants had frontages either in Bridge Street or in "the Street", lying at right angles to it.¹ The original settlement of Slepe, sometimes known as the Green, remained clustered to the north of the parish church, having "the characteristic sprawl of a slowly developing rural settlement".²

What is left of the large eighteenth century map of the centre of St Ives shows half-timbered buildings, generally of two stories, tightly packed along the central streets.³ Although modern frontages have changed the appearance of most of these properties, two buildings, the Old Stone House and the Tollhouse, can be identified.⁴ Pettis, therefore, is not drawing an idealised version of the town and the buildings relate in essentials to what was before his eyes. There were still some farmhouses in the original settlement near the parish church but most houses were concentrated around Bridge Street.

1. E. M. Moore, The Fairs of Medieval England: An Introductory Study 1985, p. 233.
2. M. Beresford, New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantations in England, Wales and Gascony, 1967, p. 106.
3. Pettis, map of the centre of St Ives.
4. B. Burn-Murdoch and K. Ballard, The Changing Face of St Ives 1987, Friends of the Norris Museum, 31, pp. 38, 39.

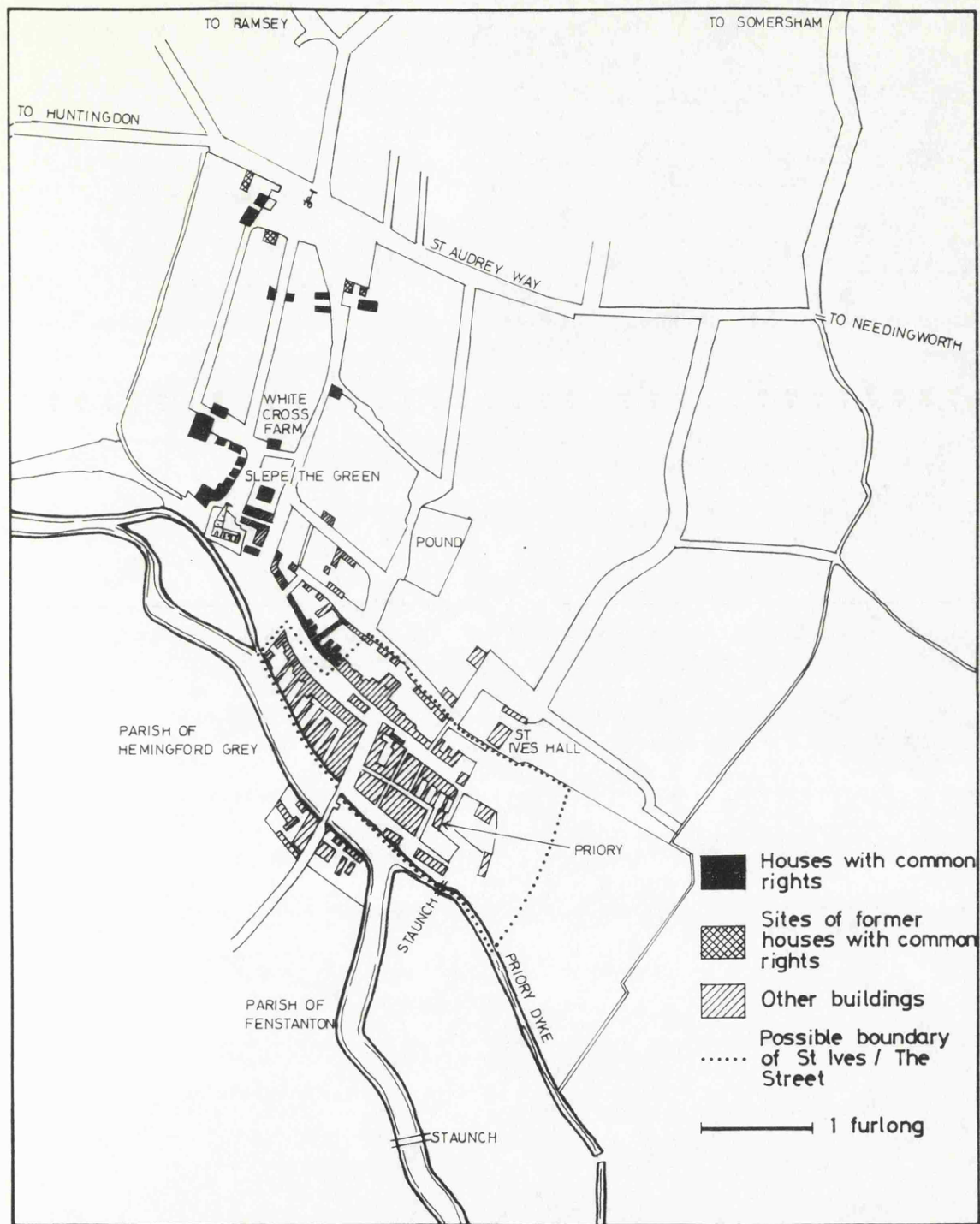


Fig. 26. Plan of the centre of St Ives, based on the Pettis map of St Ives, 1728.

THE ECONOMY OF ST IVES

If Abrams is correct in his contention that a town displayed the same characteristics as its hinterland, although in more concentrated form, we will expect to see a similar occupational profile in the town as was displayed in the hinterland. There ought to be a broad range of occupations with no important secondary trade, except for the supply of food and drink. As it is likely that the town's major role lay in the provision of services, to sustain the efficient distribution of agricultural products, and in the supply of goods and skills not available in the countryside, we shall also expect to find that those involved in distribution played an important role in the urban economy.

Following the pattern employed for the hinterland, the economy will be considered in two parts, the agricultural and the non-agricultural. As the former was the prime involvement of the hinterland, it will be considered first, although it is not expected that it will have played such an important part in the urban economy. However, detailed information has survived so that the ownership and use of the land can be studied in greater depth.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In considering the ownership of agricultural land we need to set the experience of St Ives in the national context. We have sufficient evidence to assess the extent of enclosure, its chronology and the degree of concentration of land. It is the timing of these movements which is of interest. Having established the outlines for them, we can also reach some conclusions about the viability of the remaining holdings, the amount of land available for rent, and the fate of those who became excluded from farming.

Edmund Pettis' Survey provides invaluable information on both of these themes. His manuscript notebook contains lists of property owners with individual acreages and rentals in 1728/32, as well as a survey of 1673 in a different hand and his own copy of the owners of the meadow in 1632. In addition, he quotes from manorial rolls of 1618-20 which are no longer in existence.¹ This information, combined with the property transfers in the surviving manorial rolls of 1632-1661 and 1681-1732, has been used to give a detailed account of land ownership in the town.²

Pettis assessed the area of St Ives at 2,000 acres, made up of 789 acres (42%) in the three fields, 630 acres (34%) of closes, 460 acres of meadow (24%) of which 102 acres belonged to Woodhurst and Old Hurst, 55 acres for the town, farmhouses, yards etc and 66 acres for lanes, roads and other wastes, which are shown in figure 27.³ This does not include common grazing ground on Somersham Heath. Most land was copyhold, the freehold acreage being around twentyfive percent. In 1732, the three fields and the great meadow were still worked in common but there were also 105 closes of varying sizes, belonging to individuals. Although this meant that 65% of the parish was not enclosed until 1808 by Parliamentary decree, the timing of the enclosure movement in the rest of the parish is still of interest.

J R Wordie assessed the evidence about the chronology of the enclosure movement and concluded that "without a doubt, the most important period in this respect was the seventeenth century."⁴ He also felt that, of E C K Gonner's four methods of non-parliamentary enclosure - extinction of

1. Pettis, passim.
2. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, passim.
3. Pettis, p. 39.
4. J. R. Wordie, "The Chronology of English Enclosure, 1500-1914", Ec. Hist. Rev., 2nd. ser., XXXVI, 4, 1984, p. 3.

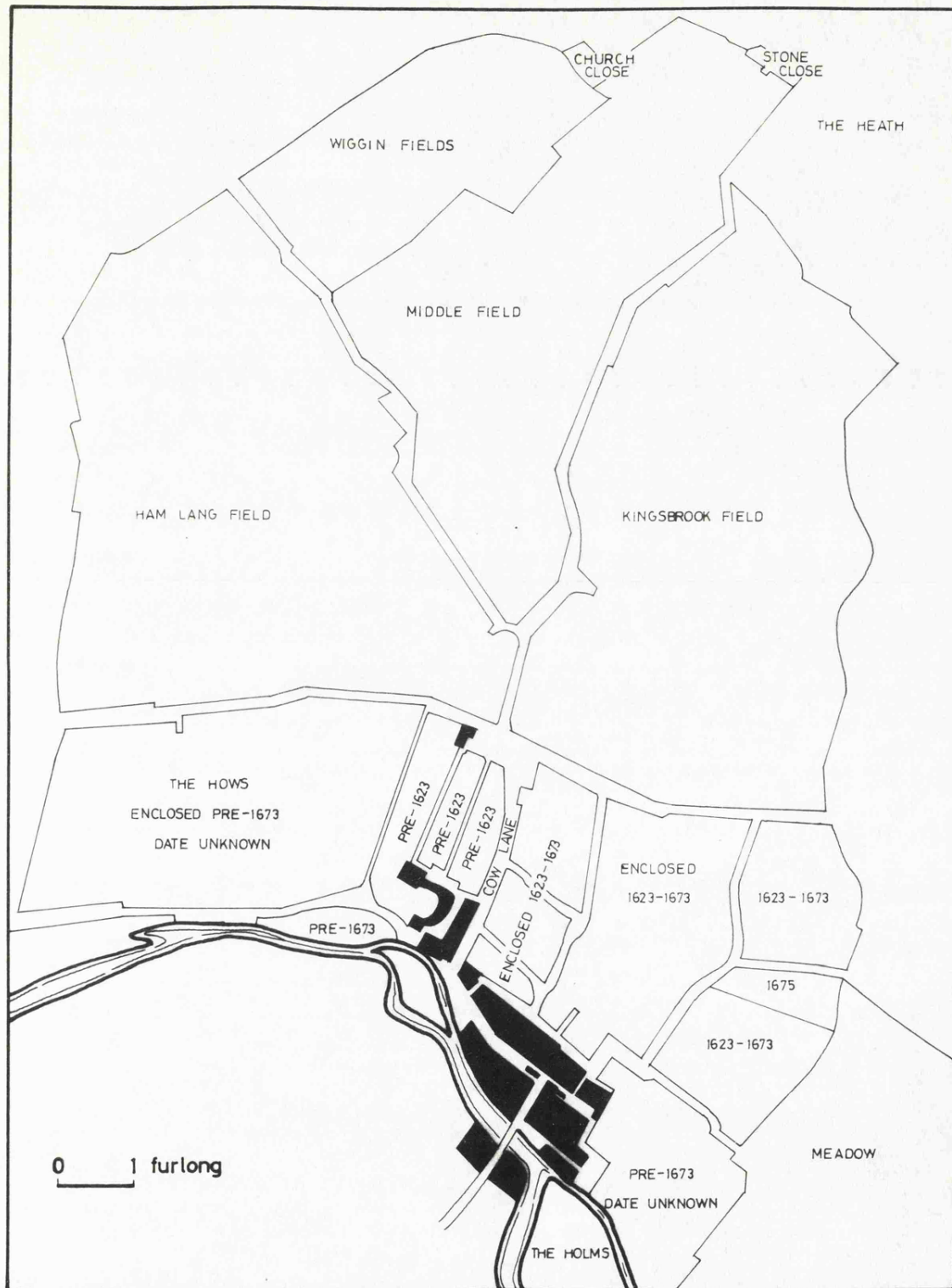


Fig. 27. Plan of the parish of St Ives, showing enclosures and open fields, based on the Pettis map of St Ives, 1728.

common in the ordinary process of law, withdrawal from common sufferance, approvement and enclosure by agreement, either voluntary or under compulsion - enclosure by agreement was used more commonly.¹ Part of the reason for the strength of the case for the importance of the eighteenth and nineteenth century enclosure movement may lie in the fact that Parliamentary Enclosure Awards were easy to document whilst those by agreement have left few records behind. The information that we have about enclosure in St Ives tends to support Wordie's views.

The earliest reference to enclosure comes from the report of the commissioners appointed in 1517 to inquire into the demolition of villages and houses, and the conversion of arable into pasture.² It was reported that 100 acres had been converted to pasture in St Ives. This probably refers to Wiggin Great and Little fields, which Pettis assessed at 90 acres. His maps show them as distinct entities with hedges and gates.³ An example of engrossing has been recorded. It was reported in 1607 that "Edward Colston having in his hands two farmes in St Ives ... places a tenant in the other."⁴ His farm was later described by Pettis as "Green Farm House."⁵ As two common rights were attached, this is taken to refer to the engrossed farms. Long established enclosures in St Ives lay to the north of the parish church. Other areas called the Holms and the Hows were probably old enclosures. Between 1618 and 1673 at least 80 new closes were formed by agreement to the immediate north of the town.

1. E. C. K. Gonner, Common Land, 1966, pp. 43-56.
2. P.R.O., Chanc. Misc. 7/2 (5), 38-41.
3. Pettis, p. 89.
4. P.R.O., C205/5.
5. Pettis, p. 39.

Table 32 shows that, where it is possible to be specific about dates, there was some enclosure in 1517, and then another period of activity in the first half of the seventeenth century, with the remainder of the parish waiting until the early nineteenth century. The chronology of these enclosures is, therefore, consistent with Wordie's theory.

TABLE 32
CHRONOLOGY OF ENCLOSURE IN ST IVES

<u>DATE</u>	<u>ACREAGE</u>
1517	90/100
Before 1623	43
1623-1673	250
Date unknown, but before 1673	222
Incomplete by 1732	7½

LAND CONCENTRATION

The next point to be considered is the extent of land concentration in St Ives. Because of the nature of the evidence, the land has been considered in four categories, arable, meadow, closes and common rights. Appendix 3 gives the owners of arable land between 1632 and in 1732, with the changes, where known, in the intervening period. The number of owners of arable land circa 1632 was 26, with holdings varying in size from 2½ to 152 acres. There were three big holdings, which included the demesne of 100 acres. By the beginning of the seventeenth century there had already been substantial movements away from subsistence farming towards a market economy.

Figure 28 compares the size of holdings in 1632 with those known to have existed in 1673 and 1732. The total of owners has dropped from 26 to 16.

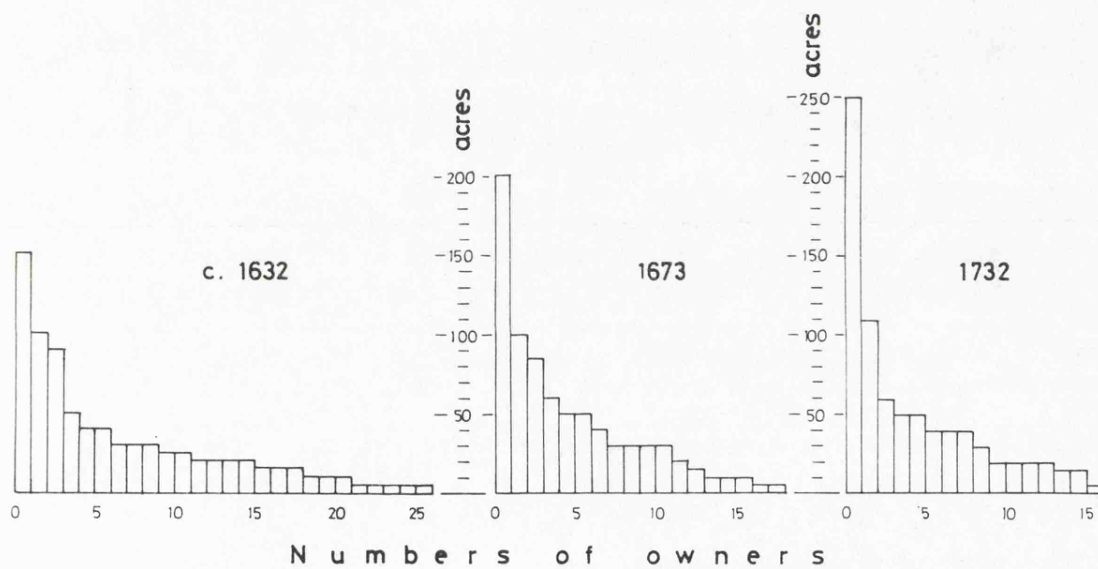


Fig. 28. Numbers of owners of arable land in St Ives.

It was the smallest owners who had most often disappeared. For example, there were seven holdings of less than ten acres in 1632 and only one in 1732. The chief years for their disappearance lay between 1632 and 1673. By 1732 the largest two holdings had been amalgamated; otherwise the picture remained similar.

Appendix 4 gives similar information for the owners of the meadow. This time there were 32 owners in 1632 and 30 in 1732, the size of holding in 1632 ranging from 1 to 36 acres, and in 1732 from 1 to 60. Table 33 summarises the size of holdings and the numbers of owners. At the top end of the scale, the four biggest holdings in 1632 have been combined into two in 1732; otherwise the profile is remarkably consistent throughout the one hundred years.

TABLE 33

THE NUMBER OF OWNERS OF MEADOW LAND AND THE SIZE OF THEIR HOLDING

<u>ACREAGE</u>	<u>OWNERS</u>		
	<u>1632</u>	<u>1673</u>	<u>1732</u>
0-09	21	11	19
10-19	6	9	6
20-29	2	9	3
30-39	4	3	0
40-49	0	0	0
50-59	0	0	1
60-69	0	0	1
TOTAL	32	30	30

It has not been possible to quantify the holdings of closes in 1632. This is partly because the earlier period shows a pattern of

amalgamations of leys with a view to enclosure, and also because of inconsistency of description in the manorial records. As the 1673 survey is not as detailed as those of 1632 or 1732, these figures may need to be treated with more caution, especially where the smaller acreages are concerned. For example, Cobditch Close in 1732 was an area of 8 acres, but in the manorial records Cobditch also refers to Pigg Close, Femin Close and Bowling Close.¹ This suggests Cobditch may have originally referred to the whole of this area. However, many of the owners can be named in the same way as for the arable holdings and these are shown in Appendix 5.

A similar pattern to that for the meadow is revealed. There were 38 owners circa 1632 and 39 in 1732. Even allowing for the greater degree of uncertainty, this suggests there had been little change in the number of owners in 100 years. The biggest holding of the Lawrence family does not appear to have increased in size. The other large holding in 1732 comprised Wiggin fields, probably enclosed in the sixteenth century.

TABLE 34

PROFILE OF OWNERS OF CLOSES IN 1732 (in acres)

<u>ACRES</u>	<u>NUMBER OF OWNERS</u>	<u>ACRES</u>	<u>NUMBER OF OWNERS</u>
1-19	35	100-119	0
20-39	2	120-139	0
40-59	1	140-159	1
60-79	0	160-179	0
80-99	0	180-199	1

Table 34 shows that, although there were forty owners of closes in 1732, 88% of the owners had holdings of below 20 acres, only three had medium-

1. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, J. Bentley, 12.10.1720;
M. Foreman, 1684; R. Drew, 13.10.1686..

sized holdings and the remaining two together owned 56%. The profile of owners of both the meadow and the closes is, therefore, similar in 1732, with a multiplicity of small owners and just two very large ones.

Information about common rights is rarely found in the manorial records. Pettis, however, lists all the "commonable houses" with a figure 1 or 2 against each house, and this has been assumed to be a list of properties with common rights.¹ This is confirmed by the manorial records for the house of Alice Turpin.² Some of these houses had disappeared by Pettis' time although grazing rights were still attached. In all there were 49 rights, of which Dingley Askham owned 11. The distribution is shown in Table 35 to be as uneven as for the meadow and closes.

TABLE 35
DISTRIBUTION OF COMMON RIGHTS IN 1732

<u>NAME</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RIGHTS</u>
D Askham	11
E Lawrence	2
E Millward	2
S White	2
J Cordell	2
Others - one each	29
Vicar	1
TOTAL	49

This survey shows that the owner of a small amount of arable land was very much under threat in St Ives. By 1673 he had largely disappeared and the land was concentrated in a few hands. However, those who owned

1. Pettis, p. 39.
2. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, R. Lavender, 12.10.1720.

meadow or pasture were not under the same pressure. Their rights remained, even if there were two very large holdings.

A detailed comparison can be made between the pattern of landholding in St Ives and in the village of Bluntisham and Earith, further east in the Ouse valley. As far as one can tell, this was a typical river parish with a generous area of pasture, improved by better drainage. C F Tebbutt gives a break-down of farms and holdings in this parish for 1733, which has been compared with the Pettis' survey of St Ives for 1732.¹

TABLE 36

Patterns of Landownership in Bluntisham and St Ives

<u>Acres</u>	<u>Bluntisham</u>		<u>St Ives</u>	
	<u>Owners</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Owners</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
1-5	38	98	18	40
6-20	33	390	17	155
21-50	8	213	6	191
51-100	8	588	6	427
100-150	4	461	0	
150-300	2	327	2	411
>300	0		1	501

Table 36 shows that 24% of the acreage at Bluntisham was in lots of less than twenty acres, compared with 11% at St Ives. Small arable holdings at Bluntisham still existed, unlike in St Ives. The middle range, between 21 and 100 acres, was similar in both communities, but whereas there were six holdings at Bluntisham within the range 100-300 acres, at St Ives there were three and the largest was of 501 acres. We can see,

1. C. F. Tebbutt, Bluntisham and Earith Huntingdonshire, Records of a Fenland Parish, Linton, Cambridgeshire, 1980, pp. 45-56, 90.

therefore, that there were fewer owners of agricultural land in St Ives, although the population was far larger. There was also greater polarisation of holdings. Possible reasons for this difference will be suggested later.

It is possible to combine these four categories and look at the balance of each holding. Table 37 shows this for the seventeen largest landowners in 1732.

TABLE 37

Major Owners of Agricultural Land in St Ives in 1732

<u>Name</u>	<u>Arable</u>		<u>Meadow</u>	<u>Closes</u>	<u>Common</u>	<u>Total %</u>
	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Rights</u>	<u>Acres</u>	
Lawrence	249	57	195	2	501	28
Askham	112	60	195	11	220	13
Piggott	20	20	151	0	191	11
Bacon	48	22	10	0	80	5
Houghton	54	9	15	1	78	4
Cordell	39	15	22	2	75	4
Cesar	59	3	7	1	69	4
Millward	38	14	12	2	64	4
Bentley	38	16	7	1	61	3
Read	0	21	28	1	49	3
Kingsly	30	6.5			36	2
Moon	20	3	8		31	2
Revell	19	1	5	1	25	1
Pettis	21	2			23	1
White	16	2	5		18	1
Harkness		6	6.5	1	12.5	1
Welch	6	2			8	1

Of these only eight had fully diversified holdings of arable, meadow, closes and common rights. With the exception of Edward Revell, they owned all the large holdings. Evidence suggests that these seven landowners all belonged to the gentry class, of whom only four may have been farming on their own account. Of the others, only one, Robert Moon, was definitely active in farming. The remainder lived elsewhere or were urban tradesmen. There were 37 others who owned some meadow, or pasture or had common rights. They were all tradesmen. Farming would have been ancillary to their trade.

We can conclude that in 1732 members of the gentry class virtually controlled all the agricultural acreage. Amongst the larger owners, over half may have considered their land as an investment, as they were either non-resident or tradesmen. This acreage is estimated at 45% of the total. But amongst the smaller owners, who only possessed pasture, investment may have been less important and their holdings could be considered as a concomitant to their trade.

This examination of the surviving records has shown that although a large part of St Ives was not enclosed until the early nineteenth century, the movement was active in the seventeenth century. Wordie considered that enclosure was more likely where there was agricultural prosperity, land concentration and the need to convert the land to a different use. The growth of the English population between 1600 and 1650 led to a rise in the price of basic grains as well as an increased demand for livestock products, thus ensuring agricultural prosperity. This study has shown that there was further concentration of land ownership in St Ives at this time. The pressure to sell out was felt most strongly by small arable owners, those with meadow and pasture being better able to resist the

pressure. After 1660, population growth slackened, grain prices stabilised and then fell, but the livestock sector held up.¹ According to Wordie's model, enclosure should have been less common in this period. This certainly seems to have been the experience of St Ives, as the last of the enclosures was in 1675. No more was effected until 1808.

The retreat of the small owners was greater between 1632 and 1673 than afterwards. Of the fifteen small arable holdings (below the so-called "plimsoll line" of 30 acres) that can be traced between 1632 and 1673, eight remained within the family, one was taken over by a tenant farmer and six appear to have been sold. Three of the six units that were sold were broken up. All these presumed sales fell between 1633 and 1651. Although the process continued after 1673, it was at a slower rate. Therefore, Marxist stress on 1660 as the crucial date for the start of the movement to squeeze out the small farmer is not applicable in St Ives.² Rather events seem to follow F M L Thompson's argument for gradual alterations in the pattern of landholding over centuries rather than decades.³

Professor Jones has shown that, after 1660 English grain prices fell less than those of her continental neighbours, because, in a period of slackening demand, the production gains on the light soils were offset by a shift from arable to pasture on the heavy lands of the midlands.⁴ With the exception of the sixteenth century enclosure of Wiggin fields,

1. A. H. John, "The Course of Agricultural Change"; in L. S. Pressnell, ed., Studies in the Industrial Revolution, 1960, p. 151.
2. J. V. Beckett, "The Pattern of Landownership in England and Wales 1660-1880", Ec. Hist. Rev., 2nd Ser., XXXVII, 1, 1984, p. 3.
3. F. M. L. Thompson, "The Social Distribution of Landed Property in England since the 16th century", Ec. Hist. Rev., 2nd. Ser., XIX, 1966, p. 512.
4. E. L. Jones, Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution, 1974, pp. 67-81.

St Ives' closes lay largely on the gravel terrace. The three fields on heavy clay continued to be worked in common. It might have been expected that these would be converted to permanent pasture, but as Stephen Porter has shown, the amount of arable farming varied in proportion to the distance from road or river transport. Perhaps, therefore, the continuation of the common fields at St Ives is connected both with the agricultural depression and with the improved transport links, making it easier for St Ives farmers to compete with those on light soils.

Various figures have been quoted for the increased value of land after enclosure. Contemporaries estimated that it sometimes doubled the value. Professor McCloskey concluded that "a village was roughly 13% more productive in an enclosed than in an open state."¹ Langley estimated the leas in St Ives at 20/- an acre in 1627; by 1732 Pettis valued them at £1.92 enclosed.² Over the same period the value of arable and meadow had fallen from 10/- to 8/- and 13s.4d. to 10s. respectively. The proportionate rise in the value of the enclosed land was, therefore, even greater.

The attitude of the Manchester family in relation to rents and entry fines needs also to be considered. Langley wrote in his letter, when the purchase of the manor was under consideration, that there were 114 tenements in the town whose rental was £49 and the houses and land in Slepe produced a further £42, totalling £91. By 1673, this rent was recorded as £95 and in 1732 £95.5s.10d. Rents, therefore, were probably fixed. Entry fines, however, were variable. It has been almost

1. D. N. McCloskey, "Economics of Enclosure: A Market Analysis", in W. N. Parker & E. L. Jones, eds., European Peasants and Their Markets, 1975, p. 160.
2. Pettis, pp. 48, 90.

impossible to trace entry fines in any number for agricultural land. The clerks frequently omitted to record them; there is a twenty year gap in the rolls and at other times where fines were recorded they were for "all his copyhold lands." However, two series have been traced. In 1651 William Whittle passed his messuage and 16 acres of arable land to William Young. The rent was 11s.6d. and the fine was £12. In 1661 this property, with an additional piece rated at 4s.6d. per annum, required an entry fine of £26.13s.4d. In 1685 this had become £46.12s, which shows a very sharp rise.¹ The other series of transactions was for a close of pasture. The entry fines were £9 in 1661, £12.2s. in 1687, £9.12s. in 1688 and £15 in 1718.² In about 60 years the entry fine was almost doubled, and in the first example the rise was even steeper. If these two series are representative of the whole, the Manchester family would have been increasing their own profits and making life far harder for the less well-off in the parish. As Keith Wrightson has written "the general trend of rents was upward."³

The continued survival of the small village farmer in Bluntisham suggests that his urban equivalent may have sold his land for three possible reasons, either because of adverse economic conditions, or because there were greater opportunities for making a living in a different occupation or because of the increased cost of wage labour in the later seventeenth century. We know of various people who made the transition successfully. Agnes Clement was an alehousekeeper in 1618 whose close and meadow was transferred to Thomas and John Symnell. Her son, Henry,

1. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, W. Whittle, 28.3.1651; W. Young, 4.10.1661; E. Young, 14.10.1685.
2. ibid., R. Hart, 4.10.1661; E. Evans, 12.10.1687; W. Hart 10.10.1688; J. Morton, 2.10.1718.
3. K. Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, 1982, p. 131.

kept the alehouse until his death.¹ Thomas Coote was described as a yeoman, although his son was an edgetoolsmith and his grandson a glazier.² These examples show that certain small farmers in St Ives could make a successful transition from farming to other occupations, and this perhaps may help to account for the different pattern of land holding in St Ives as compared with the river parish of Bluntisham.

This survey of the ownership of the agricultural land in St Ives has shown how the chronology of the enclosure movement was typical of other areas of England. Yet the experience of land concentration was also complicated, because those ceasing to farm their arable land still retained the use of meadow or pasture, where labour costs were not so high. The pattern may well be distorted by the proximity of alternative sources of employment. The opportunities for a small farmer to transfer to another occupation were greater than for his rural counterpart. At the same time it may have made his land more attractive for investment by people who only visited the town occasionally and could afford to hire labour. The townsman whose occupation was farming was more likely to have become a day-labourer than an owner occupier.

1. P.R.O., E180 90 VR; H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, A. Clement, 13.9.1638; J. Symnell, 1.10.1658; H.R.O., Will, H. Clement, St Ives, 1667.
2. H.R.O., Will, J. Coote, St Ives, 1660; Will, T. Coote, St Ives, 1705; Will, J. Coote, St Ives, 1727.

LAND USE

The pattern of land ownership in St Ives may not have been typical. However, the use to which the land was put probably was. We know from Pettis that, with the exception of 90 acres enclosed and converted to pasture in the early sixteenth century, the strips in the three fields in 1732 were used almost entirely as arable land. Some of the closes on the gravel terrace were described in the early seventeenth century as being arable and leys, which suggests a mixture of uses.¹ By the end of the period, when this type of land was transferred in the manorial court, it was described variously as a close, rode of pasture or leys, by which we can assume that it was permanent grass.²

The oldest enclosures on the clay, like the Hows, seem to have been permanent pasture throughout the period. In three references to them, they were used for livestock and haymaking.³ The smaller closes attached to houses were often planted as orchards. Pettis depicts those behind the Crown Inn in this way.⁴ Other small pieces of land (or gardens) were cultivated for the market.⁵ However, references to market gardening are rare and suggest that it was conducted on a small scale.

The meadow lay to the east of the town on the gravel terrace. No amalgamation of strips had taken place in it. Detailed information about common rights on Somersham Heath comes from two sources. (Although the land was called a heath, it was not sandy but heavy clay.) The 1796

1. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, T. Colston, 27.9.1637.
2. ibid., J. Read, 6.4.1736; J. Broad, "Alternate Husbandry and Permanent Pasture in the Midlands 1650-1800", Ag. Hist. Rev., 28, II, 1980, p. 79.
3. H.R.O., Will, R. Stevens, St Ives, 1619; Inventory, R. Bailey, St Ives, 1685; Hunts Archdeaconry File 285, tithe dispute relating to T. Sutton, 1691.
4. Pettis map.
5. H.R.O., Will, W. Bird, St Ives, 16.2.1705.

Enclosure Award for Somersham Heath details 49 houses with commonrights, the same as in Pettis.¹ By this date 35 of these houses had no land attached to them. In Pettis' time, only ten of these houses were divorced from their land. The award also lists claims to the common based on holdings of arable and meadow land or a small amount of pasture. If the provisions for using the heath were the same in 1796 as in 1732, then the commoners would have numbered 81 in 1732. There is unfortunately no information about the nature of the stint, although the two sheepwalks were mentioned both in the act and in Pettis.

Some evidence has survived for the organisation of agriculture in the nearby villages of Hemingford Grey and Fenstanton. In the former, there were also three fields. Where areas had been enclosed by agreement they appear to have been converted to pasture as in St Ives. The tithe payable varied whether the enclosure was on the clay fields south of the Cambridge road or on the gravel plain nearer the river. The land near the river was easier to work and was tithed at two shillings per four acres, the heavier land at ten pence per three acres. When land was unenclosed, the stint was three milch cows, steers or young bullocks, 15 sheep and 2 horses or oxen per twenty acres. A cottage was entitled to two cows, one bullock and seven sheep. These rights only applied to occupied cottages, unlike in St Ives where rights remained even when the house was a ruin.²

Of the surviving agricultural inventories for this village that of John Bedford seems to fit the stint.³ He left 5½ acres of peas and barley and

1. H.R.O., 2611/26/1.

2. H.R.O., 24/14, Decree of Chancery relating to the Inclosure of the Manor of Hemingford Grey, 1670.

3. H.R.O., Inventory, J. Bedford, Hemingford Grey, 1684.

8½ acres of wheat. His fallow acreage might have been the 7 remaining acres out of a theoretical 20. He also had one cow, 4 calves and two horses. This would presume that he had rented out grazing for fifteen sheep.

The Fenstanton survey of 1582 reveals a similar picture. For example, William Lindsey had 58 acres of arable land and 7 acres of meadow in the open fields. He also had seven acres of enclosed pasture.¹ The stint in 1760 was also similar, with two horses or mares per twenty acres of arable land and one horse or mare per seven acres.

A detailed comparison with land use in St Ives is not possible on the basis of such data. However, the information that has survived suggests that the method of farming was similar both in the town and these villages. There was a mix of arable and livestock so that the changing values of wheat and cattle could be evened out wherever possible.

As we have seen, the early push towards enclosure faded, as prices for cereal products dropped. This coincided with the end of the expansion of the population. It also coincided in the town with the virtual demise of the small arable farmer. Engrossing, however, continued, until, by the end of the period, only sixteen owners of arable land, mostly non-resident gentry, were left. However, this was not the same picture in the one river village where the data is comparable. Here the smaller farmers stayed in business. The pressure in St Ives to sell out may have been greater. We know that entry fines increased sharply. Another reason could be that there were viable alternatives. The St Ives farmer

1. J. Dady, Beyond Yesterday: A History of Fenstanton
King's Music, 1987, pp. 18-20.

could transfer more easily to a non-agricultural occupation. A third reason could be competition for labour, pushing up wage rates and pricing out the smaller farmer.

If the pattern of ownership was different between the town and the village, the attitude towards enclosure and the manner of farming seems to have remained the same. The proximity of the town does not seem to have produced a different type of farming from that practised in the neighbouring villages, except perhaps that there was more market gardening.

NON-AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY OF ST IVES

If we now turn to the non-agricultural economy of the town, we can use the occupations given in the marriage bonds and allegations to draw a comparison between town and countryside. These commence in 1662. It is useful to know about the range of occupations before them. Because there is no series to provide an adequate picture, information has been gleaned from a variety of sources. Conclusions based on a combination of all of them will be treated with caution. This cannot be attempted for the hinterland.

There is some evidence in the wills and inventories surviving from the Archdeaconry Court of Huntingdon.¹ For part of this early period there is a run of records from the manorial court of St Ives, Slepe and Burstellars, from 1632-1661. Occupations were recorded in parish registers for marriages for four years. The parish chest also contains a few apprentice indentures. There is a chancery case from 1636 which mentions some occupations and the victualler's recognisances of 1617/18 have also survived, giving a complete survey of alehousekeepers, taverners and innkeepers for that year.²

Grouped together in Table 38, these figures show that food and drink was the biggest category of occupations at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Workers in the textile industry were an important group followed by those employed in the leather industry and agriculture.

1. H.R.O., Wills and inventories passim.
2. H.R.O., H.M.R., 1632-1661; All Saints Parish Church, St Ives, registers of marriages and burials; P.R.O., E134, 11/12 Chas 1, Hil 10; E180/90.

TABLE 38

Classification of trade types for St Ives 1600-1661 from a
variety of sources

<u>Classification</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Food and drink	49	29
Building	10	6
River Trades	8	5
Agriculture	12	7
Leather	23	14
Professional	3	2
Mercantile	0	0
Metal	4	2
Clothing	1	0.5
Textiles	38	22
Transport	1	0.5
Labourers	12	7
Miscellaneous	9	5
Total	165	100

If we turn to the much fuller information from the marriage bonds displayed in Table 39, we can total the number of different trade types in the town. The variety of trade types increased over the period, as did the number of people who used a bond.

TABLE 39

NUMBER OF TRADE TYPES IN ST IVES

	1662-1699	1700-1739
Number of trade types	39	56
Size of sample	102	221

If we next turn to the lists of occupations in ranking order as shown in Table 40, as Smith used them for Malden, we find that between 1662 and 1699, butchers were the most common occupation, a fitting result for a town whose fame was based on its cattle market. Other than the yeomen, few urban occupations were related to agricultural life. In the villages, there were shepherds, blacksmiths, fishermen, weavers, thatchers, millers, whilst the town provided opportunities for barbers, drapers, masons, apothecaries and such like. Watermen also played a large part in the life of the town.

By 1700-1739, the list in St Ives is headed by the gentry, followed by butchers and innkeepers. Watermen retained their position. There was a greater diversity of occupations with more people earning a living in trades further removed from agriculture. New trades like brickmaker and bricklayer were located in the town, as well as the more specialised crafts of brazier and confectioner.

This information has also been grouped in Table 41 to produce figures for the different classifications of occupation. In the first period the town had almost one quarter of its inhabitants mentioned in these documents involved in the supply of food and drink, 13% in building, and around 9% in agriculture, the leather industry and textiles. The gentry were 8% of the sample, with 7% being professionals and labourers. Merchants were only 2% of the sample.

In the second period, the food and drink trade remained at a quarter of the trade types. The major changes were in the increased numbers of gentry and professionals in the town. A decline was registered for the leather trade and textile workers. Metalworkers and clothing

manufacturers as well as those working in the building trade or on the river remained much the same.

TABLE 40

OCCUPATIONS IN RANKING ORDER FOR ST IVES

<u>1662-1699</u>	<u>1700-1739</u>
Butcher	Gentry
Yeoman, gentry	Innkeeper, butcher
Labourer	Waterman, labourer
Waterman, shoemaker	Barber
Barber, grocer	Husbandman
Carpenter, draper, mason	Draper, carpenter
tailor	
Apothecary, brazier,	Shoemaker, bricklayer
brewer, basketmaker	Medical
hemdresser,	Baker, tailor, blacksmith, gardener
plumber, salter,	Maltster, brickmaker, cooper, clerk
victualler,	brazier
whitawer	Soldier, pattenmaker, dyer, confectioner
	victualler, grocer, merchant, yeoman

NOTE: These examples relate to all occupations which are recorded more than once in the marriage bonds and allegations.

These marriage bonds and allegations would only have been used by the wealthier members of the community, so the picture that they give relates at best to half of the marrying population. With that restriction, we can see that whilst the town of St Ives had a diverse range of trades, it also had no great specialism. In all three periods, the largest group of people were employed in the supply of food and drink.

TABLE 41

CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS FROM MARRIAGE BONDS AND ALLEGATIONS

<u>1662-1699</u>	<u>1700-1739</u>	
Food and drink	24	25
Building	13	9
River Trades	6	7
Agriculture	9	6
Leather	10	5
Professional	7	10
Mercantile	2	1
Metal	4	5
Clothing	3	4
Textiles	9	6
Transport	-	-
Gentry	8	13
Labourers	7	7
Miscellaneous	-	2

Figures are expressed as a percentage of the whole.

Having considered the profile of different trades over these one hundred and forty years, we can also a profile of occupational wealth. We possess five series of taxation returns. However, the subsidy assessments of 1598/9, 1621/2 and 1625/6 have no occupations listed and the index of names can recover so few as to make any conclusions of dubious value.¹ There remain the Hearth Tax listing of 1674 and Land Tax of 1732.² The number of people who are unidentified is still quite large, (42% in 1674 and 20% in 1732), but as the remainder is more than half of all

1. P.R.O., E179/122/180; E179/122/204; E179/122/208.

2. P.R.O., E179/249/2; Pettis, pp. 87-89, 97-100.

taxpayers, it is worth examining them.

Table 42 shows the relative size of different categories who paid the Hearth Tax in 1674. Of the 121 persons identified, the greatest number were involved in the preparation and selling of food and drink, they were taxed on the greatest number of hearths and paid the highest percentage of tax. This result is consistent with the results of the study of the Marriage Bonds. The next large group was that of the gentry, followed by those in the clothing industry, building and agriculture. Of these, building workers paid less tax, as did the smaller numbers of river trade workers, leather manufacturers and textile workers.

To compare such figures with those for the Land Tax paid in 1732 we need to be aware of the different basis for taxation. However if the data is assembled in a similar way the results can be cautiously compared. Table 43 shows that the first category, of food and drink, has remained the largest, as it had been in all the series of data that have been examined. But, by 1732, the amount of tax that they paid is surpassed by the total paid by the gentry. Their numbers were nearly a third of those in inns or such establishments but the amount of tax paid was nearly double. This reflects the fact that the gentry had invested heavily in land in the town. Their median rental was £35 whilst that for the group that contained the innkeepers was £13. Building workers were the second biggest group, but the percentage of tax paid by them was small. Wealthier groups were the professionals, agriculturalists and clothing trades. Those who were small in numbers and with little economic clout were the leather and textile workers, and the labourers.

TABLE 42

TAXATION PAYMENTS FOR ST IVES IN 1674 FOR 121 PERSONS WHO CAN BE

IDENTIFIED BY TRADE

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>	<u>Percentage of sample</u>	<u>Number of Hearths</u>	<u>Percentage of Taxable Hearths for Known Occupations</u>
Food & Drink	40	33	158	42
Building	12	10	18	5
River Trades	9	7	14	4
Agriculture	11	9	32	8
Leather	9	7	23	6
Professional	0			
Mercantile	0			
Metal	2	2	3	1
Clothing	12	10	38	10
Textiles	4	3	13	3
Transport	0			
Gentry	14	12	60	16
Labourers	0			
Miscellaneous	7	6	18	5

TABLE 43TAXATION PAYMENTS FOR ST IVES IN 1732 FOR 134 PERSONS WHO CAN BEIDENTIFIED BY TRADE

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of Persons Paying Tax</u>	<u>Percentage of sample</u>	<u>Total of Tax Paid</u>	<u>Percentage of Tax Paid</u>
Food & Drink	38	21	19.75	20
Building	17	10	3.34	3
River Trades	7	4	2.04	2
Agriculture	11	6	6.53	7
Leather	6	3	2.81	3
Professional	7	4	6.24	6
Merchantile	-			
Metal	9	5	4.04	4
Clothing	9	5	8.05	8
Textiles	4	2	0.68	1
Transport	-			
Gentry	11	6	38.85	39
Labourers	5	3	0.24	0.5
Miscellaneous	10	6	6.39	6
Total	134	99	98.96	99

1

Such conclusions do not relate to everyone. In 1732 in St Ives only one tenth of the population paid Land Tax. In 1674 it was 13% who paid the Hearth Tax. However, such figures do show that, within this town, the people who had acquired wealth were firstly the gentry, and then the victualling trades, with no other group showing a marked advantage.

However, such figures are neater than the reality. It is very hard sometimes to decide under which trade type to place an individual. For example, the Abbott family were influential in the metal trade, especially tinworking. But their interests also covered the Chandle House and they had been originally described as yeomen. Such examples could be multiplied.¹

If we look at the different categories in turn, we can attempt to trace their fortunes during this period. Within the largest group of those involved in food and drink, were the innkeepers, maltsters and brewers. Financially they showed quite a wide range of wealth, varying from an inventory total of £6 to £204. These innkeepers do not appear to have belonged to the elite mentioned by Professor Everitt for Northampton, with the possible exception of John Bentley, owner of the Crown, who however was bankrupted in 1736.² These trades had benefited from the increased traffic on the Ouse, as well as the healthy trading in the weekly market. In 1732, the inns in St Ives were largely in the Bullock Market and Sheep Market. The total of the rental for the 34 known inns was greater than for any other group - £524 - but this hides the fact that many of the inns were small with a rental of £6-8, in contrast to

1. H.R.O., will, J. Abbott, St Ives, 1662; H.M.R., St Ives, J. Abbott, 1.10.1724.
2. A. Everitt, "The English Urban Inn 1560-1760", in A. Everitt, ed., Perspectives in English Urban History, 1973, pp. 91-137; H.M.R., St Ives, J. Bentley, 12.10.1736.

the Bull Inn in Bridge Street which had a rental of £24 and the Crown Inn with a rental of £85. The median rental for all inns was £17. There were, therefore, marked divergences in wealth in this group as well as in the status of their establishments, as was found in Northampton.

If we consider other trades within this category, we again find a variety of wealth. William Barnes amassed a fortune of at least £5,279, from malting and banking.¹ He owned two prime sites at the foot of Bridge Street as well as a major malt house in the Bullock House - all with access to the river. Grocers were first mentioned in the 1650's but there is only one inventory total available. By Pettis' time, the three grocers had a median rental of £22, in comparison with bakers whose median was £12, and butchers (more numerous) with a median of £9. Table 44 shows all the median rentals. The one inventory total for a grocer of £162 may, therefore, be a reasonable guide to the wealth of this group. The only two surviving inventories for butchers suggest a small range of wealth, £14-51, with an even greater range for bakers, £11-135. This finding is similar to that of Peter Borsay who found in the early eighteenth century, from his study of inventories, that bakers, butchers, provision dealers and tailors were not generally men of great wealth and over £200 was unusual.²

We can now turn to farming. It has already been established that most of the arable land in St Ives belonged to the gentry, who were often outsiders investing in the town. Graziers and drovers, who must have formed such an integral part of the market on Mondays, are not mentioned in town records until after 1681 and even then in small numbers. The

1. P.R.O., PROB 44/76.

2. P. Borsay, "The Development of Urban Retailing 1700-1815", in P. Clark, ed., Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1984, p. 274

TABLE 44

MEDIAN RENTALS FOR PROPERTIES IN ST IVES IN 1732

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Median Rental</u>
		£
Grocer	4	22
Innkeeper	34	17
Draper	16	16
Maltster	8	14
Baker	3	12
Grazier	5	10
Leatherworker	9	10
Butcher	10	9
Waterman	6	9
Metalworker	12	7
Brick Industry	10	3

range of inventoried wealth for the yeomen was large and here a median value of £225 has more meaning as the sample comprised 12 persons. Some people involved in farming have reasonable sized fortunes but as has been shown earlier, the bulk of agricultural land in St Ives belonged to gentry who resided outside the town, and such wealth would not be represented in these figures. There is no trace of the wealth of the day-labourers who must have done the manual work.

The first references to brickmakers, bricklayers, plumbers and glaziers are after 1680. The numbers involved in building and allied trades decreased in the eighteenth century. It is impossible to say whether demand for their services was reduced after the rebuilding consequent on the fire in 1689. It seems highly probable that houses were rebuilt in

brick to prevent a further disaster. Of four relevant inventories, the brickmaker left £258 and the bricklayers between £21 and £71. Whilst therefore the latter may have been reasonably comfortable as tradesmen, the brickmaker made a far greater profit.¹ His house was not highly rated at £11; however, it compared favourably with those of the bricklayers whose median rental value was £3, and whose properties were all outside the central areas of the town, as Figure 29 shows.

The numbers of families carrying goods by water showed a steady rise throughout the period. Initially boats bringing coal upriver were forced to off load on to carts at St Ives for the journey to Bedford. As the river was cleared of obstacles and the staunches built or repaired, the coal could be taken further up the river, until in 1689-90 it was taken all the way to Bedford. Watermen based in St Ives do not seem to have moved to Bedford when this happened. Their range of inventoried wealth was £50-181, suggestive of a comfortable existence but not great riches. By 1728, watermen and their families owned properties which all had access to the river. However, their properties were not all that expensive, and the median rental at £9 equalled the butchers.

Those working with leather showed a decreasing importance in the town, in spite of the growth in population which might have been expected to require an increased output. This may, however, have been the continuance of a much earlier trend. The names given by Pettis to areas of the town - Tanners Row, Barkers Row, Shoemakers Row - suggest a specialisation in the leather trade which has not been confirmed by other evidence. Therefore, it is possible that the local industry had been

1. P.R.O., PROB 27/125; H.R.O., Inventories, W. Dickenson, St Ives, 1723; W. Field, St Ives, 1727.

<p>I = INN</p>		<p>GENT ELM HOUSE FARM</p> <p>GENT FARM</p> <p>GENT RENTED TO 7</p> <p>BRICKLAYER</p> <p>— RENTED TO 6</p> <p>LABOURER / CLAYER</p> <p>—</p> <p>BRICKLAYER</p> <p>BRICKLAYER</p> <p>GENT RENTED</p> <p>GENT RENTED TO 5</p> <p>—</p> <p>DRAPER RENTED TO 5</p> <p>—</p>
<p>WATERMAN / YEOMAN</p> <p>CURRIER</p> <p>RENTED [BRICKLAYER]</p> <p>SALESMAN</p> <p>[WATERMAN]</p> <p>GENT</p> <p>GENT</p> <p>RENTED TO 4 CURRIER</p> <p>GENT</p> <p>YEOMAN / MERCHANT</p> <p>MALTSTER</p> <p>BREWHOUSE</p> <p>FELLMONGER</p> <p>CORDWAINER</p> <p>GENT</p> <p>YEOMAN / MERCHANT</p> <p>DRAPER</p> <p>DYER</p> <p>IRONMONGER</p> <p>PLUMBER / GLAZIER</p>	<p>Bullock Market</p> <p>Tanners Row</p> <p>COOPER</p> <p>SIEVEMAKER</p> <p>VICTUALLER</p> <p>[GROCER]</p> <p>CARPENTER</p> <p>BRICKLAYER</p> <p>Barkers Row</p> <p>Shoemakers Row</p>	<p>1 MALTSTER / GRAZIER / YEOMAN</p> <p>1 MALTSTER / GRAZIER / YEOMAN R. TO 10</p> <p>1 INNHOLDER / BUTCHER</p> <p>1 GENT</p> <p>1 GENT</p> <p>1 BAKER</p> <p>1 ?</p> <p>1 [GROCER]</p> <p>1 INNHOLDER</p> <p>1 [GENT / YEOMAN] RENTED</p> <p>1 [CARPENTER]</p> <p>1 DRAPER</p> <p>1 SURGEON</p> <p>1 [CARPENTER] RENTED TO 3</p> <p>1 [CORDWAINER] RENTED TO 3</p> <p>1 [TAILOR] RENTED TO 3</p> <p>1 BUTCHER / INNHOLDER / GENT PART RTD.</p> <p>1 { DRAPER</p> <p>1 { MERCER</p> <p>1 { HABERDASHER / GROCER & IRONMONGER</p> <p>1 SALESMAN</p> <p>1 INNHOLDER / VICTUALLER</p> <p>1 GENT</p> <p>1 [BUTCHER]</p> <p>1 BUTCHER</p> <p>1 GENT</p> <p>1 SIEVEMAKER</p> <p>1 GENT RENTED TO 4</p> <p>1 INNHOLDER</p> <p>1 } LABOURER / WHEELWRIGHT</p> <p>1 GENT</p> <p>1 MERCHANT</p> <p>1 — RENTED TO 6</p> <p>1 SALESMAN & BUTCHER RENTED TO 6</p> <p>1 —</p>
<p>BRIDGE STREET</p> <p>GRAZIER</p> <p>BUTCHER</p> <p>LEATHER CUTTER</p> <p>[BUTCHER]</p> <p>[BUTCHER]</p> <p>[BUTCHER]</p> <p>[BUTCHER]</p> <p>BUTCHER</p> <p>BAKER</p> <p>—</p> <p>DRAPER</p> <p>CURRIER</p> <p>CHAIRMAKER</p> <p>BUTCHER</p> <p>RENTED TO 4</p> <p>—</p> <p>GLAZIER</p> <p>TAILOR / CARRIER</p>	<p>Cornhill / Shambles</p>	<p>Sheep Market</p>

Fig. 29. Distribution of traders in St Ives c.1728.

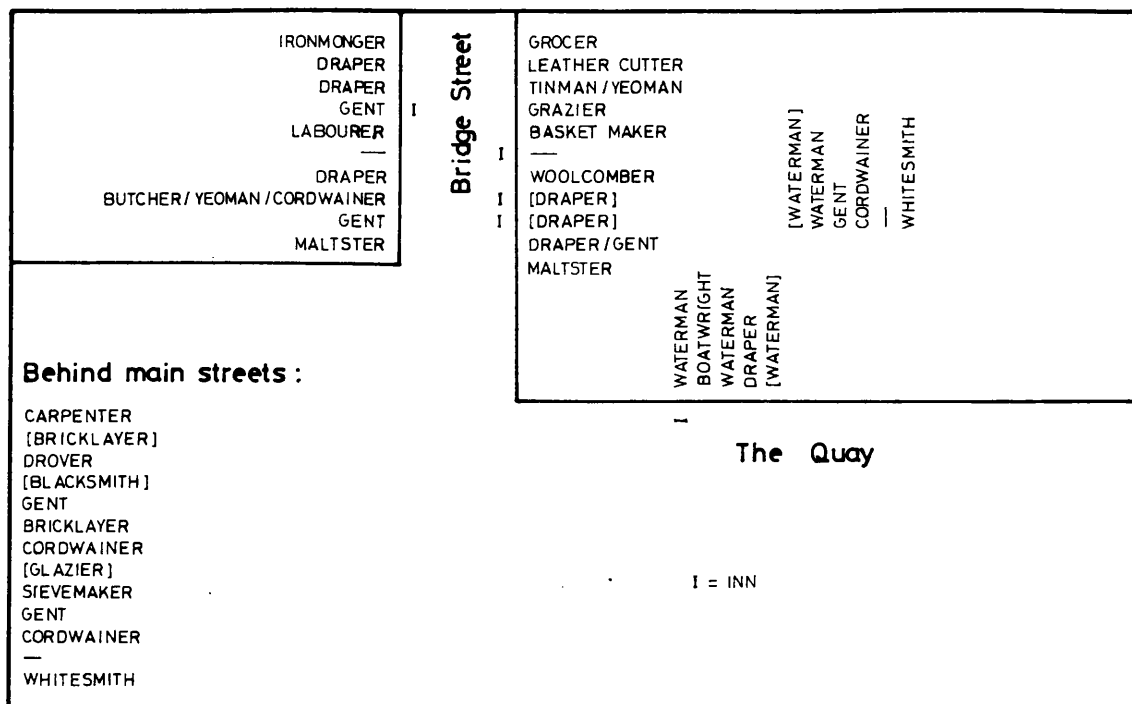


Fig. 29. Distribution of traders in St Ives c.1728 (continued).

declining for some time. By 1732, although the currier was in Tanners Row, cordwainers tended to be in the backstreets. Their range of wealth, £19-219, shows that some survived more comfortably than others, but on the whole the shoemaker worked at the poorer end of the trade.

Medical men and barbers represented the professions. A Dr Want owned a substantial property near the Cross, and the two medical inventories that have survived were for £213 and £497.¹ The median rental for their properties was high at £24.

About five percent of the population may have been involved in metalwork, one of the most important trades being tin working. The gunsmith, Edward Pratt, was also a man of property but, in his case, it was inherited through his wife.² In 1728 the ironmongers had premises on Bridge Street. However, the whitesmiths and blacksmiths were in the backstreets. Again, this suggests a range of wealth.

So far as the clothing trade was concerned, there seems to have been even less wealth; for example, the highest inventory total for weavers was £31 and for tailors £30. Only one tailor owned property in the Pettis Survey and he lived at Hemingford Grey and invested in this property for his daughter.³

Chapmen, drapers and mercers were present in the town throughout the period. The two surviving inventories are for £567 and £2527 respectively. They owned many of the buildings either in Bridge Street

1. H.R.O., inventories, J. Litchfield, St Ives, 1729; A. Daintith, St Ives, 1706.
2. ibid., H.M.R., St Ives, S. Pratt, 16.3.1704; E. Pratt, 7.10.1714.
3. ibid., H.M.R., will, Edmund Creakell, St Ives, 16.9.1734.

or at its head. With the butchers, they were more closely grouped topographically than other trades. There were two outstanding families. John Read whose family was farming in 1632, seems to have specialised in drapery. Ephraim White appears to have come into the town from outside. One of his younger sons, Benjamin, left over £2500 when he died in 1748. Another, Samuel, was joint farmer of the market of St Ives for the Manchester family. Both the Read and White families moved into the gentry class.¹

If one uses the information provided by Pettis on rentals in the centre of the town to assess the relative importance of different occupations, it is at once clear that the inns carried a commanding lead over all other professions and trades, both in numbers, in total of rentals and in the most highly rated property. But the median rental value of £17 does not compare as favourably as that of the small number of grocers with a median for rentals of £22 or medical men with a median of £24. Those involved in innkeeping, brewing, malting and dealing in wool and cloth all had a roughly similar value for their properties. A third group was that of bakers, graziers and leather workers, closely followed by the butchers and watermen. Metalworkers had a higher investment in urban property than those connected with the brick industry, and those involved in textiles owned hardly any property. Buildings belonging to the gentry, a group of 37, had a median value of £12 and this included the Crown Inn, St Ives Hall and the Priory, as well as the many smaller properties, presumably for investment.

In considering the economy of the town, we expected to find this broad range of occupations. The greatest numbers throughout the period were

1. P.R.O., PROB 3 47/32; PROB 3 25/147.

concerned with the supply of food and drink. This category included the many inns in the town where much of the marketing of the agricultural products would have taken place. The wealthiest occupations were either professional or mercantile. Doctors and apothecaries supplied specialised services and the merchants, drapers and maltsters concentrated on the distribution of one or other of the products of the countryside. All their premises were situated in the best streets of the town. Tinworkers, bricklayers and shoemakers made a modest living, reflected in their living quarters, often in the back streets. Although farming was a pursuit for some of the townpeople, most were only involved in working for a wage on someone else's land.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOWN AND HINTERLAND

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Abrams had said that both the town and its hinterland might be expected to display the same characteristics, although in a more concentrated form in the town. The greatest difference, between the two under examination here, lies in the emphasis on agriculture in the hinterland, which was not reflected in the town with its restricted number of farmers.

Agricultural practice, however, appears to have been similar. The majority of the small urban arable owners had transferred to other occupations, a choice not so available to their rural counterparts. The range of occupations in the town showed great similarity with that found in the hinterland, although there were certain monopolies located in the town. For example, butchers, grocers, victuallers, millers and bakers were everywhere, but the more specialised trades of vintner, confectioner or cidermerchant were established in the town. Equally most villages supported a carpenter, but for the advanced skills of brickmakers, bricklayers, masons and glasiers, a visit to St Ives was necessary.

Outside the town, there was only a resident waterman at the smaller port of Earith and even he must have needed the sole boatwright who lived in St Ives. Although there were shoemakers in all areas, the town also had a whittawer and currier. This was not a monopoly, as there was another currier at Bluntisham and glovers at Broughton. But by the eighteenth century, the centripetal effect of the town's market had drawn in even the glovers, with their less intensive capital investment.

As we have seen, clerks and schoolmasters appeared in most communities. If they are excluded from the group of professionals, virtually all the rest of the group were town-based. In the seventeenth century, these

were linked with medicine - apothecary, barber, chiurgeon. This trend continued into the eighteenth century, with the addition of an exciseman in the town. The only barber, outside St Ives, was resident at Woodhurst, a neighbouring village. There were no examples of attorneys. An advertisement for the sale of land in the St Ives Post Boy suggests that for such services the larger centre of Cambridge was required.¹ There were merchants in St Ives but not in the countryside. The inventory of Thomas Barnes of St Ives, sometime merchant, brewer and maltster, of a somewhat later date (1745), shows clearly how his influence spread over the neighbouring villages.² He held mortgages, promissory notes or book debts for people in Hemingford, Huntingdon, St Ives, Bluntisham, Fenstanton, Boxworth, Graveley, Hilton and Colne. The influence of drapers and others involved in textiles was as great. Weavers and fellmongers tended to be based around the town, with dyers, woolcombers and drapers in it. In the next century there was a wider spread of locations, with a dyer at Somersham and a draper at Bluntisham, but the inventory of Benjamin White of St Ives showed the influence this one man had in the locality.³ He left book debts and bonds for people in 43 different places, mostly local but also Wakefield, London and Kings Lynn.

Tailors were in both town and countryside, but the more specialised crafts of the hatmaker and buttonmaker were only found in the town. Blacksmiths and wheelwrights were located everywhere, but only the town held sievemakers, ironmongers, gunsmith and pattenmaker.

- 1 Bodleian Library, Oxford, St Ives Post Boy, HOPE 8° 871, 12 May 1718.
2. P.R.O., PROBE 3/44/76.
3. ibid., PROBE 3/44/32.

Although the incidence of non-agricultural skills was far higher in the town than in the countryside, this particular town had a monopoly over its neighbours only in the possession of more advanced skills for which there would have been less demand.

This is a similar finding to that of other scholars. Dr Thirsk has suggested that town and country did not compete, for where they produced the same product the town version was of higher quality aimed at different consumers.¹ C B Phillips in his essay on Kendal also reached a similar conclusion. He discussed the interaction between two areas in terms of economic activity. He found a difference in the types of manufacturing activity in Kendal's hinterland and the town itself. "When adverse changes in national and international cloth markets changed rural colleagues into something more akin to competitors, when rural shopkeepers, retailers and wholesalers appeared and when rural iron works threatened the town's place in the regional iron trade, economic decline in Kendal was avoided not by attempts to disadvantage rural craftsmen, but by the development of manufacturing specialisms which were not duplicated outside the town."²

The study of the occupations of St Ives and its hinterland has shown a similar pattern to that of Kendal. Such advanced skills as were locally available, like gunsmith or brickmaker, were all sited in the town, leaving to the countryside the more common trades of carpenter or blacksmith.

1. J. Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England, 1978, p. 108-110.
2. C. B. Phillips, "Town and country: economic change in Kendal c 1550-1700", in P. Clark, ed., The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1984, p. 124.

Having compared the economy of St Ives with that of its hinterland, it is useful to see how St Ives differs, if at all, from Huntingdon, the nearby county town. For the later half of the seventeenth century, there were 102 examples of trade types for St Ives and 199 for Huntingdon. St Ives' economy was less diverse than that for Huntingdon, with 39 different labels whereas Huntingdon had 46. When the first six occupations in ranking order are compared in Table 45, St Ives had butchers, yeomen, gentry, labourers, watermen and shoemakers, whilst Huntingdon had gentry, shoemakers, butchers, tailors, innholders and victuallers. This suggests that farming, as well as trading by river, was at this date more important in St Ives than in Huntingdon. In the early eighteenth century ranking list, the gentry feature far less in Huntingdon - a surprising result. After this there is similarity in the next three placings of innkeeper, butcher and labourer, but watermen and barbers remain important in St Ives whereas in Huntingdon it was the tailors and shoemakers. There were more examples for each town and more trade types, but this time St Ives seems to be more diverse.

The same information put into categories in Table 46, shows that Huntingdon had a greater variety of specialists in food and drink in the seventeenth century with tapsters, vintners and confectioners, but that in the eighteenth century the two towns were more similar. The profile for building trades in the towns shows that, in both towns, the group increased in number although the proportion in St Ives was greater. As before brickmakers and masons were urban craftsmen. Watermen existed in both places although they were far more important to the economy of St Ives. Huntingdon's leather industry was more important and more diverse than that of St Ives. The picture for professionals and merchants was similar. Metalworking was less important at Huntingdon, although the

TABLE 45

TRADE TYPES IN RANKING ORDER FOR HUNTINGDON

1662-1699	1700-1739
Gentry	Innkeeper
Shoemaker	Butcher
Butcher	Labourer
Tailor	Tailor
Innholder	Shoemaker
Victualler	Gentry
Labourer, baker, yeoman,	Blacksmith
blacksmith	Draper, carpenter
Farrier, tanner	Baker
Gardener, weaver	Glover
Clerk, grazier, barber,	Barber, currier
fellmonger, cutler, feltmaker	Yeoman, grocer, cooper
Mercer, glover, grocer, currier	victualler
	Woolcomber, fellmonger
	Husbandman, merchant, ostler,
	glasier, tapster, gardener,
	medical,
	Bricklayer, cutler, tanner,
	schoolmaster, waterman,
	farrier
	Coachman, carrier, mason,
	millar, sadler, plumber

These examples relate to all trade types which are recorded more than once in the Marriage Bonds and Allegations.

only cutler recorded in these documents was from this town. Clothing trades were similar in both towns, although as far as textiles was concerned, there was no dyer at Huntingdon, although cloth was finished there in both periods. The wealthier end of the trade, the draper, was mentioned in both towns. Road transport was more important to Huntingdon, as would be expected with its position on the Great North Road. By the eighteenth century there were ostlers, coachmen, carriers, carters and farriers, all wealthy enough to purchase marriage bonds. Each town had occasional references to fine craftsmen, with a printer and gunsmith at St Ives and a clock maker and fiddler at Huntingdon. There was, however, one watchmaker outside the town.

The two towns had economies more like one another than the hinterland of St Ives. They were both characterised by a greater variety of trade types not directly associated with agriculture. However, between the towns there were also some differences inasmuch as the gentry appeared to reside more in the St Ives area than in Huntingdon in the later part of the study. It will be shown later that these were not the true gentry but rather Professor Everitt's pseudo-gentry.¹ The other difference between the two towns is that Huntingdon was more dependent on trade produced by the Great North Road and St Ives on trade produced on the river. At the same time St Ives was more involved in agriculture than Huntingdon whose acreage was severely limited.

1. A. Everitt, "Social mobility in Early Modern England"; Past and Present, 33, April 1966, pp. 70-2; reference pp. 217-218.

TABLE 46

CLASSIFICATION OF TRADE TYPES FROM MARRIAGE BONDS & ALLEGATIONS

IN HUNTINGDON

<u>Classification</u>	<u>1662-1699</u>	<u>1700-1739</u>
Food & Drink	27	32
Building	5	7
River Trades	1	1
Agriculture	8	5
Leather	14	12
Professional	4	5
Mercantile	-	1
Metal	5	5
Clothing	8	7
Textiles	7	7
Transport	0.5	4
Gentry	18	5
Labourers	3	8
Miscellaneous	1	2

Figures are expressed as a percentage of the whole.

When Peter Ripley compared market towns and villages in the hinterland of Gloucester he found that agriculture was central to their economy but textiles played an important secondary role. His conclusions were based on a study of inventories between 1660 and 1699.¹ Although the data used in this study has been marriage bonds, both series represent the wealthier members of its community, and it is possible to use the results to compare market towns in Huntingdonshire and their hinterland with

1. P. Ripley, "Village and Town: Occupations and Wealth in the Hinterland of Gloucester, 1660-1699", Ag. Hist. Rev., 1984, 32, 2, pp. 170-178.

those in Gloucestershire. The number of entries for the market towns is similar with 197 entries for Huntingdonshire and 200 for Gloucestershire. There were nearly 300 for St Ives hinterland and 600 for that of Gloucester. Such samples are considered large enough to warrant the comparison being made.

TABLE 47

A COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS IN MARKET TOWNS AND THE COUNTRYSIDE IN HUNTINGDONSHIRE AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Market Towns</u>		<u>Countryside</u>	
	<u>Hunts</u>	<u>Glos</u>	<u>Hunts</u>	<u>Glos</u>
Agriculture	17	33	75	67
Textiles	3	30	1	13
Food and drink	23	12	7	3
Clothing and footwear	20	7	6	3
Building & allied trades	4	5	3	4
Professions	5	2	3	3
Metalwork	7	3	1	2
Distribution	7	5	2	-
Transport	6	1	1	3
Leatherwork	6	2	1	1
Miscellaneous	2			
Size of sample	197	200	281	605

Figures in the categories are given as percentages of the whole.

Table 47 shows the data for the two areas. In Gloucestershire, market towns were larger. They varied in size from 1000 to 3000, Gloucester itself being estimated at 5000. Huntingdon and St Ives, by comparison,

were probably 1000 and 1800 respectively. Fewer people were involved in agriculture in market towns in Huntingdonshire than in Gloucestershire. Textiles were an important trade in the West Country towns, whereas in Huntingdonshire larger numbers supplied food, drink, clothing and footwear. In the Gloucestershire countryside, the textile industry was still quite important. The Huntingdonshire hinterland was devoted almost exclusively to farming. These figures suggest that the Gloucestershire economy was based on agriculture and the woollen industry, whereas Huntingdonshire and St Ives drew their wealth from agriculture, especially cattle and barley, and the exchange of goods and services. As transport figures were also higher in the eastern county, this is consistent with the position of both towns either on the river or the Great North Road. Huntingdon and St Ives seem to have been more important in the distribution of products for their hinterland, perhaps because of the greater concentration of its inhabitants in the one industry of farming.

For Huntingdonshire only, the comparison has been projected forward to the first part of the eighteenth century in Table 48. The figures for the countryside have remained the same. But within the two towns we can see once again the concentration on trades providing food and drink, the proportion being almost one third of all categories. Those involved in building and the professions have also shown an increase in numbers. Thus the profile of trades has not changed greatly over the eighty years, except that innkeepers, butchers and such like are now more likely to have sufficient wealth to purchase marriage bonds. Their presence in the towns was required with the specialisation of agriculture and the need for inhabitants to buy more goods in the market place. It also shows the importance to both these towns of the passing trade of watermen and

carriers, itself a feature of the specialisation of agriculture and the need to get produce to market.

TABLE 48

OCCUPATIONS IN MARKET TOWNS AND THE COUNTRYSIDE IN HUNTINGDONSHIRE IN
THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Market Towns</u>	<u>Countryside</u>
Agriculture	15	76
Textiles	2	2
Food and drink	30	9
Clothing and footwear	11	4
Building & allied trades	8	2
Professions	8	2
Metalwork	5	3
Distribution	8	2
Transport	6	0
Leatherwork	5	
Miscellaneous	2	
Size of sample	442	426

Figures in the categories are given as percentages of the whole.

Ripley went on in his article to examine opportunities for accumulating wealth both in market towns and the countryside. For this hinterland we can see from Table 49 that, although the overall median of inventoried wealth in the hinterland was lower in 1680 and 1720 than in 1640, suggesting that farmers had difficulty in accumulating wealth, this was not so for the most wealthy. The overall median of agricultural inventories for the whole of the hinterland was £43 but for the top twenty percent, it was £215 in the 1680's, rising to £330 in the 1720's.

Thus some farmers were able to increase the gap between them and their less fortunate neighbours, even when prices in general were against them.

TABLE 49

MEDIAN VALUES OF THE TOP TWENTY PERCENTILE

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>HUNTS</u>	<u>MEDIAN</u>	<u>HUNTS & CAMBS</u>	<u>MEDIAN</u>
	£	£	£	£
1640	339	67	-	-
1680	193	57	215	43
1720	246	58	330	107

If we now turn to the town, we have 112 inventories for Huntingdon and St Ives for the years 1660 to 1699, and 109 between 1700 and 1739. In each period the largest totals were in Huntingdon. There were 16 inventories above £100 in the first period, and 33 in the latter one. In the seventeenth century these included tanners, yeomen, a cutler, bakers, a waterman, a cordwainer and an innholder. In the eighteenth century these included seven innholders, yeomen, drapers, an apothecary, a surgeon, a fellmonger, a blacksmith, a waterman, an hatter, a cordwainer, a grocer, a labourer, a baker and a brickmaker. The wealthiest in the seventeenth century were the tanner with £509, a yeoman with £483 and an innholder with £445. By the eighteenth century one innholder left £910, others £559, £468, and £414. A draper left £741, and another £507. The brickmaker left £538.

Like bonds, these inventory totals show a greater variety of occupations in the eighteenth century. They show an increase in wealth recorded in these documents amongst a wider group of people. Although the totals recorded cannot be equated with the totals from the agricultural inventories in the hinterland, because of the different time span over

which they have been examined, nevertheless they do suggest that opportunities to create wealth in the town were fewer than in the countryside. In spite of the comfortable life of urban drapers and maltsters, more wealth was generated by producers than by those involved in distribution or marketing of agricultural produce.

MARKETING

Up to this point we have shown that the profile of occupations in town and hinterland was different only in degree. To examine the way in which the two parts interacted, we can study the evidence for marketing, which we have already seen was a major activity of the townspeople. Much of this trading would have been carried on either in the market or in the inns. It was in such places that the town and hinterland really met, for the products of the one were traded in the other, and the imports of the town were purchased by the residents of the hinterland. Marketing is one visible means by which we can examine the way in which the town was bound to its hinterland.

We know that marketing in this period became more specialised and sophisticated because of the growth of agricultural specialisation, itself partly caused by the growth in population of London and other large towns. In his chapter on the marketing of agricultural produce between 1640 and 1750, John Chartres lists various changes that occurred in this period, caused, he writes, by the growth of trade, the changing levels of income and new fashions.¹ Those markets that survived successfully were able to do so because of their specialisation in

1. J. A. Chartres, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce", A.H.E.W., V, II, 1640-1750, 1984, pp. 406-501.

distributing this agricultural produce.

To understand the local scene, information about St Ives, its hinterland and Huntingdon will be used. The reason for the inclusion of Huntingdon lies in its position as the county town. The study of marriage bonds has already shown its importance for loans for residents all over the county. Because it only lay five miles from St Ives, it seems wise to include it in a study of marketing.

If we look at official markets first, we find that within the local area there seems to have been a round of markets. St Ives held its on Monday, Caxton on Tuesday, Bluntisham & Earith as well as Ramsey on Wednesday, St Neots on Thursday, Kimbolton on Friday and Huntingdon on Saturday. Thus it would have been possible for traders to visit all the markets within easy reach of St Ives. The most successful markets were the two specialised ones, St Ives for cattle and St Neots for corn.

There were also many fairs within travelling distance of the town. John Chartres has made the point that the possession of a fair aided a market town. This was certainly true for St Ives, as a popular venue for the sale of cattle. However Yaxley had a fair for the sale of horses and sheep, which still did not prevent the decline of its market.

The local cattle fairs were all in Huntingdonshire and appear to follow the national pattern established by Chartres, of peaks in May and October. Fairs that specialised in the sale of horses, on the other hand, were located in Cambridgeshire.¹ They were generally in April, May and June or in September and October. Chartres found that there was less

1. W. Owen, The Book of Fairs, 2nd. ed., 1759, passim.

seasonality for the sale of horses than other livestock, although that does not seem to be so in this area. Cheese was sold largely at Sturbridge in September or Ely, March and St Ives in October. Wisbech was unusual in specialising in the sale of hemp and flax at its three fairs. Huntingdon, Caxton, Alconbury and Ramsey only had fairs for the sale of pedlar's wares.

By no means all marketing took place in the official market places. The growth in trade led to pressure on official ones which in turn led to the growth of private marketing. Inns largely filled this need. In both St Ives and St Neots, pressure for unofficial trading was great. In St Ives, local innkeepers attempted to entice drovers to bring their stock into inn yards for private sale rather than use the official pens.¹ There was a similar problem at St Neots. It had a bigger market than St Ives for the sale of grain. John Payne, the farmer of the market, had paved and railed part of the market place for the sale of corn, hempseed and grain.² In 1674 he attempted to make Job Parrott pay his due on all his sales within the town, even from private property on market day. Both these cases illustrate the pressure faced by official markets and the success of the farmers of the market in enforcing their rights.

The history of the market in St Ives shows that its value increased greatly during this period. After the dissolution of the monasteries, the lease of the fairs, markets, pickage, pontage, stallage, tolls in the market place, bridge, wharf and river, together with the Dolphin and four acre croft (on the south side of the bridge), were sold for one life to the Marchioness of Northampton. Such rights were later sold to the Earl

1. P.R.O., E134, 11/12 Chas. I, Hil. 10.

2. P.R.O., E/126/12, fol. 22-23, 26 Charles II, 6 July.

of Manchester who kept his first Court on the 22nd May 1635.¹ From Pettis, we learn that the lease of the fairs, markets etc cost Richard Langley £34 and eightpence a year. By 1625 the farmers of the market were Thomas Colston and William Whittle² In 1636 Pettis tells us that Colston paid 33 marks (£22) for the lease. Possibly this was his share of the lease. In 1688, Thomas Bailey and Richard Oaty paid £110 for the same lease. In 1704, a 21 year lease was granted to William Purchase of St Ives, a confectioner, and Henry Patterick, an innholder. By 1719 both were deceased and William Purchase's widow Dorothy surrendered her share back to the Manchester family for five shillings.³ It was then granted again on a 21 year lease to Samuel White, draper, and James Bulford, barber surgeon, for £105 per annum.

Between, therefore, 1616 and 1720, the amount paid by the farmers of the market increased from £34 to £105. Although the price of agricultural products had increased from a ratio of 87 in 1640-63 to 113 in 1714-49 the value of St Ives market had grown even more, since the annual cost of the lease had trebled.⁴ It seems safe to assume that the profit to be made from increased turnover in the market had grown to justify this increase in the value of the lease.

Another feature of the increased profitability of markets in this period is seen in the rebuilding of market halls. St Ives never possessed such a building, but it did have a Toll Booth belonging to the Manchester family. It was burnt down in the fire in 1689 and rebuilt afterwards in

1. Pettis, p. 47.

2. H.R.O., 108/X45.

3. H.R.O., Manchester 2, Box 10, Lease of St Ives market, 1719.

4. P. J. Bowden, "Agricultural prices, farm profits and rents", A.H.E.W., V, II, 1640-1750, 1984, p. 57.

more lavish style.¹

The market officials mentioned in the records were responsible for bread and ale, fish and flesh, and leather. From this, we can assume that these were the chief products on sale. For fish and flesh, most years saw the appointment of two people. One common name was that of Chadborne, a family of watermen. Flesh officials were often butchers. Where leather officials can be identified with their trades they were frequently cordwainers or curriers.²

We can now look at the way in which different products were marketed. The major product of the hinterland was wheat and barley, but the corn market at St Neots was more important than that of St Ives. As these crops were traded privately in St Ives, it is impossible to assess quantities. There are fifteen references to granaries attached to inns in the eighteenth century alone, which suggest that much of the crop will have been traded from them before export to St Neots or elsewhere. No trace has been found of any corn chandlers, other than Job Parratt at St Neots, who probably originated from St Ives anyway. Either they traded under different trade descriptions, or the trade was in the hands of outsiders coming into the area, but not leaving any sign of their activities in these documents. We know that there was a family in Fenstanton who traded as oatmealmen.³ It is assumed that they bought their meal after milling for resale, as did a miller in Godmanchester.⁴

Unlike the oatmealmen, bakers bought in their grain before milling. All

1. Pettis, p. 47.

2. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, passim

3. H.R.O., Marriage bond, J. Alpress, Fenstanton, 1739.

4. H.R.O., Inventory, J. Gillson, Godmanchester, 1649.

the inventories for this trade list separate wheat, grain and meal chambers. In addition, they all had horses and packsaddles. Thus it would seem that the grain was bought and milled at their expense, the bread made and then taken to their customers, whether in town or village. The records for St Ives market show that bakers were prepared to travel 6 miles to sell their bread. Of the eight bakers whose inventories have survived, six were resident in the towns and only two in the hinterland, one in Broughton a small village but a mini-centre, and the other in the neighbouring village of Fenstanton, which lay on the Huntingdon to Cambridge road. We know of other bakers from marriage bonds. At the end of the seventeenth century bakers, wealthy enough to sign bonds, appeared to be resident in towns or large communities, but in the eighteenth century they appeared in all areas. There may, therefore, have been a move from urban residence to living and working in smaller communities. Confectioners and gingerbreadmen were only found in towns and seem to have traded in the market as well as from their own premises.¹

Grocers, on the other hand, were found in towns and countryside. Their stock was varied and included thread, pepper, tobacco, candles, silk, cotton, sugar, nails, salt.² As such the stock was similar to that held by a barber chiurgeon, which included peas, hops, tobacco, brandy, beer, candles, tar and haberdashery.³ These seem to have been fixed shops, (few owned horses), mostly with a stock of imperishable items. Other shops sold earthenware, pots, bowls and dishes.⁴ There were shops selling perishable goods, like butter and apples, but this was not common.⁵ Generally, items in shops were those with a long shelf life.

1. H.R.O., Hunts. Archdeaconry File 285, Defamation case of S. Selby, St Ives, against A. Carter, 1700.
2. H.R.O., Inventory, J. Leonard, St Ives, 1725.
3. C.U.L., E.P.R., Inventory, R. Holbem, Elsworth, 1725/6.
4. H.R.O., Inventory, T. Clarke, Abbots Ripton, 1687.
5. H.R.O., Inventory, M. Eldred, St Ives, 1720.

Fresh vegetables came from gardeners in the towns and immediate area, who seem to have subcontracted the land.¹

Such evidence is similar to that found by Peter Borsay, who concluded that markets concentrated on the goods produced by families or bought from local farmers. Often the quality was low and the goods perishable, with few household items. Shops, on the other hand, dealt in durables, or luxuries. He found that some of his traders had come from other towns or villages, but others had shops in the town and were additionally using stalls in the market.² In our area, it was one of the grocers in Wistow who not only held a large stock of durables valued at £20, and goods in a Chandle House, valued at £5 but also had shops at the neighbouring villages of Raveley Magna, Kings Ripton and Broughton. We also know that the hatter in Huntingdon had a subsidiary shop in St Ives and Ramsey.³ Such evidence shows that it was not necessarily the larger town traders who had subsidiary shops in the villages.

Information relating to malt, the main product made from barley, would suggest that it became for a while largely an urban trade. In inventories from the 1640's malt was a common entry for the wealthy farmer. Mr Edward Delacre of Houghton left a total of £708 11s 6d in 1642 which included a substantial quantity of malt.⁴ Later it became an urban trade. But, by the eighteenth century, there were maltsters again in most parts of the hinterland. The only inventory available relates to the wealthy Thomas Barnes of St Ives. In addition to his malting

1. H.R.O., Inventory, W. Bird, St Ives, 1705.
2. P. Borsay, "The Development of Urban Retailing 1700-1815", in P. Clark, ed., Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1984, pp. 265-267.
3. H.R.O., Inventory, N. Nurse, Wistow, 1725; John Burchenalls, Huntingdon, 1707.
4. H.R.O., Inventory, E. Delacre, Houghton, 1642.

offices and granaries, he possessed 550 quarters of barley valued at £611.5s as well as beer and ale. However, manorial records show that malting was a common pursuit of most innkeepers. Between 1701 and 1730 nineteen references have been found to maltsters or malting yards in St Ives. Many of these were not wealthy men like Barnes.

If corn was sold privately in St Ives, the public sale of cattle and sheep, justified the employment of two officials. Many of the sheep and cattle would have come long distances, as we know that St Ives was part of the chain that connected the markets of the south and east of England with the cattle-rearing areas of Scotland and the north of England. The focus of this trade was the Monday market and the two fairs at Whitsun and in October. St Ives' position, so close to the Great North Road and on the edge of the fen pastures and river meadows, allowed it to develop into an important centre for the trade, where graziers over a wide area could buy their cattle for fattening and later sell them for the meat trade. The examination of probate inventories for the hinterland has already established the importance of "guest" cattle and sheep. They also show that local farmers needed the facilities of the market, as cattle raised on the river meadows seem to have been fattened on the fens. We do not know the numbers of cattle sold in a day but the arrival of 700 sheep must have taxed the resources of a small market town. Horse breeding was an important part of the agriculture of the fens, but they were not marketed in this town but in the fairs of Cambridgeshire.

There are some records for the sale of other livestock. The Chancery case of 1636 mentions hogs sold at the Priory Wall. In addition, Defoe tells us that duck shot in the fens were sent up twice a week from

Peterborough and St Ives to London in wagons drawn by 10 to 12 horses.¹

There is one reference in Huntingdon to a poulterer, and his possession of two horses and saddles would suggest that he needed to travel some distance.²

There is less information about the manner in which dairy produce was marketed. We know that cheese was made in large quantities in the hinterland; most agricultural inventories mention the cheese chamber and dairy, especially in the fens. One resident of Colne left cheese, presses and milk vessels valued at £8.10s.³ These could be sold at St Ives' fairs on Whit Monday and October 10th. An alternative forum would have been Sturbridge Fair starting on September 18th.⁴ Within the town it seems to have been the butchers who retailed milk and its products. All the inventories of butchers in Huntingdon possessed cows or a dairy house, and the will of Obediah Gee of St Ives left his messuage where he lived together with his milkhouse over the yard to one son, whilst his barns, stables, outhouses, yards, gardens and pump were to be shared between the two sons.⁵

Some butchers were also involved in farming, but by no means all. The range was from one man with shop and equipment valued at £2, to another with farming valued at £86 and bookdebts of £47. Some seemed to buy in cattle, fatten and then slaughter them, whilst others owned cattle, valued at £46 or £30 respectively, but appeared to have had no arable or

1. D. Defoe, A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, ed., G.D.H. Cole, 1968, 1, p. 79.
2. H.R.O., Inventory, R. Beaton, Huntingdon, 1729.
3. H.R.O., Inventory, T. Berry, Colne, 1686.
4. W. Owen, The Book of Fairs, 2nd ed., London, 1759.
5. H.R.O., Inventories, P. Boulton, Huntingdon, 1666; D. Ekins, Huntingdon, 1664; H. Hailes, Huntingdon, 1673; HMR St Ives, O. Gee, 14.10.1711.

other acreage. Others yet again had equipment and a horse only. Therefore some were trading as simple butchers, buying animals and slaughtering them, but others were involved in the whole process of rearing, fattening and slaughtering them. Manorial records show that butchers travelled a distance of eleven miles to visit the market and the frequent references to horses suggest that they expected to travel to their customers.¹

If we now turn our attention to wool, the other of the major products of the area, we find that control of the trade was largely in the hands of the drapers who in this case were resident in the urban area. One at least was able to control almost the whole process from the purchase of wool to the sale of cloth. Others were not so influential over the lives of their fellows. Spinners or weavers were even less in control of their own destinies.

Drapers could purchase wool direct or use the services of the fellmongers, who bought in wool of different grades or quality and sorted it until there was a big enough assignment for sale. Marriage bonds show that fellmongers were resident in towns or large villages. They were of two types. Those like John Ayer who sorted wool into long skin, head wool, sheep skins etc, or those who traded in leather of different types and in gloves.² In the case of the White family of St Ives, the inventory shows that they were involved in the whole process, from buying wool through to selling the woven cloth. The process can be broken down

1. C.U.L., E.P.R., Inventories, J. Collett, Over, 1728; E Hemington Over, 1723; H.R.O., Inventories, T. Lavender, Warboys, 1728; R. Lyons, Warboys, 1728.
2. H.R.O., Inventory, J. Ayer. Bluntisham & Earith. 1724; C.U.L., E.P.R., Inventory, G. Last, Over, 1689.

into sorting the wools - a task performed either by the fellmonger or in the case of the White family, by themselves. Benjamin White's inventory showed that he owned £549 of wool in his woolhouse, including short fleeced, short coarse wool, grey wool etc. He also possessed a comb shop. The town of St Ives, also, had an independent woolcomber whose stock in hand amounted to £26.16s.9d, laid out in 24 pounds of worsted, 14 pounds of yarn, hose, two combs, charcoal, soap, oil and millwash coal¹. He had tops out at spinning. White probably put his wool out for spinning. No inventories of a spinner in this area have survived although there were many references to wheels, but not to wool or yarn. He or she must have made up the wool when it was provided to him by a master. Weavers seem to have been in the same position. They must have received the yarn and made it up before receiving payment, as they did not own yarn or cloth. White used a weaver in Fenstanton. In Huntingdon there was a more sophisticated operation in which the master weaver owned five looms, as well as wool and serges. In comparison, Christopher Pemberton of Over had three looms valued at £2 but no products of his craft.² Clothworkers were another trade that owned their tools and equipment, but not the cloth. The few entries for them show that they lived in both town and countryside. As they had no horses, it is assumed that the materials were brought to them. Tailors were in a similar position. They only owned the tools of their trade.

The wealthy end of the trade was the drapers'. Some were involved only in selling cloth of a variety of sorts, in one case seventeen different types. One in Huntingdon sold some made-up goods such as gloves,

1. H.R.O., Inventory, J. Belton, St Ives, 1736.
2. H.R.O., Inventory, T. Juniper, 1680; C.U.L., E.P.R., C. Pemberton, Over, 1727.

stockings, waistcoats, bodices as well as fabrics.¹ The range White carried varied from burying crepe, to callicoe, nankeen, cotton and damask. He also possessed some made-up goods, such as plain cloaks or cotton gowns, but these were a small portion of his whole inventory. The variety of goods carried by him shows how sophisticated were his customers, even in rural St Ives. The area of residence of his debtors shows that his influence extended widely in the hinterland, with his factor John Day, living in Norwich. "He was probably John Day junior, one of a famous Norwich family of woolcombers and factors. His family business was undoubtedly one conducted on a large scale, servicing the Norwich worsted weaving industry, which needed abundant supplies of good quality long-staple wool."²

Such information as we have about the drapers in this area suggests that they were similar to those described by Peter Borsay. He found that mercers and drapers were the leading retailers in any town, in terms of wealth, status and size of business. Like the drapers of St Ives, they sold a wide variety of types of cloth and small items like buttons. They were primarily retailers although some combined this trade with a tailoring service. He discovered that they needed a capital of at least £500, generally held stocks of £1000 or more and needed wide trade contacts to be thought credit worthy by London. Certainly Benjamin White fits this category.³

Drapers and maltsters were the wealthy trades in St Ives, resident in the

1. H.R.O., Inventory, E. Lovell, Huntingdon, 1721; P.R.O., PROB 3 25/147.
2. P. J. Corfield, "private letter"; B. Cozens-Hardy and E. A. Kent, The Mayors of Norwich, 1403-1835, 1938, p. 131/2.
3. P. Borsay, "The Development of Urban Retailing 1700-1815", in P. Clark, ed., Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1984, pp. 274-277.

best trading parts of the town, and carrying small debts for many residents in the area. Those dealing in leather were also important enough to warrant officials checking on the quality of the product, even if the amounts of wealth earned were not in the same league.

L A Clarkson has shown that the leather industry was important throughout the eastern part of England. Often it was ancillary to dairying, with large quantities of hides sent yearly around the coast from East Anglian ports to London.¹ He found that tanning was done in villages where hides and other tanning materials were readily available. The industry was divided into two parts. The heavy cattle skins were tanned. This was a skilled occupation performed by the currier who prepared tanned leather by adding train oil and tallow and shaving the leather to the correct thickness. Capital was required as so much was tied up in the hides for a long period of time. The light leather industry involved dressing the skins of sheep, goats and calves with train oil or alum, which was a simpler process that lasted a few weeks, instead of the year required for heavy skins. Less capital was demanded.²

In our area, the heavy leather industry was found in the urban areas, as well as the larger village of Bluntisham & Earith. The inventory of a tanner in Huntingdon in 1684 shows a comparatively wealthy man with £96 in stock in trade of hides either in lime, or in the handlers. He also owned some of the finished products.³ In St Ives in 1623, Henry Parratt owned leather bought ready to work (£44) but another cordwainer in 1717

1. L. A. Clarkson, "The leather crafts in Tudor and Stuart England", Aq. Hist. Rev., XIV, 1966, pp. 25-39.
2. L. A. Clarkson, "The origins of the English Leather Industry in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries", Ec Hist Rev, 2nd. ser. XI, 1960-61, pp. 245-256.
3. H.R.O., Inventory, H. Curtis, Huntingdon, 1684.

had placed his own hides at the curriers.¹ His stock of leather, cork, boots, shoes, equipment and hides at the curriers was valued at £94 and his book debts totalled over £57. There were therefore two systems in use at this time. Either a man bought in hides to turn them into leather or he bought the leather ready to work. The Morton family of curriers in St Ives had property in Tanners Row, rated at £26, with a total rental for James Morton, senior and junior, of £55, which is an above average rating. James, the younger, was described as a gentleman when he made a promise to marry in 1728. This evidence suggests that they were comfortably off.²

Those dealing in light leather products which required less capital were also less important in the town and area. In Godmanchester, in 1644, one man had pelts, calf, sheep and hog skins, as well as gloves already manufactured and the alum for their manufacture. In St Ives in 1649, Robert Elderley, a whitawer, had £8.10s worth of leather and tools as well as £18 of book debts. He was preparing products for others to manufacture.³

The third part of the industry was the cordwainers. They were resident in towns and villages. Their stock varied in value from £3 to £94. Most inventories mention leather, lasts, tools or shoes and boots already manufactured. The sale of their products must have been limited to local people as the majority did not have their own transport. Although the only shoemaker had a slender stock in trade of £1.10s he also owned a horse, so presumably he travelled to find his customers, unlike the

1. H.R.O., Inventory, H. Parratt, St Ives, 1623; J. Noble, St Ives, 1717.
2. Pettis, *passim*; H.R.O., Marriage Bond, J. Morton, St Ives, 1728.
3. H.R.O., Inventory, T. Thorne, Godmanchester, 1644; R. Elderley, St Ives, 1649.

shoemakers who expected cutomers to come to them.¹

Saddlers were only found in the towns. The only inventory comes from Huntingdon. He manufactured and retailed different items connected with horse transport, for example, saddles, whips, stirrups, horse collars, spurs and pillions. He would have had a good market with the increase in road traffic on the Great North Road.²

Buying and selling of goods in St Ives market was one thing, moving such goods afterwards, another. The river was the most important transport thoroughfare for this town and for transport of corn from the hinterland. Marriage bonds have shown that watermen were concentrated in St Ives with the occasional entry for Huntingdon and Earith. Of the six inventories for watermen, five were for men in St Ives and one in Huntingdon. In these we can see that they owned up to three boats or lighters with the necessary horses and tackle. It would seem possible that they may have traded on their own account in coal, turves, firing and sesses, the latter three items deriving from the fens. Thus Thomas Stadderd died in possession of three lighters and a boat with rigging valued at £68, oats, hay, cheese, malt and hops in addition to turf valued at £155 and bricks and tiles at £83. He manufactured bricks in addition to his business on the river.³ Robert Lord in 1650 left 12 chaldrons of coal but although he was described as a waterman he did not leave any boats. The family remained in the area and one assumes that he had handed over his boats to the younger generation.⁴

1. H.R.O., Inventory, J. Baker, Broughton, 1729.
2. H.R.O., Inventory, R. Lavender, Huntingdon, 1725.
3. P.R.O., PROB 3 27/125.
4. H.R.O., Inventory, R. Lord, St Ives, 1650.

Fortunately such meagre information can be supplemented by the toll book of Hemingford Sluice for part of 1710.¹ This records that the following loads were taken upriver; wheat, barley, fish and freestone to Bedford, pots to Tempsford, fish to Wyboston, oats to St Neots, turves to Eaton, close by, and more pots to Godmanchester. Goods going down stream were malt and wood. There were 50 people for whom loads were being moved. Some combined trading on their own account with working for others.

As far as road transport was concerned, we have already seen its growth in the increasing numbers of coaches listed in London reference books of the period. In 1637 only Huntingdon was mentioned, but by 1715 Huntingdon had three coaches a week, St Ives five and St Neots three. Although this was a large number for St Ives it does not appear to have made much impact on local occupations, as there are no references to those connected with such trade. Perhaps the money earned by those in such occupations was not sufficient to allow them to purchase property or use a marriage bond. The situation was different in Huntingdon. A carter, farrier, tapster and coachman all took out marriage bonds. Another farrier in 1737 left an inventory of £182 and a coachman £24.²

Joan Thirsk has written about the new projects in this period.³ Some of these find echoes in our area. So far as hemp and flax are concerned, the fens were the area in which the growing of these crops predominated, and Wisbech was used for their export. Hempdressers in St Ives were not

1. T. S. Willan, ed. "The Navigation of the Great Ouse between St Ives and Bedford in the 17th century"; Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1946, XXIV, pp.3-15.
2. H.R.O., Inventory, W. Dracote, Huntingdon, 1737; S. Limbree, Huntingdon, 1716; R. Bedford, Huntingdon, 1678; W. Jeay, Huntingdon, 1680.
3. J. Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects: the Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England, 1978, pp. 39, 83-93, 103-4, 127-129.

men of great means. The goods in the shop of one totalled £4 and of another £9, which included his tools, equipment and rough hemp.¹

Another new project mentioned by Thirsk was that of the dyeing industry. Dyehouses were known in London in 1550 and in Stamford in 1571. The one in St Ives was first mentioned in Pettis in 1732 but by then the lane was also known as Dye Alley which would suggest that it was not a new industry to the town. He was a man of some means and appears to have been connected with Somersham.²

Thirsk also mentions starchmaking. In the sixteenth century, it was made from wheat, and used for the stiffening of ruffs etc. It required time and care but no expensive capital equipment. It was first introduced to London in 1560's. It started in sheds and outbuildings and then spread to the counties. Many of the starchmakers were poor men for whom it was perceived to be a useful means of employment in hard times. In St Ives, the Starch House was owned by William Barnes, a prominent merchant, and father of Thomas, the wealthy maltster.³ Such an industry must have fitted in well with his trading in malt and barley.

A further new project was the manufacture of knives and edge tools. By the early eighteenth century English knives were considered the best in the world. As an industry it started as a service to working men and gradually raised its sights until it commanded the American market for edge tools and the luxury French market for knives. Cutlers had been

1. H.R.O., Inventory, J. Constable, St Ives, 1707; G. Barnes, St Ives, 1652.
2. H.R.O., Marriage Bond, W. Warden, St Ives, 1707; C. Paul, Somersham, 1722.
3. Pettis, p. 89.

recorded in both St Ives and Huntingdon from the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century the Coote family had an established position in the town. Thomas left a total of £52 in his inventory as well as a property in the Sheepmarket which was in multi-occupation.¹

As the central meeting point for three pays, St Ives fulfilled an important distributive function which has been seen in the large number of inns, as well as in the official marketing outlets. It did not however market all the agricultural products of the area. Increasing specialisation in farming went hand-in-hand with discrimination in choice of marketing outlet. Corn and pulses were sold privately from inns, with St Neots recognised as the more important centre. Cattle, sheep and pigs were all sold in large numbers at St Ives but Cambridge was a better venue for the sale of horses. It is noticeable that cattle and sheep may have been traded in large numbers in the town but cattle dealing was not an important occupation. There is only one reference to a drover, and the self-styled grasiers were all innkeepers. The town seems to have exercised a dominant position in the sale of wool and its products. Although malting became a more widespread occupation, the Barnes family in the town had a dominant position in that trade.

If we turn to the reverse of the picture, we can summarise the services that the town supplied to the hinterland. Naturally, these included facilities for the sale of its produce. Onward transport was available either by road or water and temporary storage provided in inns or riverside properties. Maltsters and drapers not only bought barley and wool for processing, they also provided banking services. Innkeepers coordinated coach services as well as acting as sureties. Their premises

1. H.R.O., Will and inventory, T. Coote, St Ives, 1705.

were the setting for social occasions as well as for business transactions. A pleasant hour could be passed in the coffee shop, where information about national affairs was disseminated through the local weekly paper.

Townsmen supplied the luxuries unavailable elsewhere, whether a new style of bonnet, length of fine cloth, starch or french wine. They also sold the saddles, sieves and guns. They provided the expertise to build in brick and the capital to prepare hides. Coal was imported by them. The most profitable services were supplied by the medical men. In return, therefore, for marketing the produce of the land, the town gave the hinterland its expertise in processing, banking, transport, the provision of luxury goods and the venue for social intercourse.

But the town was not successful in establishing a monopoly position. Malting and cloth dyeing were pursued in the larger villages and rural bakers in the eighteenth century broke the hold of their urban counterparts to such an extent that they became wealthy enough to purchase marriage bonds. Traders from Huntingdon and Godmanchester operated in St Ives market and there was a chain of grocer's shops in four of the villages.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE URBAN SOCIETY OF ST IVES

"URBAN VILLAGES"

Abrams' argument has enabled us to trace the close similarities that existed between this town and its hinterland. At the same time his argument makes it clear that we cannot expect to find a clearly drawn line, one side of which is denominated "urban" and the other side "rural". Rather there will be a "grey area" lying between what is clearly urban and what is clearly rural. In the case of St Ives this "grey area" comprised the neighbouring "urban" villages of Fenstanton, Houghton and Wyton, Holywell and Needingworth and the Hemingfords. These are the most interesting parts of the hinterland, the interstices between the town and the countryside. It is to these villages that we must now turn.

Demographic evidence has already suggested that these villages were closely connected to the town. For one thing they probably sent their surplus population to St Ives, thus fuelling the town's growth. Analysis of surnames has shown very close connections between them all. Table 50 shows that the percentage of surnames, that were the same in the villages and the town between 1642 and 1674, varied between 36% and 47%, and, between the 1680's and 1720's, between 26% and 40%. At a time when the town's population was increasing and more people were migrating from the countryside, the proportion of common surnames was at its highest. It dropped to a third when the town's population levelled off. Fenstanton seems to have had a slightly different experience from the other villages. While it increased steadily in size throughout the period, it retained fewer inhabitants of the same name, which suggests that it was a community used as a temporary, rather than a permanent, place of

residence.

TABLE 50

SURNAMES COMMON TO ST IVES AND ITS "URBAN" VILLAGES

	<u>1674</u>	<u>1720'S</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Fenstanton	47	26
Holywell & Needingworth	36	40
Houghton & Wyton	38	37
St Ives	46	35

NOTE: The 1674 figure has been obtained by comparing a percentage of those surnames that were common to the town and village from the Hearth Tax listing of 1674 and the Protestation Return of 1642. The figure for the 1720's is derived from the Burials Register and has been compared with that for the 1680's.

We have already seen that there were also many societal links between these villages and the town. Intermarriage was frequent, as was the employment of the services of an urban bondsman. They were most likely to have borrowed money from Thomas Barnes, the maltster, or Benjamin White, the draper. They had the most opportunity to purchase or transfer property in the manorial court of St Ives. They supplied many of the members of the nonconformist churches in the town. More than 50% of Presbyterians living outside the town came from Fenstanton and Needingworth. Fenstanton and the Hemingfords also had many Baptist members.

These villages were still largely agricultural. We can see this in their parish registers, where occupations are given against names.¹

1. H.R.O., Fenstanton, Marriage Register, 1654-56; Holywell, Baptisms and Burials Register, 1698-1702; Hemingford Abbots, Burials Register, 1716-1729.

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TABLE 51

DESCRIPTIVE TITLES FROM PARISH REGISTERS

<u>VILLAGE</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>AGRICULTURAL TRADES</u>	<u>ALL OTHER TRADES</u>
Fenstanton	1654-56	9	7
Holywell	1698-1702	51	15
Hemingford	1716-1729	40	8

Abbots

Table 51 shows that Holywell and Hemingford Abbots were predominantly rural in occupation; Fenstanton is again somewhat different. These villages also belonged to the same pays as St Ives and were differentiated from the other riverine villages, like Bluntisham and Over, by their smaller acreage of river meadow or fen. It has already been shown that agricultural practice in Fenstanton and Hemingford Grey was probably the same as in St Ives.

Nonetheless these villages have been described as "urban villages" because of their higher incidence of non-agricultural occupations, of a type otherwise associated with the town. For example, Fenstanton had a mason, wheelwright, whitawer, cordwinder, chandler, innkeeper and turner. Other examples are a draper who lived at Needingworth, a tanner at Houghton and Wyton and watermen at Hemingford. When the data derived from marriage bonds and allegations is reworked in Table 52, on the basis of this area, in contrast to the rest of the hinterland, the difference becomes clearer. The size of sample may be somewhat larger in the St Ives area, nonetheless the number of trade types is proportionately far greater.

What we have found, therefore, is the closeness of the links that bound these neighbouring villages to the town. The links were societal, in

TABLE 52

NUMBER OF TRADE TYPES IN ST IVES AND ITS "URBAN VILLAGES"

COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL FOR THE HINTERLAND

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>ST IVES "URBAN" AREA</u>		<u>HINTERLAND</u>	
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SAMPLE SIZE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SAMPLE SIZE</u>
1662-1699	49	298	23	202
1700-1739	60	390	37	304

that many born in the villages moved to St Ives. This can be seen in the high proportion of common surnames. The links were also economic, not only in the money loaned to villagers by townsmen, but also in the spread of urban occupations into these villages.

We need, therefore, to consider ways in which we can conceptualise the relationship of these villages to St Ives. A possible answer is to move beyond Abrams' contention and postulate the concept of an "urban society" centred and concentrated on the geographical area of the town but not limited to it. This concept is drawn from Mr C. Phythian-Adams' recent thoughts on local history in which he suggests that the way in which "a meaningful synthesis of town and country will prove feasible" is by the study of "areas more extensive than single-settlement parishes", which he subsumes under the label of local societies.¹ He suggests that we should identify such societies by examining their social or kinship localities. This can be done by defining marriage horizons which may be affected by geographical features, like a range of hills or a river, by "the attractive powers of towns" or by the shire boundary. Because Richard McKinley's work has also shown how localised were English surnames,² this

1. C. Phythian-Adams, Re-thinking English Local History, 1987, pp. 42-43.
2. R. McKinley, The Surnames of Lancashire, English Surnames Series IV, in R. McKinley, ed., 1981, pp. 441.

is another means of identifying a social locality. Such societies can be seen in the "limited parochial neighbourhoods" of families, like the Humberstones of W G Hoskins' yeomen, "whose names remained rooted in the same small district within a half a dozen miles or less."¹ Nor were such localities limited to farming families. Mary Prior's study of the boat people of Oxford or Professor Everitt's study of Kent blacksmiths have defined the areas for their occupational lineages.²

Our society was closely linked societally and economically. It lay in the same pays on the edge of the shire and the diocesan boundary. Its components were within easy walking distance. It also had urban characteristics derived from the density of its population and the variety of non-agricultural occupations that existed in both town and village. It is proposed, therefore, to test this "urban society", by examining the networks of relationships within it, to see to what extent it was a limited parochial neighbourhood and whether it too possessed occupational lineages.

1. W. G. Hoskins, "Leicestershire Yeoman Families and their Pedigrees", 1974, repr. with minor amendments from Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, 23, 1946, p. 24.
2. M. Prior, Fisher Row: Fishermen, Bargemen and Canal Boatmen: Oxford 1500-1900, 1982, p. 139; A. M. Everitt, Landscape and Community in England, 1985, p. 324.

TESTING THE URBAN SOCIETY

Although we are intending to examine the networks of relationships within an urban society, we cannot ignore the fact that agriculture was the foremost occupation of many in that society. We shall, therefore, follow the pattern established for the earlier study of the hinterland and consider first the evidence relating to farming.

We have already seen traces in the Quaker records of a landowning neighbourhood based on Somersham, Bluntisham and Earith and Colne, from where farmers expanded into the newly drained and enclosed fens at Sutton. There are traces from the wills of people like Thomas Perry, Seakin Boyden and James Lack of a similar neighbourhood in the St Ives area. Their lands were in the different parishes of our urban society; for example, Perry owned land in St Ives, Hemingford, Holywell and Sutton.¹ Richard Langley of Hemingford Grey, on the other hand, had his main holding in that parish but additional acres in the town.²

Within this landowning neighbourhood we can see traces of farming networks linking dynasties together. Seakin Boyden for many years farmed 16 acres which was probably the dowry of his wife.³ The land had been transferred to him by Richard Cordell. Another relative lived in Holywell, where he presumably farmed. Much later Margaret Cordell married Thomas White, a relative of the draper, Benjamin White. The surname, Cordell, is only found in these two parishes, which suggests a very parochial neighbourhood.

There are other family networks where a farming occupation seems to be

1. H.R.O., Wills, S. Boyden, St Ives, 1679, J. Lack, St Ives, 1704, J. Perry, St Ives, 1617.
2. Pettis, p. 49, H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, R. Langley, 1.12.1640.
3. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, Seakin Boyden, 26.9.1654; Will, J. Cordell, St Ives, 1.3.1735.

the link. For example, graziers, butchers and innkeepers seem to have common interests. Anne Bentley in 1685 married John Acton - both their fathers were involved in grazing and innkeeping - and Elizabeth Acton two years later married William Peeres of Whaply Drove, a drover.¹

Another cluster of names is that of Edward Smith, a grazier and maltster, who married firstly the daughter of a butcher, and secondly the daughter of a grazier at Abbots Ripton.² Again when Thomas Flack of St Ives, an innholder, married the widow of a butcher in 1672, his bondsman was the Cordell of Holywell. In his will Flack left money to the son of a grazier at whose wedding Flack had been bondsman.³

The links between graziers and butchers would have been the innkeepers, in whose premises so much business took place. These networks existed both inside the landowning neighbourhood based on St Ives and within the wider area over which the drovers operated. We know that drovers would come either from Norfolk with unsold cattle or direct down the green road through Abbots Ripton to the market. Hence the origins of these spouses.

Richard Langley of Hemingford Grey, who owned 14 acres in St Ives, illustrates another network this time based on the market. When the then earl of Manchester was negotiating the purchase of the manor of St Ives, an assesment of the value and income was made by Langley, who had already leased the "fairs, markets, bridge, wharf and river".⁴

Another farmer of the market was Edward Colston, possibly as joint farmer with Richard Langley. His inventory valued his share of the baileywick

1. H.R.O., Marriage bond, J. Acton, St Ives, 1685; W. Peares, St Ives, 1687.
2. H.R.O., Will, J. Prudent, St Ives, 1718; Marriage bond, E. Smith St Ives, 1724.
3. H.R.O., Marriage bond, T. Flack, St Ives, 1672 and 1690; Will, T. Flack, St Ives, 1698.
4. Pettis, p. 48.

at £250.¹ The third person involved was William Whittle, who had appraised Edward Colston's will. When his son died, he left to his wife his rights in the chapel on the bridge which may have filled some role in the collection of dues for crossing the bridge.² Whittle also chose Langley to act as guardian to his son. These references show that the three families were very closely related. We also know that William Purchase and Henry Patrick leased the market from the Duke for 21 years in 1704.³ At his death Purchase's share in the market passed firstly to his widow and then to his son-in-law. His partner's share passed to Samuel White, the draper. We have, therefore, two networks of those administering the market. One comprised the gentry in the form of Langley, with the wealthy tradesman and farmer, Colston, and his relative, Whittle. The other was made up of the influential William Purchase, his son-in-law, the innholder Henry Patrick and the draper, White.

It is possible to trace other networks based on different occupations. For example, the Reads, who were drapers in St Ives were connected by marriage to the Thongs, drapers of Huntingdon.⁴ Thomas Feast, a blacksmith from Sutton, was connected to Edward Pratt, the gunsmith there.⁵ There were Nutters, who were sievemakers in St Ives and St Neots.⁶ The Morton family of tanners and curriers were based in Holywell

1. H.R.O., Inventory, E. Colston, St Ives, 1624.
2. H.R.O., 108/X45; will, T. Whittle, St Ives 1631; H.M.R., St Ives, T. Whittle, 19.4.1637
3. H.R.O., Manchester 2 Box 10; will, W. Purchase, St Ives, 1713; Pettis, p. 47.
4. H.R.O., Marriage bond, E. Read, St Ives, 1722; H.M.R., St Ives, J. Read, 7.10.1730
5. H.R.O., Marriage bond, T. Feast, Sutton, 1724; H.M.R., St Ives, E. Pratt, 7.10.1714
6. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, J. Nutter, 14.6.1726; will, J. Nutter, St Neots, 1727.

and St Ives.¹ Oliver Biggs of St Neots owned a similar property in St Ives.²

Another occupational group whose connections we can trace is that of the watermen. They illustrate the point that the horizons of a town's citizens were not limited to the boundaries of that town. In Mary Prior's study of the Fisher Row community, she has shown that the network of relationships that bound the families together stretched upriver from Oxford.³ It seems to have been the same on the river Ouse, where all their connections were to Bedford. Kings Lynn, in spite of its importance, is not mentioned in connection with boats on the Ouse. It perhaps specialised in sea-going vessels leaving the river trade to those living inland.

The watermen on the Ouse formed a cohesive unit. An executor of John Bentley, deceased waterman of St Ives, was Mr Denne of Tempsford, another waterman, whose family had earlier lived in Fenstanton and St Ives, and who was related to William and Thomas Barnes, also watermen of St Ives.⁴ Aaron Browne married his daughter to John Woolstone of Huntingdon and his son to the daughter of Thomas Wilkes, leading coalmerchant and burgess of Bedford.⁵ William Woolstone, also of Huntingdon, acted as bondsman to Griffin Bentley of St Ives when he married the daughter of another waterman of the town.⁶

1. H.R.O., will, J. Morton, St Ives, 1714; Marriage bond, J. Morton, St Ives, 1728.
2. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, O. Biggs, 3.10.1722; 2519/117, St Neots Scrapbook, 2, 24.4.1733.
3. M. Prior, Fisher Row: fishermen, bargemen and canal boatmen Oxford 1500-1900, 1982, p. 139.
4. H.R.O., Will, J. Bentley, St Ives, 1711; T. Barnes, St Ives, 1702.
5. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, J. Woolstone, 10.10.1716; 12.10.1720.
6. H.R.O., Marriage bond, G. Bentley, St Ives, 1706.

This sense of a community along the river can also be seen in the incidence of certain surnames. There are five particular ones, Field, Drury, Childs, Purchase and Stocker. Between them they are recorded 59 times in the nominal lists used earlier. With three exceptions all the references are to the Ouse valley. Thus, Stocker is found in 1674 in St Ives, Godmanchester, Over and Fendrayton; and Childs in St Ives, Huntingdon, Godmanchester, Bluntisham, Fenstanton and Hartford.

These occupational networks were concentrated within the area of the urban society but not bounded by it. They could stretch up the river to adjacent towns, or into the droving areas of Norfolk. Unlike the farming dynasties, their tentacles seem to reach out further to form links between the different marketing centres.

Having considered these examples of occupational networks, we can turn to the dissenters who were so active in this area to see whether they were linked together in a similar way. We will first look at the Baptist church, which was at first centred on Fenstanton and Caxton. A register for the congregation survives for the years 1645-56.¹ It is headed by the name of Henry Denne, the founder of this church, whose family provided the leadership locally, as well as on the national scene. When Charles II allowed licences to be issued to nonconformists in 1672, John Denne, the son of the founder, applied for a licence for himself as a preacher as well as for ten local meeting houses which included Fenstanton, Warboys and St Ives, to which he had probably moved.² It was in his granary on the quay that the first permanent chapel was established. In the deeds of the property registered in the manorial

1. E. B. Underhill, ed., Records of the Churches of Christ gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys and Hexham, 1644-1720, 1854, pp. 15-140.
2. G. L. Turner, Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence, 1911, 2, pp. 849-50.

court in 1725, one Jonathan Denne, brother of John, is named first as trustee along with John Cropper of St Ives, Christopher Ashton of Fenstanton and Robert Knightley of St Ives.¹ The Baptist church at Warboys was closely allied with that of Fenstanton, and John Cropper acted as bondsman for the marriage of a couple from there.² Thus these four trustees of the St Ives chapel had strong connections with the three Baptist communities in St Ives, Fenstanton and Warboys. One particular marriage bond also suggests that this community was close-knit. In 1712 Henry Mayle of Connington pledged himself to marry Mary Martin of Fenstanton. The bondsman was John Peverel of Huntingdon. These are all names of Baptist members. In addition Edmund Mayle was a leading elder of the church.³

This evidence suggests that the Baptists were a cohesive group, initially centred on Fenstanton but later establishing themselves in St Ives and Warboys. There are two trends noticeable here. Firstly that leadership of the church seems to have passed through one particular family; and secondly that many members of the group were related.

The Quakers showed a similar cohesiveness. In their case the dominant family was called Parnell. The first man known to have been persecuted locally was one James Parnell, who preached in Somersham in 1655 and died in Colchester Castle the next year, aged 19.⁴ As a John and Thomas Parnell became the leading Quakers in the area, he may have been a relative. The Quaker Book of Sufferings records a list of meetings established in 1668. This shows St Ives as a leading centre with the

1. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, J. Denne, 6.10.1725.

2. H.R.O., Marriage bond, W. Gifford, Warboys, 1721.

3. H.R.O., Marriage bond, H. Mayle, Connington, 1712.

4. B. Reay, The Quakers and the English Revolution, 1985, p. 63.

Hemingfords and Fenstanton coming under it. The names of six leaders for this area are recorded. Of these, Robert Ingram was a comparatively well-off baker in the town with Quaker relatives in the "urban" villages of Houghton and Hemingford.¹ John Parnell, belonged to the gentry through his mother's second marriage.² His brother and sister married into the Audley family of St Ives who owned the Priory and later moved to Houghton.³ Another brother, Thomas, owned the nearby manor of King's Ripton, which became an important venue for illegal Quaker meetings.⁴

There are 83 entries for burials of Quakers from St Ives between 1668 and 1739. Of these two names are difficult to decipher and one came from Norfolk. There remain nineteen surnames (23 entries) for whom no links can be traced with other Quakers. There are connections between all the remaining 57 entries (21 different surnames) that show the cohesiveness of the group. For example, Elizabeth Sutcliffe, was the sister of Mary King of Godmanchester whose husband, Joseph, was a prominent Quaker and had earlier been an ironmonger in St Ives.⁵ They were also related to the Wright family. John Wright was an executor of Mary Ingram, widow of Robert Ingram, already mentioned.⁶ He had rented a close from Thomas Parnell, the Quaker from Kings Ripton.⁷ When Johanna Wright of St Ives died in 1716 she left Le Legg Inn to Peter Clay, another Quaker.⁸ John Parnell, who was one of the leaders in 1668, sold his house to another

1. All Saints Parish Church, St Ives, Marriage Register, T. Ingram, 1656; P.R.O., ASSI 16/30/3; E179/249/2.
2. H.R.O., Will, Dame Margaret St. Leger, St Ives, 1673.
3. All Saints Parish Church, St Ives, Marriage Register, D. Parnell, 1656 and M. Parnell, 1686
4. V.C.H., Huntingdonshire, II, 1932, p. 208; R. W. Dixon, A Century of Village Nonconformity at Bluntisham, Hunts., 1887, p. 56.
5. H.R.O., Will, E. Sutcliffe, St Ives, 1729; H.M.R., St Ives, J.King, 4.10.1728.
6. H.R.O., Will, M. Ingram, St Ives, 1693.
7. H.M.R., St Ives, J. Wright, 13.10.1710.
8. ibid., J. Wright, 10.10.1716.

Quaker, called Samuel Nottingham, when he was bankrupted and then leased it back again.¹ Another prominent Quaker family was that of Daniel Abbott, whose cousin Ruth was the wife of a weaver David, who was goaled for his beliefs.² Tisdale rented a cottage from John Field, another Quaker, and Abbott bought his close from Thomas Hardmeat, a descendant of Tobias, one of the early leaders.³

We can see a similar cohesive picture amongst many of the early Presbyterians. Tradition has it that this church began with Oliver Cromwell, who lived in St Ives between 1631 and 1636. The first Presbyterian was Obediah Gee, a butcher, who received a licence for his house in the Sheep Market to be used as a meeting place in 1672.⁴ From 1687 onwards the church had sufficient members to support its own minister. The first ones were Robert Billio and Michael Harrison. The licence for the meeting house in 1691 was witnessed by William Purchase, joint farmer of the market, John Foreman and John Horner.⁵ A trust deed of 1709 gives the names of five trustees. They were Ephraim White, who provided the site for the meeting house, his brother Samuel, joint farmer of the market; John Payne, a baker, James Morton, a currier and James Nutter, a sievemaker.

This gives us eleven names for the leaders of this church. Of these only James Nutter has no traceable connection with the others. Obediah Gee,

1. C.R.O., R59/25/3/1 1688.
2. P.R.O., ASSI 16/42/6; C.R.O., R59/25/3/1, 1669-1683; H.R.O., Will, J.Abbott, 1732.
3. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, J. Tisdale, 11.10.1683; J. Abbott, 1.10.1724.
4. H.R.O., Will, O. Gee, St Ives, 1703; G. L. Turner, Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence, II, 1911, p. 847.
5. M. Wagner Not an Easy Church: A History of the Free Church in St Ives 1672-1981, 1982, p. 10, 11.

who received a licence for the meeting house in 1672, had his will witnessed by William Purchase, who in 1691 signed the application for a licence for the new meeting house on land donated by Ephraim White.¹ Obediah Gee, the second, was bondsman to Mary Morton for her marriage.² James Morton had received the freehold of the meeting house in 1693 and was a trustee in 1709. These two were also residual legatees in the will of Robert Offly of Fenstanton.³ Another legatee was Robert Billio of Hemingford, the first minister. When the second minister died in 1721 the trustee for his wife in Needingworth was also James Morton.⁴ The minister's own marriage bond was signed by William Purchase and his daughter's by Samuel White, the trustee.⁵ Ann White, probably a sister, lent money to Mary Horner whilst Robert and John Horner, the later a witness to the licence application of 1691, rented property from John Payne, another trustee, who also used William Purchase as a bondsman for his daughter's marriage.⁶ The third man who signed the licence application in 1691 was John Foreman, who used William Purchase as a bondsman.⁷ These ten Presbyterian leaders were resident in the St Ives area and were connected with one another by marriage, tenancy or bond, in addition to their religious links. We have too little data to examine the networks of the other members of the congregation.

The study of these networks has shown that they were largely concentrated within the area of the urban society. They were often based around a common occupation, whether of farming, the market or carrying goods on

1. H.R.O., Will, O. Gee, St Ives, 1703.
2. ibid., Marriage bond, T. Maling, Elmdon, Essex, 1716.
3. ibid., Will, R. Offley, Fenstanton, 1693.
4. ibid., Will, M. Harrison, St Ives, 1721.
5. ibid., Marriage bond, W. Harrison, St Ives, 1707; Marriage bond, J. Taylor, Hitchin, 1717.
6. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, A. White, 3.10.1723; J. Payne, 1697; Marriage bond, R. Lee, St Ives, 1706.
7. H.R.O., Marriage bond, O. Bigg, St Ives, 1697.

the river. Nonconformists in their different churches seem also to have formed cohesive groups, not only connected through religious beliefs but also by kinship, trade or investment. These conclusions are consistent with those of the Oxford boat-people of Mary Prior or the "paramount dynasties" of Alan Everitt.

Such networks were, however, not restricted to this area. We are not describing a closed society. Graziers had links into areas like Norfolk, watermen to Bedford and Baptists to Warboys or London. Such links outside the urban society were based on lines of communication, either along the river or the routes used by drovers. This re-emphasizes the distributive function of the town. It parallels what we have already seen in the hinterland, where the most important factor in the development of mini-centres was the local road network.

INTERACTIONS WITHIN THE URBAN SOCIETY

After we had examined the similarities between St Ives and its hinterland, we used the evidence for marketing to show how the two components related to one another. In the same way we now need to examine the interaction of these villages with the town.

If once more we turn to agriculture first, we know that some urban farmers owned meadow or pasture in the villages. In this way, they could enlarge their livestock herds. We also know that herds of sheep and cattle were rotated in St Ives between the closes, open fields and meadows. Ownership of land in neighbouring parishes could, therefore, be an extension of the same practice. This is similar to the finding of Dr Goodacre, that farmers in non-enclosing villages near to Lutterworth acquired pasture in enclosed parishes.¹

If we look at the process in reverse, Richard Langley of Hemingford Grey in the early seventeenth century owned a few arable acres in the town, as well as meadow and closes. But in time this type of investment became the prerogative of outsiders, people like Hallock Kingsly of St Neots. For example, neither the Newmans, who were lords of the manor of Hemingford Abbots nor Sir Robert Bernard, lord of the manor of Houghton and Wyton, invested in agricultural land in St Ives, although the latter owned urban property.

We have seen that these villages probably fuelled the growth of St Ives. If we look at the total population of the area of this society, we can also see how the villages may have provided a refuge after the disastrous

1. J. Goodacre, "Lutterworth in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; a Market Town and its area," Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1977, p. 137.

fire of 1689. Table 53 shows that the total population grew strongly until 1674 and then levelled off. The drop in population in the town at the beginning of the eighteenth century is not visible in the figure of the combined area. It is possible that those who lost their homes in the town took shelter in the surrounding villages. By looking at the wider picture we can see that the decline in population in the town becomes less significant.

TABLE 53

THE URBAN SOCIETY OF ST IVES: POPULATION ESTIMATES FOR BOTH ST IVES AND

ITS NEIGHBOURING VILLAGES

	<u>1603</u>	<u>1642</u>	<u>1674</u>	<u>1705</u>	<u>1723</u>
St Ives	1107	1172	1686	1425	1796
Fenstanton	405	569	565	760	808
Hemingfords	415	415	679	537	546
Holywell & Needingworth	446	557	546	713	523
Houghton & Wyton	282	443	266	285	190
TOTAL	2655	3156	3742	3720	3863

More detailed information showing the relative strengths of the different communities can be seen in the dissenting records. We can examine each of the three churches in turn, beginning with the Baptists. Henry Denne began this church at Fenstanton after he was refused the use of the parish church in St Ives. "He went outside the town and preached under a tree." When he had finished, he left symbolically shaking the dust from his shoes.² By 1656, 184 members were listed, of whom six cannot be

1. R. W. Dixon, A Century of Village Nonconformity at Bluntisham Hunts, 1887, p. 37.

traced. They were spread over a wide area from Wisbech in the north to Great Gransden in the south, although 28% were in Fenstanton. St Ives only had three members and was not an important base. By 1676, their book listed 84 members, as against 184 in 1656. The geographical area covered was smaller and probably meetings were now held both at Fenstanton and St Ives, as John Denne had moved there with his family. Only 22 of the 84 members came from outside our area. The bulk of them still lived in Fenstanton, with a large number at Hemingford and Godmanchester and then smaller numbers at St Ives and 13 other places.

Quakerism also started in our area in the 1650's, drawing some of its early members from the Baptists.¹ It too had its earliest adherents in the villages and relied heavily on a few prominent families. In 1655 George Fox held the first meeting at Sutton, in the Isle of Ely, close to Earith, where he convinced various local people. "And people came to this meeting from Huntingdon and beyond, ... and they were settled under Christ's teaching ... and a glorious meeting it was."² In the years prior to the Restoration, Quakers in St Ives and Huntingdon as well as in many local villages, were prosecuted.³ Their Book of Sufferings, by naming those fined for attending illegal meetings, for example in 1670, makes it possible to chart the mileage Quakers travelled to worship. The St Ives meeting drew its congregation from a maximum of five miles, Godmanchester from about nine miles, Kings Ripton from seven miles and the others from within two or three miles. Thus, John Robins of Godmanchester was fined for attending an illegal meeting in that year in St Ives, Godmanchester and Kings Ripton; and John Parnell of St Ives in

1. E. B. Underhill, ed., Records of the Churches of Christ gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys and Hexham 1644-1720, 1854, pp. 141-147.
2. J. L. Nickolls, ed., The Journal of George Fox, 1952, p. 218.
3. C.R.O., R59/25/3/1 passim; P.R.O., E/179/249/2.

the town itself as well as in Godmanchester, Bluntisham and Earith and Kings Ripton. Although early converts to Quakerism were in the villages, it was the towns that took the lead. As early as 1668, the St Ives meeting, for example, was responsible for Hemingford and Fenstanton. One of their leaders was Tobias Hardmeat, a grocer who had moved from Fenstanton to the town.¹ Another was John Peacock who had transferred his draper's business from Huntingdon to St Ives.² With the exception of Bluntisham all the meeting houses were built in the towns.

Of the three churches, the Presbyterian seems to have been based in the town from the beginning, although there were small groups of worshippers in villages. They received licences in 1672 both for St Ives and Hemingford Grey, as well as for Woodhurst, Little Ravelly and Fendrayton in the hinterland. The first ministers were based in the town, but seem to have had close connections with the villages. For example, Nathaniel Bradshaw lived in Hemingford for a while before moving to his daughter's house in St Ives.³ Robert Billio also lived in the same village, although preaching in the town and the third minister bought property in Holywell.⁴

Information about the members of this meeting house is available just after our period ends. A register in two volumes of children baptised in St Ives between 1742 and 1757 is lodged at St Catherine's House in London.⁵ Table 54 shows that, of the 178 children recorded, 108 (61%) were born to parents living in St Ives from 48 different families. A

1. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, T. Hardmeat, 11.10.1692; PRO E/179/249/2.
2. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, J. Peacock, 1697.
3. G. L. Turner, Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence, 1911, II, p. 847.
4. H.R.O., Will, R. Offley, Fenstanton, 1693; Will, M. Harrison, St Ives, 1721.
5. P.R.O., RG4/8; RG4/678.

further 29 families lived in the immediate vicinity of St Ives. This is 77% of the sample. The remainder came from further afield. It was, therefore, a church that was closely centred on the St Ives area.

TABLE 54

RESIDENCE OF PARENTS WHOSE CHILDREN WERE BAPTISED

AT ST IVES PRESBYTERIAN MEETING HOUSE BETWEEN 1742-1757

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Number of families</u>
St Ives	48 St Ives Urban Society
Holywell & Needingworth	12 "
Fenstanton	11 "
The Hemingfords	2 "
Swavesey	2 St Ives Hinterland
Fendrayton	1 "
Somersham	1 "
Cambridge	11
Other	7
Total	95

It is clear that even where the dissenting churches started in the countryside, their membership soon became established in the town and later leaders were based there. In the case of the Baptists, it was the removal of John Denne to St Ives that gave them access to his granary for their worship. The first Quakers were in the villages of Somersham and Bluntisham. At times of persecution, private houses were used for illegal meetings and these were generally in the towns. The removal to the town of leaders, like Hardmeat and Peacock, suggests that persecution may have been less frequent there and it was in the town that eventually the meeting house was built. Although the Presbyterian church was more town-based, its ministers often lived in the neighbouring villages as did

25% of their membership. However, all their known leaders and trustees were residents of the town.

The same magnetism has been seen in the demographic study. It is visible amongst the market farmers. Whereas Richard Langley, living in Hemingford, could act as farmer of St Ives market in the early seventeenth century, by the eighteenth century all those who held this position were town-based.

There was some movement in the opposite direction. Farmers in the town invested in extra pasture in the villages to supplement their arable acreage. Masters used the skills of village spinners and weavers. Presbyterian ministers often lived outside the town, although the church was in it. At the time of the fire in 1689 the displaced population seems to have taken refuge in the villages.

The "urban " villages around St Ives have been shown to have such close connections with the town that together they formed one society. It extended over a landowning neighbourhood in the same type of pays. Families within it were closely related. Religious groups within it showed internal cohesion. The study of the dynamics visible inside this society reveal the centripetal magnetism of the town, sucking in people and ideas. But this was a two-way movement. In their turn, the villages provided residence, outworkers and more extensive pasture.

CHAPTER 6

INSTITUTIONS

In the last chapter we examined the interaction between the town and villages inside the urban society of St Ives, and came to the conclusion that the town acted as a magnet to the villages, increasing its size and control of certain trades and cultural groups at their expense. This idea of control leads us back to Abrams' argument. We need next to consider his related point that the real object of study should be the dominant forces within that setting. This can be divided into two sections; firstly, the exercise of power inside the urban society, and secondly, this society's relationships with its larger social environment.

To try to locate the seats of power within this society, we need to understand the local institutions. So far as the evidence will allow, we can then begin to describe the influential groups. We need to consider the part played by the gentry, whether county or parish, and the urban elite. However, as this is rather a grandiloquent term for a small market town, the preferred title will be the "focal families." If we can identify these families and trace their fortunes over the 150 years under discussion, then we may also be able to identify the core families of this community, those who represent the abiding local values, or as Mr. Phythian-Adams has written "the comparatively dense networks of blood relationships, the perpetuation of which in one form or another over generations will be likely to engender traditionalized modes of local self-identification."¹ Inevitably this study will be largely St Ives based, as the bulk of the records available relate to the manorial court

1. C. Phythian-Adams, Re-thinking English Local History, 1987
p. 27.

of St Ives and the vestry book of the parish church. Unfortunately, Quarter Sessions records have not survived for this period. We can begin by looking at the ownership of the immediate manors.

LORDSHIP

Within the county of Huntingdonshire there were two noble families, the Earl of Sandwich at Hinchbrooke House outside Huntingdon and the Earl of Manchester at Kimbolton Castle. It is the latter who had most interest in our area, through his ownership of the manors of St Ives, Holywell and Needingworth, and until 1651 Houghton and Wyton, which he then sold to Robert Bernard of Brampton Part, a close associate of his. Bernard also acquired an interest in Hemingford Abbots, which he shared with the resident Newman family, already the owners of the manor of Hemingford Grey. Thus most of these villages, as well as the town were controlled to some degree by the Manchester family and its associates. The major exception was Fenstanton, which was owned by the Northampton family, another absentee landlord, whose interest in St Ives had been purchased by the Earl of Manchester in 1628.¹ As the manorial organisation in the town remained active throughout our period, we can assume that this was so in most of these neighbouring villages.

FUNCTIONS OF MANORIAL COURT AND VESTRY

If we turn to the town itself, we can look at its institutions in greater detail. The vestry book contains references to meetings from 1627, and the manor court books or rolls survive from 1632, except for a break of twenty years.² From this information we can study the workings of these

1. V.C.H., Huntingdonshire, 1932, II, pp. 160-315, passim.
2. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, 1632-1661, 1681-1740; All Saints Parish Church, St Ives, vestry books, 1636-1740.

two groups, to discover whether these roles previously performed by the manor were devolved to the vestry, as has often been thought.¹ A further point of interest will be the membership of the two bodies and to use this information to reveal the focal families, and the influence of the Duke of Manchester. If we examine the functions of the vestry and manor first, we can see that each of the institutions gradually became involved in different and distinct areas of administration.

Throughout the period the manor court was concerned primarily with the transfer of land in a town where most property was copyhold, but was also involved in the appointment of certain town officials. For example in 1641 two men were named as constables for the Street, and one for the Slepe, two searchers for bread and ale, two for fish and flesh, two for leather, two as oxherds and one affeerer.² This makes a total of twelve manorial officials. Such appointments were recorded intermittently up until 1713. The number for each position remained constant and it would seem that the manor court remained responsible for the good running of the market and the organisation of the common field agriculture into the eighteenth century.

Between 1632 and 1648 the manorial rolls also list presentments of townsmen for offences committed within the manor. Some refer to overcommoning, others to the market, road repairs, unlicensed alehouses, or illegal inmates. Some of these responsibilities were taken over by the vestry. For example, surveyors of highways and overseers of the poor became vestry appointments and justices licensed alehouses and ratified the appointment of constables. There was, therefore, some change in

1. W. E. Tate, The Parish Chest, 1969, p. 14.
2. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, 1632-1648, passim.

function during this period. The manor court retained the organisation of the market and common field agriculture, but lost responsibility for roads, alehouses and the poor.

We can confirm this by looking at the officials appointed by the vestry. Part of the responsibility of the churchwardens was for the fabric of the church and its religious life. Details are recorded of the purchase of a communion table or a register book for the entry of strange preachers. They shared with the manorial jury the supervision of road repairs. They made payments for the poor of the town, purchasing clothing, for example for Hatter's wench. They discharged passes. They took care of the town bonds and of the rents from the town land. They also put in for expenses incurred for civic events, such as the annual perambulation, November 5th, or after 1663, Coronation Day. They paid for repairs to the school house and charged the clerk with the education of five poor boys. The first overseers of the poor were recorded in 1668, and would have taken responsibility for collection of the poor rate as well as its distribution, thus diminishing some of the burden on the churchwardens. The supervision of overseers of the highways became the responsibility of the justices in 1692. After that date references to the appointment are not recorded.

We can see that there was some rationalisation of functions between the manorial court and the vestry. The former remained active in the organisation of commonfield agriculture, the market and the transfer of copyhold property, whilst the vestry dealt with the raising of revenue, the management of the town land, the welfare of the poor, communal celebrations, and, for many years, the state of the highways.

The administrative structure of St Ives can be compared with that of the neighbouring village of Bluntisham and Earith.¹ This twin village was part of the manor of Somersham which was owned by the Crown. The annual fairs, the market, fishing rights, bridge, causeway and ferry all belonged to the manor. Both townships had their own manorial jury and each appointed their own officials, like the fen and field reeve. Feoffees were invested with a small amount of land "to provide for the necessities of life for the poor." They also owned the mills. They were endowed for the education of the children of their parish.

It would seem that, as in St Ives, the manor court at Bluntisham continued to operate effectively, involved as it was in the organisation of the common field agriculture, as well as in many aspects of the commercial life of the town. As both bodies combined to organise the stint, this suggests a far greater degree of overlap in administrative functions than in the town. In most respects, however, the administrative structure in the two communities was similar.

FINANCES

There is a limited amount of information about the finances of the town. The amount of money available to the vestry - and, therefore, the town - was strictly limited, because the Manchester family owned the market, and received nearly as much income from it as the vestry did for all its civic responsibilities.

We know of three rates levied by town officials, for the poor, the church and the highways. In addition, the town received rents, generally of £20 per annum, from its property. We have the accounts for the poor

1. C.F.Tebbutt, Bluntisham-cum-Earith: Records of a Fenland Parish, 1980, passim.

rate between 1694 and 1739. The annual mean was £186. Churchwardens' accounts show a mean of £39.10s. The only figure for the accounts of the overseer of the highways, in 1682, was £14. In all, therefore, receipts from the three sources total a mean of £239.10s.0d. This compares with £200 per annum which is the estimate for the gross receipts to the Manchester family from the manor court and the market. This is made up of £95 for quit rents, with £105 for the rental of the market.¹ The economic lordship of this noble family is clearly shown in these figures, since their receipts were nearly as great as the town's income. Nor does this take into account the income from increased entry fines as described earlier.

MEMBERSHIP

We have seen that there was some rationalisation of the functions of these two institutions in the town, although their freedom to act must have been circumscribed by the paucity of the town's income. If we now turn to the membership of the manorial jury and the vestry, we can examine the comparative status of these two bodies, as well as that of their officials. We will look first at criteria for membership.

It is generally assumed that membership of a manorial jury will be dependent on property rights, and this appears to be so in St Ives.² This can be illustrated by looking at the lands and property held by one William Marriott. Between 1632 and 1659 he attended as a juror on 27 occasions out of a possible 40. Some of his property came from William Parratt, and passed to Thomas Filby.³ More went to Francis Williams and

1. Pettis, p. 48.

2. W. E. Tate, The Parish Chest, 1969, p. 14.

3. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, W. Marriott, 2.10.1634, ibid., 22.5.1635.

then through Jane on her marriage to Edward Curtis in Lincoln.¹ A few acres of meadow went to Thomas Austin and Robert Clark.² Two messuages that went to Thomas Austin are possibly the same property later known as the Mitre in Bridge Street. This was owned in 1720 by William White and then his son Thomas.³ Of all these names, only two did not serve on the manorial jury. They were Robert Clark, who was the steward of the manor, and Edward Curtis who lived in Lincoln. Such examples can be multiplied. If we look at the names of all the jurors between the years of 1700-1739 we can trace connections for 144 out of the 201 names. The links vary. 80 names were connected through family links, 16 because of the leasing of property and 48 because of transfers of property.

It would seem that membership of the manorial jury implied the ownership or lease of copyhold properties in the manor. The right to serve was passed with the land and whereas certain families or holdings served many times over the years, other names made brief appearances. We know, for example, that Charles Pinder briefly rented the Crown Inn. He also served as manorial juror in 1735.⁴ Freehold land did not entail such rights or duties. Thus Mr Thomas Audley, owner of the Priory and its freehold acres, never served on this jury.

If we turn to the criteria for membership of the vestry, we find that members of the gentry regularly attended such meetings. Thus Sir Edward Lawrence and Mr Dingley Askham, owners of freehold land, were present on occasions.⁵ Another difference between members of the manorial jury and

1. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, J. Marriott, 30.12.1657; E. Curtis 24.12.1706.
2. ibid., J. Marriott, 17.10.1706; J. Marriott, 10.10.1716.
3. ibid., F. Curtis, 24.12.1706; K. White, 28.4.1731.
4. ibid., J. Bentley, 6.10.1733.
5. All Saints Parish Church, vestry book, 1722, 1723.

the vestry lies in the greater amount of wealth owned by the vestrymen. Evidence for the amount of their wealth has been estimated in the following manner. The names of those signing the book have been collated, and compared with taxation figures available around that time.

On the assessment list for 1625/6, there were 42 names.¹ Of these 25 signed the vestry book. Of the remaining 17 persons, three were female and so ineligible, three were probably not resident in the town, one was a waterman, and one passed land to John Ibbot, who was already listed. This leaves seven names not traced. There were seven people who attended more than twenty five per cent of the meetings. None of them was rated at less than £3 and two at £10.

A similar comparison can be made with the Hearth Tax figures for 1674 and the names in the vestry book between 1660 and that date.² Only ten names in this period were not recorded in the Hearth Tax listing, and none was on the discharged list. Very few of them owned a house with only one hearth. The list of vestrymen also includes those with the greatest number of hearths. Those attending most frequently owned houses with a minimum of three hearths and a maximum of ten. Once more those attending these meetings were generally wealthy.

Documentation for the years 1700 to 1739 is much better because of the Land Tax rentals in the Pettis Survey.³ Of the 48 names assessed at £20 or more, only fifteen did not sign the vestry book. Of those 15, ten were "outlivers", one was a woman, leaving four names unaccounted. In contrast, of the 65 rated at less than £10 only five were vestrymen.

1. P.R.O., E179/122/208.
2. ibid., E179/249/2.
3. Pettis, p. 96 ff.

This confirms the impression gained from the earlier periods that vestrymen were likely to be some of the wealthiest men in the community, and, therefore, more prestigious.

An analysis of attendance at vestry meetings shows that active participation became more restricted. There was always a large group who only attended one meeting. As the years passed, the number of such people increased. In the earliest period there were 48 occasional attenders, whilst 11 people attended between six and ten meetings. In the middle period there were 47 occasional attenders, and seven men present between eleven and twenty two occasions. In the eighteenth century there were 62 occasional attenders and seven men present at a quarter of all meetings. There would seem, therefore, to have been a small increase in the number of people attending on a few occasions, suggesting that those, who attended most frequently, were able to wield a greater influence in the organisation of the town's affairs. But their influence did not grow to the extent that it excluded the occasional attender and made possible the formation of a closed vestry.

There were, therefore, differences in the criteria for membership of both bodies. For one thing the numbers involved in the manorial jury were always greater. In the second half of the seventeenth century there was a ratio of three manorial jurors to one vestryman and in the eighteenth century two jurors to one vestryman. (Table 55) Inevitably the manorial jury included a greater number of people without a large financial stake in the community. Additionally, it only included those who owned or leased copyhold property. By contrast, the vestry attracted the wealthiest and most important members of the community to its meetings and must be seen as the more influential body. This is not to say that

the functions of the manor court were unimportant but rather that greater prestige was attached to the vestry meetings. At the same time fewer people were involved in vestry business and therefore a greater degree of power came to reside in their hands.

TABLE 55

TOTALS OF MEMBERS OF THE VESTRY OR MANORIAL JURY

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of years of sample</u>	<u>Members of vestry</u>	<u>Members of manorial jury</u>	<u>Member of both bodies</u>
1632-59	27	80	109	56
1681-99	18	34	93	30
1700-39	39	106	201	76

When we examine the status of the officials appointed by the vestry, we find that not only was the position of churchwarden the most prestigious but that it too became restricted to a small number of families. In 1627 three churchwardens were chosen to serve for one year. By the eighteenth century churchwardens had greater continuity of service. For example, Isaac Jones served for twelve years and James Fisher for ten years. Certain families were dominant amongst this group. Bartholomew Bentley served three times, William three times and his son John, four times. William Barnes served three times and his son Thomas four times. Table 56 shows how the number of people serving as churchwarden for each decade decreased from 20 in the 1630's to six in the 1730's.

These churchwardens were important tradesmen with above average property rentals. Isaac Jones was assessed at £59, John Bentley at £82, William Barnes at £42, and Thomas Barnes at £18. With three exceptions they were all styled Mr. But they were the pseudo-gentry of Professor Everitt, not the landed gentry like Sir Edward Lawrence. The county gentry served

TABLE 56

NUMBER OF CHURCHWARDENS SERVING FOR EACH DECADE

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Total</u>
1630-39	20
1640-49	15
1650-59	8
1660-69	13
1670-79	12
1680-89	10
1690-99	12
1700-09	7
1710-19	7
1720-29	4
1730-39	6

as vestrymen and signed their names first, but the prominent tradesmen or parish gentry took on the onerous task of churchwarden, drawing their membership from a restricted group. In this way whatever power the churchwardens held was exercised by a small number of families.

The first four overseers of the poor were recorded in 1668 and generally served for one year. 36 of them can be traced in the Pettis' Survey. 24 had an assessment over £10 and six lower. There were twelve who were not assessed, including the paid overseer. Therefore, most were substantial men in the town. But in spite of their heavy responsibilities they were not as wealthy as churchwardens. There were also moves to restrict their numbers.

The names of the overseers of the highways were recorded from 1628 to 1692 when such positions were taken over by the magistrates. In general

there were four people nominated each year. Of the 58 named between 1632 and 1659 property transactions can be traced for all but ten. Their number does not include major landowners like James Perry or Thomas Colston. Although the data is not so extensive, the impression remains that they were less important than the churchwardens and overseers of the poor.

It is clear that by the end of our period the administrative functions of the manor court and vestry were different. The manor court organised common field agriculture and the market, whilst the vestry dealt with the raising of revenue and the welfare of the poor. Analysis of the names of those attending the two bodies shows that the vestry attracted people of greater status and wealth. So far as officials are concerned, the manor appointed them for their expertise, so that searchers of flesh were generally butchers and searchers of fish, watermen. Status was less important than experience. By contrast, the officials of the vestry were ranked by status, a churchwarden being more prestigious than an overseer of the poor or of the highways. Edmund Pettis was overseer of the highways in 1712, but as his estate was only valued at £8, his chances of joining the select circle of churchwardens and vestrymen was limited by his lack of wealth and by the increasing exclusivity of such appointments.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DYNASTIES

GENTRY

Equipped with the results of this study of the institutions of the town, we can now begin to describe those who exercised power within this society. The first group to be considered is that of the gentry. We can start by drawing distinctions among them. Keith Wrightson, in his survey of the process of recognition for membership of the gentry, found within Somerset that there were three gradations in that process. "The greatest baronets, knights and esquires who were selected as members of Parliament, deputy lieutenants and leading justices; the lesser esquires who filled the judicial bench and gentlemen who held subordinate posts."¹

Eleven men are known to have held such posts in St Ives, as detailed in Table 57. Of these, three really belonged to other communities, although they were called townsmen by Pettis. There were three people in the premier category, of whom only one, Sir Edward Lawrence was ever resident in the town. He was described as the Squire, but this must have been a largely honorary title derived from his ownership of the original home farm.² The economic influence of his family must have been considerable, as his rental assessment showed him to be the wealthiest man in the town.³ But the family neither lived in the town for much of this time, nor seem to have had effective agents. This changed in the eighteenth century when Sir Edward, like other county gentry, attended the occasional vestry meeting in a supervisory role.⁴

1. K. Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, 1982, pp. 25, 26.
2. H.R.O., Hunts Archdeaconry File 285, James Meriton contra Thomas Sutton, 1708.
3. Pettis, p. 97.
3. All Saints Parish Church, St Ives, vestry book, 1712-1738.

TABLE 57

GENTRY IN ST IVES

GROUP ONE

Duke of Manchester		resided Kimbolton
R Piggott	Member of Parliament	resident elsewhere
E Lawrence	J P	vestryman, largely non-resident

GROUP TWO

R Clark	Under Sheriff	vestryman
C Green	J P, High Sheriff	vestryman churchwarden
T Houghton	High Sheriff	vestryman
R Huske	Under Sheriff	vestryman
J Mason	Under Sheriff	resident elsewhere
R Thompson	High Sheriff	resident elsewhere ¹

GROUP THREE

B Bentley	Chief Constable	vestryman churchwarden, overseer of poor
J Bentley	Juror at Assizes	vestryman churchwarden overseer of poor
E White	Juror at Assizes	vestryman

1. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, R. Thompson, 12.10.1731. In his will he is described as of Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire.

The Duke of Manchester was also influential, because of ownership of so many of the commercial outlets of the town. But he never attended meetings. The same is true of the third member of the greater gentry,

the local M P, Robert Piggott, who lived in Cambridgeshire. These three owned a substantial part of the economy of the town, but they did not play a direct part in town life. They left such chores to the lesser members of their rank.

Six men were in Wrightson's middle group. They mostly attended vestry meetings but only in a supervisory role, without performing any official duties. Two of them, Robert Clark and Thomas Houghton, were far more active than the others. Of the rest, only John Mason of Hemingford Grey was a local person. Charles Green and Richard Huske acquired their properties by marriage and Roger Thompson was a brewer from Cambridge, who loaned money to various people in St Ives. Pettis may have called these people "townsmen", but it was the lesser parish gentry who were indigenous and far more active. These were Professor's Everitt's "focal families".¹

FOCAL FAMILIES

In considering these families this study will show that a small market town like St Ives suffered from a turnover of its urban elite, just as much as a larger one. As Dr Corfield has written "Turnover among individual families within the urban elites was often, however, relatively rapid...The continuity of an urban elite was thus one of image and ethos rather than of sheer dynastic longevity. Some families certainly remained in their greatness for two or more generations; others moved quickly on."²

This concept of turnover within the urban elite needs to be set alongside the "occupational lineages" found by Professor Everitt and Dr Mitson and

1. A. M. Everitt, Landscape and Community, 1985, pp. 312-29.
2. P. J. Corfield, The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800, 1981, p. 132.

already seen amongst people like the watermen of St Ives.¹ We appear to have two conflicting movements; on the one hand, frequent changes amongst the elite, and on the other, a continuity of trade or profession, seen in dynastic networks.

The criteria that have been employed to define these "focal families" is firstly the length of service by the family in the post of churchwarden, which we have already seen to be the most prestigious office in the town; and secondly, the number of attendances at vestries and manorial courts. There were three individuals who in turn dominated their generation, and were not connected one to another; Seakin Boyden in the early period, Robert Clark, in the later seventeenth century, and Thomas Houghton in the next century. There were also three families who had outstanding records of continuity of service. The Bentley family only missed six meetings in 30 years between 1700 and 1729, the Barnes family eight meetings between 1715 and 1739, the White family missed 14 meetings in 33 years. Such a turnover reflects the trend in larger urban centres.

We can now examine the longevity of their family links to see if they formed an "occupational lineage". The first of these leaders was Seakin Boyden, who owned sixteen acres of meadow in 1632 to which he had added fifty seven acres of arable land by 1673.² He took a prominent part both in manorial and vestry business, being also one of the town's feoffees and serving as churchwarden.³ His property was later split among his three grand-daughters, whose husbands were unable to maintain

1. A. Mitson, "Social, economic and kinship networks in rural south-west Nottinghamshire, circa 1580-1700", Ph.D., University of Leicester, 1987, p. 287-8.
2. Pettis, p. 93-95; Survey 1673 unpaginated.
3. All Saints Parish Church, St Ives, vestry book, 1632-1661.

his position in the town and the influence of the family became negligible.¹

The second influential individual was Robert Clark. He was a newcomer to the town, possibly from Upwood.² By 1666 he was a prominent tradesman and by 1673 he held at least 120 acres of farm land, as well as six houses, of which two were inns.³ He or his son became steward and trustee for the Manchester family.⁴ They made more appearances at the vestry than anyone else, in addition to their duties at the manorial courts. In a town with a strong manorial court, their position as an associate of the Manchester family and steward of the manor, meant that they were influential people. By diversifying their holding into inns and urban properties, they were able to weather the drop in agricultural prices which hurt so many farmers.

With the death of Robert Clark, the premier position passed to Thomas Houghton. Like the Clarks, he and his son seem to have sprung to prominence from obscurity. Our first record is in a marriage bond of 1704, which states that Thomas Houghton, yeoman of Kimbolton, was bonded to marry Sarah Austin, widow of St Ives.⁵ As Kimbolton was the seat of the Manchester family, this opens up the possibility that Houghton was the agent for the family in the same way as Robert Clark. However, surviving records at Kimbolton throw no light on him or his family.⁶ Had he been a yeoman with land one would have expected to find some reference. If however he was part of the Manchester household, he might

1. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, S. Boyden, 14.10.1693.
2. P.R.O., E180/90.
3. H.R.O., DDM 3; Pettis, 1673 Survey, unpaginated.
4. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, R. Clark, 1685-1706.
5. H.R.O., Marriage bond, T. Houghton, Kimbolton, 1704.
6. H.R.O., H.M.R., WG 2230/2, Kimbolton, 1718-1729; H.P.R., Kimbolton Tithe Composition Account Book, 2774/3/1, 1703-1899.

have used the description "yeoman" as a courtesy title. After his marriage, he moved to St Ives at a time when the influence of the Clark family was declining. Thus the Manchester connection becomes interesting, especially as he took over the role of the Clarks both in the manorial court and vestry.

He built up a medium sized holding divided between urban and agricultural properties, both by inheritance through his wife and by acquisition.¹ Its value for rental in 1732 was £102.² Although he was called a yeoman, his son joined the gentry and became sheriff of the county.³ The connection with Kimbolton suggests that he may have represented the Duke's interests in the town, but such a view is based on circumstantial evidence only.

None of these families saw their influence last more than two generations. Either their holding was divided, as in the case of Boyden, and the family's status suffered as a result; or, as in the case of the Clark family, the next generation retained the property but showed little interest in the administration of town affairs. The two families who acquired gentry status invested their wealth, in both agricultural and urban properties, and were better placed thereby to weather the drop in farming prices. Boyden neither had gentry status nor urban property. Involvement with the ducal family at Kimbolton certainly assisted the Clark family, and may have done the same for Thomas Houghton.

Having looked at these three dominant individuals, we can turn to study

1. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, J Acton, 12.10.1709; M. Ringstead, 10.10.1716, J. Kettle, 1.10.1719; M. Parnell, 12.10.1720; J. Read, 6.10.1725.
2. Pettis, p. 63.
3. Memorial to him in Parish Church, St Ives.

the three families with the greatest number of years of service to the town. Two of them, appear to have been indigenous. In all cases, they adjusted successfully to new trading conditions; they also joined the gentry.

At the time of the partial survey of 1632, Richard Bentley owned a mere 0.5 acres of meadow.¹ He was a feoffee which implies a certain degree of status in the town, but held no other position.² The family really came to the fore in the next generation, with his son's marriage into the Acton family who were involved in butchery, droving and innkeeping.³ Bartholomew, a baker and waterman, was a prominent tradesman in 1666, who served on the manorial jury six times, and the vestry, four times; he was also a churchwarden.⁴ Thereafter, members of the family served as manorial juror 68 times, vestryman 32 times, and churchwarden nine times. Their activities varied with the economic fortunes of the town. Success seems to have come with diversification into trade on the river and innkeeping. However, John Bentley, who borrowed £1,000 to rebuild the Crown Inn, must have made a rash investment, as he was bankrupted six years later.⁵

The second of these families was called Barnes. They were also in the town from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Only two occupations are known. William was a cordwainer in 1654 and Oliver, a baker.⁶ But

1. Pettis, p. 93-96.
2. All Saints Parish Church, vestry book, R. Bentley, 1644.
3. *ibid.*, marriage register, R. Bentley, 1655.
4. H.R.O., DDM 3; H.M.R., Sives, 1684-1699; Parish Church, vestry book, 1664, 1675, 1692-1696.
5. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, J. Bentley, 27.10.1732, J. Bentley, 6.10.1733, T. Palmer, 12.10.1736; Pettis, p. 74.
6. Parish Church, St Ives, marriage register, W. Barnes, 1654; H.R.O., will, M. Newell, St Ives, 1672.

by 1745 Thomas, a merchant and brewer, left £5278.¹ Therefore, the change in the fortunes of this family was dramatic. The change seems to have begun in the 1680's with marriages into the gentry families of the Dennes of Fenstanton and St Ives, and the Audleys of Houghton and Wyton.² These marriages put the brothers, Thomas and William, into a much more favoured circle. From then onwards the family did not look back. Between them, they served on the manorial jury 33 times, on the vestry 25 times and were churchwarden for eight years.³ At the time of the Pettis' Survey in 1732, the total rental for William and Thomas was £101, compared with £128 for all eight Bentleys. They owned various properties, including two commercially important ones at the foot of the bridge in the main street of the town.⁴

The third of our influential families was called White. Prior to 1657, there were people of this name in the town but no connection between them and later ones has been traced. In that year, there is a reference to a property on the east side of Bridge Street passing to a Mary White from her brother.⁵ It was later owned by Ephraim White as the Bull Inn, together with other property in Holywell & Needingworth.⁶ His brother, Samuel, not only owned property in Kings Lynn, St Ives and the Hemingfords, but he held a share in the lease of the market.⁷

The wealth and influence of this family again may have derived from a fortunate marriage. We can trace the growth of their influence from

1. P.R.O., PROBE 3 44/76.
2. H.R.O., will, K. Denne, St Ives, 1680; will, T. Barnes, St Ives, 1701.
3. *ibid.*, H.M.R., St Ives, 1708-1739; vestry book, 1718-1738.
4. Pettis, p. 87-89, 96.
5. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, T. Parnell, 2.10.1657.
6. *ibid.*, T. Ibbott, 1.10.1690; T. Emerson, 2.10.1707; F. Lack, 1.10.1712; T. Ibbott, 4.10.1717; E. White, 12.10.1731.
7. H.R.O., will, S. White, St Ives, 1736.

around the time of the fire in 1689. Opportunities must have been available at such a time for a man with money to purchase property cheaply. After 1690, one of the Whites was present at 54 manorial juries, and 25 vestry meetings. Their wealth was derived from the dominant position they held in the wool trade, where they were in control of all aspects of the trade, as well as the profits from the market and wharf.¹ When Ephraim died in 1730, his son was described as an Esquire.² It would seem that the family had now moved into the lower ranks of county society.

Of these six names, only two did not hold positions within the county. Robert Clark, and possibly Thomas Houghton, represented the authority of the Duke of Manchester in the town and were also undersheriff and high sheriff respectively. They were the most influential individuals in their day. They weathered the drop in farm prices successfully by combining agriculture with commerce. The three mercantile families of Bentley, Barnes and White, seem to have owed their rise to prominence to fortunate marriages to women within the local society. They were adaptable in their trading, moving to take advantage of any openings. Thus Barnes and White made their wealth after the disastrous fire of 1689 by specialising in malt or wool. In both cases, they offered financial services over an extensive area. The Bentley family, on the other hand, moved away from baking and the contracting leather industry, into the buoyant trades of waterman and innkeeper. Between the three of them, they had a dominant position in most of the major products of the area and in their transport to larger markets. The remaining person, Seakin Boyden, was only involved in agriculture. He was never numbered amongst

1. P.R.O., PROB 3 47/32.

2. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, E. White, 12.10.1731.

the gentry. His influence died with him and his sons-in-law made no great names for themselves.

St Ives endured a rapid turnover of its urban elite, as Dr Corfield has described elsewhere. However, this trend was combined with the continuity of public service offered by the three indigenous families of Bentley, Barnes and White, as described by Professor Everitt. They were the successful tradesmen who specialised in the major products of the hinterland, or in carrying goods on the river, at a time of expanding trade, or in the supply of services in the inns. It is men like these, who were developing the distributive function of St Ives, described earlier. We can see in their continuity, the "occupational lineages" Professor Everitt traced amongst the blacksmiths of Kent. It is also noticeable that it was these families which had connections with the villages of the urban society. Bartholomew was impropriator of tithes in Needingworth, Barnes had kin in neighbouring villages and the Whites owned land in them. In this respect, they mirror the finding of Dr Mitson that neighbourhood areas were defined by dynastic families.¹

CORE FAMILIES

The Bentleys, Barnes and Whites had roots deep inside this society. We can describe them as belonging to the core of the community, unlike the less well-rooted families - what Charles Phythian-Adams has called "the temporary visitors".² In this way we differentiate between the Bentley who owned the Crown Inn, even if he went bankrupt, and Charles Pinder who briefly rented it. Two categories have been used to define this core, firstly, all the families who had shown themselves to be particularly

1. A. Mitson, "Nottinghamshire circa 1590-1700", pp..287-8.
2. C.Phythian-Adams Re-thinking English Local History, 1987, p. 44.

active in administration, commerce or in leadership of a religious group, and secondly, those families of note who had remained in the area for many years. There are sixty outstanding surnames in the nominal lists of 1642, 1674, the 1680's and 1720's. As certain names appear in more than one of these categories, duplicates have been removed. We are then left with a total of 31 families, resident both in the villages and the town.

Such a core included important landowning families, like the Newmans of Hemingford, and Cordells of St Ives and Holywell, or Boydens of St Ives. There were the agents of the Duke of Manchester, like Clark and Langley. There were employer watermen, like Mason of Hemingford Grey, or Bentley of St Ives, already moving into the lower ranks of the gentry. There were the drapers, Read and White, and the maltster Barnes, who also loaned money, as well as Bentley, the owner of the Crown Inn. Also included was the Presbyterian butcher, Obediah Gee, his colleague, Robert Morton, the currier, Parnell, the Quaker innkeeper, and Denne, the Baptist waterman. Their influence stretched across the width of the society and represented a cross-section of the more profitable areas of the local economy.

In this core of our urban society, every family without exception was connected to at least one other core family. For example, the Whites were connected to seven other core families and the Houghtons and Barnes to four. The links were generally the result of kinship. For example, Thomas Houghton married Sarah Austin, whose maiden name was Acton and the Actons were related to the Bentleys. Seakin Boyden, the yeoman, was connected with Richard Cordell, another prominent farmer in the town. A later Cordell married a White. The links might be religious. Mayle and

Denne travelled together as leaders of the Baptist church. They might be commercial. Aaron Browne, the waterman, owned property that had earlier belonged to Mason, the waterman of Hemingford Grey, and sold it to Barnes, the waterman maltster of the town. Given the inevitable patchiness of the surviving records, it is remarkable that at least one link can be made between all these 31 families.

We would expect that this core of families would be the repository of the traditional values of their community. Our best source for such values is Edmund Pettis. Although his survey is largely composed of lists and maps, he does at times allow his sense of civic responsibility, desire for equity and pride to shine through. He describes two occasions when the bailiffs of the market overstepped their authority and were forced to retract. Here he represents clearly the views of the town. "I've been more particular on these two articles that ages to come may know how careful the present have been in preserving their rights and privileges."¹

He records changes in the apportionment of the landtax, which was removed from butchers and poorer men and placed instead on malt - a decision he felt to be more equitable. He criticised the unjust way by which "outlivers" paid more tax than residents. "Yet I would have one thing mended which is to assess outlivers and indwellers all alike for it can be justly done and hurt none."² His sense of civic pride is shown in his elaborate description of the town's celebrations for Queen Anne's coronation in 1702, and how the country people came in on market day to see the replica regalia. He boasts about the numbers of townsmen who

1. Pettis, p. 61.
2. ibid., p. 100.

held prestigious positions, as high or undersheriff, even where these people were loosely connected with the town.¹

Evidence from disputes suggests that these feelings of communal solidarity were always present. Thomas Colston appealed to it, when attempting to enforce discipline in the payment of market tolls in 1636. When John Henson tried fraudulently to force through a change in the system of choosing constables and rating properties, he was defeated by the strength of communal opposition. In another incident, when Thomas Swan admitted adultery with an innkeeper's wife, the townspeople organised its own punishment by forcing him to pay the injured husband £20, half of which the vicar lent him. Although the town's charities were not numerous, of the seven donors, five left money or land for the poor or children, and two for the vicar. Such evidence suggests that local people exhibited a sense of civic pride, as well as responsibility towards the less well-off members of the community.

We have already seen that the core of this urban society was not large. However, it represented the continuity of communal feelings whose strength the incomer Pettis could recognise and respect. It was a close-knit body, either through kinship or religion. It represented the major economic interests of the area. Within its membership were the six focal families who between them exercised great power in the town. But overarching them was the influence of the gentry, and in particular, that of the Duke of Manchester. It is to the wider world of Kimbolton castle, and of the county town of Huntingdon that we must now turn.

1. Pettis, p. 60.

CHAPTER 8

THE WIDER WORLD

It has proved possible to describe Abrams' "dominant forces" within the "larger social environment" of the urban society of St Ives, and in so doing, we have also begun to outline the power of the Manchester family. This was one of the external forces exerting its influence on the inhabitants. A second force, for which we have evidence, is that of the Church of England, which struggled for most of this period to control the dissenters. A third force that needs to be considered is that of Huntingdon, whose financial pre-eminence has already been described. It is proposed in this chapter to examine each of these forces in turn.

THE MANCHESTER FAMILY

The influence of this ducal family was considerable, inasmuch as it owned almost all the manorial lordships in the area covered by the urban society of St Ives. The income the family drew from the town alone has been estimated at £200 per annum, not much less than the amount available to the vestry for all its responsibilities. This income may well have increased over the period as evidence suggests that entry fines grew. We can supplement this information in two ways, firstly by looking at the evidence for the manner in which disputes were resolved in the town, and secondly, our knowledge of the focal families will allow us to decide how many of these were part of the Manchester connexion and how many seemed independent. The sum of this evidence will suggest that the family's influence was so great that the town was akin to a modern "company town."

The first dispute to be considered probably occurred in 1636. There is an undated document, in seventeenth century handwriting, which refers to the activities of one John Hinson, a constable in 1636.¹ He had sent a

1. H.R.O., 2988/DDM; H.M.R., St Ives, J. Hinson, 21.4.1636

petition to the Earl of Manchester, which included a change in the procedure for the appointment of constables and which set a rate that was advantageous to wealthy tradesmen like himself, but not to the poor. In a dispute about this, the authenticity of several of the signatures to the rate demand was queried. The matter was referred to the higher authority of "My Lord", presumed to be the Earl of Manchester. This dispute took place soon after he had entered into possession of his manor of St Ives and may have been an attempt to test out his authority. It coincides with Thomas Colston taking to court those who flouted his authority at the Monday market.

Pettis gives us two other stories of disputes relating to trading in the town, in each of which the Lord was seen as the higher authority to resolve the problem. One incident was in 1729, when Pettis and other traders had goods distrained by the bailiffs for selling items on the pavement outside his shop. He appealed to "my Lord" and eventually his scythe handle was returned."¹

The third example relates to an encroachment on to the market area. Initially ten shops were enclosed and let to small traders. In 1729 the baileys proposed to enclose two more. That was too much for the townsmen. They were concerned that traders in that part of the street would find business much harder to attract. They threatened an indictment at the Assizes on the grounds that the grant of the market was only for Mondays. When the Lord was informed of the affair by the baileys he promised that all the shops would be demolished by Christmas.²

1. Pettis, p. 61.

2. ibid., p. 61.

These three incidents show that the authority of the Manchester family could be effectively invoked in the event of disputes. Where a bailiff was felt to overstep his powers, appeal was made to the lord of the manor. Thus there was a form of tension between the bailiff and the people of the town, with the lord of the manor acting as referee and apparently preserving the status quo. There does not seem to have been a move to extend the lord's powers but to ensure amicable trading, of benefit to all.

These examples relate to unusual events. To assess the extent to which the Manchester family controlled the normal working of the town, we can turn to its known leaders. Certain people belonged to the Manchester connexion ex officio. The most important of these were the stewards, like Langley of Hemingford Grey or Clark of St Ives. The next group includes the farmers of the market, some of whom were gentlemen but others like Thomas Bailey and Richard Oatey were tradesmen.¹ The fact that they held this position did not give them status in the town. Bailey, a cordwainer, was a manorial juror fifteen times but Oatey, another cordwainer, only served once. Neither were vestrymen. Such positions were independent of the supervision of the market. Therefore, their effectiveness in the town was limited to the commercial side.

Edmund Pettis may also have been employed by the Duke. He was a competent surveyor whose maps were probably commissioned by the Manchester family. There are references in his book to manorial documents relating to the purchase of St Ives by the Earl of Manchester.² This would suggest that he was involved with the Manchester family.

1. H.R.O., will, T. Bailey, St Ives, 1702; will, R. Oatey, St Ives, 1712.
2. Pettis, p. 49

However, when he was in dispute with the bailiff, he was only able to approach the duke indirectly.¹

The Manchester family directly employed a variety of people to protect their interests in the town. At least two of these were dominant members of the vestry and manorial court, in a position to influence the town's decisions in a way favourable to the family. These men varied from the steward of the manor, like Clark, to others like Thomas Houghton, who apparently held no formal position, but may nonetheless have been the family's agent in the town. At another level were the different people who rented the market. Their status seems to have varied according to their personal standing. Enough evidence has survived to suggest that the town had to pay great attention to the requirements of the ducal family, who drew from it nearly as much revenue as the town's own income. Amenities, such as repairs to the wharf and a new tollbooth, were derived directly from the family's purse.²

Although the authority of the Duke was so important to the efficient working of the marketing function of the town, it is harder to assess his impact in other areas. Most agricultural land was copyhold and registered in his court. This must have given him considerable power, through his ability to raise entry fines. However, he does not seem to have intervened in the management of the land. The early enclosures by agreement occurred when the Marchioness of Northampton owned the manor. After the change of ownership, there was only one further enclosure when Robert Clark may have taken advantage of his position as steward to enforce the enclosure of the Farthings against the wishes of the town.

1. Pettis, p. 61.

2. ibid., pp. 47, 60.

No links have been traced between the farming families of Seakin Boyden, and Robert Cordell and the Duke. Although the Lawrence family held the title of Squire and farmed a large acreage, it did not appear to challenge the Manchester influence. This may reflect the dual nature of St Ives' foundation, with the original manor of Slepe containing the arable land and the manor of St Ives the commercial area. Historically the duke's power did not extend to Slepe and therefore, he took no part in this aspect of parish life. Certainly his own acreage was small and consisted solely of meadow.

Two remaining focal families, Barnes and Bentley, were watermen, in addition to their other interests. William Barnes had a greater degree of independence because he owned freehold property with river frontage. In addition, his trade was largely in malt which was toll-free. The Bentley family, who owned the Crown Inn may have found their independence more limited, as their property was copyhold and therefore subject to higher entry fines. Both these families traded on the river. In this role, they were largely controlled by Bedford coal merchants. Our information on this point is derived from the toll book of the Hemingford sluice. By combining this with other information, we can identify three different types of watermen.¹

The leading group comprised the urban gentry, mostly of Bedford, but one each from Huntingdon and Godmanchester. The most important of these was Thomas Wilkes, a coalmerchant of Bedford, who owned 747 (24%) of the loads being moved on the river, and who used employees to work his boats. Such powerful merchants did not live in St Ives.

1. T. S. Willan, "Navigation of the Great Ouse Between St Ives and Bedford in the Seventeenth Century", Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, XXIX, 1946, pp. 3-15.

There was a second group who sometimes traded on their own account.

These were the parish gentry, often members of the focal families. One was Bartholomew Bentley, who carried 53 loads for an employer and 11½ for himself. William and Thomas Barnes were trading in a similar way. Aaron Browne was another who carried 292 loads as an employee and 18 for himself. Like Barnes and Bentley, he attended vestry meetings and was churchwarden eight times.¹ Although the total rental of his family was far less than that of the Bentleys, he seems to have been in a similar social position.²

There are references to a further sixteen watermen in St Ives. None would have been destitute, as the references are all derived from property transactions, wills or bonds. Some had relatives with a small inn, for example, Jasper Stocker, who owned the Boy and Bottle.³ However, the participation of such watermen in the formal administration of the town was non-existent. This cannot just result from the nature of their work, with its days spent away from the town, because the wealthier group of the Bentleys and Barnes were able to fill the official posts of churchwarden and overseer. It suggests that their status and wealth were considerably lower.

This occupational group shows the features we have seen in the study of the Manchester connexion in the town. Bedford coalmerchants controlled the trade on the river, in the same way as the external authority of the Manchester family controlled the market. The most influential group of watermen tended also to be the parish gentry or focal families, who frequently attended meetings and filled the administrative roles. The

1. All Saints Parish Church, vestry book, 1667-1683.
2. Pettis, p. 96.
3. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, J. Stocker, 12.10.1720.

third group was part of the mass of townspeople who lived and worked in St Ives without reaching any prominence. The result is akin to that found by Mary Prior in her study of the river Thames at Oxford. "The dominant families of the river were of two sorts; the rich and the powerful on one hand, and the numerous on the other. Families in which some members married out of the Fisher Row community into those who provided supporting services connected with trade along the banks tended to grow rich and powerful; those who simply married into local families of bargemen might increase in number, but not in wealth....The first group climbed socially, the second sank."¹

These watermen, therefore, were subject to the patronage of the Bedford coalmerchants for their livelihood on the river and to the authority of the Duke of Manchester's steward off the river. Within these restrictions, the families who were able to progress economically and socially, were those who took advantage of their links along the river. This was demonstrated when we examined the networks that bound the watermen together. Those who made most progress were the ones who married the daughter of a Bedford coalmerchant or a gentleman merchant of Huntingdon.

Another wealthy trade in the town was that of the drapers. As there is no reference to wool being sold in the market, it was probably free of such tolls. Drapers' properties were copyhold but this does not seem to have harmed their profitability. Probably of more consequence to them was the factor, John Day of Norwich.

For anyone wishing to trade in the market, tie up at the wharf, cross the

1. M. Prior, Fisher Row: fishermen, bargemen and canal boatmen Oxford 1500-1900, 1982, p. 139.

bridge, or sell at the fairs, the authority of the Duke of Manchester was pre-eminent. He exercised this, either directly through his stewards and bailiffs of the market or indirectly through his ownership of the manorial court, by means of which he controlled the price of land and rents, because of his ability to raise entry fines. Those groups who seem to have been most independent of his authority were farmers, watermen and drapers. But it was not a true independence, seeing that farmers sold their livestock in the market, watermen paid him dues when they landed goods on the wharf and drapers paid entry fines on their properties. They were also subject to the additional powerful influence of the coalmerchant of Bedford or the wool factor of Norwich.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The identification of focal families, combined with the evidence for the resolution of disputes in the town, have helped us to outline the influence of the Duke of Manchester. Similar evidence can be used to clarify the position of the Church of England, the major difference between these two external forces being that the church was less successful in handling opposition and was forced to accept a modification to its powers.

St Ives lay in the diocese of Lincoln, whose bishop had a palace at Buckden, five miles west of Huntingdon. The archdeaconry was based in the county town, and the deanery of St Ives looked after St Ives, Houghton and Wyton and Holywell and Needingworth. The deanery of St. Neots included the villages south of the river. In disputes with the Puritans, authority was sometimes exercised by the archdeacon, sometimes by the bishop and in one instance appeal was made to the archbishop of Canterbury. The proximity to Cambridge, which largely provided the

separatist leadership, must have been a source of frustration to the local hierarchy.

There is evidence to show that Puritans were already active locally at the beginning of our period. Stephen Marshall, leader in the Smectymnus controversy with Bishop Hall, was born at Godmanchester,¹ where Baptists and Quakers were later on to be so numerous. Dr Thomas Beard, who taught Oliver Cromwell in Huntingdon, was a Puritan author.² At least two lecturers were sent to the town at the expense of London merchants. A Mr John Pointer "preached there on Saturday (market day) for the benefit of the country people and gave the town a sermon every Lord's day in the great church, gratis".³ Finally, Archbishop Laud's visitation in 1634 reported that "At Huntingdon divers ministers in that division were suspected of Puritanisme, but being questioned professed absolute conformitie."

In St Ives, the reverend Job Tookey, the elder, was expounding his Puritan beliefs from the pulpit of the parish church, thus like Dr Beard of Huntingdon, opposing the Church from within. This is seen in his decision to "bring the table into the body of the Church at the times of administration".⁴ As the parish church purchased a new table for Communion and a book "for the fast" in 1628, we can assume that his puritan beliefs were supported by at least some of his congregation⁵.

In 1629 Tookey wrote down the revelations of a woman called Jane Hawkins,

1. R. W. Dixon, A Century of Village Conconformity at Bluntisham, Hunts, 1887, p. 15.
2. M. Noble, Memoirs of the Protectoral-House of Cromwell, 1787, 1, p. 933.
3. Dixon, pp. 15-20.
4. C.S.P.D., 1639-40, CCCCXLIV, 79, p. 444.
5. Vestry book, 1627-29.

whose rhymes magnified his ministry and criticised the State. She held public sessions at her bedside attended by 200 persons. Report reached the bishop, then in residence at Buckden, who investigated the matter, decided she was a fraud and forced Tookey publicly to recant.¹ Bishop Williams, in spite of his own tendency to Puritanism, had firmly exerted the church's authority.

This episode, however, did not crush the puritans in the town. They received encouragement from a newcomer, Oliver Cromwell, who lived there between 1631 and 1636 and who "frequently and publicly owned himself a Teacher, and did preach in other men's as well as his own house, according as the brotherhood agreed and appointed."² The group was supported by London merchants, who paid for a second lecturer to preach in the district on market days. When it looked as though the money for his wages would be stopped, Oliver Cromwell wrote to London to ask for its continuance. "You know, Mr Storie, to withdraw the pay is to let fall the lecture."³

In the immediate approach to the Civil War, puritans were "encouraged to hope that the persecution they and their forefathers had endured for a century might soon be brought to an end."⁴ An act of defiance in St Ives was, therefore, felt by all parties to be a test case. For the puritans it was an opportunity to assert their demands for religious freedom and for the church it showed the need for a strong response to prevent further trouble.

1. C.S.P.D., 1628-29, CXLI, 63, CXLII, 19, p. 530-1, 537.
2. J. Heath, Flagellum, or The Life and Death and Birth and Burial of Oliver Cromwell the late Usurper, 2nd ed., 1663, p. 63.
3. W. G. Abbott, Oliver Cromwell: Writings and Speeches, 1937, 1, p. 80.
4. M. Watts, The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution, 1978, pp. 77-78.

In 1640 the group refused to go up to the altar to take communion, instead of receiving it in their seats, as Mr Tookey had allowed. The archdeacon of Huntingdon visited St Ives in person to investigate, and having heard the petitioners, made an order against them. Other local people advised him to be firm "their intention being, as they said, to have this a leading case for all the country." However his intervention led to further dispute. The puritans were so incensed that they got up a petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the next Communion Service, William Covell "came in to the body of the chancel and ...used these words 'We are all here present to receive the sacrament and therefore if you will give us it you may. However we intend not to come nigher.'"¹It would seem that the church retaliated, as later that year Covell, his brother and another man were imprisoned in London.²

These intermittent disputes with the church authorities show that newcomers, like Tookey and Cromwell, acted as catalysts for the local puritans. London merchants also helped and encouraged them financially. The importance attached by the church to these acts of defiance is shown in the seniority of church officials summoned to deal with the problem. Indeed, when the archdeacon failed to resolve the dispute about communion amicably, the tone of his letter of explanation to the archbishop is almost obsequious, largely one assumes because the affair was seen by the neighbourhood as a test case for the strength of the different parties. However, the success of the church authorities was short-lived because of the advent of the civil war.

This time the tables were reversed. For example, the archdeacon of

1. C.S.P.D., 1639-40, CCCCXLIV, 79, p. 444-5, CCCCXLV, 22 p. 455-6.
2. C.S.P.D., 1640, CCCCXXXIV, 220, p. 431.

Huntingdon lost his position, as did the vicar of Houghton & Wyton who was also curate in St Ives. Moreover, Job Tookey, the second, was appointed by Parliament as lecturer and later vicar in the town.¹ But a petition in 1645 shows that there was still considerable opposition to puritanism. It was reported that "as in most places, they are apt to be prejudiced against the gospel."²

During the Protectorate, there were the beginnings of four separate religious groups in the area. Ministers at the parish church tended to be Presbyterians, like Job Tookey, whilst one assumes that many others still supported what had been the established church. The Baptists and Quakers formed themselves into separate sects. Both were attacked by those at the parish church. Henry Denne was refused the use of the church by the minister's committee and James Parnell, an early Quaker, was roughed up by a mob after he was publicly attacked by a priest at Somersham.³

With the restoration of Charles II and the church of England, great pressure to conform was applied to local people. This was successful in much of our area, the exceptions being at Hemingford, Bluntisham and Earith and Somersham. An ejected clergyman, Nathaniel Bradshaw of Willingham in Cambridgeshire, came to live with his step-daughter in Hemingford Grey and later St Ives.⁴ John Meriton, afterwards vicar of St Ives, had been a party to his expulsion and Quakers harboured a grudge

1. A. G. Matthews, Walker revised: being a revision of J. Walker's Sufferings of the clergy during the Grand Rebellion, 1642-1660, 1948, *passim*.
2. M. A. Everett Green, ed., Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding etc. 1643-1660, 1892, reprinted 1967, p. 877.
3. R. W. Dixon, A Century of Village Nonconformity at Bluntisham Hunts, 1887, p. 57.
4. G. L. Turner, ed., Original Records of Early Nonconformity Under Persecution and Indulgence, 1911, 11, p. 847.

against him for many years. They later tried to use the Archdeacon's Court to have him removed from his cure, alleging various charges, such as violent behaviour and swearing, but the real reason for their action lay in his attack on Mr Bradshaw.¹ Their case was unsuccessful. No high officials of the church made visits to the town. Anxious letters were not despatched to the archbishop. This time the church was more confident of its ability to contain such disputes. There are various reasons for this. One was the strengthened legal position of the church. The second could be divisions amongst its opponents. Thirdly, the local dissenters no longer had outside leadership, or financial support from London merchants.

The Baptists and those who later started the Presbyterian Church in St Ives, accepted, however, unwillingly, the legal restraints now imposed on the worship of dissenters. Opposition came from the Quakers and is recorded in detail in their book of sufferings. It was not only the church which made their life unpleasant. Tithes might be demanded by the vicar, or the impropriator. Local attitudes varied. One impropriator, Nicholas Johnson, boasted that "the Quaker tithes were best for one might take what they pleased."² The vicar at Fenstanton had an eighty year old woman goaled for non-payment, and when the magistrate released her with these words "She is more fit for her grave than to come before me," the priest took her son and servant to court instead. At Hemingford Grey, Griffith Lloyd impounded Parnell's animals and refused them food and water. However, when an illegal meeting was broken up in St Ives in 1670, the constable only acted in this way for fear of the consequences for himself. And Edward Paulson, another constable, was reprimanded by

1. H.R.O., Hunts Archdeaconry File 285, evidence of D. Parnell against J. Meriton, 1672.

2. C.R.O., Quaker Book of Sufferings, R59/25.3.1, passim.

the justices for failing to take sufficient goods. He said that "when he went again he would have enough and not be threatened and chid in that manner." Such incidents illustrate the pressure that was put on constables, especially when one realises that Obediah Gee, who fetched the warrant and actively distrained goods, was a dissenter himself, who was to apply for a licence for his own house as a Presbyterian meeting place two years later.

Disputes of this sort ceased with the Toleration Act of 1689. Provided a church was licensed, it could now meet to worship freely. This led the way for our three sects to acquire their own meeting houses. The Presbyterian church, whose meeting house was completed in 1691, had sufficient members to support its own minister. It was able once more to draw upon London for some financial help. In 1690, the Presbyterian Fund Board allocated the St Ives church a lump sum of £10 "towards the propagation of the Gospel in St Ives " and £6 per annum to support a lecture in Huntingdon.¹ There was also a small Baptist church, which gradually became more important than its mother church in Fenstanton. It met in a converted granary beside the river, part of a tenement belonging to the Denne family.² The Quakers built their meeting house in 1690 and extended it in 1725. In all three cases the original property had belonged to leading men in their congregation who presented the land or building to their church.

The success of the early puritans in opposing the church authorities seems to have derived in part from external leadership, whether of Tooke or Cromwell; this was combined with financial help from London. Their

1. M. Wagner, Not an Easy Church A History of the Free Church in St Ives, 1672-1981, 1982, p. 10.
2. H.R.O., H.M.R., St Ives, J. Denne, 6.10.1725.

boldness coincided with the Presbyterian views of the Earl of Manchester, whose influence locally seems to have been greater than that of the independent Cromwell.¹ However, the triumph of puritanism was short-lived. At the time of the Restoration, Manchester "the natural head of the Presbyterians" was outmanoeuvred by Monk.² The restored Church of England was at first strong enough to enforce conformity and to harrass its opponents. At this time, when the hardships of the Quakers were so great, the Duke of Manchester, now a leading Whig member of the Government, had conformed and thus was not likely to offer them support. In the end, it was national pressure that legislated for freedom of worship and forced the church to accept symbiosis with the dissenters, and a modification to its own power.

HUNTINGDON

The third external force to be considered is that of the county town of Huntingdon. Although its population was roughly three quarters that of St Ives, it was more important because of its central position in so many fields. Many of these have already been described. Nonetheless it is useful to summarise those findings.

The population of Huntingdon grew to around 1300 persons, largely because of immigration from neighbouring villages. Surname analysis has shown that in the eighteenth century it extended its sphere of influence even into the area of our urban society, when it began to attract more people from the villages lying between St Ives and itself. Its occupational profile was similar to that of St Ives, with a concentration on non-agricultural pursuits, except that it specialised in road traffic and St

1. G. Davies, The Early Stuarts 1603-1660, 1959, p. 137.

2. K. Feiling, A History of the Tory Party 1640-1714, 1924, pp. 87, 103

Ives on river trade. On the other hand, the wealthy employer waterman, William Woolstone, resided in Huntingdon. Like St Ives, it had many important inns. However, it had three regular carrier services, whereas St Ives had five. The area for its market was smaller and its fair, by comparison, insignificant.

Financially, Huntingdon was a more important centre. Figures 8 and 13, showing the residence of bondsmen, reveal that they attracted custom from the whole county, whereas St Ives was limited to a small area.

Inventories suggest greater wealth. Totals of hearths for the return of 1674 show a similar picture. Thirty four members of the gentry were taxed in Huntingdon on a total of 318 hearths to produce a mean of nine hearths each, whilst in St Ives thirteen were taxed on a total of 61 hearths, producing a mean of five.

Politically, Huntingdon was far more important than St Ives, inasmuch as it returned two members to Parliament, whilst St Ives was only part of the county electorate. The Assizes as well as the county gaol were located there. Socially, it far outshone St Ives. The 1674 Hearth Tax listing shows the Earl of Sandwich living just outside the town. Amongst other residents were Sir Nicholas Pedley, Sir Lionel Walden and the archdeacon. It possessed assembly rooms, a library, grammar school and even held horse races on Portholme meadow.¹ All these were the trappings of a flourishing centre for county society.²

The archdeaconry which controlled all the local deaneries, including that of St Ives, was at Huntingdon. The ecclesiastical court, held in a

1. V.C.H., II, 1932, pp. 126-128.

2. P. J. Corfield, The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800, 1981, p. 51.

church in Huntingdon, heard the evidence of Thomas Swan's adultery in St Ives. The majority of wills were proved in Huntingdon, midwives and doctors were registered there, and meeting houses licensed. In all these instances, Huntingdon provided the local leadership.

Nonetheless St Ives had its own specialisms. Its market was not only more extensive than that of Huntingdon, it was also far more important, attracting drovers from the north of England and sending cattle on for sale to Smithfield. The area of Huntingdon's market was small and did not allow for expansion, whereas St Ives had two extensive areas, so that it could specialise in cattle at one end of the town and sheep at the other. Huntingdon had very little agricultural land and overnight pasturing would have been difficult. Finally, St Ives lay closer to the river meadows and fens for fattening the cattle.

St Ives was also the centre for dissent. This was first seen in the dispute with the archdeacon just prior to the Civil War - thought by both sides to be a test case for the district. Early Quaker leaders, Peacock and Hardmeat, were based in the town, even if the quarterly meeting was held in Huntingdon. The popular Presbyterian church received money from London to support a lecturer in Huntingdon. There was no Baptist church there. Therefore, although the county town was the more important place for the established church, St Ives took precedence for dissenters.

Instead of one of these two towns combining all the different functions in itself, they appear to have been split between the two of them, so that, to an extent, they fulfilled roles complementary to one another. The county town took the lead in matters political, financial, ecclesiastical, social and legal. St Ives concentrated on marketing,

distribution and dissent. Together they formed in effect a dispersed urban conglomerate. Perhaps this helps to explain why Huntingdon was such a small county town. Had it possessed the successful market of St Ives, with all that pertained to it for retailing and distribution, it might have achieved a more important position within the wider area. As it was, it was dwarfed by Wisbech, Ely or Cambridge. St Ives, in spite of its nationally famous market, was unable to challenge Huntingdon's position. In this, it was hampered by its dependence on the Manchester family and the fact that the profits from its successful market largely left the town. The town provided many of the workers on the river, but the major profits again were made by outsiders. It provided a more important base for dissent but its numbers and wealth were never great enough to challenge the established church. In all three ways, it was subjected to powerful external forces.

CONCLUSION

This thesis commenced with the late Philip Abrams' contention that a town must be studied in relation to its larger social environment. In testing this statement in respect of the relatively simple market town of St Ives, it has been suggested that the concept of an urban society embodied this unity. Individuals and families had so many links, whether economic, social or religious, that these defined the area of an urban society centred on the town. The urban features, which Abrams allowed, like a variety of advanced skills, could be seen in a lesser degree in the more rural parts of the urban society. In its definition, not only was Abrams' contention about the unity of a town and its hinterland shown to be valid, but it also provided a framework by which facts could be measured so that distortions, over for example population movements, could be corrected.

Such a concept has developed from the work of others. One strand in English local history has always been the study of the experience of particular families. Professor Hoskins has described how the Humberstone family were not stationary in one village but moved around a small area of Leicestershire.¹ Professor Everitt found that his dynastic families in Kent were concentrated in a relatively small number of parishes.² The study of Oxford boatmen, undertaken by Mary Prior, showed a different dimension.³ Her boatmen's society was upstream along the banks of the Thames, rather than spread out around the city. They perceived a

1. W. G. Hoskins, "A History of the Humberstone Family", Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, 20, 1937-9, pp. 241-287.
2. A. Everitt, Transformation and Tradition: Aspects of the Victorian Countryside, 1982, p. 14.
3. M. Prior, Fisher Row: fishermen, bargemen and canal boamen: Oxford, 1500-1900, 1982.

frontier in Oxford which curtailed their connections down river. When Charles Phythian-Adams examined villagers lying in close proximity to Watling Street, he found that they treated the road as a barrier.¹ Recently Anne Mitson's parish reconstitution has proved the existence of neighbourhood areas in south west Nottinghamshire for which the most important criterion appears to be once more the networks of dynastic families.²

These are largely rural studies. In the case of St Ives, it has been shown that a society could also be centred on an urban area. There are certain features in common. There was a core of focal families whose influence not only spread over the whole area, but who were outstanding in the main economic specialities of the area. Their networks were largely contained within a landowning neighbourhood in the same pays. They perceived boundaries to their society not in the river Ouse - a sluggish river in a flat landscape - but in the ancient county and diocesan boundaries. If they wished to marry or borrow money, it was largely within these limits that they operated. At the same time, watermen belonged to a social and economic network that stretched up the Ouse to Bedford, but not down river to Kings Lynn.

The strength of this argument suggests that local historians should, in future, follow the advice of Charles Phythian-Adams and look at villages and towns within the context of their own societies. This would mean not only avoiding the temptation to set an arbitrary limit to the size of the hinterland, but also using a variety of data to allow the boundaries to

1. C. Phythian-Adams, Re-thinking English Local History, University of Leicester, Department of English Local History, Occasional papers, 4th ser., I, 1987, p. 38.
2. A. Mitson, "Social, Economic and Kinship Networks in Rural South-West Nottinghamshire, circa 1580-1700", Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1987, p. 288.

define themselves. Such boundaries need more examination. They are not necessarily a physical feature, like a river, but can be an invisible one, like the limits of a diocese, or man-made, like a road. Further work might establish to what degree ancient boundaries still retained their strength in early modern England, and why some physical features were more powerful than others. To this end, the close-knit communities of the fens, which were opened up by the drainage schemes, might be an interesting subject of research.

At the same time, it means that we should look at an individual in ever widening circles of membership. He would be, firstly, a part of a family, but through the various networks to which he belonged, his allegiance was to his village or town, and also to his own society based on the wider area. That society, in turn, was one of many that comprised the county. Although this study has looked at the relationship of the urban society of St Ives to that of Huntingdon, it has not pursued in detail Huntingdon's own society and the limits that it perceived. Nor has it been possible to find comparable data to carry the analysis across the county divide into Cambridgeshire.

The concept of an urban society can be applied to a small market town, like St Ives, with its limited range of urban features, but may need to be modified in the context of a large city, which could contain different societies inside its boundaries, as well as dominating the area outside. One would expect to find a far more complex situation, perhaps with competing societies, trying to expand or maintain their own influence. Dr Jeremy Boulton's recent work on part of London has revealed the similarly localised nature of its society. "Many Boroughside householders may have possessed geographically restricted social

horizons, living out much of their lives within a local social system. Such a society contained many networks of relationships between landlord and tenant, employer and employee, borrower and lender, kin and neighbours. Marriage partners, too, were sought within a limited geographical area. Such local ties were the biggest single source of financial, emotional and social support for Boroughside householders."¹ While recognising the need to look at the powerful external influences affecting the inhabitants of the Boroughside, he was unable to pursue the point to any degree because of a lack of comparable studies, and the magnitude of the task. The historian of a small urban society does not suffer from the same disadvantage, so that, in this instance, it has been possible to describe what Abrams called "the specific complexes of domination" in which this particular place was embedded. This allowed one to trace, for example, the restrictions on the growth of St Ives.

This can be exemplified by a comparison with two similar sized market towns. Dr Goodacre has found that the economic initiative passed from the people of Lutterworth to the rural grazier-butchers, leaving the town with the role of distribution centre.² This study is chronologically somewhat later, but it has reached a similar conclusion, that the most profitable source of wealth was land, so that St Ives had also to be content with a secondary marketing role. Neither of these towns developed a strong manufacturing base to equal the wealth of the farmers.

St Ives also failed to expand because of its tight manorial bonds. It is a good example of the modus operandi of an owner at a time when such an

1. J. Boulton, Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century, 1987, p. 291.
2. J. Goodacre, "Lutterworth in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries A Market Town and its Area", Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1977, pp. 259-266.

organisation was often under attack. The inhabitants of Melton Mowbray, where there were three manors, were able to acquire a considerable degree of independence through the Town Estate which in time administered their affairs.¹ But St Ives, which belonged to a single manor, had far less freedom of action. The ducal family maintained its hold by the careful employment of key individuals. Their eagerness to maintain their superiority is hardly surprising in view of the income they obtained from their manor. Indeed, the town was only able to purchase the market from the Duke in 1886, by which time the profits were on a downward slope from which they never recovered.

In describing the limits placed on the growth of St Ives, this study also looked at the role of the county town of Huntingdon, whose development was in turn circumscribed by its proximity to St Ives and its successful market. The relationship between the two was complementary, in that they divided between them the functions one might have expected a county town to have exercised.

In conclusion, therefore, the study of an urban society, whose area was self-defined, has not only stressed once more the importance of looking at neighbourhood areas with their core of focal families and their perceived boundaries, but it has also revealed the restraints on growth that some towns experienced. These could derive from a dependence on marketing rather than production, from the restrictions of an effective manorial system, or from competition of another centre. Many urban studies have shown how successfully certain towns in early modern England adapted to changing circumstances and forged for themselves a new role.

1. D. Pockley, "The Origins and Early History of the Melton Mowbray Town Estate. A Study in the Government of an Unincorporated Town," Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1964, pp. 259-266.

Two examples that come to mind are Winchester and Bath. This study has revealed some of the mechanisms which restricted the development of lesser urban centres. It is hoped, therefore, that it has complied with Philip Abrams' statement that "within the analysis of a chosen social system the relationships concentrated spatially in towns ... present themselves specifically in relation to our understanding of the system in which they occur and not as exemplars of an autonomous urban reality."

APPENDIX 1

DECADAL TOTALS OF BAPTISMS AND BURIALS AS RECORDED IN PARISH REGISTERS

	<u>1600-09</u>		<u>1610-19</u>		<u>1620-29</u>		<u>1630-39</u>		<u>1640-49</u>		<u>1650-59</u>		<u>1660-69</u>	
	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>
Bluntisham	303	210	230	249	248	193	195	230						
Broughton	74	53	64	77	91	69	66	79	66	51	54		74	
Colne														
Fendrayton	128	69	109	72	98	78	98		78		61	62	76	69
Fenstanton					215	179	185	208	206	138	166	184	139	158
Hartford	75	33	79	32	74	65	81	60	47	58	59	72	36	29
Hemingford Abbots Hemingford Grey Hilton	56	28	62	48	84	44	57	30	40	33	33	40	54	47
Holywell														
Huntingdon	304	343	357	355	379	416	407	321						
Kings Ripton					44	34	42	62					34	41
Little Raveley							48	56	29	26	40	18	27	34
Old Hurst														
Over	284	166	251	252	300	259	263	271	242	259	176	225	210	233
Pidley	100	63	102	107	106	89	95	64	91	54	86		81	60
St Ives	441	352	427	419	416	430	449	470	470	341	433	534	574	525
Somersham	199	136	190	182	212	164	212	213	169	111	171	199	153	122
Swavesey			246	290	247	178	232	237	266	227	232	203	197	176
Warboys	171	82	152	120	153	129	197	134	163	130			98	88
Wistow							92	99	117	69	117	112	86	87
Woodhurst														
Wyton													36	26

APPENDIX 1 (Continued)

DECADAL TOTALS OF BAPTISMS AND BURIALS AS RECORDED IN PARISH REGISTERS

	<u>1670-79</u>		<u>1680-89</u>		<u>1690-99</u>		<u>1700-09</u>		<u>1710-19</u>		<u>1720-29</u>		<u>1730-39</u>	
	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>	<u>Bap</u>	<u>Bur</u>
Bluntisham									230	230	176	318	196	268
Broughton	91		98	115	83	83	68	108	102	91	93	97	94	102
Colne	90	82	90	90	107	67	111	114	78	96	66	95	64	80
Fendrayton	48	60	56		73		71		59	64	85		98	96
Fenstanton	138	157	174	253	118	136	128	143	167	158	210	267	200	213
Hartford	36	31	45	59	52	33	58	49	56	44	75	63	58	58
Hemingford Abbots					80	57	87	74	86	109	90	87	88	71
Hemingford Grey		52	92	89	74	96	112	82	106	83	92	89	47	
Hilton	64	48	54	52	36	32	36	37	66	48	75	65	69	61
Holywell	184	195	101	179	139	123	140	170	144	162	119	158	100	127
Houghton	81	68	97	120	98	76	89	71	69	80	75	84	51	71
Huntingdon			363	402	408	388	400	372	401	387	484	576	424	349
Kings Ripton	48	40	43	63	61	48	42	42	40	37	58	60	82	63
Little Raveley	22				23	40					15		15	
Old Hurst					34	32	26	32	52	35	33	32	48	27
Over	258	307	233	337	168	178	151	227	146	231	337	332	227	266
Pidley	47		60		121	76	120	163	82	101	104	136	92	90
St Ives	569	551	468	505	480	528	573	629	542	615	523	743	511	708
Somersham	183	257	167	240	204	205	188	288	163	226	219	281	194	252
Swavesey	188	127	169	148			192	168		195		248		156
Warboys	147	110	199	243	178	176	181	162	160	175	212	254	206	228
Wistow	116	72	72	143	77	55	75	77	79	51	83	112	102	106
Woodhurst					70	55	100	97	101	96	69	133	64	57
Wyton	32	35	45	40	49	39	47	35	43	44	37	49	45	33

APPENDIX 2

TOTALS OF PROBATE INVENTORIES FOR THE HINTERLAND OF ST IVES¹

<u>PARISH</u>	<u>1640-49</u>	<u>1680-89</u>	<u>1720-29</u>
Bluntisham & Earith	4	9	11
Broughton	2	7	3
Colne	3	7	3
Connington	0	1	2
Fendrayton	0	0	13
Fenstanton	3	22	10
Hartford	1	1	1
Hemingford Abbots	2	4	3
Hemingford Grey	1	11	3
Hilton	1	3	0
Holywell & Needingworth	5	11	5
Houghton & Wyton	5	11	5
Kings Ripton	2	3	1
Old Hurst	1	1	3
Over	0	37	52
Papworth	0	1	6
Little Raveley	3	1	1
Somersham	5	9	14
Swavesey	0	3	20
Warboys	2	14	19
Wistow	3	9	3
Woodhurst	0	4	2
Total	41	170	197

1. H.R.O., Inventories, filed alphabetically by year;
C.U.L., E.P.R., Inventories alphabetically by year.

APPENDIX 3

OWNERS OF ARABLE LAND c. 1632-1732

<u>c. 1632</u>				<u>1732</u>	
Ball 20 ac.		1694 Clark	1715	Askham	111.5 ac
Marriott 5 ac	1658	1706 Curtis	1715 Clark	"	
Perry 84 ac		1673 Clark	1700	"	
Williams 3 ac		1658 Marriott	1715	"	
Langley 30 ac		1673 Bush		Bacon	48 ac
Lack 30 ac		1723 Preston 17 ac		"	
Storey 16 ac	1647 Wynd 1685	Dacres/Roberts	1713	Bentley	37 ac
Whittle 21 ac	1651 Young	1692 Cannon	1708	"	
Filby 42 ac	1656 Colston	1683 Halsey/Harris		Cesar	59 ac
17 ac				"	
Cordell 39 ac	1654 Boyden	1704 Underwood		Cordell	39 ac
	1654 Sharpe	1681 Cordell		"	
Foreman 2½ ac	1693 Filby	1721 Stacey/Angell		Houghton	54 ac
Ringstead 48 ac		1673 Ringstead	1716	"	
Parratt 30 ac		1659 Barranger		Kingsly	30 ac
Searle 11 ac	1688 Colston	1707 Underwood		Lawrence	248 ac
Colston 152 ac				"	
Lawrence 100 ac				"	
Durrant 10 ac	1638 Latton	1642 Tifford	1693	Millward	37 ac
Latton 4 ac	1638			"	
Tifford 24 ac				"	
Heaton 20 ac		1727 Fisher		Moon	20 ac
Mattison 7 ac	1637		1695	Pettis	21 ac
Read 10 ac			1728	"	
Audley 20 ac		1681 Dryden	1711	Piggott	20 ac

continued

APPENDIX 3 continued

<u>c. 1632</u>			<u>1732</u>	
Boyden 25 ac	1693 Revell		Revell	19 ac
	1708 Rooke		Welch	6 ac
Lack 13 ac		1708	Whetham	13 ac
Whittle 16 ac	Turpin	1717	White	16 ac

The starting point to produce the tables in Appendix 2, 3 and 4, was the list in the Pettis' Survey of land owners in 1732. Using the transfers in the manor court, and the survey of 1673, this has been taken as far back as possible, but not always to 1632. If, however, a particular person had been listed amongst the owners of the meadow in 1632, then it has been assumed that they also owned their arable holding at that date. As a further guide, the burials register of St Ives parish church and the subsidy list of 1625/6 have been searched to help establish dates.¹ The subsidy list establishes the names of the largest landowners at the beginning of the period.

1. P.R.O., E179/122/208.

APPENDIX 4

OWNERS OF MEADOW LAND c. 1632-1732

<u>c. 1632</u>				<u>1732</u>	
Ball 8 ac		1694 Clark	1715	Askham	60 ac
Hart 5 ac		1695 Clark		"	
Marriott 13 ac		1706 Curtis	1718 Clark	"	
Perry 35 ac				"	
Bush 16 ac				Bacon	22 ac
Lack 6 ac		1724 Preston	1727	"	
Filby 17 ac	1667 Wells	1683 Halsey	1715	Bentley	16 ac
Parratt 10 ac		1687		Berriffe	3 ac
Perry 3 ac		1698 Harris		Cesar	
Cordell 5 ac	1645	1681	1720	Cordell	15 ac
Heaton 8 ac			1727	Fisher	8 ac
Wynd 13 ac		1673		Geary	13 ac
Sharpe 1 ac		1713 Austin	1718	Green	7 ac
Martin 6 ac	1658 Marriott	1690 Austin		"	
Whittle 11½ ac	1673 Acton	1709 Ingram		Harkness	27½ ac
Storey 6 ac	1647 Henson	1720 Bush		"	
Boyden			1728 (5½)	"	
Ringstead 7 ac			1716	Houghton	9 ac
Tifford 2 ac			1716	"	
Foreman 9 ac				Huske	9 ac
Parratt		1659 Barrenger		Kingsly	7 ac
Bentley 0.5 ac				Knightley	1 ac
Henson 1 ac				Lantaffe	1 ac
				continued	

APPENDIX 4 continued

c. 1632

Colston 20 ac	1694 Underwood	1715
Coot 2 ac		1728
Lawrence 35 ac		
Parnell 6 ac		1723
Tifford 14 ac		1690
Tailor 3 ac	1684 Johnson	1722
Cock 1 ac		
Mattison 2 ac		1694
Audley 20 ac	1681 Dryden	
Colston 16 ac	1694 Underwood	1715
Read 5 ac		
Boyden 14½ac	1693 Revell	
	Rooke	1714
Wilson 4 ac	1689 Prudent	1724
Town 3 ac		
Lack 14 ac	1724 Preston	1714
Latton 2 ac	1651 Ibbott	1690

1732

Lawrence	57 ac
"	
"	
Lenton	1 ac
Millward	14 ac
Moon	3 ac
Morton	1 ac
Pettis	2 ac
Piggott	20 ac
Read	21 ac
"	
Revell	1 ac
Rolls	6 ac
Smith	4 ac
Town	3 ac
Whetham	14 ac
White	2 ac

APPENDIX 5

OWNERS OF CLOSES OF PASTURE c. 1632 - 1732

<u>c. 1632</u>				<u>1732</u>	
Wilson	1673	1704 Hardmeat	1720	Abbott	5 ac
Marriott	1673	1706 Curtis	1716 Clark	Askham	48 ac
Perry		1716 Clark		"	
Ringstead	1673	1691 Clark		"	
Latton	1642	1685 Ibbott		Ashton	6 ac
Langley		Bush		Bacon	10 ac
Filby		1667 Wells	1720	Bentley	7 ac
Wood	1657	1673		Bond	7 ac
Boyden		1691		Brown	1 ac
Parratt	1661 Perry	1698 Harris		Cesar	7 ac
Clark		1712 Child		Child	5.5 ac
Cordell	1645	1681	1720	Cordell	21 ac
Heaton	1653			Fisher	4 ac
Whittle	1658	1709 Chambers	1726	Gates	2.5 ac
Wynd	1673	1685 Dacres/Roberts	1727	Green	6.5 ac
Whittle	1658	1673 Ingram	1709	Harkness	6.5 ac
Perry	1674 Colston	1698 Lack	1723	Harris	6 ac
Acton		1704		Houghton	15 ac
?				Knightley	7 ac
Lawrence				Lawrence	195 ac
?	1709 Acton	1712 Harkness		"	
Swanson	1638 Seakin	1654 Young	1727	Lee	2.5 ac
?				Luff	3.5 ac
Manchester				Manchester	18 ac
Matthews	1647 Thoday	1713 Prudent		Matthews	1.5 ac
Tifford	1673	1693		Millward	12 ac

APPENDIX 5 continued

c. 1632

Heaton	1673 Fisher	1727
Clement	1638 Cordell	1655 Hart 1687
Seakin	1661 Young	1692 Cannon 1727
Parson		
Parnell		1716
?	1683 Sanderson	
Searle	1636 Pearsay	1680 Audley
Audley		1681 Dryden
?	Offley	1720
Colston		1674
Boyden		1693
Symnell	1684 Foreman/Biggs/Harkness	
?	1687 Denne	
Sharpe		
Town		
?	Bentley	1720

1732

Moon	8 ac
Morton	6 ac
Nutter	4 ac
Parson	3 ac
Paulson	2 ac
Peacock	2 ac
Piggott	151 ac
"	
Pratt	1.5 ac
Read	28 ac
Revell	5 ac
Ridley	3 ac
Sandiver	1.5 ac
Sharpe	4.5 ac
Town	6 ac
Turpin	2 ac

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M. P. CARTER
AN URBAN SOCIETY AND ITS HINTERLAND:
ST IVES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

This thesis has examined the contention of the late Philip Abrams that a town should not be considered as a distinct social entity, but in relation to its setting and to "the complex of domination" in which it is embedded. It was decided to use St Ives in Huntingdonshire as the area of study. Sources have included manorial, parish and dissenting records, inventories, marriage bonds and the Pettis Survey of St Ives, with its maps, lists of property owners and land tax payments.

After defining the boundaries of the hinterland, the demography and economy of it and the town were studied. Four adjacent villages revealed urban features. The economic, social and religious networks, that bound their inhabitants to the town, were so dense that they produced a cohesive unit, or "urban society". A core of focal families provided continuity of leadership in administration, business and nonconformity. The strengths and weaknesses of the society's component parts have been traced, particularly through the experience of dissenters and watermen.

The relationship of this urban society to the wider world has also been analysed. The Duke of Manchester controlled most of the manorial lordships. In the town, he protected his interests by the deployment of key personnel in the vestry and manor. The Church of England was less successful in protecting its position, and eventually had to accept symbiosis with three nonconformist churches. St Ives' proximity to the county town of Huntingdon ensured that, instead of competing with one another, they formed a dispersed urban conglomerate with complementary functions.

In its attempt to meet Abrams' requirements, this thesis proposes the concept of an urban society as a useful device for comprehending the breadth of local networks which united the inhabitants of a town and its neighbouring areas.